

Etwas ausführlicher hätte die Liste der abgekürzt zitierten Literatur im Anhang (282) ausfallen können, da auf eine umfangreichere Bibliografie der Veröffentlichungen zu Bendemann verzichtet wurde. Interessenten sind somit auf eine mühsame Suche in den Anmerkungen der einzelnen Beiträge angewiesen. Die Kölner Dissertation von Guido Krey hätte wegen der Vergleichsmöglichkeiten mit anderen religiösen Historien des Künstlers Erwähnung finden sollen, auch wenn der Autor das Naumburger Bild nicht behandelte.⁷

Durch die reiche Illustrierung des Kataloges, auch über die ausgestellten Werke hinaus, ist mehr entstanden als nur die Dokumentation der Naumburger Ausstellung. Vielmehr liegt eine Publikation vor, die beispielhaft zeigt, mit welchem Niveau und mit welchem Erkenntnisgewinn auch an scheinbar ‚entlegenen‘ Ausstellungs-orten gearbeitet werden kann. Dank des regsamen Kunstvereins und seiner Ausstellungen macht Naumburg weiterhin positive Schlagzeilen und zeigt, dass es auch kunstgeschichtlich mehr zu bieten hat als Dom und Naumburger Meister.

ULF HÄDER

Städtische Museen Jena

⁷ Guido Krey, *Gefühl und Geschichte. Eduard Bendemann (1811–1889). Eine Studie zur Historienmalerei der Düsseldorfer Malerschule*, Weimar 2003.



Jürgen Müller; Der sokratische Künstler. Studien zu Rembrandts Nachtwache (Brill studies in intellectual history 235); Leiden u. a.: Brill 2015; 330 S.; ISBN 978-90-04-28525-5; € 143, \$ 199

This is a far-ranging and highly erudite study of the role of the artist's satirical approach to painting, both on a small and grand scale, with focus on Rembrandt. Rooted in the tradition of classical literary rhetoric, artists and art theorists of the seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic established their own approach to the making of images, in varying degrees independent from the long effect of Italian authors and art. Jan Steen, for example, crafted original visual complements to the comic mode and invited comparison with theatre, even as he slyly referred to canonical images by Raphael.¹ As Rembrandt set himself up as a fiercely independent personality, artistically and socially, he inspired writers to assess his talents and behavior as inventive, outrageous and, at the same time, startlingly impressive, but without immediately recognizable references to the erudition of the classical tradition.

¹ Mariët Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen*, Zwolle 1997.

Joachim von Sandrart, who lived in Amsterdam 1637–45, wrote the most scathing appraisal of Rembrandt: "...thanks to his inherent gifts, unsparing industry and continuous practice, he lacked for nothing – except that he had not visited Italy and other places where he might have studied the Antique and the theory of art. This was a defect all the more serious since he only read Netherlandish poorly, and therefore gained little from reading. Consequently he stuck with his own manner of painting, and did not hesitate to oppose and contradict our rules of art such as anatomy and the proportions of the human body, perspective and the usefulness of classical statues, Raphael's drawing and well-judged composition, and the academies which are so particularly necessary for our profession."²

Von Sandrart's judgement may be soundly refuted, point by point, but he summarized how Rembrandt was perceived in his own century by many. Houbraken sealed this verdict by invoking Caravaggio, who, according to Van Mander, 'did not paint one stroke unless it was to copy the object in front of him' and Rembrandt maintained this approach with 'his basic rule: 'only copy nature.'" This sets up the opposition of Caravaggio, Rembrandt, and nature to classicism and the invented ideal. The comparison of Rembrandt to Caravaggio has been a topic of much recent discussion. Müller surveys the qualities associated with Caravaggio that would have appealed to Rembrandt: immediacy of action, chiaroscuro, biblical episodes in domestic settings, and 'ars humilis'.

Müller applies "the concept of classicism here in a very broad sense, insofar, as it indicates the general imitation (and appropriation) of exemplary models ..." (3). His 'Socratic artist' Rembrandt investigates ancient and Renaissance models that permit a witty, subversive approach, and fall into various rhetorical categories of imitation. In the early modern era, this satirical approach may be traced above all to Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* of 1494 and subsequently Erasmus.³ In the last decade or so, *Imitatio* and *Aemulatio* have become paramount concepts in the discourse of seventeenth-century Dutch art. These terms may be briefly defined as a variation that improves on its source and that is recognizable, and the total assimilation of models into an original that surpasses all precedent. This process is inherently competitive, and sets up a dialogue among artists. This volume is another contribution to that discourse, as it emphasizes the artist's witty reference to precedent.

Portions of this volume incorporate material from previously published essays. This is very welcome, as many of Müller's essays have appeared in various collections and journals. Somewhat tangential to Rembrandt, this material is used to set parameters of preferential models for artists to follow. The extensive bibliography includes a lengthy list of Müller's publications; one recent addition is his article, *Albrecht Dürer's Peasant Engravings: A Different Laocoon or the Birth of Aesthetic Subversion in*

2 Joachim von Sandrart, Filippo Baldinucci and Arnold Houbraken, *Lives of Rembrandt*, hrsg. von Charles Ford, London 2007, S. 29.

3 For the broader context of Brant's *Narrenschiff*, see Bernd Renner, "Satira to Satyre: François Rabelais and the Renaissance Appropriation of a Genre", in: *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Summer 2014), S. 377–424.

*the Spirit of the Reformation*⁴, which discusses inverse citation, irony, and emulation, and methodologically prepares the reader for the present book.

To establish the subversion of exemplary models in the visual arts, Müller analyzes Gerrit van Honthorst's two versions of *The Dentist*. The earlier, 1622, is a torch-lit interior in deep chiaroscuro; the latter, 1627, is a day-lit marketplace. In both versions, the patient is based upon the *Laocoon*, a suitable model for extreme pain, but also a noble, respected ancient model used here to depict a tooth-ached man of low status. Both paintings show onlookers who are being robbed as they raptly watch the operation. The earlier includes a peasant whose purse is being stolen by a young man. The later one includes two thieves: one young man at the geometric center of the canvas picks the pocket of a man, and the other, at the left edge, steals a duck from the basket of a woman. In the earlier painting, Müller notes that the peasant's profile approximates the features of Michelangelo; as this figure catches the light of the torch, he is fixing his gaze on the patient, as if, Müller proposes, he relives the *Laocoon's* discovery in Rome. Light is the means by which the patient and the onlooker are connected. As has long been noted in the literature, Lucas van Leyden's engraving *The Dentist* of 1523 is a thematic model for the combination of tooth-pulling with pickpocketing. In both paintings, Honthorst creates an event of multiple narratives from daily life that become history pieces, and with reference to exemplary models. Müller will apply this approach to Rembrandt's *Nightwatch*, in the final portion of the book.

In a chapter *Imitatio oder Dissimulatio*, Müller examines how another exemplar, Michelangelo's *Young Warrior*, seen from the back and attaching his skin-tight breeches to his armor, from the *Battle of Cascina* is adapted by various artists, with apparent respect. (137ff.) Chronologically first, Marcantonio Raimondi shows this pose from the front, and as *Venus*, in the 1508 engraving *Mars, Venus and Cupid*. Disguised by gender and frontal pose, the figure of *Venus* would appear to be Marcantonio's own invention. Adding to Müller's observations, we may note that the *Torso Belvedere* serves for the seated *Mars*. It would seem that Marcantonio unites two exemplary figures, one from Michelangelo and one from antiquity, into a landscape with buildings lifted from Dürer, so that this engraving is a summation of his ability to synthesize his references.

In turn, Marcantonio's *Venus* is shown as a man in Jan van Amstel's small painting of two pilgrims in a landscape, where it appears the theme is lovemaking (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum). Michelangelo's *Young Warrior* makes an appearance in Carracci's *Butcher Shop*, turned 180 degrees, and the parallel is made between preparing food and making art (Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum). The 'pièce de résistance' of appropriating Michelangelo's *Young Warrior* is Jan Muller's 1604 engraving after Spranger, *Minerva and Mercury giving armor to Perseus*. The print becomes an allegory of seeing and perceiving, in its puns on mirror and Hendrik Spieghel (to whom the print is dedicated), in the coy *Perseus* teasing the viewer, in

4 Jürgen Müller, "Albrecht Dürer's Peasant Engravings: A Different *Laocoon* or the Birth of Aesthetic Subversion in the Spirit of the Reformation", in: *Journal of the Historians of Netherlandish Art*, 2011, vol. 3, no. 1.



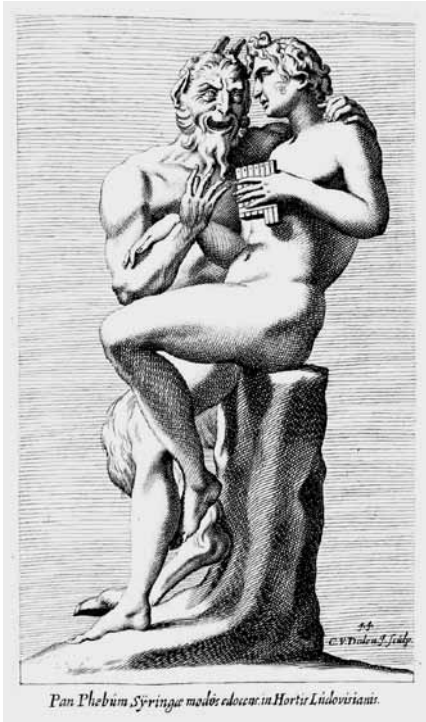
Rembrandt, *Jewish Bride*

Venus holding a shield that doubles as a mirror, in Mercury fastening winged sandals, and in Cupid holding a large lance (153). Although the conclusion here is that different artists approach the same motif with different expectations and goals, these examples take into account gender-bending and humor. But in general, such appropriated figures are jokes or homages perceptible only to those who are keenly visually literate, and further set the stage for Rembrandt.

Turning to Rembrandt, Müller examines various works, including the 1636 *Blinding of Samson* (Frankfurt, Städelsches Institut) and *Ganymede* of 1635 (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), and two etchings *Pancake Woman* of 1635 and *Abraham and the Angels* of 1656, in light of their references to antiquity, Raphael, Michelangelo, and other exemplars. My remarks here do not exhaust Müller's contributions, but selectively touch on his discussions of Vermeer's *Diana and her Companions*, dated to 1653–1656 (The Hague, Mauritshuis) and Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* of 1654 (Paris, Louvre); Rembrandt's *Jewish Bride* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum); *Artist in His Atelier* (ca. 1629, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts); and the *Nightwatch* (1642, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).

Müller suggests that Vermeer's visual sources for the Diana are the ancient *Spinario* and marble relief of a veiled bride preparing for her wedding night, Marcantonio's engraving *Venus Washing her Feet*, and Jacob van Loo's paintings of Diana. Albert Blankert recognized that Vermeer's specific motif of the nymph with drapery seen from the back seems lifted from Van Loo's *Diana and Her Nymphs* (1654, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst; 164, n. 77); however, an earlier version of Diana by Van Loo may have provided a very general guide for Vermeer, in a fully clothed, majestic seated Diana among nymphs (1648, Berlin, Staatliche Museen)⁵.

5 <http://www.essentialvermeer.com/>

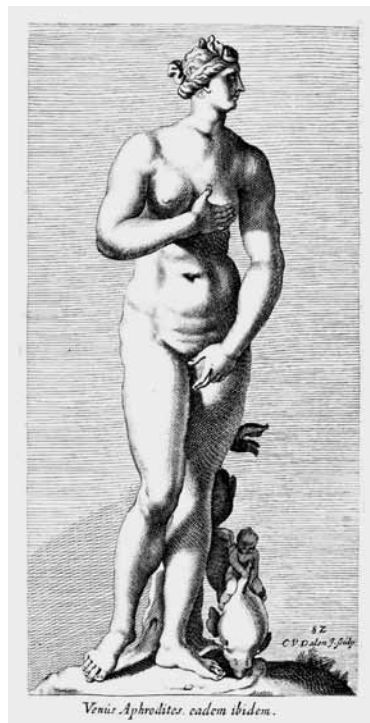


François Perrier, *Pan Embracing Apollo*, *Segmenta nobilium signorum ...*, Rome and Paris, 1638; here shown in the Cornelis van Dalen copy, 1660

Müller relates Vermeer's seated nymph next to Diana, with one leg raised to wash her foot, to the *Spinario* and to Marcantonio's *Venus Washing her Feet*. However, Vermeer's seated nymph may be more closely related to a figure in the Van Loo painting of 1648, where one nymph, taking off her sandal and turned 180 degrees, is possibly derived from the Marcantonio engraving of *Venus*. The *Spinario* is well within the range of familiarity, as is the Marcantonio engraving. Surely Vermeer could have known the two Van Loo paintings, the *Spinario*, and Marcantonio's print. But for Vermeer's nymph washing her foot, the nearest prompt would be Van Loo's example. Such closeness in visual language raises the question of how artists discussed imagery, whether their own or others' contemporary production, and illustrious models, to formulate solutions to practice *Aemulatio*.

Arthur Wheelock Jr and Walter Liedtke suggested that Vermeer looked at Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* for the pose of Diana and the nymph kneeling and washing her feet (165, n. 78)⁶. For the pose and foot-washing of *Bathsheba*, it has long been accepted that Rembrandt looked at the marble relief of a veiled bride preparing for her nuptials, with a servant washing her feet (Rome, Palazzo Altemps). This small marble relief became known in two prints around mid-century. One is by François Per-

⁶ <http://www.essentialvermeer.com/>



François Perrier, *Venus Pudica, Segmenta nobilium signorum ...*, Rome and Paris, 1638

rier and appears in his 1645 bound volume of etchings after ancient reliefs (*Icones et segmenta illustrium...*, Paris, 1645). Another, presumably later print is a small single sheet by Stefano della Bella, and little is known about how it circulated. Most significantly, Perrier's print carries an inscription from Apuleius that identifies the woman as Psyche, preparing to wed a monster who will consign her to death, a circumstance planned by her father and ultimately foiled by divine intervention that unites her with Cupid and the gods. For Rembrandt, the print represented an appealing composition with an accompanying identity that was suitable to Bathsheba, a woman receiving a command to commit adultery that will destroy her marriage and lead to an unknown future. This has been discussed by Margaret Carroll and this author in articles that are omitted from the bibliography.⁷ Müller proposes that Vermeer and Rembrandt each and independently, looked at the Perrier etching of Psyche. However, the hand of Vermeer's Diana, as it rests on the rock, seems especially close to Bathsheba's left hand and her too-long arm. No single detail of Vermeer's painting

⁷ Margaret D. Carroll, "Uriah's Gaze", in: *Rembrandt's 'Bathsheba Reading King David's Letter'*, hrsg. von Ann Jensen Adams, Cambridge 1998, S. 159ff.; A. Golahny, "Rembrandt's Callisto: Unusual but not Unique", in: *Aemulatio. Imitation, emulation and invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800. Essays in honor of Eric Jan Sluiter*, hrsg. von J. Coutré, Amsterdam 2011, S. 318–325.

appears to have derived from the Perrier print, while it seems certain that Rembrandt took it as a prompt.

But if Vermeer did indeed study the Perrier etching, his consideration of a male's unwanted attention to his heroine, Diana, warrants more explanation. Psyche, the victim of male malevolence, is a parallel to Bathsheba and Diana. Müller's argument that Vermeer had looked at the Perrier etching rather than Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* could be strengthened by considering the circumstances of Psyche and the exemplar of Van Loo as a hugely successful Amsterdam artist of polished and erotic nudes. And it might be further considered how the tale of Psyche might relate thematically to Vermeer's many paintings of women, either reading letters or with accompanying men in courtship scenes.

Müller's examination of Perrier's etchings after the antique leads him to apply these models to Rembrandt's work, and specifically to the *Jewish Bride* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum). Notably, he proposes that the man is based on *Pan Embracing Apollo*, and the woman on *Venus Pudica*, both statues in Perrier's 1638 volume (*Segmenta nobilium signorum ...*, Rome and Paris)[Illustrations 1, 2, 3]. Interpreted as Isaac and Rebecca, the hesitant adoring gesture of the man has been understood as appropriate to the narrative, with Abimelech watching from a window, as recorded in a preparatory drawing, in which the sketchy figures are not clothed (New York, Private Collection). However, in the light of the lascivious Pan behind the devoted Isaac and the sexually active Venus behind the innocent Rebecca, the painting takes on a layered meaning. The richly clad man and woman, generally regarded as portraying a chaste reverence, are now linked with blatant salaciousness in Müller's interpretation.

Under the caption *Nah und fern zum Bilde*, Müller proposes that irony may be directed toward the artist himself in the *Artist in His Atelier* (ca. 1629, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; 93ff.). This discussion proceeds from close examination of the small panel, which has extraordinary detail in the jugs, palettes, easel, and cracks in the masonry. The steep perspective pushes the easel forward and places the artist in the background, inviting the viewer to move visually between the 'near and far.' The viewer must approach the painter in the distance to perceive that his heavy robe is much too big for his body. The clothing, reminiscent of a scholar's tabard, a robe worn inside, invokes false authority and human frailty, and Müller concludes that this young man, far from being an artist contemplating the painting before him, is a Sorcerer's Apprentice, mocking wisdom rather than creating it.

The last third of the book is devoted to the *Nightwatch*. Müller's discussion of other artworks has been leading to this point, with respect to chiaroscuro, multiple narratives, contemporary scene as history painting, and ironic use of canonical models, all of which appear in this grand militia company.

The *Nightwatch* has consistently elicited awe from its beholders. But soon after its creation, a few critics noted how the overall impression is one of confusion. Although Samuel van Hoogstraten remarked that the other civic guard portraits were stiff as playing cards next to the *Nightwatch*, and that the painting would outlast its competitors, he also wondered why Rembrandt made it more complicated with more

work than necessary. Filippo Baldinucci, relying on Bernhard Kiehl's account, reported that it had an extraordinary three-dimensional illusion of the marching lieutenant holding his partisan, but that 'the rest of the picture was so jumbled and confused ... that the other figures could scarcely be distinguished one from another.'

Müller starts his inquiry by asking, why did Rembrandt put more figures than the commissioned portraits in the painting, including details of heads and overlapping figures. This distinguishes Rembrandt's militia company from nearly all others of this type. In other words, the payment of approximately 1600 guilders was about two years work, so why make the painting more complicated than necessary?

Müller divides the mass of figures into several groupings, to show three narratives. The first and simplest narrative is the act of the captain giving his lieutenant the order to march and get into formation, and leads with the two central players of Cocq and Ruytenburgh. This would agree with Cocq's own understanding of the painting, as inscribed in his album.

The second involves the three stages of loading, firing and cleaning a musket; the man dressed in red at the left loads, the figure in purple fires his musket at the lieutenant's plumed hat, and the older man cleans the pan just to the right of the lieutenant. These three figures have been related to Jacques de Gheyn II's engraved series of soldiering of 1607. Rembrandt's three musketeers are variously dressed in fancy and archaic garments and headgear, and do not handle their weapons with confidence; pertinently, the one cleaning the pan has the fuses dangerously close to the powder residue, as if an explosion is imminent.

Müller proposes that Rembrandt's goal indeed was to depict a disorganized scene with humor and irony. He suggests that the company is not reacting to Cocq's order to march in formation, but to the unexpected firing of the musket by the purple-clad musketeer. Firing the musket was forbidden during the marching out of the civic guard, so any shooting would have been unexpected and surprising.⁸ The moment represented would combine the musket shot and the anticipated marching order by Cocq.

The third narrative concerns children playing with armor or in military contexts. The children proceed from various traditions, including putti playing with the weapons of Mars in the context of making love to Venus. The running figure carrying a powder horn at the far left and the purple-clad musketeer are wearing helmets that are much too large for their heads and obscure their eyes. By identifying them as boys, Müller proposes them to be playmates of the girl in yellow and her companion dressed in blue, who is barely visible. The illuminated girl in yellow, with a chicken hanging from her belt, is easily understood as carrying the claw emblem of the Kloveniers militia guild. However, as Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann observed, children participated in *rederijker* and militia company processions as emblems of a company or personifications of an allegorical concept.⁹

8 Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, *Rembrandt: The Nightwatch*, Princeton 1982, S. 85; see further J. Bruyn u. a., *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, I–V, Dordrecht 1982, III, 456, cat. A 146.

9 Haverkamp-Begemann 1982 (s. Anm. 5), S. 96.

Additionally, ancient models provided the poses for Cocq and the purple-clad musketeer, as the *Apollon Belvedere* and the *Borghese Gladiator*. The setting and general arrangement are related to Raphael's *School of Athens*, with a central archway forming the backdrop. Strong light patches illuminate certain figures, as the gold chicken girl, various heads, the drummer at left, and Cocq and Ruytenbach at center. The *Nightwatch* is a summation of Rembrandt's interest in the immediacy of gesture and movement, portraiture and illusion, actual and imagined action, and unifying chiaroscuro.

Müller identifies the red-velvet clad musket-loader as Franciscus Junius, whose 1637 and 1641 editions of *The Painting of the Ancients* in Latin and Dutch provided a literary and theoretical framework for Dutch classicism. Müller extends previous observations on Rembrandt's 1644 drawing *Satire on Art Criticism* to propose that Junius is the art critic who is too foolish to recognize Rembrandt's erudition, classical references, and painterly brilliance (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lehman Collection). This interpretation proceeds from J. A. Emmens, among others.¹⁰ Emmens' Rembrandt defies the rules of art and convention. Müller emphasizes that Rembrandt relied upon and subverted classical models. Junius, like Von Sandrart, sought to present the methodological process of art as a sequence of principles that could be taught. Rembrandt's work, rooted in observed reality, was also dependent upon theory, as Ernst van de Wetering has articulated.¹¹ Müller's Rembrandt approaches the classical tradition with intent to mock it even as he finds it essential to his visual language. Putting his achievement and acumen above all else, Rembrandt alienated the critics as much by his personality and manners as by his art. An alternate, topical and nuanced identification of the art critic as Constantijn Huygens in the 1644 drawing *Satire on Art Criticism* has been recently proposed by Paul Crenshaw, who examines the fragmentary inscriptions in more detail.¹² Huygens' publication of collected poetry in that year included seven epigrams critical of Rembrandt's portrait of Jacques de Gheyn III, which would have given Rembrandt an occasion to retaliate. Although Rembrandt implicitly presented his art in opposition to Junius, he had a personal relationship with Huygens. Either identification raises questions about the audience for the drawing, and whether it was displayed or familiar to its target.

The Rembrandt literature is so extensive that it is difficult and challenging to cover it. However, in the bibliography of Rembrandt and ancient art and culture, several omissions may be mentioned. Nicola Courtright examined Rembrandt's late drawing style with reference to literary theory.¹³ Thijs Weststeijn analyzed Samuel van Hoogstraten's art theory and practice.¹⁴ Several studies by American scholars are

10 J. A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, Amsterdam 1979.

11 E. van de Wetering, "Towards a Reconstruction of Rembrandt's Art Theory", in: Bruyn 1982, V, (s. Ann. 5), S. 3–140.

12 Paul Crenshaw, "The Catalyst for Rembrandt's Satire of Art Criticism", in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 5 (2013).

13 Nicola Courtright, "Origins and Meanings of Rembrandt's Late Drawing Style", in: *Art Bulletin*, 78, 1996, S. 485–510.

14 Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World. Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, Amsterdam 2008.

anticipating and corroborating Müller's analysis of the *Nightwatch* as a scene of chaos: Margaret Carroll pointed out that the musketeer cleaning his musket after firing it is in danger of setting off an explosion of the powder residue.¹⁵ Rather than crediting Rembrandt with unifying heterogeneous elements in this painting, Carroll proposed that he was creating confusion by the musket firing which startled the men. Harry Berger analyzed the militia company as a male cohort with homosocial rivalry, depicted with humor and a jumble of activity.¹⁶

This review has not touched on all issues raised by this book, which certainly is a major contribution to rhetorical theory in the visual arts and Rembrandt studies. Rembrandt combines observation and erudition with imagination, and challenges the viewer to sort out the mix. His selection of models may add layers of allusion, but does not determine the visual result. For Müller's Rembrandt, this is a rich blend of the rhetorical, visual, and ironical.

AMY GOLAHNY

Lycoming College, Williamsport, USA

15 Margaret D. Carroll, "Accidents will Happen: The Case of the *Nightwatch*", in: *Rethinking Rembrandt*, hrsg. von Alan Chong and Michael Zell, Zwolle 2002, S. 91–106.

16 Harry Berger, Jr., *Marriage, Manhood, & Mischief*, New York 2007.



Rolf Aurich und Ralf Forster (Hrsg.); Wie der Film unsterblich wurde. Vorakademische Filmwissenschaft in Deutschland; München: edition text + kritik 2015; 417 S., s/w-Abb; ISBN 978-3-86916-407-6; € 39

Die Zeiten für Filmliteratur waren bereits günstiger, und gerade in den letzten zehn Jahren sind Veröffentlichungen mit dezidiert filmhistorischer Ausrichtung eher selten geworden im deutschsprachigen Kontext. Umso erfreulicher, dass mit dem von Rolf Aurich und Ralf Forster herausgegebenen Band *Wie der Film unsterblich wurde. Vorakademische Filmwissenschaft in Deutschland* nun die erste Veröffentlichung der Reihe *Filmerbe* vorliegt, die sich offensichtlich nicht nur um die Filmgeschichtsschreibung in einem primären Sinne, sondern auch um die Geschichte der Filmgeschichtsschreibung bemüht.

Der Band geht von einer heute als tragisch einzustufenden Prämisse aus: Als sich das Medium Film im frühen 20. Jahrhundert etablierte, war ein Bewusstsein, dessen Artefakte auch zu bewahren und zu pflegen, noch nicht ausgeprägt oder gar institutionalisiert. Es fehlte an jenen Einrichtungen, die heute für den Erhalt des Filmerbes Sorge tragen: an Filmarchiven, Instituten, Museen, temporären Ausstellungen, akademischen Studiengängen und schließlich auch an Verlagen für Filmlitera-