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The Animation of Cinema

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Abstract: This essay (originally published in *THE SEMIOTIC REVIEW OF BOOKS* VOLUME 18.2 2008, republished here with permission) seeks to resurrect the name, work and extraordinary achievements of the most significant pioneering film animator at best marginalized, at worst effaced, by English language Film Studies and Animation Studies. Even the outstanding animation scholar Donald Crafton, in his canonical text *Before Mickey: The Animated Film 1898-1928*, treats Emile Reynaud as not an animator, situating the advent of animation in 1898, six years after Reynaud began to present his Théâtre Optique at the Musée Grévin in Paris to what would eventually be 500,000 spectators, including arguably the Lumière Bros, as monographs in French on Reynaud propose. The essay continues the author's work on the theorising of animation begun with his Introduction to and essay *"Who Framed Roger Rabbit*, or The Framing of Animation" in *The Illusion of Life: Essays on Animation*, the world's first anthology of scholarly essays theorising animation and from "poststructuralist" and "postmodernist" perspectives, published by Power Publications and the Australian Film Commission in 1991 and edited by him. His essay won the 2010 McLaren-Lambart Award for Best Essay from the Society for Animation Studies.

Keywords: Emile Reynaud; Théâtre Optique; animation; cinema

Editor's Preface

In both his Introduction and his essay in *The Illusion of Life*, Cholodenko proposed the radical idea that not only is animation a form of film, film, all film, film "as such", is a form of animation, cinema, by definition, included—a claim informing his many publications over 31 years theorising animation. Moreover, his "The Animation of Cinema" takes off from that Introduction, essay and claim both historically and theoretically, even as it returns to his specific claim in that Introduction regarding the historical marginalization and neglect of animation by Film Studies, including of Emile Reynaud:

> If one may think of animation as a form of film, its neglect would be both extraordinary and predictable. It would be extraordinary insofar as a claim can be made that animation film not only preceded the advent of cinema but engendered it; that the development of all those nineteenth century technologies —optical toys, studies in persistence of vision, the projector, the celluloid strip, etc.—but for photography was to result in their combination/ synthesizing in the animatic apparatus of Emile Reynaud's Théâtre Optique of 1892; that, inverting the conventional wisdom, cinema might then be thought of as animation's "step-child."

Another key aspect of 'The Animation of Cinema' is that, prompted by his phrase 'but for photography' (as quoted above) in his Introduction, it offered Cholodenko the chance to address photography not in terms of Reynaud's historical achievement with his Théâtre Optique but in terms of the theory of photography vis-à-vis the relation of animation to cinema. Cholodenko argues, based on his essay on the theory of drawing and of drawing's relation to animation, "The Illusion of the Beginning: A Theory of Drawing and Animation," that the *graph* (writing/drawing) of the photo-*graph* makes it a form of drawing and that drawing and animation are coimplicated, drawing a form of animation and animation a form of drawing, and that both the graph and animation are anterior and superior to the photo-graph as but one mode of the graph and that defines live action cinema as but one mode of animation.

The consequence of Cholodenko's retheorising, here and in other of his essays, of film as a form of animation is to reanimate Film Studies as a form of Animation Studies, film theory as a form of animation theory—film, Film Studies and film theory each reanimated as the special case, the reduced, conditional form, of animation, Animation Studies and animation theory, respectively.

– Paul Manning

‘Animation—it’s the big thing in cinema these days’.

I

That’s what my 91-year old aunt in New Jersey said on the phone to me in Sydney on February 4th of last year! What I didn’t then tell her was that, for us, animation is never not ‘the big thing in film’, that every encounter with film is an encounter with animation—cinema, that is, live action film, included. Thus, for us, it is not the case that only recently, with the advent of digital animation, film became animation. For us, film has never not been animation.

This is the key premise from which this article takes off, a key premise binding many of my publications on animation—that not only is animation a form of film, film, all film, film ‘as such’, is a form of animation. For us, animation has not only never not animated cinema, animation is never not haunting, strangely returning to and reanimating it, film, Film Studies and film theory as cinema animation, film animation, film animation studies and film animation theory—even though it—animation—goes unperceived, unexamined, unacknowledged. Put simply, for us animation is the first, last and enduring attraction of cinema, of film.

And animation in its contemporary form, most especially computer generated animation (as well as *anime*), has driven that notion—that all film is a form of animation—‘home’ with a vengeance, returning animation to what it never left nor never left it, foregrounding animation as the very ‘core’ of contemporary cinema, indeed the very ‘core’ of contemporary mass hypermediated, immediated culture—of ‘animation culture’, to use Lev Manovich’s (2006) term—even as it—animation—has for us never not been the very ‘core’ of cinema and culture ‘as such’, indeed not just of culture ‘as such’ but of world ‘as such’, universe ‘as such’—animation world, animation universe.

Granted all that, the marginalisation, the effacement, of animation by Film Studies (and other disciplines) has made of animation its (and their) ‘blind spot’ (Cholodenko 2007c). But this very making of animation as ‘blind spot’ has brought to the fore another, quite different, sense of ‘blind spot’ and of animation as ‘blind spot’. In *this* sense, blind spot is that entity that is at once unseen, in fact is never seen, but that allows one to see, is the very condition of possibility of ‘sight’—the blindness that makes sight at once possible and impossible. In such a light, animation becomes the blind spot of the blind spot, the blind spot ‘as such’. No longer something Film Studies, or anything or anybody, for that matter, does not *wish* to see but rather can *not*, can *never*, see, wish to or not. Which means one cannot see animation as such, cannot see life as such nor motion as such[1] nor

what animates them—the animation/animating of animation/animating. Indeed, for us not only can one not see them, there is no *as such* to them, necessitating quotation marks around 'as such' whenever they are so referenced. Moreover, that blind spot makes seeing anything or anyone as such, including seeing oneself as such, much less seeing oneself seeing oneself—the very premise of self-reflexivity, of auto-reflection— impossible per se.

In the course of this article I will offer some snapshots of key historical, historiographical and theoretical aspects and implications of the proposition that cinema is a form of animation, is never not animation. Of course, for us these historical, historiographical and theoretical components are necessarily commingled, inextricably so, even as they are inescapably speculative, too, especially given what we have said of the blind spot of the blind spot—the very object of our speculations—and the *as such*. Their implication is that one cannot determine or finalize upon a pure origin for animation, including for film, indeed for anything and everything that animation animates.

With this caveat in mind, I will proceed to my proposition: cinema is a form of animation, is never not animation.

II

Here history and historiography are called for at the outset.

An often cited recent expression of this point that cinema is a form of animation is Lev Manovich's assertion: 'Born from animation, cinema pushed animation to its periphery, only in the end [digital cinema] to become one particular case of animation' (Manovich 2001, 2002: 302).

Although Manovich is, unfortunately, the only one I find being cited for this proposition in recent times, he is not the only one nor the first one to publish the claim that all film is a form of animation. I made it the first key point of my Introduction to *The Illusion of Life*, published in 1991, that is 10 years earlier than he—stating that not only is animation a form of film, film, all film, film 'as such', is a form of animation.[2]

Which already means I need to qualify Manovich's claim: for me, the 'in the end' to which Manovich refers is always already in the beginning.

Here it is crucial to state in turn that I am not the first to claim that film per se is a form of animation.

Writing in 1973 of Emile Reynaud, acclaimed animator Alexandre Alexeïeff stated:

> It is certain that the invention of 'cinema' had been patented by Reynaud who did not have enough money to sue the Lumière brothers and win.
>
> Anyhow, it is legitimate to consider cinema as a particular kind of animation, a sort of cheap, industrial substitute...which was destined to replace the creative work of an artist, such as Emile Reynaud, with photography of human models 'in movement' (Alexeïeff 1994: xix and xx).

Also that year of 1973 Ralph Stephenson declared of Reynaud:

> Whatever his absolute merits as a pure artist, there is no doubt about his place in the history of animation. He not only invented a technique, he originated a new art and was the first to develop the animated film (indeed the cinema if by *cinema* we mean movement, not photography) into a spectacle. (Stephenson 1973: 26)

Let me add: Even earlier than Alexeïeff and Stephenson, the Japanese film and media philosopher Taihei Imamura had the same idea in his 1948 book *Theory of Animation*, positing animation as prior to and the basis of film, a positing of which Mark Driscoll tells us (Driscoll 2002: 280).

And Sergei Eisenstein made the point even earlier, between 1940 and 1943, in what would become *Eisenstein on Disney*, when he posited animation as the essence of film (Eisenstein 1988).[3]

If you are right now asking yourself 'who was Emile Reynaud?', you are making my case for me.

OK, I'll tell you. Emile Reynaud was the inventor of the Praxinoscope, the Praxinoscope Theatre and the Théâtre Optique.

But, before I proceed to my own explication of Reynaud's accomplishments, let's just see how Reynaud is known in the literature of Film Studies and animation studies.

Here are three provisos: an extensive and intensive archaeology of the treatment of Reynaud in that literature lies beyond the purview of this article; my research is largely confined to the English language literature of those fields[4]; and my research into the English language literature of Film Studies is still in process. So I can only offer this

provisional report on that literature of that field: Emile Reynaud is a name one often looks for in vain in the indexes of English language books on film history, as much in vain as one looks for the word animation![5] On those occasions when his name turns up, and it does with a certain frequency, he is positioned in the pre-history of cinema, whether he and his Praxinoscope are merely included in a list of proto-cinematic optical devices or he and the range of his inventions are given a more synoptic treatment running to a paragraph's length.

All this is only to be expected given that these texts are based on a teleology that makes cinema, that is, the photographic film, not only the goal but the measure. In such a light, his Théâtre Optique is seen as one of the proto-cinematic devices preparing the way for cinema, for the Lumière Bros., who are perennially given pride of place, the limit case of which is for me that of Dai Vaughan in her aptly titled 'Let There Be Lumière'(!), in which she likens their first public screenings to the singularity of the Big Bang! (Vaughan 1990: 63). But it is equally true even when an effort to complicate cinema's advent is undertaken, as in Roberta Pearson's 'Early Cinema' section of *The Oxford History of World Cinema* (Pearson 1996: 14). The saddest aspect of the book is that Reynaud is not to be found in the Index (nor anywhere else in it as far as I can make out), not even in the 'Tricks and Animation' section, a point to which I shall return.

At its best, the Théâtre Optique is regarded by cinema historians as as close to cinema as such a device could get without being cinema. As David Parkinson writes, Reynaud's 'charming animations…brought the cinema to the verge of existence' (Parkinson 1995: 12). The Théâtre Optique is seen by Robert Sklar as a 'screen entertainment [that] fell just short of what cinema was to provide. Only its lack of a catchy name may have kept it from enduring fame as a symbol of technological futility, like the Stanley Steamer, the steam-driven automobile that failed the challenge of the internal-combustion engine' (Sklar 1993: 18)! For Peter Cowie the Théâtre Optique is a 'recognition' (insofar as Reynaud did use photography in the later years of its operation) 'that the future belonged to photography' (Cowie 1971: 192). Noël Burch views it as 'a kind of dead end' (Burch 1990: 9). Richard Abel names it as merely one place of exhibition of film at the time of the arrival of the Lumière Bros., Méliès, Pathé, etc. (Abel 1994: 15). (Even Abel's subtitle says it all: 'French Cinema, 1896-1914'.) And then there's Eric Rhode's characterising Reynaud with these words alone: 'Emile Reynaud, who allegedly threw his machines into the Seine'! (Rhode 1976: 25). Perhaps the oddest, most poignant, moment is the index of Steve Neale's *Cinema and Technology: Image, Sound, Colour*, where the Théâtre Optique is listed but without a page locator, the only entry without one!

In such texts as these that actually mention him, there is no real analysis of nor engagement with Reynaud nor the Théâtre Optique in its own right. Rather, Reynaud is

typically marginalised, presented as an optional side dish to the main course/attraction of the Lumière Bros., just as animation itself is treated in relation to cinema. Occasionally, flattery accompanies the deriding, whether explicit or implicit, of his work as being insufficiently cinema, as it even occasionally does of animation itself. Exemplary in this regard is the treatment Reynaud receives at the hands of C.W. Ceram in the canonical text *The Archaeology of Cinema*, a text that seems to set the standard for the equivocal treatment Reynaud undergoes at best in English language histories of film that give him 'significant' treatment at all. Ceram is split, both praising and condemning Reynaud, within his larger project of diminution and marginalisation of him. Ceram writes that Reynaud's

> shows continued to draw customers long after genuine films were being offered in numerous cinemas. In fact Reynaud's moving pictures … have a curious charm to this day. Perhaps this lies in the unreality with which the somewhat phantasmal figures move through curiously dead spaces (Ceram 1965: 194).[6]

Then, countering the derogatory effect of the word 'genuine' (and of the two uses of 'curious'), he turns it around and declares: 'From a relative viewpoint, Reynaud's achievement is extraordinary. He projected genuine coloured continuous pictures at a time when no one else was doing this...'

But any significant acknowledgment of Reynaud by Ceram here is already undermined by the words 'relative viewpoint' and the fact that for Ceram Reynaud's 'genuine coloured continuous pictures' could no more count than Reynaud's 'moving pictures' as 'genuine films'!

Tellingly, when Ceram continues, he again shifts the terms and turns against any quantum of acknowledgment of Reynaud that might have accrued to this point with these words: 'But in all objectivity we must recognise that Reynaud was a mediocre draughtsman, a charming visionary, but hardly an artist...'

As for the treatment of Reynaud in the English language literature of animation studies, disappointingly, it seems in large measure no better than that of its counterpart in Film Studies. Perhaps Donald Crafton set the tone and terms for knowledge of Reynaud for animation studies in the English-speaking world, even as Crafton took his lead from Ceram's treatment of Reynaud, not Stephenson's. Nor, I would add, from Robert Russett and Cecile Starr's, who gave Reynaud this one-sentence acknowledgement in their *Experimental Animation: Origins of a New Art* (1976), on a page entitled 'A Note on the Origins of Animation':

> In the beginning all animation was experimental. It derived from Emile Reynaud's Optical Theater (1892), which, though not photographed for mass reproduction, surpassed other motion-illusion devices (such as Joseph Plateau's Phenakistiscope and Reynaud's own Praxinoscope) in its ability to depict a full story before a large audience on a larger-than-life-sized screen. (32)

The very subtitle of Crafton's pioneering and likewise canonical book *Before Mickey: The Animated Film 1898-1928* already evidences the problem, since Reynaud's Théâtre Optique premiered in 1892! Basing his analysis on Ceram, who is explicitly footnoted, Crafton dismisses all optical devices before 1895, writing 'One certainty is that animated cinema could not have existed before the cinema came into being around 1895' (6). By making animated film merely 'a subspecies of film [i.e. live action cinema] in general' (6), Crafton automatically excludes Reynaud from consideration as an animator. Indeed, he states Reynaud 'has misleadingly been called "the father of the animated cartoon"' (6). So Reynaud's work is not considered animation by Crafton. At most, Crafton declares, even as he begs the question for us (as will become clear in Part III of this paper): 'Because his apparatus utilized many general principles of cinema, and because he projected "moving pictures" to an audience, Reynaud may be justifiably considered a forerunner of cinema' (7)! Crafton then shifts the terms of his analysis to the issue of influence, suggesting:

> But his actual contribution to the history of the animated film is more romantic than real. Conceptually his programs were not far removed from nineteenth-century lantern shows, and there is no sign that his charming Pierrot plays influenced any of the early animators. Reynaud's method of drawing directly on film had little instruction to offer (7).

Let me interject: I believe one could read the famous animators Norman McLaren and Len Lye's own painting on the film strip as a rebuttal of any attempt to consider such a practice not animation, not 'true' animation, in other words as an implicit defense by them of Reynaud as animator. Crafton continues:

> It is unlikely that any of the pioneers of animation patronized his productions at the Musée Grévin (which, after all, were replaced by cinematographic projections after about 1900), or even knew of his work (7).

Given the 500,000 people who attended Reynaud's screenings over 8 years, it is hard to understand how Crafton can say it is 'unlikely' any of the pioneers of animation did so.

Indeed, for us, most of Crafton's assertions are troubling, raising serious questions about his conclusion that Reynaud is not an animator. In fact, as regards the question of influence, in his subsequent book *Emile Cohl, Caricature and Film*, Crafton modifies his position, saying of Cohl, 'It is also possible that Emile Reynaud's protocinematic "Pantomimes Lumineuses"… might have attracted him' (Crafton 1990: 91). But, and to reference again *The Oxford History of World Cinema*, in his 'Tricks and Animation' section therein, Crafton most disappointingly makes no mention whatsoever of Reynaud, asserting: 'The general history of the animated film begins with the use of transient trick effects in films around the turn of the century' (71). (I ask: what is the 'general' in 'general history'?!) So here, in this publication billing itself on the front jacket cover as 'The definitive history of cinema worldwide', Reynaud cannot get a look in either in terms of the history of the animation film or of cinema!

It seems that after Crafton's *Before Mickey*, reference to Reynaud is rare in English language books on animation, only Giannalberto Bendazzi (in translation), Paul Wells and Esther Leslie acknowledging his existence. On the other hand, it could be argued that most of what has been published since has been on subjects other than 'proto-animation', so Reynaud's absence is not a calculated and considered one. In any case, I would like to think that this article might help to initiate such a return and reconsideration, even as it serves as a recovery, indeed a reanimating, a bringing back from the dead, as it were, of Reynaud for animation studies and Film Studies, in parallel with the larger project of recovery, of reanimating, of the history of animation for animation studies, Film Studies, indeed all studies.

Thankfully, Bendazzi's 1988 Italian publication *Cartoons: Il Cinema d'Animazione 1888-1988* was translated and published in English in 1994, as *Cartoons: One Hundred Years of Cinema Animation*. With his judicious treatment and assessments of Reynaud's inventions focussed on the Théâtre Optique, Bendazzi parts company with Ceram's and Crafton's situating of Reynaud. Bendazzi acknowledges that Reynaud's were 'the first animated shows (Pantomimes lumineuses, Paris, 1892)' (Bendazzi 1994, Foreward: xv) and describes him as 'the inventor of animation' (6), whose

> unique contribution…expanded the time dimension and theoretically opened unlimited possibilities to images in rapid succession… From that time on, images…would flow, telling a story, forming a narrative movement (6).

It is here too, in the Preface to the book, that we find Alexeïeff's homage to Reynaud as inventor not only of the animation film but of 'cinema' as a form of it.[7]

As for Wells, to his credit, in his Introduction to *Understanding Animation* (1998), he references Stephenson's claim, even quoting Stephenson's laudatory assessment word for word. At the same time, it is unclear as to whether Wells himself subscribes to Stephenson's assessment, for up to his quotation Wells categorises Reynaud's Théâtre Optique as 'protocinema', does not appear to consider it animation and thinks the 'most significant point' re: the Théâtre Optique is one of industry, not of art.[8] In 2002, Wells appears to modify his position, situating Reynaud under the term 'proto-animation' in his Glossary in *Animation: Genre and Authorship*. Wells here states that Reynaud's 'Theatre [sic] Optique…may claim to be the first proper mechanism to project seemingly animated images on to a screen' (Wells 2002: 136). The word 'seemingly' however goes unexplained. In any case, with this publication Wells acknowledges Reynaud's doubly progenitive nature—proto-cinema, proto-animation—even though, unlike Stephenson, Alexeïeff and Bendazzi, he hesitates to name Reynaud animator.

As for Leslie, she refers to Reynaud in her *Hollywood Flatlands: Animation, Critical Theory and the Avant-Garde* (2002). However, she treats him cursorily, surprisingly even failing to state explicitly that the Théâtre Optique was not only screened for 'family and friends' (3) but for a public audience eventually numbering 500,000, with other key details related to that, to say nothing of postulating that Reynaud's role was key in the animating of animation film. Instead of being foregrounded by Leslie, he seems largely enmeshed in the weave of the opening pages of her text, where Emile Cohl, Etienne-Jules Marey and others have a larger presence.

Here I must add that Manovich, in *The Language of New Media*, takes up Reynaud's Praxinoscope Theatre of 1879, but misdates it 1892, suggesting he means rather Reynaud's Théâtre Optique. Yet his description seems to suit the Praxinoscope Theatre better, especially given that his following paragraph is on 'cinema's most immediate predecessors' and their use of looping. Yet here, where we would expect Reynaud and his Théâtre Optique to be addressed, even granted privileged address, they are missing. Reynaud's singular contribution is disappointingly overlooked by Manovich as well as Leslie.

So even while many books on animation do not reference Reynaud, even among those that do, a number give Reynaud far less acknowledgment than for us he deserves. In sum, where Reynaud is considered at all, one largely tends to find film scholars in English-language publications situating Reynaud as not a filmmaker, or not a 'true', 'genuine' filmmaker, rather as a precursor to film, to cinema: as proto-cinematic. And animation scholars in English-language publications do likewise for their own 'discipline', situating him as not an animator, or not a 'true', 'genuine' animator, at best as a precursor to animation: as proto-animation.

So, even as Reynaud suffered an historical marginalisation, even effacement, by cinema and its practitioners, exemplary of what cinema and its practitioners did to animation itself, the English language literature of Film Studies so far researched and the English language literature of animation studies have in large measure doubled that. This leads me to propose that, even as animation has been marginalized, even effaced, by Film Studies, so Reynaud appears to me the most marginalised, most effaced, singular figure in the history of cinema and animation, in not only Film Studies but animation studies. His contribution has in large measure gone unacknowledged, or too little acknowledged. In those books positing him as 'proto-cinematic' or 'proto-animation', at best Reynaud is treated like Moses, a leader who brings his people to the Promised Land but cannot cross over into it himself.

Yet for us something of him must cross over within, with and without those who do. He is in other words for us a figure of the border, of the boundary; and such a figure is always troubling, including to the thinking and placing of it. For us, such a figure is privileged in animation, for it is an in-betweener.[9] An in-betweener like the spectre; and for me Reynaud is a singular spectre, a spectre turning the proto- into the protean, and ghosting, like the figures in his *Pantomimes Lumineueses*, not only animation but cinema, even as that spectre ghosts animation studies and Film Studies.[10] His work would thus be for us at once both proto-animation film and animation film, neither simply proto-animation film nor animation film, at the same time, and both proto-cinema and cinema, neither simply proto-cinema nor cinema, at the same time, singularly instituting animation film and cinema, singularly instituting all film as a form of animation.

So it is not surprising, and for a number of reasons, that Reynaud is not well known in the English-speaking world, and that is even as the animator of the animated film. Yet, as my words have just indicated, for me, as for Alexeïeff and Stephenson, Reynaud did more than that with his Théâtre Optique: he animated not only the animated film but cinema (Image 1).

Image 1. REYNAUD WITH THÉÂTRE OPTIQUE

Not that there could be a sole animator of cinema, but that he is privileged, indeed singular, in his relation to it. It was his apparatus that led me to claim in my Introduction to *The Illusion of Life* that

> animation film not only preceded the advent of cinema but engendered it; that the development of all those nineteenth century technologies— optical toys, studies in persistence of vision, the projector, the celluloid strip, etc.—*but for photography* was to result in their combination/ synthesizing in the animation apparatus of Emile Reynaud's Théâtre Optique of 1892; that, inverting the conventional wisdom [that animation was cinema's step-child, its most inferior form, as child to cinema's adult (that is, if it belonged to cinema at all)], cinema might then be thought of as animation's "step-child" (Cholodenko 1991: 9-10).[11]

Such an inversion makes cinema never not a 'particular case of animation' and Film Studies as cinema studies never not a particular case therefore of animation studies.

Securing his patent for the Théâtre Optique on 14 January 1889, Reynaud started his projections of what Ceram in *Archaeology of the Cinema* calls Reynaud's 'living pictures' in the Cabinet Fantastique

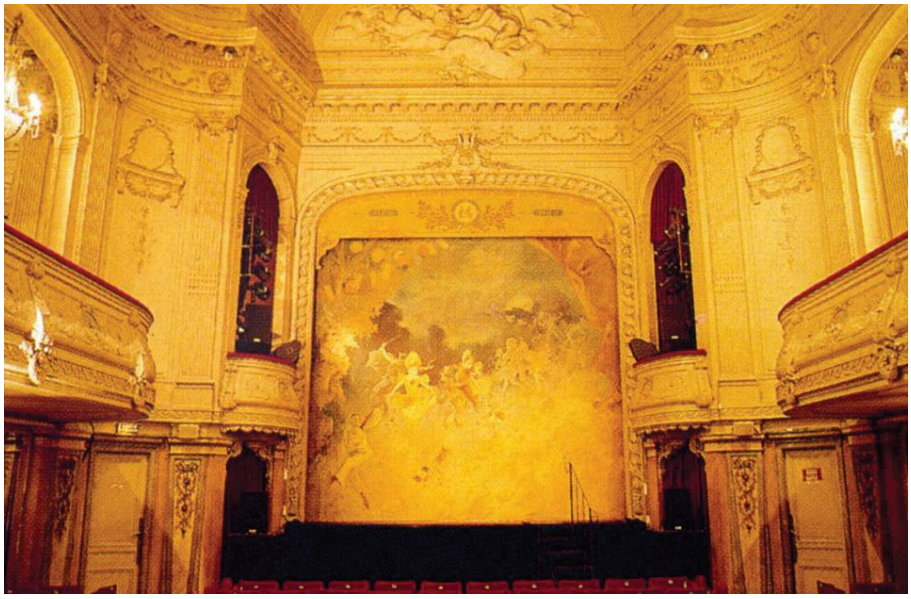


Image 2. INTERIOR OF THE CABINET

of the Musée Grévin in Paris on 28 October 1892, eventually screening his Théâtre Optique 12,800 times to over 500,000 spectators, as I indicated, until the closing performance on 28 February 1900.[12]

If you look closely at this image of the exterior of the Musée Grévin, you can see the Jules Chéret poster for what Reynaud called his ‘Pantomimes Lumineuses’ on the left.

Image 3. EXTERIOR SHOT OF MUSÉE WITH POSTER ON LEFT

Here is a close-up of the poster.

Image 4. PANTOMIMES LUMINEUSES POSTER

Reynaud's projections consisted of short films (at least 10 minutes long) of little narratives composed of coloured drawings rear projected onto a screen for a public audience.

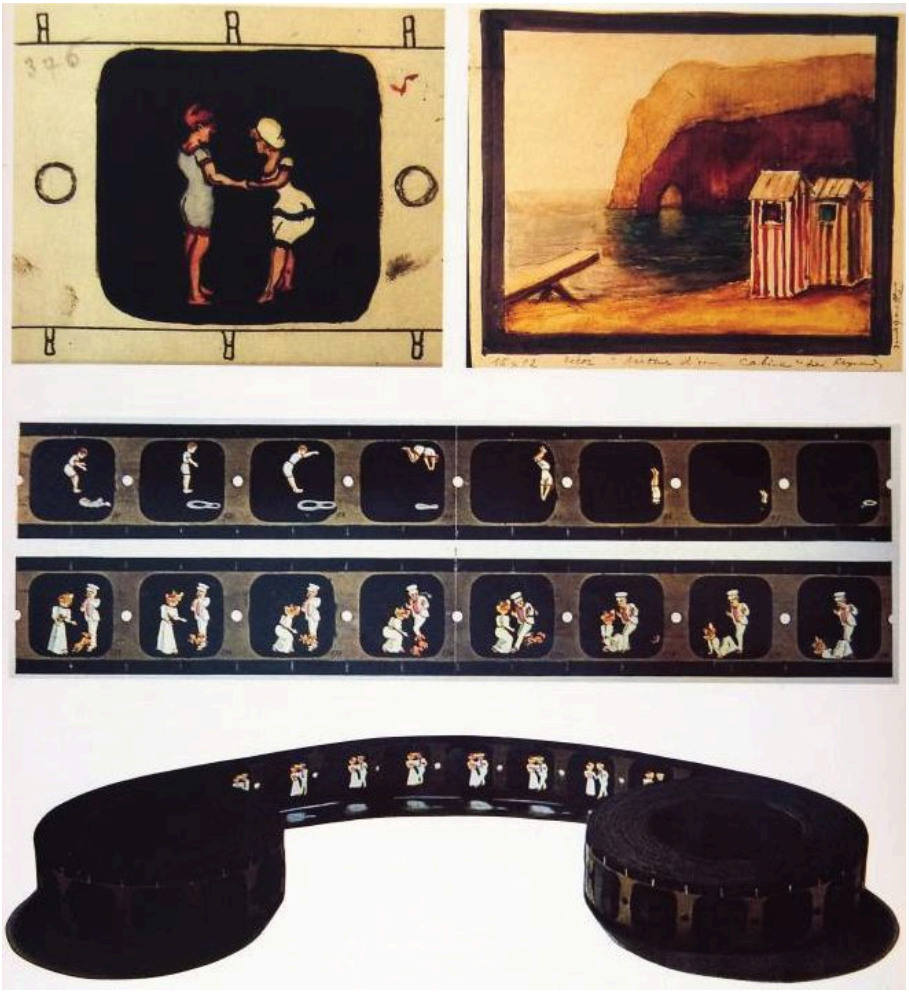


Image 5. IMAGE OF FILM BANDS

The drawings were on transparent celluloid bands,[13] each frame separated from the next by a perforated hole that worked with a pin on the metallic spool, this great wheel, to move the films forward and backward, its perforated hole/pin device nominated by famous French film historian Georges Sadoul 'the first form of film without which the cinema would have only been a dream of an imaginative and romantic inventor' (Sadoul 1945: 18) and claimed by Paul Reynaud to have been 'appropriated' by the Lumière Bros. from his father for their Cinématographe (Reynaud 1945: 31),[14] which had its public premiere on 28 December 1895, three years and two months after that of Reynaud's Théâtre Optique.

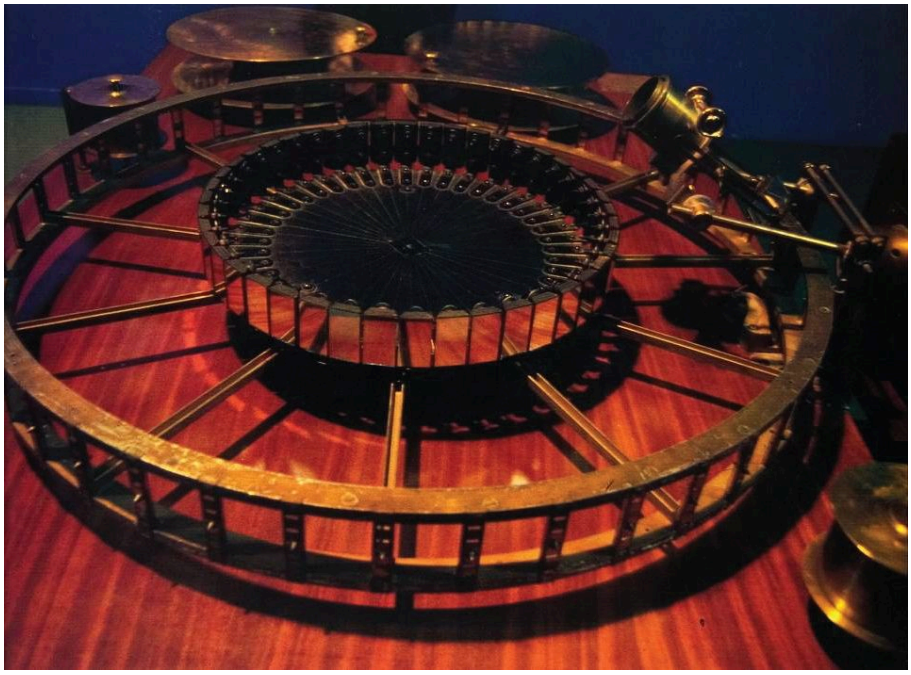


Image 6. IMAGE OF GREAT WHEEL

Indeed, Dominique Auzel relates that in January or February 1894 the Lumière Bros. requested the favour of watching Reynaud backstage operating his apparatus, as well as reiterates Maurice Noverre's anecdote that they were given a complete demonstration of it in his factory, compelling Reynaud later to comment that 'these men came a little too often to see these apparatuses' (Auzel 1992: 60-62).[15] So clearly the argument is made that Reynaud influenced the Lumière Bros., an influence they themselves never acknowledged. A question arises: is it possible that with such a wide use of the term 'animated', the Lumières' avoidance of the term in their own publicity, their printed programs, etc., was a feint to try to mask their relation to Reynaud and the Théâtre Optique, even as their published statements appear to have always avoided naming Reynaud?![16] One other point: in Reynaud's 1 December 1888 patent application for the Théâtre Optique, he states: 'les poses [successive] peuvent être dessinées à la main ou imprimées par un procédé quelconque de reproduction, en noir ou en couleurs, ou obtenues d'après nature *par la Photographie*'. ['The successive poses can be drawn by hand or printed by a process whatever of reproduction, in black or in colours, or obtained after nature *by Photography*'.] (Reynaud 1945: 58) Which means that Reynaud envisioned his device projecting not only drawn but photographic images, and he could have brought legal action against the Lumière Bros. (and Edison) for patent infringement.

Here's another image of Reynaud's Théâtre Optique.

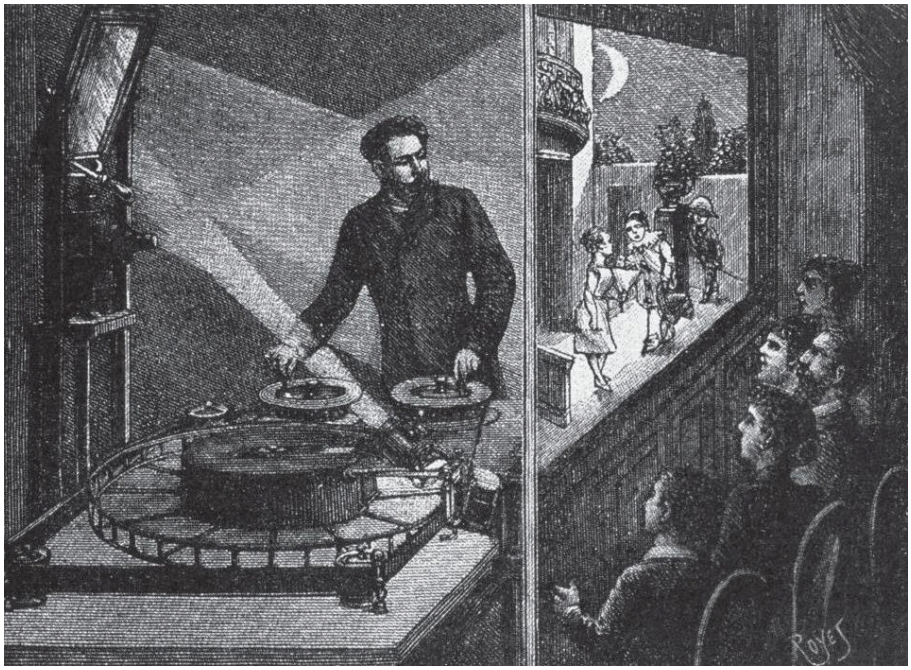


Image 7. SECOND IMAGE OF THE THÉÂTRE OPTIQUE

For me, Reynaud and his animating apparatus face two ways at once: back toward earlier animating devices than his Théâtre Optique, including philosophers' toys, including his own, the Praxinoscope and Praxinoscope Theatre—indeed back to the beginning of devices that offer the illusion of life and the life of illusion (including automata and automata theatres, Robertson's Fantasmagorie of the 1790s, etc.—all that Ceram excludes from the prehistory of cinema[17])—and forward toward cinema, the Cinématographe (name the Lumière Bros. gave their device but serving for us as general term for the cinematic apparatus), device that for me likewise animates the illusion of life and life of illusion.[18]

That Reynaud believed that what he was making was animation was there for all to see, Reynaud foregrounding the key term 'animated' in his publicity for his work. The term passes from his advertisements for his 1877 Praxinoscope— 'animated subjects' and 'subjects animated in colours' in one ad and 'the Praxinoscope animates drawings', this 'optical toy producing the illusion of movement' in another—to his ad for his 1879 Praxinoscope Theatre— 'curious animated scenes'—to his ad for his 1880 Projecting Praxinoscope— 'animated projections' and 'subjects animating themselves'—to his vignette publicitaire for his 1892 Théâtre Optique —'animated scenes'—to his later program for his Théâtre Optique— 'animated projections'.

Médaille de Bronze
PARIS

Exposition Universelle 1889

LE PRAXINOSCOPE

SUJETS ANIMÉS EN COULEURS

Médaille d'Argent
PARIS

Exposition Internle 1879

100.000

APPAREILS VENDUS

ER
PARIS

MARQUE DE FABRIQUE

Inventé par E. Reynaud, le **PRAXINOSCOPE** est universellement connu. Son succès n'a cessé de s'affirmer et il est resté le jouet d'optique classique, à la fois instructif et récréatif. Il offre la plus agréable distraction pour les soirées de la famille.

Le **Praxinoscope** est fabriqué sur **petit pied**, sur **grand pied** et sur **pied à manette**. Par sa simplicité et la facilité de regarder en même temps tout autour, il convient surtout pour les jeunes gens et fillettes qu'il charme et captive par le naturel et la variété de ses sujets animés, et qui trouvent un agréable passe-temps à montrer à leurs jeunes camarades les effets si curieux du mouvement de tous les personnages. Il s'éclaire très bien le soir simplement à l'aide d'une bougie et d'un abat-jour.

INSTRUCTION

Monter l'appareil sur son pied et piquer le **bougeoir** sur l'extrémité de la broche. Placer une bande dans la couronne en **fixant les extrémités contre la barrette.** Tourner l'appareil avec une vitesse modérée.

EXTRAITS DE QUELQUES REVUES SCIENTIFIQUES, ETC. :

« Le **Praxinoscope** produit l'illusion animée au centre d'un « prisme de glaces, avec un éclat, une netteté, une douceur de « mouvements remarquables. Il forme un jouet d'optique « récréatif et gracieux. »

G. TISSANDIER. (*La Nature*, année 1878).

« Le **Praxinoscope** fonctionne aussi bien le soir que le « jour. L'illusion produite par ce jouet scientifique est « très complète et très curieuse. on ne saurait trop féliciter « M. Reynaud de si bien appliquer ses connaissances de la « physique à la confection d'un instrument qui est tout à la « fois un appareil d'optique et un charmant objet de divertis- « sement.

G. TISSANDIER. (*La Nature*, année 1879).

« Dans le **Praxinoscope** l'inventeur a modifié l'ancien jouet « d'une manière très heureuse. Il maintient la vivacité des « couleurs et rend les sujets animés parfaitement visibles « pour toutes les personnes placées autour du jouet. L'illusion « est complète. »

(Magasin Pittoresque).

« Le **Praxinoscope** est un jouet d'optique intéressant et « récréatif. M. Reynaud a composé, pour les divers modèles, « une collection variée de sujets, dont la plupart reproduisent « les jeux mêmes de l'enfance et qui sont une source d'obser- « vations instructives, en même temps qu'un agréable délas- « sement dans les soirées de famille. »

E. O. LAMI. *(Dictionnaire encyclopédique).*

APPAREIL NOUVEAU
du même Inventeur

LE STÉRÉO-CINÉMA

(BREVETÉ S. G. D. G.)
Modèle d'Amateur

Photographie animée en RELIEF et en Couleurs

89.8.5 Imp. Bouchy et Cie. 11, rue Hélène (17e

Image 8. SUJETS ANIMÉS

Image 9. JOUET D'OPTIQUE

Image 10. PRAXINOSCOPE-THÉÂTRE

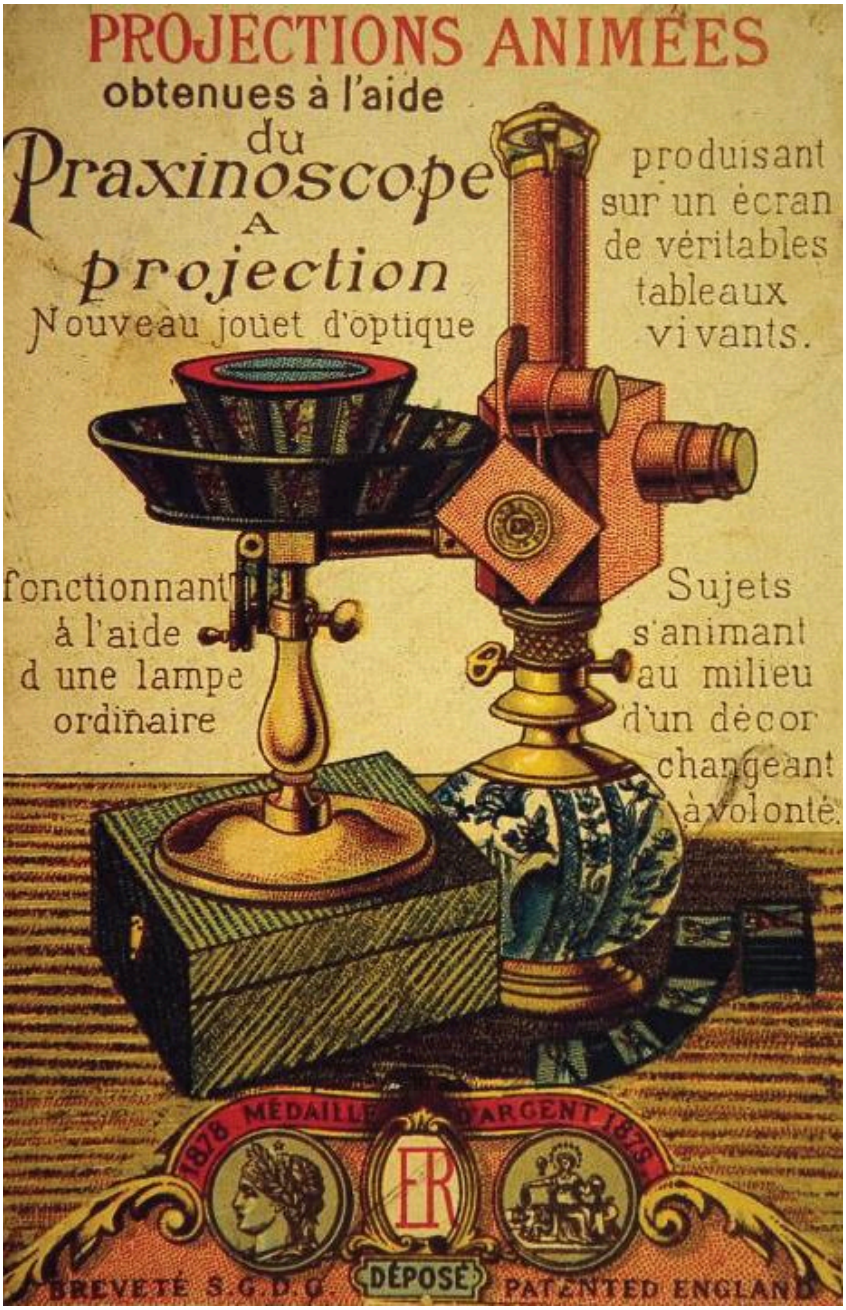


Image 11. PROJECTIONS ANIMÉES

Image 12. APPAREIL NOUVEAU

Image 13. POSTER MUSÉE GRÉVIN

And crucially for our thematic, Reynaud's key term 'animated' passes on to the likewise key term '*animated photographs*', a term by which *cinema was in its earliest years known*, at least in France, England and England's colonies.

If space allowed, I would have deconstructed this highly charged term—*animated photographs*—in a manner more ample than the following simple schematic, which nonetheless serves: animation—as animated graphics, i.e. animated drawings (animated writings, too)—subsumes cinema—as animated *photo*-graphics, a subcategory of graphics, which predication is also marked in the familiar term *cinemato*-graphy, which Jacques Derrida explicitly names as a form of the graph as writing (Derrida 1976: 9). Insofar as the photo-*graph* is a particular case of the graph, the writing/drawing with light, and the cinemato-*graph* is a particular case of the graph, the writing/drawing with motion

(kinema, kinesis) in the case of the photograph, animation englobes and subsumes both, writing/drawing with life and motion, the life and motion of anything and everything.

So, in reply to Film Studies' expelling of animation from its domain as not a form of film but rather a form of the graphic, we would say, yes, animation is a form of the graphic. But *so too* is cinema, meaning Film Studies erred and errs in regarding cinema as not a form of the graphic!, form of writing and drawing, including as Derrida treats of the graph, and I do after Derrida in my articles '*Who Framed Roger Rabbit*, or the Framing of Animation' and 'The Illusion of the Beginning: A Theory of Drawing and Animation'.[19]

Put simply, animation subsumes cinema. Cinema is a form of animation, a special case, the reduced, conditional form, of animation! And Reynaud's Théâtre Optique is privileged examplar of this subsuming by animation of cinema, its animated graphics projected to a theatre audience chronologically anterior to and logically and grammatologically subtending, theoretically modelling, to say nothing of possibly directly historically influencing, the animation of animated photographs by the Lumière Bros. and their avatars.

To which we would add the correlative point: such a turn means that animation can no longer be marginalised by Film Studies in the other and patronising way it adopted toward it, regarding it as the lowest, least significant, form of cinema, of film.

Here let me draw your attention to some images that inscribe animation in the early history of cinema, images that mark their makers as animators, what they made as animations, and their exhibitors as showcasing animation.

First, England and its colonies. Here is a British ad for Robert W. Paul's Theatrograph for December 1st, 1896. It reads: 'Animated Photographs'.

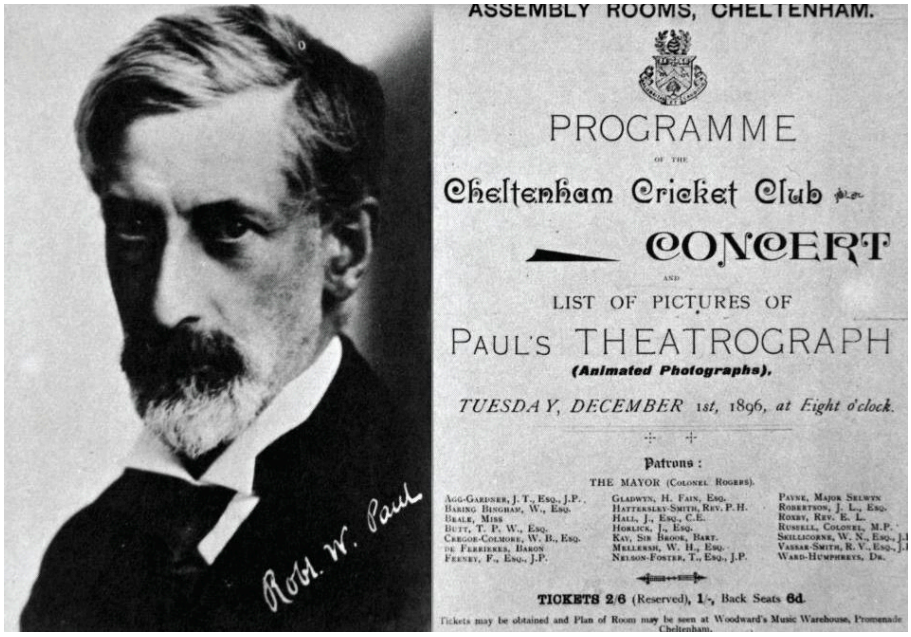


Image 14. PAUL'S THEATROGRAPH

Here is the exterior of the Egyptian Hall in London, where in 1896 David Devant introduced Paul's Theatrograph—renamed, significantly for our purposes, Animatograph—into his magic show. Note the words: 'IMPROVED ANIMATED PHOTOGRAPHS. THE FINEST IN LONDON'.

Image 15. EXTERIOR EGYPTIAN HALL

An observation is called for at this point: insofar as Paul's term *animatograph* marks for me the inextricable deconstructive coimplication of the graph and animation—at once the writing/drawing of animation and the animation of writing/drawing—whose deconstructive coimplications I elaborate after Derrida in *'Who Framed Roger Rabbit*, or the Framing of Animation' and 'The Illusion of The Beginning' and whose forms I nominate there as the graphematic and the animatic—and insofar as Reynaud's Théâtre Optique actualises that coimplication in its performance, the Théâtre Optique could have been called by that name, *animatograph*, subsuming the cinematographic in the animatographic.

For me, drawing needs to be thought in the widest, most challenging, most complex ways, through the graphematic and the animatic.[20] The coimplication of writing/drawing—

as the graphematic—and animation—as the animatic—means that writing/ drawing is a form of animation and animation is a form of writing/drawing. As privileged example of this coimplication, Reynaud's Théâtre Optique animates drawings, drawing them forth and at the same time withdrawing them, indeed drawing them forth in withdrawing them and withdrawing them in drawing them forth, in all the modes of drawing I delineate in those articles, including at the level of the animatographic, indeed animatic, apparatus, according to the logic of both the graphematic and the animatic, animating his charming, enchanting, seductive *Pantomimes Lumineuses* thereby for his theatre audiences.

What is consequential upon that deconstructive coimplication of the graphematic and the animatic in the *animatographic* is that, in turning photographs into animated photographs, that is, *cinema*, animation doubles itself as the actualised animation by film of the virtual animation always already in the photograph as form of the graph. So that now, instead of continuing to think that animation engendered, that is, animated, cinema *but for photography*, we can think that animation animated cinema *including photography*, including the animation in photography, for photography is a form of animation which animation reanimated as cinema.

It must here be noted that this would constitute a correction of the distinction Stephenson draws in our quote of him between cinema as movement (hence animation for him) and cinema as photography (hence not animation for him), such correction enabled by our locating of movement (hence animation) in the photograph.

So for all those film theorists who, like Siegfried Kracauer, make, writes Dudley Andrew, 'photography…the first and basic ingredient of cinema' (Andrew 1976:111), and that would include for us that other famous 'realist' film theorist André Bazin, we would propose that there are two key ingredients *before* photography including, and subsuming, it: graphics and animation, each for us coimplicated in the other, inextricably. Photography is a form of animation, of the animatographic, indeed, of the animatic, a proposition I develop not only in 'The Illusion of the Beginning' but in my 'Still Photography?'.

In this regard, although Gilles Deleuze in *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image* says the photogram is immobile and what cinema gives us is not the photogram but rather an intermediate image, he seems at the same time to imply that the photogram is not absolutely immobile but rather a small duration of time and movement. We would say the photogram (the film still) animates and is animated by that small duration.[21]

Here is an Egyptian Hall poster introducing John Neville Maskelyne's Mutagraph, patented 1897. Maskelyne was Director of the Hall. It reads: 'ANIMATED PHOTOGRAPHS… THE FIRST AND [again] FINEST IN LONDON'.

Image 16. EGYPTIAN HALL POSTER

Here is the first film poster in Australia, Carl Hertz's of 1896. It reads at the top: 'THE GREATEST ATTRACTION OF THE CENTURY'. And at the bottom: 'ANIMATED PHOTOGRAPHS IN NATURAL COLORS'. As far as I have been able to determine, it was Paul's Animatograph he bought and brought, not the Lumière Bros' Cinématographe! So this is a case of fraudulent advertising!

Image 17. CARL HERTZ

Here is Charles Urban's Trading Company in London in 1900, distributing Georges Méliès' Star Films to the world. The window reads: 'MANUFACTURERS AND EXPORTERS OF ALL REQUISITES PERTAINING TO ANIMATED PHOTOGRAPHY'.

Image 18. CHARLES URBAN

And here are a few images from France.

First, an 1896 poster for ‘L’ALÉTHORAMA’. From the Greek meaning the sight of truth, of aletheia. It reads, compellingly, for us: ‘Le Monde animé PAR L’ALÉTHORAMA’. [‘The World animated by the Aléthorama’].

Image 19. LE MONDE ANIMÉ PAR L'ALÉTHORAMA

Second, an 1899 poster for the Gioscope. Here again: 'PHOTOGRAPHIES ANIMÉES'. Note the image typical for the period of the train entering the station.

Image 20. LE GIOSCOPE

Third, a 1900 poster for Auguste Baron's Biophonographe. Again (though it is hard to make out in the light beam of the projector): 'PHOTOGRAPHIE ANIMÉE ET PARLANTE'.

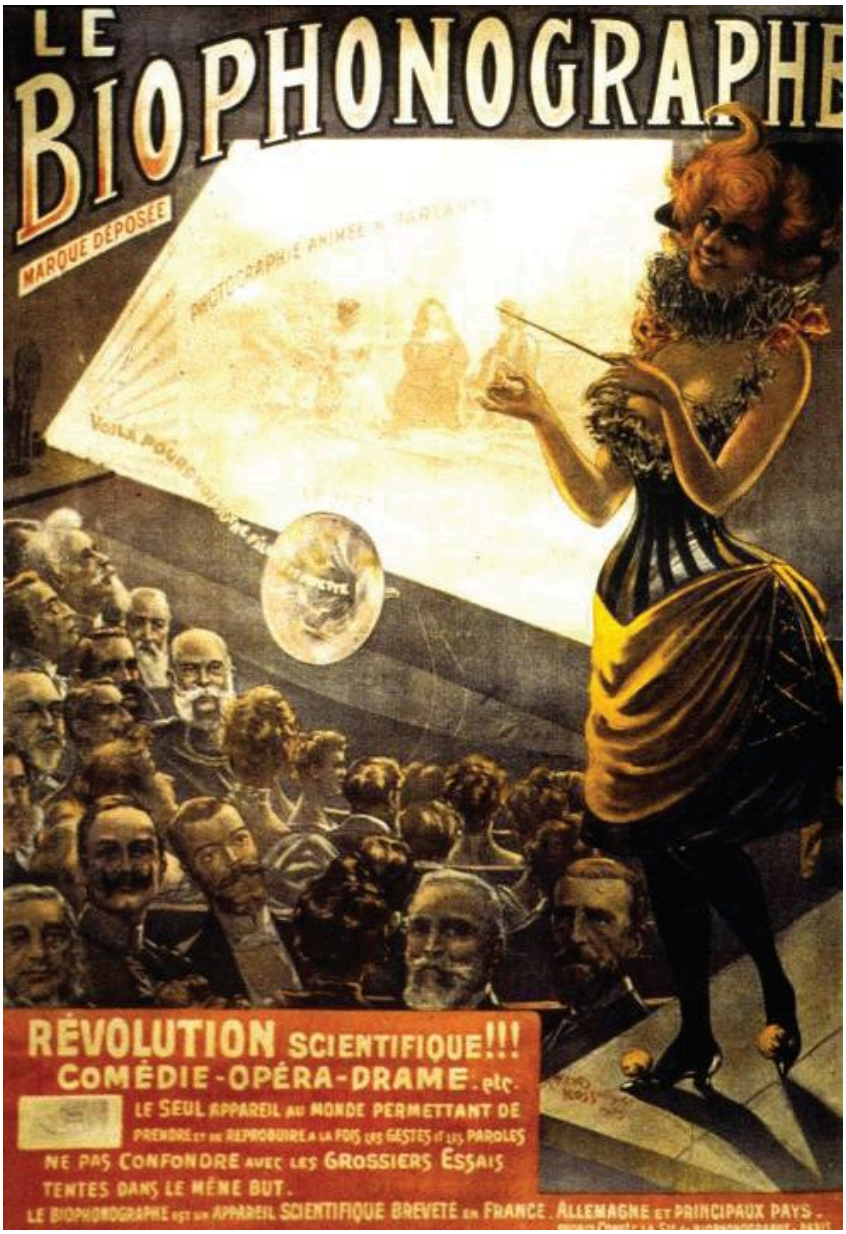


Image 21. LE BIOPHONOGRAPHE

Lastly, an ad for Raoul Grimoin-Sanson's Ballon Cinéorama for the 1900 World's Fair in Paris. It reads: 'LA GRANDE ATTRACTION NOUVELLE', with 'PROJECTIONS PANORAMIQUES ANIMÉES' written on the balloon.[22] Unfortunately, it didn't 'get off the ground' as a project.

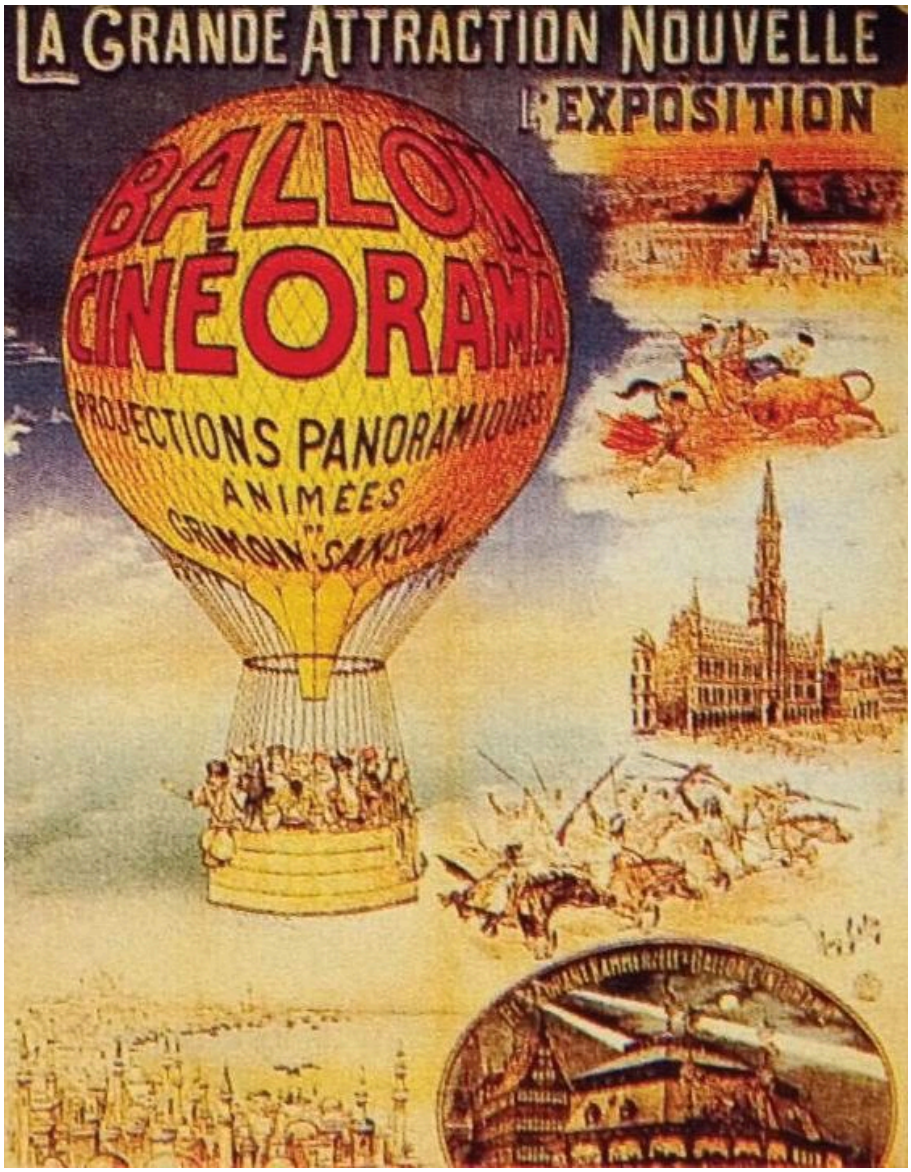


Image 22. BALLON CINÉORAMA

And here, from Germany an image of Karl Knubbel's 1903 Berlin 'Shop Cinema'. It reads: 'DAS LEBENDE BILD'. The Living Picture, Living Image.

Image 23. DAS LEBENDE BILD

These terms ‘animated’ and ‘living’ in front of ‘photographs’, like the term ‘photographs’ itself, will come to drop out in favour of ‘moving’ ‘pictures’ (British), ‘motion’ ‘pictures’ (chiefly North American), then movies (originally North American), even as an awareness of these pictures as ‘animated’, as ‘living’, will likewise disappear.

But animation as term does not completely disappear. Its figuring in the names of proto-cinematic philosophers toys, such highly loaded names as Zootrope (the troping, turning, of life—W.G. Horner, 1834), Praxinoscope (action view—Reynaud, 1877), Zoopraxiscope (life action view—Eadweard Muybridge, 1880), Viviscope (view of life—maker and date unknown)—names inscribing the life and motion of animation—likewise passes on to the names of early cinematic devices, not only Paul’s Animatograph (UK) and W.K.L. Dickson’s Mutagraph (USA) but the Bioscope (view of life)—a term used by so many inventors it becomes for Ceram a term recalling ‘more than any other…the early days of projection’ when ‘for many an early picture-goer that magic word summed up the whole entertainment’ (Ceram 1965: 187).

The name Bioscope was used by Jules Dubosq and Léon Foucauld for their early projectors, as well as by Georges Demeny, Birt Acres, Robert W. Paul, Charles Urban and, as Bioscop, by the Skladanowsky Bros. in Germany. And to these names we would add J. Stuart Blackton’s Vitascope (view of life—USA). Such animated and animating names include signifying for me the bestowal by the apparatus itself of animation, of life and motion, including the reanimation of the world and the subject that I have proposed in a number of publications and that the grandiose words on the poster of the Aléthorama announce.[23]

To the degree that the prefixes bio- and vita- persist in cinematic devices like the Biograph and in the names of companies like American Mutoscope and Biograph (founded by Elias Koopman, Harry Marvin, Herman Casler and W.K.L. Dickson in 1896) and Vitagraph (founded by J. Stuart Blackton and Albert Smith in 1897), the marking of animation likewise persists in this register beyond the first five years of the 20th century, as of course it has into the new century, with Francis Ford Coppola's American Zoetrope.[24] Of course, even Cinématographe (France), because it inscribes the writing of motion, from the Greek kinema<kinein, can be understood to figure animation as the endowing, i.e. the writing/drawing, with and of motion, as did Edison's Kinetograph as photography camera (1891) and Kinetoscope as viewing apparatus (1891) before it.

Image 24. MUTOSCOPE

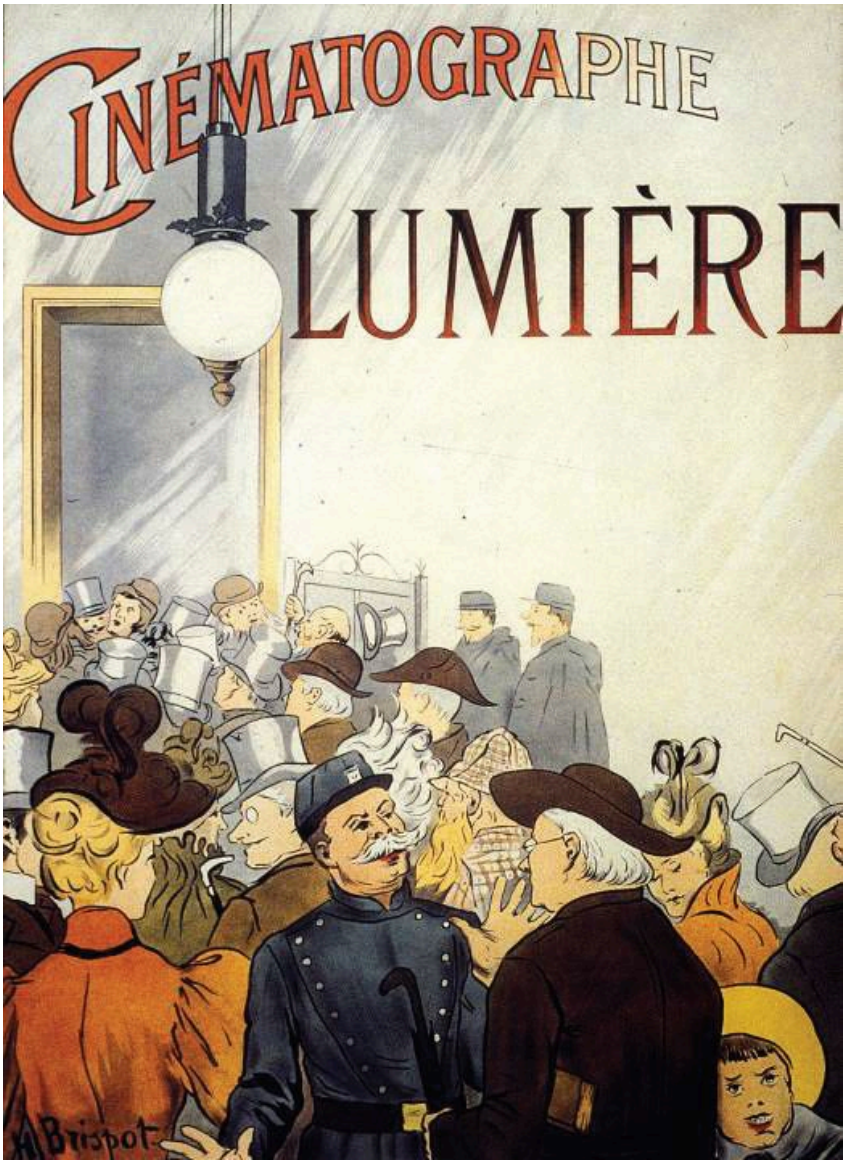
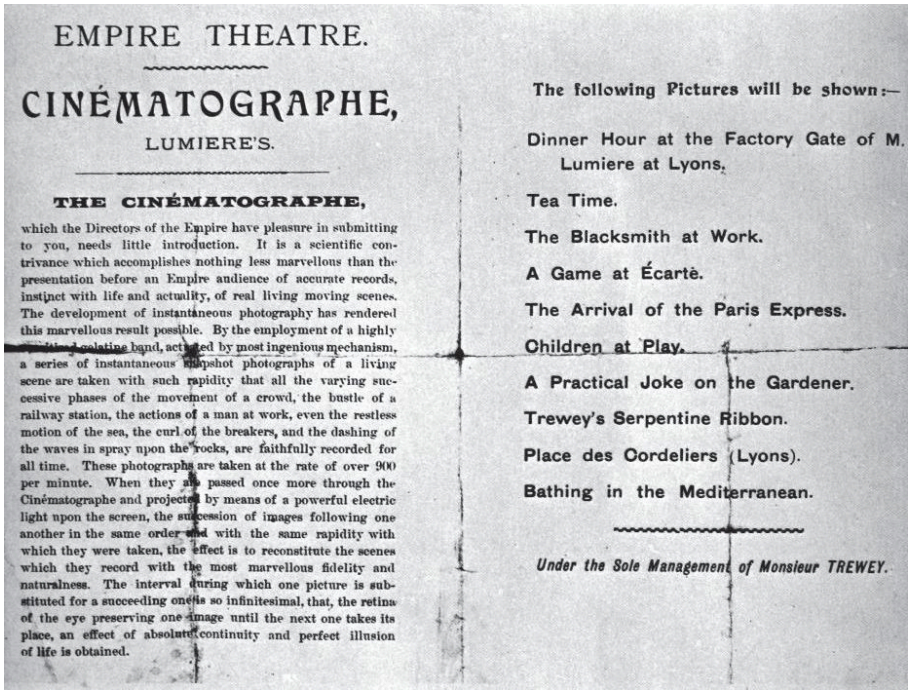


Image 25. CINÉMATOGRAPHE

And that marking of animation is to be found too in the commemorative inscription to the Lumière Bros. outside the Grand Café wherein they staged their first public screenings in Paris, which reads: 'Ici le 28 décembre 1895 eurent lieu les premières projections publiques de photographie animé à l'aide du cinématographe appareil inventé par les frères Lumières' (Auzel 1992: 94).[25]

I would reiterate my 1991 claim, with the addition of the words 'the animatographic apparatus', that this should read: 'photography animated with the aid of the animatographic apparatus, the animatic apparatus'! (except for the redundancy!) (Cholodenko 1991a: 19)—apparatus of the illusion of life and the life of illusion, including of animated photography.



EMPIRE THEATRE.

CINÉMATOGRAPHE,

LUMIERE'S.

THE CINÉMATOGRAPHE,

which the Directors of the Empire have pleasure in submitting to you, needs little introduction. It is a scientific contrivance which accomplishes nothing less marvellous than the presentation before an Empire audience of accurate records, instinct with life and actuality, of real living moving scenes. The development of instantaneous photography has rendered this marvellous result possible. By the employment of a highly sensitive gelatine band, actuated by most ingenious mechanism, a series of instantaneous snapshot photographs of a living scene are taken with such rapidity that all the varying successive phases of the movement of a crowd, the bustle of a railway station, the actions of a man at work, even the restless motion of the sea, the curl of the breakers, and the dashing of the waves in spray upon the rocks, are faithfully recorded for all time. These photographs are taken at the rate of over 900 per minute. When they are passed once more through the Cinématographe and projected by means of a powerful electric light upon the screen, the succession of images following one another in the same order and with the same rapidity with which they were taken, the effect is to reconstitute the scenes which they record with the most marvellous fidelity and naturalness. The interval during which one picture is substituted for a succeeding one is so infinitesimal, that, the retina of the eye preserving one image until the next one takes its place, an effect of absolute continuity and perfect illusion of life is obtained.

The following Pictures will be shown:—

Dinner Hour at the Factory Gate of M. Lumiere at Lyons.

Tea Time.

The Blacksmith at Work.

A Game at Écartè.

The Arrival of the Paris Express.

Children at Play.

A Practical Joke on the Gardener.

Trewey's Serpentine Ribbon.

Place des Cordeliers (Lyons).

Bathing in the Mediterranean.

Under the Sole Management of Monsieur TREWEY.

Image 26. EMPIRE THEATRE PROGRAM

We're looking at the English Empire Theatre Program for the Lumière Bros.' films, and down at the bottom you can see those key words 'illusion of life'.

On that same building façade displaying the commemorative inscription to the Lumière Bros., Dominique Auzel tells us, is a little (so little I missed it when I was there), very fragile plaque, postscript or codicil to the indelible engraving to the Lumières, on which one can read: 'A Reynaud, Marey, Demeny, Lumière et Méliès, pionniers du cinéma, hommage des professionels à l'occasion du cinquantenaire 28-12-1945' (Auzel 1992: 96).

So that organisation took Reynaud as pioneer of cinema!

Here I show you an amazing tableau ('non-vivant'), installed at the Musée Grévin. I saw it there 8 years ago. It shows Emile Reynaud demonstrating his Théâtre Optique to Georges Méliès, standing on the left, Auguste Lumière seated on the left, Louis Lumière seated on the right, and Gabriel Thomas, Director of the Musée, standing behind Reynaud on the right.

Image 27. MUSÉE GRÉVIN TABLEAU

It's certainly animated my thinking about the relation of animation to cinema!

And that includes how one might think about this claim of Manovich:

> ...the manual construction of images in digital cinema represents a return to the pro-cinematic practices of the nineteenth century, when images were hand-painted and hand-animated. At the turn of the twentieth century, cinema was to delegate these manual techniques to animation and define itself as a recording medium. As cinema enters the digital age, these techniques are again becoming commonplace in the filmmaking process. Consequently, cinema can no longer be clearly distinguished from animation. (Manovich 2001, 2002: 295)

That image of Reynaud demonstrating his Théâtre Optique to the Lumière Bros. and Georges Méliès, figure for me of the claims I have advanced and analyses I have developed, argues a very different proposition, one turning Manovich's claim on its head. It is that animation delegated its subform the photographic to cinema and that cinema could never therefore be clearly distinguished from animation! It would mean too that, so long in the shadow of the Lumière Bros. (*lumière*, of course, means 'light' in French) and Méliès, Reynaud would with my analysis and that turn be seen to never not shadow them, make them join him in his shadow, his spectre. And it also means that digital film's 'return to the pro-cinematic practices of the nineteenth century, when images were hand-painted

and hand-animated', as Manovich declares, is a return pre-eminently for us to Reynaud, first 'painter of film' even, as Auzel states, whom digital film had never left nor he left it.[26]

I leave you with that image and this proposition in the hope that they will animate your thinking of the relation of animation to cinema, too, a thinking that for me must reanimate that spectre haunting not only animation film but cinema, indeed haunting not only film animation but its very advent, that spectre named Emile Reynaud.

Alan Cholodenko is former Head of Department and Senior Lecturer in Film and Animation Studies in the Department of Art History at The University of Sydney, where he is now Honorary Associate. He has pioneered in the articulation of film theory, animation theory and 'poststructuralist' and 'postmodernist' French thought. He edited Jean Baudrillard's *The Evil Demon of Images* (Power Institute Publications, 1987); *The Illusion of Life: Essays on Animation*, the world's first anthology of scholarly essays theorizing animation (Power Publications in association with the Australian Film Commission, 1991); Samuel Weber's *Mass Mediauras: Form, Technics, Media* (Power Publications and Stanford University Press, 1996); and *The Illusion of Life 2: More Essays on Animation* (Power Publications, 2007). He is a member of the Editorial Boards of the *International Journal of Baudrillard Studies* and *Animation: An Interdisciplinary Journal*.

Endnotes

1. See Keith Broadfoot and Rex Butler, 'The Illusion of Illusion', *The Illusion of Life: Essays on Animation*, ed. Alan Cholodenko, Power Publications in association with the Australian Film Commission, Sydney, 1991.↩

2. Alan Cholodenko, Introduction to *The Illusion of Life: Essays on Animation*, ed. Alan Cholodenko, pp. 10, 22, 23 and 29. See also my *'Who Framed Roger Rabbit*, or the Framing of Animation' therein, p. 213. Let me add here: nor is Manovich the first and only one after me to posit that all film is a form of animation. Sean Griffin did so in his 'Pronoun Trouble: The "Queerness" of Animation', in the 1994 'Do You Read Me?: Queer Theory and Social Praxis' issue of the University of Southern California's *Spectator*, edited by Eric Freedman, p. 107. ↩

3. A complication of dating arises here: Driscoll says that Imamura 'published the first essays of his 1948 *Theory of Animation* contemporaneously with his more famous text of 1940, *Theory of Documentary Film*' (p. 270). So if Imamura's first essays were published in 1940 and, as Naum Kleiman writes in the Introduction to *Eisenstein on Disney*, 'The earliest fragments of Disney were written in September and October of 1940' (p. xii), then not only were Imamura's first essays and his book published decades before *Eisenstein on Disney*, the first essays were possibly not only published but written before Eisenstein wrote his earliest fragments of

what would become *Eisenstein on Disney*. Further research would be required here, but suffice it to say that 1940 looms as a key year for two landmark texts on animation.↩

4. While it can be seen from my discussion that there are sadly no monographs as yet on Reynaud in English, there are three such publications in French, none of which obviously have been translated into English, and which I have drawn upon for information for my analysis. These works served to rescue Reynaud in France from the historical oblivion wrought there by not only the Lumière Bros.' Cinématographe and the cinema that followed upon it but by those who have written the history of cinema, including French cinema. These monographs reanimating Reynaud are: Maurice Noverre, *La Verité sur l'invention de la projection animée: Emile Reynaud, sa vie et ses travaux*, Imprimé pour L'auteur, Brest, 1926; *Emile Reynaud, Peintre de films 1844-1918*, edité par L'Office Français d'Edition, Cinémathèque Française, Paris, 1945; and Dominique Auzel, *Emile Reynaud et l'image s'anima*, Du May, Paris, 1992.

Noverre's has pride of place in being the first book, or in its case booklet, whose goal is to make Reynaud reappear, return to visibility, and be acknowledged for his contributions. In its preface, Noverre is himself congratulated for teaching the whole world that 'the inventor of animated projections and of the continuous cinematography in movement of film is Emile Reynaud, a Frenchman' (p. 5). Indeed, Noverre's calling Reynaud Prometheus (p. 61) is reiterated by Alexeïeff (p. xix).

As for *Emile Reynaud, Peintre de films 1844-1918*, in his chapter in it, entitled 'Les Débuts de la Cinématographie: Les Dessins Animés d'Emile Reynaud' ['The Beginnings of Cinematography: The Animated Films of Emile Reynaud'], Paul Reynaud quotes film historians Arnaud and Boisyvon from their book *le Cinéma pour tous*: 'Le Théâtre Optique...vint marquer l'inévitable avènement du mouvement et de la vie sur l'écran'. ['The Théâtre Optique comes to mark the inevitable arrival of movement and life on the screen'.] (p. 8) In another chapter of that book, or rather and again booklet, famous French film historian Georges Sadoul states: Reynaud...est l'inventeur du dessin animé'. (p. 13) Even more, that it was Reynaud's Projecting Praxinoscope that Meissonnier chose in 1882 to demonstrate to All-Paris Muybridge's instantaneous photographs and 'which the invention of Reynaud permitted the animating of on screen' (p. 18). So Reynaud projected photographs publicly in 1882, something cinema historians have not noted.

As for Auzel's exquisite book, which repeats Sadoul's story of this first projection of animated photographs in the world, in front of numerous personalities and preceding by 13 years that of the Lumière Bros. (pp. 43-44), one could only wish it be translated into English and immediately so. For Auzel, Reynaud, with his Théâtre Optique apparatus, patents 'the soul of animated projection' (p. 48), which is why Auzel can say that Reynaud is 'créateur du septième art' (p. 104), that of cinema. But nowhere can I find Auzel explicitly state that the photographic cinema is a form of animation. To the contrary, he emphasises the differences between animation and cinema for Reynaud, who saw cinema as 'vulgar and "anti-artistic"' (p. 101), used

photography, when he did employ it, as a means, not an end, and always retouched the photographic image with his own drawing and painting. Indeed, he nominates Reynaud 'painter of film' (reiterating the title of the 1945 monograph), the first in the history of cinema (p. 110). And he also distinguishes between Reynaud's *dessins animés* (animated drawings) and *films d'animation* 'in the narrow sense of the term: cinematographic reproduction of drawings entirely achieved previously', saying Reynaud 'is not the first to have realised a *film d'animation*', rather declaring him 'one of the immediate precursors of *film d'animation*' (p. 110). He supports this distinction with the declaration that 'the cinema of animation was invented twice in France. First, 20 years too soon...by Reynaud, unfortunate and discouraged pioneer, then by an other solitary pioneer Emile Cohl' (p. 107). Insofar as the narrow sense of the term defines for us one form of animation film and Reynaud for us animated film 'as such', created not only animation film but film animation, Auzel's distinction is not determinative for our argument. In fact, no matter how hard Auzel tries to pin Reynaud down, and he tries very hard, he seems to us to slide, and for us inevitably so, across a range of contradictory positions. For example, Reynaud made *dessin animé* but he did not make *dessin animé*; Reynaud's work is a microcosm of cinema but it is not cinema; his work is this side or that side of cinema; he is creator of the seventh art but he did not make, in fact was antagonistic to, cinema, etc.

And I would add: not only does Auzel declare Reynaud 'créateur du septième art', the cinema finding its source in his work, he states, as partially anticipatory of what Manovich will come to tell us in 2001:

> In the hour of the *animatique* (or animation by the computer of synthetic images), last field of exploration of cinema image by image, the paradox is that the photographic cinema constitutes a fragile parenthesis, while that of Emile Reynaud, with its concept of 'animation of a support', remains operative and exemplary on the border of cutting edge technologies (p. 22).

He adds: 'The *animatique* ...is the totally last field of exploration of cinema without a camera, prefigured by Reynaud' (p. 109). In other words, computer animation is avatar of Reynaud's Théâtre Optique and the animated films he made for it. But nowhere, as I said, can I find Auzel explicitly declare that the photographic cinema is a form of animation. To the contrary, he seems intent on maintaining their difference.

Finally, one fairly recent French history of the cinema has been translated into English, that is, Emmanuelle Toulet's *Cinema is 100 Years Old* (1995). Toulet has a section on Reynaud, which she entitles 'The animated film is born'; but she suggests, contradictorily, the Théâtre Optique 'led him to the threshold of the invention of film' (pp. 70-71).↩

5. In certain indexes that word occasionally turns up. But often it is just one reference! And that reference is often a throw-away, giving one the sense that one is free to disregard animation in one's consideration! As in Dudley Andrew's *The Major Film Theories*, where it comes under 'Animated Film', and refers to Siegfried Kracauer's feeling free to disregard it in his consideration of the nature of cinema as based in photography.↩

6. This characterisation of the phantasmal and the dead intersects with my 'The Crypt, the Haunted House, of Cinema', *Cultural Studies Review*, vol. 10, no. 2, September 2004; 'Still Photography?', *Afterimage*, vol. 32, no. 5, March/April 2005, reprinted on the *International Journal of Baudrillard Studies* website, vol. 5, no. 1, January, 2008; as well as my '(The) Death (of) the Animator, or: The Felicity of Felix', Parts I and II. Part I: 'Kingdom of Shadows' was published in 2009 in *Animated Dialogues*, 2007, situated on the website of *Animation Studies*, journal of the Society for Animation Studies. '(The) Death (of) the Animator, or: The Felicity of Felix', Part II: 'A Difficulty in the Path of Animation Studies' was published in *Animation Studies*, vol. 2, 2007. ↩

7. And homage to Reynaud as artist, an acknowledgment Bendazzi also makes, contrary to Ceram's disparagement. In this regard, they follow Georges Sadoul, who is full of praise for the artistry of Reynaud, saying of his *Autour d'une cabine*, 'Pour revoir un dessin animé de cette durée, de cette perfection, de cet esprit, il faudra attendre la maturité de Walt Disney'. (Sadoul 1945, p. 24). See also Sadoul's *Dictionary of Film Makers*, where he has an entry for Reynaud, describing him as 'Imaginative creator of precinema animated cartoons who was the first to organise regular showings of animated images (in color and with sound accompaniment) at the Musée Grévin in Paris in 1892. An artist of genius and a marvellous "painter on film"…' (p. 215). And in his *Dictionary of Films*, Sadoul strangely names both Reynaud's *Pauvre Pierrot* (1891) and his *Autour d'une Cabine* (1894) 'the first masterpiece of the animated cartoon'! (p. 19 and p. 278). In fact, Auzel says of Sadoul, 'Certain historians of cinema, like Georges Sadoul, have reason to consider the work of Reynaud as a capital moment of cinematographic creation and of the cinema of animation…' (Auzel 1992, p. 112).↩

8. In his earlier booklet *Around the World in Animation*, BFI, London, 1997, Wells had likewise situated Reynaud in terms of cinema, writing of the 'pioneering proto-cinema of the Théâtre Optique created by Frenchman Emile Reynaud'.↩

9. See my *'Who Framed Roger Rabbit'* essay on this figure re the frame, the littoral, etc.↩

10. See my work on the spectre and the Cryptic Complex as privileged figures of animation, cinema, film and photography in the articles listed in note 6 above.↩

11. See too what Broadfoot and Butler say of Reynaud on p. 284. Insofar as I name Reynaud in my Introduction and my *'Who Framed Roger Rabbit'* essay, p. 213, this essay returns to and draws forth from those inscriptions, seeking to elaborate and thereby reanimate Reynaud's place in the history of animation film and film animation.↩

12. See C.W. Ceram, *Archaeology of the Cinema*, pp. 193-194; and Auzel, p. 75. See also Martin Quigley, Jr., *Magic Shadows: The Story of the Origin of Motion Pictures*, Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C., 1948, pp. 147-148. Quigley likewise at once marks Reynaud's contribution by his 'pioneering in the dramatic use of the medium, as well as introducing technical devices which were readily adaptable to motion picture use' (p. 148), yet at the same time situates him as magic shadow showman who influenced the art-science of 'the valid motion picture' (p. 148) rather than belonging to it. I would say Reynaud, like (his) animation, uncannily doubles cinema, belonging to it without belonging to it, is a part of and apart from it at the same time, an uncanny belonging that 'upsets the very propriety of belonging itself', to quote William Schaffer, referencing my *'Who Framed Roger Rabbit'* essay. See Schaffer 2007, p. 483, note 2. ↩

13. That he used strips or bands of celluloid is asserted by Stephenson 1973, p. 25; Crafton 1982, 1987, p. 7; and Crafton 1990, p. 122. Bendazzi 1994, p. 5, says 'a long ribbon, a true film with a canvas support…'. Sadoul 1945, p. 63, reads: 'une série horizontale d'images dessinées sur crystalloid (plaque de gelatine)'. Toulet also says he painted his images on gelatin. The image of the band in Auzel's book (p. 61) appears to show a single strip of celluloid. Celluloid (cellulose nitrate) film was invented in the 1880s, and Reynaud appears to have taken advantage of it for his Théâtre Optique. But whether it be celluloid or gelatin (as distinct from celluloid), one thing seems clear: his strips or bands were not made up of glass plates, as has been suggested.↩

14 Paul Reynaud, the son of Emile, made such a claim in *Emile Reynaud, Peintre de films 1844-1918*, p. 31. (It is repeated in Auzel 1992, p. 49.) See the debates on the controversy around the Lumière plaque in the Appendix to Noverre's 1926 publication, in particular the comments of Pierre Noguès, especially his published letter replying to one from the Lumière Bros. in which they claim the privilege of inventing cinematography. Noguès argues the case for Reynaud's perforation system being the basis for the Lumière Cinématographe, to which their glory and success is for him uniquely due (p. 84). ↩

15. The visit backstage is also recorded and reflected upon by Paul Reynaud (1945, p. 31). Reynaud also notes that Thomas Alva Edison came to see his father's Théâtre Optique at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1889 (pp. 30-31), something Auzel also notes, adding that the Lumière Bros. as well saw it there (p. 48). Both Paul Reynaud and Auzel conclude that Edison as well as the Lumière Bros. counterfeited Reynaud's patented perforation system.↩

16. As well, Auzel comments that the review of the Lumière apparatus in *La Revue générale*, concluding with these words—'Le cinématographe permet de montrer à toute une assemblée, en les projetant sur un écran, des scènes animées, durant près d'une minute'—by not having the word 'photographique' between 'scènes' and 'animées' 'subtends a total negation of the Théâtre Optique' (p. 62). But for us the very term 'animée' serves to inscribe Reynaud, its use an implicit acknowledgment of him.↩

17. Ceram's many exclusions as playing 'no part in the story of cinematography' include: 'animated "scenes"', Chinese, Indian and Javanese shadow-plays, the baroque automata, the marionette theatre, 'the writer' of 'Jacques Dros' [sic] and the suggestions of 'Heron [sic] of Alexandria' from his *Peri automatopoietikes* (Construction of Automaton Theatres). Ceram 1965, pp. 15, 17, 21. Re automata and animation, see my 'Speculations on the Animatic Automaton', *The Illusion of Life 2*. ↩

18. For an enumeration of all the ways in which the Théâtre Optique prefigured cinema, including the trick films of Méliès, sound cinema, the musical, colour film, etc., see Auzel, pp. 94-114. And that of course includes Reynaud's inaugurating narrative in film. ↩

19. 'The Illusion of the Beginning: A Theory of Drawing and Animation', *Afterimage*, vol. 28, no. 1, July/August 2000. ↩

20. A point I made in 'The Illusion of the Beginning', p. 10. As my *'Who Framed Roger Rabbit'* and 'The Illusion of the Beginning' articles endeavour to do, ditto my 'Still Photography?', *Afterimage*, vol. 32, no. 5, March/April 2005. 'The Illusion of the Beginning' treats of the graph as drawing, thought after Derrida, Baudrillard and Borges, in relation to animation. My *'Who Framed Roger Rabbit'* essay treats of the graph as writing, thought after Derrida, in relation to animation, while my 'Still Photography?' treats of the graph as photography and film, thought after Baudrillard, in relation to animation. I use the term animatic in all these essays and the term graphematic in 'The Illusion of the Beginning'. ↩

21. Linking Deleuze thereby to Jean Baudrillard as I utilise him on the 'stillness' of the photograph in my article 'Still Photography?'.↩

22. For me the marking of animated photographs as 'THE GREATEST ATTRACTION OF THE CENTURY' in Carl Hertz's 1896 poster and here as 'The Grand New Attraction' connects with my articles on Tom Gunning's canonical notion of the 'cinema of attractions', especially my 'The Crypt, the Haunted House, of Cinema' and '(The) Death (of) the Animator, or: The Felicity of Felix', Part II. The most significant point in the return engagement with Gunning in the latter article is that in elaborating the nature of his cinema of attractions, Gunning unwittingly makes animation the first attraction of cinema, the last attraction of cinema and the enduring attraction of cinema, thereby likewise unwittingly makes his cinema of attractions animation of attractions. ↩

23. On that reanimating, see Cholodenko, Introduction, *The Illusion of Life*, p. 18, p. 21 and p. 36, note 34; Cholodenko, 'The Crypt, the Haunted House, of Cinema', *Cultural Studies Review*, vol. 10, no. 2, September 2004, pp. 110-111; and Cholodenko, Introduction, *The Illusion of Life 2: More Essays on Animation*, Power

Publications, Sydney, 2007, pp. 20-23 and p. 69, and my ‘Speculations on the Animatic Automaton’ therein, p. 496. ↩

24 Muta- and muto-, as in Mutoscope, from the Latin mutare, to change, are prefixes also marking animation, insofar as animation has to do with mutation, metamorphosis. ↩

25. The inscription is also quoted in Cholodenko, Introduction, *The Illusion of Life*, p. 19. Note: Auzel says the inscription to the Lumières is engraved directly into the façade at 14 Blvd des Capucines. I do not remember that. In fact, I thought I saw a plaque, which is what I said in my Introduction to *The Illusion of Life*. However, I didn’t notice the plaque to the others! ↩

26. When Manovich declares ‘digital hand-painting is…the most obvious example of the return of cinema to its nineteenth-century origins—in this case, the hand-crafted images of magic lantern slides, the Phenakistiscope and Zootrope’ (p. 304), he sadly neglects to mention, much less foreground, Reynaud and his inventions.↩

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