

UTOPIC HORIZONS

CINEMATIC GEOGRAPHIES OF TRAVEL AND MIGRATION

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**UTOPIA HORIZONS:
CINEMATIC GEOGRAPHIES OF TRAVEL AND MIGRATION**

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Abstract

Theoretically grounded in debates surrounding the production of space and mobility in contemporary cultural discourse, this thesis examines the role of film in these deterritorialised landscapes of theory and practice, in particular the shift from place-based geographies of travel and film to those of ‘utopic’ displacement. Focussed primarily on examples from contemporary European film, the thesis also considers the broader geo-historical contexts underpinning travel and filmic practices: for example, cinema’s nascent links with the democratisation of travel and the construction of a touristic ‘mobile virtual gaze’. In so far as these and other examples of ‘travel film’ can be said to discursively centre the ‘voyager-voyeur’ in geographies of home and placement, they invoke an ‘Ulyssean gaze’ of mythic circularity against which the utopic deterritorialisations of migrancy and transnational space are counterposed. It is these utopic horizons of travel – cinematic mobilities that pose dialectical challenges to hegemonic cartographies of place and space – which this thesis sets out to explore.

Mapping the utopic gaze in early and ‘classic’ (e)migrant films, I examine the extent to which the frontiers and horizons of utopic travel, predicated in these examples on spatio-temporal distance, could be said to have collapsed in a spatial conflation of presence and absence. In this analysis ellipses in space and time have increasingly displaced the representational spaces of the journey. Looking at a range of examples from contemporary film, I examine the dialectic between a displaced imaginary of utopic hope and the material non-places of transit, refuge and waiting which dominate these cinematic geographies; a dialectic which maps affective spaces of stasis and transition. In the deterritorialised landscapes of postmodernity I argue that it is the agential and embodied mobilities of movement-in-itself – psychogeographic, oblique confrontations with hegemonic space – that constitutes the fullest realisation of the utopic. Far from valorising undialectical tropes of the ‘open road’ or of the rhizomatic, homeless ‘nomad’, these peripatetic, embodied mobilities are the product of a dialectic of stasis and transition in which the conflict between abstract and lived spaces of mobility is brought to the fore.

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The story of a journey is a function of its geography.

(Gaston Bachelard)

Introduction ('Trailer')¹

Then came film and burst this prison world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go travelling.²

At one point in his ethnographic travelogue, *Tristes Tropiques*, the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss makes the following observation: 'Without deliberate intention on my part, a kind of *mental "tracking shot"* has led me from central Brazil to southern Asia; from the most recently discovered lands to those in which civilisation first made its appearance' (1973 [1955]: 181, emphasis added). After more than a century of the moving image the use of a cinematic metaphor as a rhetorical device to express movement through time and space may not in itself seem particularly noteworthy. Yet in setting out the theoretical foundations of this thesis it occurs to me that it is the very transparency of this slippage between different symbolic registers of 'travel' that is of significance. This thesis examines the cinematic geographies of travel and migration in European film. At its core lies the relationship between the virtuality of filmic travel and the everyday mobilities (and immobilities) of an increasingly restless world. The ontological dilemmas posed by this relationship, and the question of 'travel' more generally, are aptly, if obliquely, captured in Lévi-Strauss' intriguing turn of phrase.

Why, for example, does he deem it necessary to point out the almost unconscious orchestration of the mental tracking shot? A famous line from Wim Wenders' Euro-road movie *Kings of the Road* (1976) declares that 'the Americans have colonised our subconscious'. Can the same be said of cinematic space? Have cinema's formal modalities of vicarious travel so imprinted themselves on the imagination of the actual (cine-literate) traveller that the real and imaginary mobilities of time and space inherent in travel are themselves intrinsically 'cinematic'? The displacements that Lévi-Strauss' actual mobility sets in motion suggest that to conceive of such a journey – to *envisage* such landscapes – requires the same movement and ellipses in time and space as those that comprise the formal aesthetics of film.

Yet perhaps another reason for the significance of this quote is that it represents a reversal of a travel metaphoric that has indeed so imprinted itself on the cultural landscapes of postmodernity that its very ubiquity is, at the same time, that which has ensured its near-absolute transparency. So widespread is the recourse to tropes of travel, displacement,

¹ **trailer**, *n.* One who travels on foot; one that follows a trail, a tracker; an excerpt of a film, broadcast, etc., used as advance publicity; the blank piece of film at the end of a reel (*Oxford English Dictionary*; *Chambers English Dictionary*).

² Walter Benjamin, quoted in Cresswell and Dixon (2002b: 5).

mobility and the like in contemporary social theory that when an instance presents itself in which ‘actual’ travel (e.g. ethnographic) generates tropes of virtual displacement (cinematic/ideational) it comes across, by comparison, as something of a novelty.

Examples of what may provisionally be termed ‘ideational travel’ typically presuppose a form of ‘sedentary mobility’ in which hitherto fixed categories of knowledge, place or identity succumb to the metaphorical displacements of anti-foundational epistemologies. Borrowing from typologies of empirical travel, its lexicon is replete with terms such as the ‘tourist’, the ‘nomad’, the ‘exilic’ and ‘diasporic’. While the movements of these subjects are similarly defined in relation to the social, cultural and political landscapes through which they ‘travel’, unlike their empirical counterparts they remain as abstractions.

The significance of Lévi-Strauss’ example is thus in part derived from the fact that it invites a more oblique approach to questions of travel and the simulacra of the filmic image. Its further relevance becomes clear when we consider how far, and to what ends, it can be said to go against the grain of what Henri Lefebvre would describe as the ‘conceived space’ of ideational travel (1991). Extrapolating beyond the specific context of Lévi-Strauss’ example (as a travel memoir, *Tristes Tropiques* was a work of ‘armchair anthropology’ written many years after his travels in Brazil), the association of actual and metaphoric travel does not so much represent a mere conflation of each in a rhetorical zone of postmodern simulation, rather, it invites consideration as to the potential for cinematic mobilities and those which are fashioned from everyday practice to dialectically converge in embodied articulations of ‘lived space’ (Lefebvre 1991). In this scenario the experiential mobilities – and immobilities – of the empirical traveller are as much complicit in the construction of virtual geographies as the latter are in indexical configurations of past and present, here and there: the cartographic bases from which positions and itineraries are charted, plotted or redrawn. In their capacity to ‘make flesh’ the realm of the imaginary, the cinematic landscapes of (‘reel’) travel are thus as potentially ‘grounded’ in the real social and geographical spaces of everyday mobility as the latter are potentially ‘abstracted’ within an ideational realm of travel.

As a consequence of this it becomes apparent that, in a study of travel and migration in contemporary film, it is not sufficient to restrict our cinematic foray to the representational spaces of the medium itself, but to consider the wider geographies of displacement in which cinematic mobilities are discursively embedded. This is an approach I have sought to employ throughout this thesis, paying heed, wherever possible, to these dialectics of mobile space.

Of course, what these ruminations inevitably arrive at is the question as to what it is we actually mean by the term ‘travel’. How far is it possible to extrapolate the

representational mobilities of visual cultures of travel from the actual physical movement of bodies across time and space? Movements, moreover, which are conditioned by very specific social, cultural and political circumstances. How far, in short, is such a term conceptually viable? How far can different ‘mobilities’ be collapsed under a central rubric without losing sight of their unique specificities? From its inception this thesis has set out to conduct a study of travel and migration in the specific (but not exclusive) geo-historical context of contemporary European cinema. Yet at the outset these questions posed by ‘hyper-tropic’ cultural economies of travel have demanded a more explicit interrogation of the theoretical excursions within or along which ‘travel’ as a concept is discursively traced. To this end, the subject matter has eluded us already: the question of ‘travel’ has all but deferred discussion of the convergence of travel and filmic practices, which begins in earnest in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

Chapter 1 then takes the form of a meta-theoretical survey of ideas of travel in contemporary social and cultural discourse in which filmic tropes of travel and mobility emerge as bit players within a broader discursive context of theory and practice. As quickly becomes apparent in this literature review, what is lacking in many formulations of ‘travel theory’ is an adequate spatial analysis of what Cresswell describes as ‘the production of mobilities’ (2001). Rising to this challenge, I apply a Lefebvrian approach to these theoretical excursions, transcribing his ideas on space to those of travel. Finally I consider more closely the implications of hyper-tropic or ideational displacement, and in particular what bearing these have on cinematic geographies of travel.

This thesis is therefore an examination less of travel and migration *per se*, than of the spaces and places of travel in a socio-historical context of European film. The use of the term ‘European film’ here is by no means intended to signify a pan-European identity or shared cultural experience (a logic of identity which, like the ‘others’ it excludes, leads inexorably to the shores of a ‘Fortress Europe’), but rather functions as a ‘working space’, geographically speaking, in which to explore questions of travel and film, operative both across and within its shifting and contingent borders (historical, cultural and geo-political). The films discussed in this thesis span an historical period in which European nations played host to both emigrant itineraries (see Chapter 3) and those reflecting increasingly complex patterns of inward migration and global mobility. The shifting cultural geographies of travel and migration thus revealed provide us with valuable insights into a cinematic imagination which has remained firmly embedded in material, spatial and embodied structures of place and identity. As I argue in Chapter 4, in an era of globalisation and increased de-localisation of social, cultural and historical referents, these structures and cinematic landscapes of travel have become formally coalescent around tropes of deterritorialisation such as the border and non-place. By examining a selection of films that

best exemplify these concerns my aim is not to provide a survey or overview of expressly *European* cinematic representations of travel and migration (a potentially colossal and methodologically questionable endeavour), but rather to consider examples of cinematic geographies within an ostensibly transnational discursive framework (replete with increasingly clamorous debates on asylum, immigration and national identity) in which the *spatial contradictions* underpinning ‘mobilisations’ of place, nation and identity are in some way evident. The films of the Greek director, Theo Angelopoulos are particularly pertinent here as his later work marks a transition away from ‘place-based’ geographies of travel and film (Chapter 2) to those in which an increased observance of borders, frontiers and places of transit (Chapters 4 and 5) charts a more generalised condition of deterritorialisation that is shaping the social, cultural and political landscapes of contemporary Europe. As with the other films discussed in this thesis, a broader interrogation of these shifting structures of place, space and mobility has thus informed my analysis of the examples in question.³

Indeed, coming from a critical geographical perspective, the guiding rationale for the films chosen for discussion in this thesis, and for the chapter layout, are precisely the spatial dialectics and contradictions which emerge from a critical ‘mapping’ of these cinematic landscapes. This will become clearer below in my introduction to each of the successive chapters, but briefly these spatial contradictions can be summarised as follows: a) *placement* and *displacement* in the totalising discourses of what we might provisionally refer to as the ‘ideological’ or ‘mythic’ travel film (which forms the basis of the cinematic geographies explored in Chapter 2); b) *eutopia* (good place) and *outopia* (no place): the spatial play of *horizon* and *frontier* in ‘utopic’ itineraries of the migrant traveller (Chapter 3); c) *place* and *non-place*: the conflation of horizon and frontier in sedentary spaces or non-places of travel and deterritorialisation (Chapter 4); and d) *absolute* and *abstract* space: the overlaying of ‘utopic’ ontologies in embodied landscapes of immanence and mobile affect (Chapter 5).

A trajectory, of sorts, also wends its way through the successive chapters in that we move from broadly discursive geographies of travel and film, oriented, for example, around (post)structuralist notions of the gaze, towards altogether more intimate landscapes in which the embodied, material and affective attributes of place and mobility are brought to the fore. In Lefebvorean terms, this equates to a move towards spaces of representational (*lived*) mobility which challenge the primacy otherwise accorded visual and abstract ontologies of

³ It should also be noted that, in terms of the historically-based examples of travel and migrant films, the choice of films that formed the basis of my discussion (Chapters 2 and 3) was largely dependent on what was available for viewing in archival sources. So, for example, the emigrant films examined in Chapter 3.2 represent a selection of films produced during the early decades of the twentieth century, and are not intended to be representative of all European cultures of migration committed to film during that period. The films that are included for discussion serve to provide an historical backdrop to themes that are developed subsequently.

place, space and travel. Such an approach demands a greater recognition of the interrelated practices of travel, space and film, which, as I set out in Chapter 2, demands in turn a closer examination of the historical circumstances framing the production of early cinematic spaces of travel and mobility.

While many of the delirious mobilities of postmodern and poststructuralist cinematics may lead us to conclude that we are entering a brave new world of virtual travel, historical analyses of early and pre-filmic experiences of the 'mobile virtual gaze' (Freidberg 1993) invite more sober appraisals of the convergence of travel and filmic practices. A condition of modernity as much as of postmodernity (cf. Harvey 1989): the collapsing of spatio-temporal distance that has resulted from the development of travel and communication technologies first began to shape the experiential landscapes of industrial nations through the coeval industrialisation of travel and film in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For the new breed of leisure classes consuming early filmic versions of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990), references to a 'mental tracking shot' in the context of both actual and virtual travel would already have begun to make perfect sense.

In Chapter 2 I therefore explore the historical convergence of these interrelated practices, both pre-filmic (Grand Tour, panorama, diorama, etc.) and in the context of early film itself ('ride films', travel actualities, travelogues, expedition films).

In any discussion on travel, with the possible exception of the more extreme treatises on nomadic subjectivity (and even then it is present by virtue of its absence), the question of 'home' is never far from the surface. Various articulated, such a concept appears throughout this thesis in different contextual formulations. As 'the very antithesis of travel' (Van den Abbeele 1992: xviii), by 'home' I am referring to a nodal point of fixity, or *oikos* (ibid), the specific geographies of which are a product of its countervailing, constitutive mobilities. This somewhat abstract definition best serves the purposes of the present discussion for the very simple reason that it is travel that is the object of this enquiry, not 'home' *per se*, a recognition of the fact that the specific hermeneutics of place that are invested in the term are wedded to the contextual mobilities of the examples under discussion.

Applying this to examples of the tourist and imperial gaze in early travelogues, as well as examples of institutional 'travel films', such as ethnographic and expedition films, I argue that 'home' in this context functions as a centring device, a point of discursive fixity in which the geographic and ethnographic 'other' inversely map hegemonic territorialisations of class, race, and nationhood conducive to Empire. In examples of what I term the 'Ulyssean gaze', travel becomes a valorisation of home. Like the Enlightenment hero and prototypical traveller Ulysses, a centre of identity and nourishment (whether material, ideological, familial, or cultural) structures a spatial imaginary of travel as

‘homecoming’: a (re)securing of a fixed sense of identity and autochthony. From the Grand Tour to the panorama and early travelogue films, the distanced practice of ‘travelling in comfort’ fixes the voyager-voyeur both physically and discursively within relations of power in which s/he becomes a bearer of the Ulyssean gaze. Paradoxically, in these examples it is only through the mobilised virtual gaze of travel that the fixity of ‘home’ is constituted. The homecoming Ulysses thus remains forever at sea whilst, at the same time, never venturing beyond the natal *domus* of his ideological conception.

Extending this dialectic of dis/placement, in the last section of Chapter 2 I consider examples from post-1930s modernist cinema, including Powell and Pressburger’s *A Canterbury Tale* (1944) and Theo Angelopoulos’ *The Travelling Players* (1974), both powerful evocations of place and nationhood, in which the trope of travel charts ambivalent, metonymic patterns of presence and absence. In the narrative structure of these films, as well as geographically and ideologically, travel constructs a mythic circularity of displacement and emplacement in service of an interiority of identity that is bound up within ideological parameters of the nation state.

In so far as these ‘Ulyssean’ travel films can be said to be ideologically embedded in bounded and territorialised geographies of *place*, there emerges, by comparison, a different corpus of travel films, one more rooted (or routed) in the *deterritorialised* landscapes of the ‘non-place’. In their different ways these ‘utopic’ (im)mobilities represent challenges to dominant conceptions of place and space in that, as with the contingent geographies of the migrant or vagabond, ‘they expose the relative nature of certainties inscribed in the soil’ (Augé 1995: 119). With Chapters 1 and 2 establishing the theoretical and historical background to questions of travel, mobility and film, in Chapters 3 to 5 these *deterritorialised*, or *utopic* filmic geographies, as indicated by the title of this work, provide the main focus of discussion from which the broader arguments and conclusions of this thesis have been drawn.

So what is meant by the term ‘utopic’ in this context? Firstly, it is a concept based on Louis Marin’s deconstruction of Thomas More’s *Utopia*; a neologism drawn from the Greek terms *ou-topia* (‘no-place’) and *eu-topia* (‘good place’) (Marin 1984). This is explored in further detail in Chapter 3. For the purposes of this introduction, however, I wish to approach the concept in more general terms.

As a space of representation – a simulacrum of reality – it can be argued that film is fundamentally utopic in that, in an empirical sense, it has ‘no place’: it is a dreamscape, a fantasy world which we can never physically inhabit, however much we may wish to. Similarly, travel, in terms of the physical movement (dis-placement) of bodies through space, is itself utopic in that it represents the negation of fixed geographical co-ordinates: in travel place gives way to space. Of course, in both examples there are real places of

everyday practice that ‘ground’ their respective mobilities – the social space of the cinema auditorium, or places of transit, such as modes of transport, railway stations, airports, motorway service stations, etc. – yet in ontological terms the respective mobilities of the voyager-voyeur represent an abstraction from place conceived as a fixed locus of arrival and departure.

Often cited in books on travel, Baudelaire’s meditation on existential homelessness provides a further dimension to an understanding of the utopic:

It seems to me that I would always be better off where
I am not, and this question of moving is one of those
I discuss incessantly with my soul. (quoted in Kaplan 1996: 27)

A more eloquent articulation of popular sayings such as ‘the grass is always greener...’ – i.e. a geographical itch that can never quite be scratched –, in the present context it more specifically connotes a displaced imaginary of a ‘good’ or ‘better place’ which is never realised or arrived at, but which can only ever exist as a non-place of absence: a *utopic gaze*.

In this conception, the utopic speaks of the anticipation of the journey and place of arrival. In so far as the semantic plenitude of the ‘good place’ can never be fully materialised, as a deferral – a displaced imaginary – the utopic represents a spatial conflation of presence and absence, arrival and departure. This spatial simultaneity connotes an altogether different circularity from that which Marin ascribes to the ‘mythic’ travel narrative. Unlike the Ulyssean gaze, utopic travel is orientated towards an ‘outside’ of totalising structures of place, space and identity, in which contradictions are not so much resolved as brought into critical dialogue. Films which ‘mobilise’, as it were, these dialectics of mobile space form the bases for discussion in Chapters 3 to 5, and open up the utopic horizons of travel which this thesis sets out to explore.

Conceptually wedded to an idea of the utopic is the trope of the *horizon*. With the exception of the American road genre (itself a product – or extension – of the frontier myths of early settlers to the New World), nowhere is this more clearly articulated than in filmic representations of migrant ‘journeys of hope’. As the cultural geographer Yi-Fu Tuan observes, ‘[t]he horizon is a common image of the future... Open space itself is an image of hopeful time’ (1977: 123). Linear displacements in both space and time, utopic horizons of migrant travel are orientated towards a future *eutopia*, a promised land, or putative ‘better place’, in which social and political geographies of the ‘old world’ are inversely mapped. These dialectical spatialities represent a dialogue between the displaced imaginary of Elsewhere and the more pressing realities of the ‘here and now’.

In Chapter 3 I examine examples from early film of migrant journeys to the New World, focussing in part on the role of New York’s Ellis Island as a ‘gateway’ to the utopic:

a place where the open space of the horizon and the closure of the frontier converge in lived spaces of migration, exile and refuge. Extending this analysis, I go on to consider examples of ‘classical’ migrant films, such as *The Grapes of Wrath*, *The Emigrants*, *America, America* and *Journey of Hope*, paying particular attention to the (e)utopian imaginaries inspiring these journeys, as well as the role of the horizon in shaping both progressive ‘spaces of hope’ (Harvey 2000) and nostalgic reflections of the home left behind. These affective geographies of migrancy are ‘mapped’ through an analysis of key arrival and departure scenes from the films under discussion.

To the extent that the utopic horizons of these classical migrant narratives evoke an epic sense of scale and *distance*, it is the journey – the *travail* of migrancy – that is foregrounded in such examples. While these geographies of scale are by no means absent from contemporary migrant films, in many respects they represent an era of optimism and classical migration that has long since passed. As a consequence of this, in an age of globalisation and ‘space-time compression’ (Harvey 1989) distance can no longer be regarded as a primary factor in transnational patterns of migration; time has overtaken the significance of space (Papastergiadis 2000: 96).

In light of these developments, in Chapter 4 I go on to consider the fate of the utopic gaze. What significance, if any, do tropes of the horizon play in the spatial imaginary of recent travel films? If, as some might suggest, horizons and frontiers have become conflated in a heterotopic flux of postmodern simultaneity, how do such developments impinge upon filmic representations of agential mobility – i.e. (utopic) travel practices as transgressions of hegemonic ‘fixities’ in space and time? Furthermore, in view of these shifts from space to time in transnational mobilities, to what extent can the otherwise purely cinematic shift from the spatial contiguity of the movement-image to the spatial ellipses of the time-image (Deleuze 1986, 1989) be bracketed off from these more grounded spatial practices? How far, in short, can the aesthetic ‘mobilities’ of recent film theory be abstracted from the broader, discursive ‘landscapes’ of deterritorialisation? These are questions I develop and pursue across Chapters 4 and 5.

In Chapter 4 I turn to a further dimension of the utopic, one more empirically grounded in ‘concrete’ and abstract spaces of transit, waiting and refuge. Drawing on Marc Augé’s concept of the ‘non-place’, the emptied, deterritorialised geographies of ‘sedentary travel’ – e.g. airports, transit camps, borderzones, motorway stops – provide the focus of discussion in this chapter. Taking the British film *Last Resort* and Theo Angelopoulos’ *Voyage to Cythera* as its main examples, this chapter explores the spatial conflation of horizons and frontiers, in which a double-play of imaginary, organic *eutopias* and concrete, ‘empty’ non-places, their etymological counterpart, constructs (im)mobile spaces of stasis and transition. In these and other examples, travel mobilities (the diegetic spaces of the

journey) give way to sedentary points of utopic suspension, where, to quote the tag line from Steven Spielberg's airport film, *The Terminal* (2004), 'life is waiting'.

Alongside non-places of transit and waiting, this chapter also explores Deleuze's notion of *espace quelconque* (any-spaces-whatever) which he introduces in the first of his two works of cinema. Part of the aim here is to consider how far these purely cinematic spaces of deterritorialisation can productively sustain an aesthetics of 'mobility' without at the same time paying heed to the lived, sociological spaces of deterritorialisation from which filmic any-spaces-whatever are abstracted. In a contemporary context of asylum and immigration, it seems inconceivable that these de-actualising geographies of utopic suspension – the *espace quelconque* of a Fortress Europe – can be exempted from discussions of mobility and cinematic space.

As spaces of transit and (im)mobility, I argue that non-places of travel (both filmic and geographic) constitute a dialectical zone of stasis and transition, where, taken in abstraction, neither tropes of nomadic flow nor those of de-actualised fixity adequately confront the rhythmic and affective nature of the temporalities that produce these spaces. Breaking the non-place down into 'zones of arrival and departure' (real and imagined spaces of transit), 'zones of stasis' (the temporal unfolding of spatial restriction) and 'zones of transition' (the spatial unfolding of temporal duration), I set out to explore the dialectical configurations of movement and immobility that constitute these utopic spaces. The third element of this tripartite spatial structure – zones, or spaces of transition – is developed further in Chapter 5, which is itself structurally constituted from the suspended utopics of Chapter 4.

Indeed, in terms of the linear progression of this thesis, being 'stuck' with the problem of immobility – after all, if the horizon has disappeared, leaving only frontiers, what journeys are there left to take? – was already to partway 'move' towards its resolution. The desire for textual and theoretical mobility was itself a product of these same affective spaces of stasis. As a consequence of this, a form of utopic kinaesthesia – a kind of mental tracking shot perhaps? – led me to examine more closely the question of *movement* as a force capable of potentially harvesting its own, less determined landscapes of organic, 'authentic' emplacement.

Chapter 5 then goes in search of psychogeographic horizons of agential mobility. In a cross section of what may loosely be described as 'road films', the horizon, if such a term is conceptually valid in this context, retreats from its horizontal axis and becomes dispersed along the contours and tributaries of the road itself. Travel in this context reflects not so much a displaced imaginary of future arrival, or the passage from points A to B, as a world unto itself: an open zone of embodied mobility and 'haptic visuality' (Marks 2000) in which the cartographic imagination represents a creative, tactile process of topographic self-praxis.

The body thus becomes as much a landscape of travel as that of the empirical world through which it passes. Taking this more phenomenological approach to travel, Chapter 5 sets out to explore the extent to which a cinematics of embodied mobility, as representational, *lived* spaces of travel, can be said to challenge dominant modes of cine-spatial representation.

Of all the cinematic geographies of travel perhaps ‘the road’ has assumed the most iconic status. A symbol of freedom, rebellion, or ‘life-as-a-journey’, the linearity of the ‘open road’ draws on a mythic provenance of space as ‘an empty expanse, a *tabula rasa*, the last true frontier’ (Dargis 1991: 16). As a North American idiom, the ‘road movie’ represents not only a convergence of filmic and geographic space which is culturally and historically specific, but also an *a priori* conception of ‘road space’ which, in abstraction, exerts ideological sway over a broader cultural politics of ‘the road’.

By venturing ‘off road’, I have therefore sought alternative geographies of travel: films in which a politics and poetics of ‘wandering with purpose’ invite more oblique approaches to chronotopes of the road. Picking up ideas developed in Chapter 4, it is argued that these ‘peripatetic’ spaces of transition are part of a dialectic of space in which movement is both extracted from and tempered by stasis. An examination of the abstract spaces of travel in ‘motorway films’ such as *Crash*, *London Orbital* and *Time Out* – e.g. the road space itself, service stations, airport conurbations, etc. – highlights the extent to which these transitional spaces of mobility are a product of abstract non-places of stasis and entropy.

Challenging the implicit linearity of the road as a dominant trope of travel, these examples confound the space-time of classical geometries in which (utopic) horizons are sought somewhere ‘down the road’. In striking contrast to the linearity of the classic road movie, time is reconfigured as circular, ‘leading endlessly back on itself, as empty and as meaningless as a Euclidian dot’ (Brottman and Sharrett 1999: 284). Developing further these experiential temporalities, I go on to examine the kinaesthetics of ‘time travel’ in scenes from two very different films: the migrant travelogue *In This World*, and Angelopoulos’ elegy on memory and mobility, *Eternity and a Day*. In both examples the haptic engagement with mobile landscapes of travel represents an agential unfolding of experiential time: the former a sense of hope and linear progression, the latter a reflective, circular temporality in which landmarks of memory and nostalgia are (re)visited.

Unlike the cinematic geographies explored elsewhere in this thesis, in what I term the ‘peripatetic travel film’ the utopic does not necessarily represent an abstraction from place (an *eutopia* projected towards shrinking or endlessly receding horizons). As lived spaces of travel, movement becomes more a process of divination – of allowing ‘an underlying pattern to reveal itself’ (Sinclair 1997: 4) – than a utilitarian displacement between points of

departure and arrival. Through the mediation of the body, or of an embodied gaze, travel becomes a utopic practice which reinforces and re-galvanises geographies of *place*.

Travel, in this sense, returns to its etymological origins in the word *travail*. Through movement, a utopic engagement with the landscape is forged in which geographies of the self and of society are potentially redrawn. Travel becomes a praxical, if not pedagogical mode of societal and cultural ‘re-cultivation’. Focusing on Angelopoulos’ *The Beekeeper* and Agnès Varda’s *Vagabond*, the idea of peripatetic travel as a ‘cultivating labour’ is explored in the last section of Chapter 5. It is an idea which I return to in the concluding chapter.

In many ways this thesis goes full circle in that it returns to the convergence of filmic and travel practices which constituted the nascent mobilities of the cinematic form. With the advent of lightweight ‘mobile’ digital technology, it is now harder than ever, practically and theoretically, to extricate travel from the filmic. Although the same degree of caution needs to be applied in terms of the accessibility of specific modes of ‘travel’, filmic or otherwise, as that pertaining to less mobile or agential ‘travelling cultures’ such as migrants, asylum seekers and refugees, the idea of the traveller-as-filmmaker (or vice versa) throws attention back to the filmic mode of engagement between the empirical subject and the real and imagined spaces of travel. Far from abstracting ‘the real’ in ideational spaces of deterritorialised simulation, the ‘cultivating labours’ of filmic travel pose dialectical challenges to dominant representations of place, space and identity by reinserting a political hermeneutics of place back into the landscape.

After more than a century of cinema, as well as denoting the medium itself, the ‘filmic’ is now as much a metaphor of travel as ‘travel’ is a metaphor for film’s utopic displacements in space and time. Unwittingly, or perhaps presciently, Lévi-Strauss’ mental tracking shot has re-appropriated tropes of vicarious travel and put them to service in lived spaces of the real.

Chapter 1

THEORETICAL EXCURSIONS AND THE DISCURSIVE TRAVELLER

1.1 Travel: Outline of a Discursive Field

In his final film, *Trois Couleurs: Rouge* (*Three Colours: Red*, 1994), the Polish director Krzysztof Kieslowski opens with a travelling shot in which the camera, and audience, follow the electronic passage of a transnational telephone call. Tracing the line of flight from a telephone dial somewhere in England, intentionalities of desire, anticipation, and insecurity descend into a multi-coloured vortex of undulating cables and virtual message-bearers, buzzing with the incessant flows of (dis)connections and discursions. These matrices of power and communication, the archaeological ‘songlines’ (Chatwin 1987) of some future excavation, pass beneath the wind and the waves, and the contingencies which beset the human messenger, to yield, somewhere on the shores of continental Europe, a lone vector, destined for the nodal interiors of a Genevan apartment.

At the end of the film we witness a reverse journey of sorts, in which Valentine, the recipient of the call, boards a cross-channel ferry to be with her boyfriend, who is working in England. The physical and emotional distance between the couple which the telephone both conveys and attempts to bridge, now becomes part of a landscape where borders, boundaries, and truncated connections reflect material geographies of arrival and departure, in which spatial and temporal proximity is sought through literal displacement. The union, however, is destined not to be. A violent storm causes the ferry to capsize *en route* to England. Valentine is one of only seven survivors.

The fact that the film is book-ended in this way, between practices of virtual and material displacement, appears to lend it a significance which, although probably unintended on the director’s part, nevertheless inaugurates its absorption into, and from, contemporary cultural discourses relating to travel, displacement and the ‘spatial turn’ in social and cultural theory.

In recent years, there have been an unprecedented explosion of metaphors and tropes of travel, migration and displacement which, from both divergent and convergent theoretical positions, seek in some way to address and confront issues of identity, knowledge, power and representation in an age of post-modern uncertainty, transnationalism and globalisation.

No less unprecedented, as is borne out by World Tourism Organisation (WTO), and United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) statistics⁴, are the actual

⁴ According to the WTO, projected estimates of global tourist arrivals for the year 2010 will be 937 million, nearly double that recorded in 1990. In Europe, the figure is projected as 476 million, compared to 283 million in 1990 (World Tourism Organisation 1994). As for refugees and other ‘persons of concerns’ who fall within the remit of UNHCR, such as asylum seekers and the internally

displacement and movement of peoples – tourists, refugees, economic migrants, exiles, etc. – across national and cultural borders. Of course, the nature of specific ‘travel’ practices – i.e. the extent to which it is possible to incorporate within the same lexicon otherwise divergent groups, whose movements and subjectivity are conditioned by degrees of freedom, necessity, or coercion – may act as a counterpoint to debates which valorise mobility as an ontological progenitor of radically de-essentialised ‘travelling’ subjectivities. In order to address these potential pitfalls and epistemological cul-de-sacs, a critical deconstruction of ‘travel’ and related narrative practices will be necessary to highlight the contextual and historical specificities that underwrite the production of travel as an object of discourse, and as a social, cultural and political phenomenon at the turn of the 21st century. This I shall turn to below.

At this introductory stage, however, I wish for a moment to consider and extrapolate from the two images of travel which suggest themselves in Kieslowski’s film: the flows, circulations, and (dis)junctures of a global network of communications, virtual mediations and simulations; and the depiction of ‘real’ travel – the movement of people across physical and national boundaries (the English Channel), in the somewhat more fraught and hazardous terrain of social space.

In the first example, ethics and moral distance are cast in an uncertain, more complex structuration, the anxieties generated not dissimilar to those described by the geographer David Harvey. Harvey’s theory of ‘time-space compression’ (1989a) – the disorientation wrought by the instantaneity of global communications, in which localised experiences of space and time are radically altered by the collapsing of spatial and temporal distances – is suggestive of a vision of postmodernity in which ethics have been incrementally supplanted by aesthetics, as the depthless circularity of global flows soaks up modes of signification from local productions and contextualisations of knowledge. In *Three Colours Red*, these ethical implications – albeit more locally framed – are considered in the form of a retired judge, whose domestic technologies enable him to listen in to, and record, his neighbours’ telephone conversations; a private, reclusive panopticon which in many ways prefigures the more populist conventions of ‘big-brother’-style reality television. In these deterritorialised landscapes of postmodern culture a privileging of the signifier over the signified gives rise to Baudrillard’s notion of ‘pure travelling’ – disembodied travel through landscapes of desert-like banality, unencumbered by ‘places of pleasure or culture, but seen televisually as scenery, as scenarios’ (1988: 9).

displaced, there were almost 20 million recorded world-wide for 2001, 4.9 million of which were within the borders of Europe (UNHCR 2002). These figures do not, of course, include all those who remain undocumented.

Cultural economies of the sign thus form theoretical departure points for a surfeit of analyses of postmodern cultural landscapes in which metaphors of travel and displacement proliferate; a shifting and uncertain theoretical terrain of fragmentation, relativism and crises in representation in which the epistemologies and ‘fixed’ politico-ethical co-ordinates of ‘meta-narratives’ are reconfigured as ‘language games’ (Wittgenstein 1953; Lyotard 1984). In this conception, the ‘de-centred subject’ merely ‘plays’ at assertions of identity and meaning in an ironic or strategic register of fictive narrativity. This, as Harvey (1989a) notes, constitutes one of the defining features of a so-called ‘postmodernity’: the shift from epistemology to ontology.

But this ontological turn – in Jameson’s analysis the schizophrenic discontinuity, or fragmentation of identity positions in late-capitalism’s depthless, experiential flows of ‘pure material signifiers... [or] pure and unrelated presents in time’ (1991: 27) – is arguably no less a retreat from epistemology as it is a re-negotiation – via the logic of the simulacrum – with a form of philosophical idealism. Threads of narrativity and identity are held together by the logic of a materiality-as-signification, in which ideational representations constitute what may be regarded as ‘reality’. Given this scenario it is not surprising that the form of ‘travel’ which has tended to dominate recent debates has been the metaphorical kind.

Even for those whose epochal nomenclature of choice stresses the continuity and intensity of modernity rather than its supersession as a historical form (Virilio’s ‘hyper-modernity’, or Augé’s ‘super-modernity’, for example), tropes of travel and mobility are frequently drawn upon to articulate a contemporary experience in which the development of technologies of travel and communication create a heightened modernity of ‘spaces of flows’ (Castells 1996), speed, deterritorialisation, and ‘non-places’ of transit and passage (Augé 1995).

From otherwise very different perspectives, both Augé and Virilio have been drawn to the hypermodern airport as an area of research (Augé 1995; Armitage 1999); a key feature of the hypermodern built environment and global cultural experience. No less intrigued by its significance, the philosopher Michel Serres’ (1995) theorising of flows, connections and the latter-day ‘angels’, or message-bearing systems, is structured in dialogue form between two airport personnel, one stationed at, the other passing through, Charles de Gaulle Airport in Paris. Such examples could be said to ‘ground’ hyper-tropic travel discourse within empirical sites of social and cultural practice, a point I shall return to below.

Travelling along Kieslowski’s complex of wires, cables and hypermodern networks, we access a cultural and (meta)theoretical landscape in which metaphors of travel map a social and cultural imaginary of porous frontiers, global deterritorialisations, and ambiguous, ever-more precarious assertions of identity and morality.

Yet, as Deleuze has argued in relation to theoretical ‘nomadism’ – a Nietzschean call-to-arms for a mobile, nomadic philosophy which runs counter to the administrative stasis of state bureaucracies (and, incidentally, an early recourse to a metaphor of travel which, as will be shown, has been widely adopted in recent debates) – ‘the nomad is not necessarily one who moves: some voyages take place *in situ*, are trips in intensity’ (Deleuze 1985: 149). This is the virtual travel experience *par excellence*. As will be argued, metaphors of displacement are symptomatic of a wider spatialisation of cultural discourse in general, in which the subject is not necessarily an embodied traveller moving across the real, material and social spaces of contemporary experience, but rather a traveller defined *in relation to* a world perceived in all its phantasmagoric and shifting hyperreality.

With this in mind, the experiences of those undertaking literal border crossings, particularly those whose motivation for movement is to escape persecution, poverty, and oppression, suggest a phenomenological and material dimension that, if not effaced as such, can and should act as an rejoinder to those for whom travel is linked ostensibly to symbolic or intellectual capital.

Although Kieslowski’s film is not focused on the plight of migrants or refugees, the tragic (fictional) consequences of the ferry passengers in *Three Colours: Red* is all too reminiscent of recent, very real tragedies associated with this particular geo-political divide, and the human traffic for whom the Channel/La Manche represents the last frontier to a real or imagined better life. On a sweltering day in June 2000, fifty eight Chinese immigrants died of suffocation in an ill-fated attempt to enter Britain illegally. Smuggled aboard a lorry transporting tomatoes across the Channel from the Netherlands, only two survivors remained when customs officials at Dover discovered the cargo. Frequent fatalities are also reported among migrants and refugees attempting to smuggle themselves aboard freight traffic entering the Channel Tunnel at Calais in France. On a Europe-wide scale it is estimated that thousands of migrants and refugees die each year crossing the borders and frontiers of the European Union, most of these deaths occurring at sea.⁵ For these groups, talk of metaphorical or virtual mobility is somewhat overshadowed by the necessities and hazards of material spatial practices in which ‘travel’ denotes the status of those whose lives have become hopelessly deferred.

This is not to say that it is sufficient to cast the language of travel merely in terms of a crude literal/metaphorical dualism – i.e. ‘conceptual travel’ versus ‘empirical travel’. As will be explored throughout this chapter, travel, and the production of mobility as an object

⁵ Some 3,000 migrants have drowned in 5 years crossing the Straits of Gibraltar from North Africa to Spain. The crossing from Albania to Italy is no less hazardous. The Italian government recorded the deaths of more than 180 *clandestini*, or illegal immigrants, attempting to enter Italy in 1999 (Karacs and Kennedy 2000).

of discourse requires a methodological stance that endeavours to collapse such dualisms in an approach that acknowledges the real and imagined spaces (Soja 1996) that constitute the grounding of travel narratives in everyday practice – a literal and metaphorical ‘grounding’, that encompasses what Shields refers to as the ‘spatial dialectics’ of contemporary social and political struggle (1999). Before exploring these ideas further, however, it is necessary to review some of the discussions that have centred around travel and migration, specifically in terms of the definitions and concepts applied within ordering discourses of travel.

1.2 Definitions and Typologies of Travel

The accumulated diasporas of modernity... and the induced, often brutally enforced migrations from ‘peripheries’ towards Euro-American metropolises and ‘Third World’ cities, are of a magnitude and intensity that dramatically dwarf any direct comparison with the secondary and largely metaphorical journeys of intellectual thought. (Chambers 1994: 5-6)

The ethical and conceptual demarcation between the literal and the metaphorical, as Iain Chambers appears morally obliged to emphasise at the outset of his own ‘intellectual journey’, that is *Migrancy, Culture, Identity* (1994), underlines a certain reflexive unease that is evident in many of the writings on ‘travel theory’, as is the recognition that ‘we don’t all have the same access to the road’ (Wolff 1993: 235; see also Braidotti 1994: 21; Clifford 1992: 107; Kaplan 1996: 2; Pile and Thrift 1995: 24-5).

Said, conceding that ‘it would be the rankest Panglossian dishonesty to say that the bravura performances of the intellectual exile and the miseries of the displaced person or refugee are the same’ (1993: 403), conveys similar concerns to those of writers such as Chambers, yet adds a further dimension by personifying, in the form of the exile as empirical subject, the ‘travelling theory’ of the displaced intellectual, often conceived in isolation, estranged from an originary locus of being and belonging. This subjectivity of the exile as a traveller with little or no hope of return presupposes modernist notions of authenticity, nostalgia and alienation which can be set in opposition to the metaphorical mobility of the intellectual travelling the fragmented and decentred landscapes of postmodernity (Kaplan 1996).

Specific discourses of travel thus reflect the historical and epistemological context within which they are located. Terms such as exile, migrant, traveller, tourist, nomad, to name but few, not only attempt to define the status of empirical and historical subjects of travel, they also draw on, and dialectically contribute to, cultural and political constructions of knowledge: ‘[t]o examine travel’, as Arshi et al point out, ‘is to examine theory’ (1994: 225).

In view of the historicised and culturally specific nature of travel practices, the extent to which types of travel and traveller can be discursively framed within the theoretical parameters of studies such as this, without losing sight of their specificities, is, of course, open to question. The list of those who could conceivably be defined in some way by virtue of their mobility is potentially huge, as Peters suggests in the following inventory:

flâneurs, loafers, and bohemians; gypsies, gypsy scholars, sea gypsies, and gypsy truckers; hoboes, tramps, drifters, vagabonds, and flimflam artists; sociologists, private eyes, journalists, men and women of the street; sailors, soldiers of fortune, adventurers, and explorers; border crossers of all sorts; gauchos, cowboys, and guerrilla fighters; pioneers, pilgrims, and crusaders; knights errant, troubadours, minstrels, charlatans, and journeymen; Huns, Vandals, Goths, Mongols, Berbers, and Bedouins; tourists, travellers, *hajji*, refugees, immigrants, the stateless and the homeless; commuters, telecommuters, jet-setters, migrant workers, and *Gastarbeiter*, automobilists, bikers and circus people. (1999: 18)

An attempt to rope these and other ‘travelling subjects’ together in a discourse of travel would make little sense if theoretically wedded to some vague anthropological (and a-historical) notion of ‘the traveller’. If, however, the question of travel is reformulated as one in which the traveller is understood to be the product of discursive and spatial formations it is less travel and mobility *per se* that forms the basis of enquiry as the ways in which specific travel practices are implicated in the construction of space, place and identity. As such, attention is drawn to the real and imagined geographies of travel that structure these otherwise diverse practices. One example we could cite here is that of the border, a cognitive as much as cultural or geo-political formation which constitutes an integral part of the travel experience.

The traversing of borders in practices such as tourism, migrancy and exile raises questions as to the degrees of ease and/or necessity that such border crossings entail. This provides a methodological axis upon which the nature of these practices, and of the individuals or groups concerned, can begin to be assessed. Bauman’s notion of ‘tourists and vagabonds’ (1997) is of particular use in this respect. Intended metaphorically, this oppositional structure represents a continuum upon which degrees of independence and autonomy over one’s life itineraries may be charted. Freedom for the tourist is the ability to wander; for the vagabond it is the ability not to have to wander. In the post-industrial and post-communist context of contemporary Europe the exponential rise in the service and culture industries is both a response and a trigger to the valorisation of the individual as consumer. Endeavours to nurture and attract the ‘tourist’ in this climate of competition and market forces contributes to a social reality which, in its more sedentary manifestations, is inhibitive or rejective towards those lacking, or striving for, the same degree of political or

economic autonomy. As Bauman remarks, '[t]he vagabonds are the waste of the world which has dedicated itself to tourists' services' (1997: 92).

This metaphorical typology is analytically focused on broader issues of stratification in postmodern societies of the West, in which the politics of consumption have begun to supplant the traditional class-based identity constructions more commonly associated with Marxist analyses of relations of production. Issues of identity, in particular the relative freedom for the 'tourist' to indulge 'the art of melting the solids and unfixing the fixed' (Bauman 1997: 89), are embedded in a political economy of late capitalism (Jameson 1984; Mandel 1975) in which the relative autonomy of the tourist is set against the 'involuntary tourism' of the vagabond in his or her desire to secure and maintain a sense of identity amidst the disorientation of these very same shifting social, cultural and political coordinates.

Although metaphorical, it is not difficult to see how such a dichotomy could be applied more literally to the movements of individuals and groups crossing the shifting cultural and geo-political borders of contemporary Europe. In agential terms the distinction can be translated to that between 'space-based' action – in which movement is enabling and facilitative – and 'space-bound' action – in which movement is limited or limiting to the agent (Sarup 1994: 95).

With this in mind, it can be shown that the various definitions and typologies deployed in theoretical approaches to travel, straddle – often precariously – both empirical and conceptual understandings of a world of mobility in which presuppositions regarding the autonomous or determinative nature of movement, of claims to fixity, and of relations of difference (class, ethnic/cultural, sexual) are expressed.

The Tourist

MacCannell, in his seminal study, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976), is explicit from the outset that his use of the term 'tourist' is intended to refer to both actual tourists, in the form of sightseers, and also a metasociological conceptualisation of 'modern-man-in-general' (1976: 1) – a metaphor, in other words, for the existential condition of the human subject of late modernity.

In MacCannell's analysis, the tourist is the *bricoleur* of Lévi-Straussian structuralism applied to the quotidian realities of modernity. In search of symbolic and mythical landscapes of 'authenticity' and 'wholeness', the tourist-bricoleur seeks to recover a sense of structural coherence felt to be absent from the alienated, inauthentic experiences of everyday life. Through the 'staged authenticity' of touristic appropriations of, for example, notions of a pre-modern 'exotic other' (the temporal displacement frequently matched by spatial distinctions of urban and rural, core and periphery), the tourist consumes the cultural

signifiers of a mythical, originary sense of the 'sacred' untainted by, but nevertheless structurally linked to, the disenchantments of the modern world: a world of alienated labour, existential homelessness, and solitary anomie. The tourist-pilgrim, ensconced in the mythic and consumable landscapes of nostalgic origins, mechanical solidarity, and 'invented traditions' (Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983), becomes metonymically embedded in the broader discursive landscapes of displacement.

Thus, through the figure of the tourist as empirical subject MacCannell is able to instigate an over-arching theoretical analysis of modernity and its discontents, not dissimilar to that explored in Berger, Berger and Kellner's *The Homeless Mind* (1973).

With its grounding in structuralism, MacCannell's tourist is ostensibly determinist, in that the intention is to show 'how myths think in men [sic], unbeknown to them' (Lévi-Strauss in Hawkes 1977: 41), rather than stipulating other permutations of tourist subjectivity. As such, any perceived hierarchical, evaluative or class distinctions between perceptions of, say, the bourgeois independent 'traveller' and the mass ranks of the working-class 'tourist' are effectively erased. The eco- or cultural tourist in pursuit of the exotic, or the Western backpacker in search of the mythical 'beach' of Alex Garland's novel of the same name (1997), an island paradise uncorrupted by the trappings of modernity: these practices are shown to be no less governed by structural determinants than those which define the status of the working-class tourist.

James Clifford, writing in a different context, also draws attention to the 'myth' of the autonomous, independent-minded 'traveller', arguing that 'most bourgeois, scientific, commercial, aesthetic travellers moved within highly determined circuits' (1992: 107).

The oft-raised distinction between (good/elite) travelling and (bad/populist) tourism is well illustrated by Fussell, for whom the 'traveller' represents an idea of displacement pitched historically and aesthetically between the heroic explorers of the age of the Enlightenment, who '[moved] towards the risks of the formless and the unknown', and the present-day tourist, who 'moves toward the security of the pure cliché' (1980: 39).

For Fussell, the vulgar, inauthentic travel of the tourist lies in the etymological roots of travel as work – *travail*. Nostalgic for a pedagogic idea of travel linked to self-cultivation and the pursuit of knowledge, he bewails not only the feckless tourist seduced by the 'arts of mass publicity' (1980: 39), but also the proliferating 'pseudo-places' of tourism, such as airports, cruise ships, and the motel (against which he nostalgically evokes the days when, respectively, airports purportedly had character, and were not uniform and 'placeless'; ships were romantic and bound for adventure and discovery; and the Grand Hotel still epitomised an idea of travel which the banal and transitory experience of the motel had yet to debase).

Fussell's rather simplistic and elitist divisions between the high and low cultures of travel nevertheless highlights – and reinforces – class-based stratifications of travel and

tourism. Citing the example of the middle-class traveller suffering the ‘tourist angst’ of blurred typological distinctions, Fussell introduces a further term – the ‘anti-tourist’ – as a strategic mode of social distinction amongst the reflexive (and potentially falsely conscious) middle-class tourist.

The displacements of individuals and groups, whether tourist, traveller, or anti-tourist, conceal and reveal spatialisations of difference in which social, cultural and economic topographies structure the often contingent subject positions of those engaged in these otherwise voluntarist spatial practices. Definitions and typologies extend into the epistemological domains of modernist discourses of identity and authenticity (MacCannell 1976), and of Cartesian notions of knowledge and distance, in which Enlightenment values conceal, in the form of the class-encoded traveller and explorer, the hidden hand of neo-colonial hegemony (Fussell 1980; cf. Helms 1988).

Within the field of tourism studies certain writers have argued for a greater degree of engagement with social and cultural theory, and with other travel practices such as commuting, mobile labour markets, migration and diasporas (Franklin and Crang 2001). In a global and transnational context of increasingly porous frontiers of identity ‘the tourist’ emerges as a discursive ‘transit’ point, negotiating the two-way traffic between theory and practice (ibid). These theoretical excursions are held to ‘re-route’ discourses of tourism to effect a ‘sedentary tourism of the everyday’ (ibid: 9), in which, as Rojek and Urry point out, ‘[i]t is now clear that people tour cultures; and that cultures and objects themselves travel’ (1997:1). Such a contention effectively collapses the hitherto necessary conflation of the tourist with actual geographies and economies of travel, and, like Bauman’s typology, reinscribes MacCannell’s metasociological tourist for the increasingly restless landscapes of postmodernity.

This extension of the tourist-as-metaphor to the social and cultural practices of the everyday reveals the interdependent relationship between notions of ‘home’ and ‘away’. Yet in the ‘grounded’ (Smith and Katz 1993) and contested terrain of social space it does little to address the stratifications of mobility that metaphors of travel often conceal (Wolff 1993). While Bauman’s ‘tourist’ is similarly oriented towards the everyday, the benefits of the latter’s conception lies in its *relational* position along a voluntary/autonomous – involuntary/determined continuum.

Exile, Migrancy and Diaspora

For Curtis and Pajaczkowska, ‘[t]he opposite of tourism is not “staying at home”, but the involuntary travel associated with the predicament of the immigrant. If the tourist travels, for the most part, backwards in time, then the immigrant, the exile and the diasporic travel forwards with no promise of a restored home’ (1994: 202-3).

Itineraries of travel and migration, and of voluntarist and determinist movements through space and time, locate indexical configurations of ‘home’ and ‘away’ which inform conceptions of travel typologies. For writers such as Chambers, the accessibility of itineraries and fixed points of arrival and departure determine the status of the mobile subject as either ‘traveller’ or ‘migrant’ – a conceptual, as much as an empirical distinction through which cultures of postmodernity are accessed:

To travel implies movement between fixed positions, a site of departure, a point of arrival, the knowledge of an itinerary. It also intimates an eventual return, a potential homecoming. Migrancy, on the contrary, involves a movement in which neither the points of departure nor arrival are immutable or certain. It calls for a dwelling in language, in histories, in identities that are constantly subject to mutation. Always in transit, the promise of a homecoming... becomes an impossibility. (Chambers 1994: 5)

Chamber’s Heideggerian approach stresses the role of language in stabilisations of home, identity, and being-in-the-world. Dwelling in language, as Minh-ha (1994) has argued, often marks the status of the exile, for whom writing replaces the actual site of geographical and cultural (dis)placement as an idea of ‘home’.

As with other tropes of travel and displacement, the ‘exile’ has been drawn upon to define in some way a conceptualisation of the historical or cultural condition. Kristeva, for example, argues that ‘[o]ur present age is one of exile’ (in Minh-ha 1994: 13). Similarly, Said suggests that ‘[m]odern Western culture is in large part the work of exiles, émigrés, refugees’ (2001: 173), citing the example of the United States as a destination for émigrés and intellectuals fleeing political persecution throughout the turbulent decades of the twentieth century.

For Caren Kaplan, exile defines a modernist sensibility, noting that Euro-American middle-class expatriates drew upon attributes of the exile as an ideology of artistic production (1996: 28). The exilic presupposes the displacement from an authentic homeland; a condition marked by nostalgia⁶ for lost origins, and alienation from an often-hostile host culture. Exile literature is marked by a sense of loss or separation from the home country (Braidotti 1994: 24), in which ‘[i]dealisation often goes with mourning’ (Peters 1999: 19).

Although the use of terms such as the exilic, migrant, diasporic and nomadic often overlap, as in Said’s observation that ‘[e]xile is life led outside habitual order. It is *nomadic*, decentered, contrapuntal...’ (2001: 186, emphasis added), the figure of the exile is typically that of a solitary, often male, intellectual suffering estrangement, either internally or

⁶ Etymologically, nostalgia is derived from the Greek *nostos*, a return home, and *algos*, a painful condition (Kaplan 1996: 34).

externally, from a political or cultural idealisation of home. As such, economic marginalisation and social stratification tend not to be the predominant factors within exilic narratives, unlike the migrant, for whom displacement marks an absence that is felt *within* the home environment. Its resolution lies outside and beyond the constraints of the here and now; home is experienced as a deferral, rather than as an originary site of (im)possible returns.

Migrancy, then, tends to be associated with issues of class, marginalisation, and social and economic exclusion. Braidotti argues that '[e]conomic migration is at the heart of the new class stratification in the European Community today' (1994: 22). When assessed in the context of debates around asylum and migration that are dominating mainstream political agendas across Europe, and an apparent resurgence of support for far-right political parties advocating nationalist and exclusionist policies, it is hard to find fault with such a conclusion. As with exile, migration does not necessarily imply transnational displacement, however, as it is also operative within national borders, in movements from rural to urban developments, for example, or between devolved or economically divergent regions.

Turning to the diasporic, conceptualisations typically tend to share with the exilic an understanding of displacement that locates centres of autochthony, in which the past and the absent are perceived in relation to an invariably compromised and contingent spatio-temporal present. Unlike exile, however, orientations toward the future and hopes of return are more ambivalent in that settlement and co-existence with the Other have ameliorated nostalgic yearnings for 'home'. As Peters conjectures, 'perhaps the historical lack of zeal for returning to Jerusalem on the part of some Jews, grown comfortable in the diaspora, lifts the burden of homesickness from the notion of diaspora' (1999: 20).

Whereas the exile, as lone vector, is suggestive of singular, direct lines of flight, the diasporic connotes dispersal, a radiating out from the centre. Its roots, etymologically and historically, can be traced back to the West's Judaeo-Christian and Ancient Greek forebears:

Used in Deuteronomy 28:25, the term *diaspora* combines *dia* (through, throughout) with *spora* (sowing, scattering, dissemination; related to the English *spore*, *spread*, and *sperm*). The notion of the diaspora as the dispersed Jewish community outside of Judae was first developed in the Hellenistic era... (Peters 1999: 23)

In many cases, contemporary experiences of diaspora involve possibilities of return to the 'old country', perhaps in the form of tourism, familial links, business or labour migration. The idea of a dispersed people, separated from homelands by insurmountable distances or political barriers, has given way to diasporic geographies that have been transformed by technologies of travel and communication (Clifford 1997: 247). In empirical terms, the

diasporic subject is thus convergent with other forms of travel practice, such as tourism and migrancy.

On a conceptual level, debates have sought to assign diaspora to contemporary experiences of hybridity and otherness. For Peters, diaspora is the term of preference for ‘the perpetual postponement of homecoming’ that marks the existential condition of postmodern difference (1999: 39). Diaspora, in this analysis, constitutes a semantic and conceptual compromise between the ‘exilic dream of return to organic connections’ and the ‘nomadic celebration of rootless liberty’ (ibid: 38).

Stuart Hall covers similar ground, citing two conceptualisations of cultural identity and diaspora. Commenting on representations of black subjectivity and diaspora, he argues that, on the one hand, Afro-Caribbean identities have drawn from a black diasporic imagination organically connected to Africa-as-homeland, from which are extrapolated notions of a shared black experience and cultural identity. On the other hand, Hall suggests that these and other identities can also be conceived of in terms of difference, of becoming, or identification as a process. In this conception the diaspora experience is defined ‘not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by *hybridity*. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference’ (Hall 1990: 235, emphasis in original). Diaspora, in other words, becomes a metaphor for the processual nature of post-colonial identity formation.

The Nomad

The diasporic as cultural hybrid whose sense of identity is garnered through continual negotiations of otherness – of ‘routes’ over ‘roots’ (Clifford 1997) – slips almost seamlessly into the figure of the nomad. The differences lie, as Peters suggests, in the degrees to which the concept of home is regarded as provisional. The diasporic is located between essentialist fixity and rootless deterritorialisation. Tropes of the nomad, by contrast, abandon all claims to sedentariness; fluid, contingent identities slip between and through the hegemonic fortifications of ‘home’ viewed as the essentialist imposition of cognitive and epistemological boundaries: ‘[f]or nomads, home is always mobile’ (Peters 1999: 20). As such, the nomadic subject is at home both everywhere and nowhere.

This strategic homelessness has become a dominant trope within postmodern and poststructuralist discourses, especially among feminist writers trying to ‘square the circle’ of resistant subjectivity and de-essentialised celebrations of difference (Braidotti 1994; Kaplan 1996). The actual nomadic groups from which these discourses are drawn have long been a source of fascination for writers, anthropologists, and filmmakers. Again, in a contemporary

context of globalisation and transnationalism, the strict imposition of categorical borders between typologies of traveller is no longer as unproblematic as perhaps it once was. But from Baudelaire's interest in gypsy, or Rom culture, to Bruce Chatwin, TE Lawrence and Paul Bowles (and their cinematic counterparts in David Lean [*Lawrence of Arabia*, 1962] and Bernardo Bertolucci [*The Sheltering Sky*, 1990]), there have been romantic idealisations of nomadic, pastoral groups that have fuelled the Western imaginary of the Other. This exoticisation of the nomad, as with Said's explorations of Euro-American Orientalist discourses (1978), tells us more about the cultural and epistemological terrain from which dominant representations are produced, than that of the groups in question, whose historical and geo-political locatedness is invariably glossed over in service of a romanticised mirroring of Western flights from modernity.

Similarly, amongst scholars and anthropologists there has been a disproportionate amount of interest afforded to nomadic groups as against ethnographic studies of more settled communities in given regions. The anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod has pointed out that, of ethnographic studies of the Arab world, those researching nomadic groups have received a considerable share of scholarly attention, despite these same groups representing barely one per cent of the Arab population (Peters 1999: 35).

Philosophically, the recourse to tropes of nomadism in contemporary narratives has been aided by the interventions of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, whose *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1988) has driven into a the lexicon of contemporary theorists terms such as rhizome, lines of flight, deterritorialisation, and nomadism. Some of these ideas will be explored in greater detail in section 1.5 of this chapter, but in summary, Deleuze and Guattari argue that:

There are no longer any true or false ideas, there are just ideas. There is no longer any ultimate goal or direction, but merely a wandering along a multiplicity of lines of flight that lead away from centres of power. Arborescent models of structured thought and activity are replaced by an exploratory rhizome... Everything becomes mobile: images, consumer products, and people are cut off from their conditions of production and circulate around the globe, resting in juxtaposition with others of entirely different origins, before attaining an ultimate egalitarian status in the garbage dump, old age or oblivion. Deleuze and Guattari call this kind of movement *deterritorialisation*. (Goodchild 1996: 2, emphasis in original)

Again, from humble beginnings as a category of empirical spatial practice, we witness the ascension of tropic travel to positions of dominance within contemporary theoretical landscapes. Indeed, from a meta-theoretical perspective, the 'traveller' of postmodern and poststructuralist discourse appears to reign supreme over conceptual fields of epistemology and ontology. To examine travel is to examine theory.

1.3 The Dialectics of Movement and Fixity

As I have argued thus far, a healthy degree of scepticism, caution and vigilance is necessary to combat the allure of travel-as-metaphor. If seen in terms of a panacea, of ‘freeing up the by-ways’ of a labyrinthine conceptual landscape, then the degrees to which individuals and groups are able, materially, phenomenologically, and socially, to *experience* mobility as an (de)actualising force, is liable to be overlooked.

This has not been lost on certain feminist writers, who, in the wake of a proliferation of texts celebrating the nomadic subject (Braidotti 1994; Kaplan 1996), or the empowerments of liminal border identities, and spaces of marginality (hooks 1990; Anzaldúa 1987; Minh-ha 1989; Price-Chalita 1994; Wilson 1991), point out that many women’s lives are, in fact, lived locally, bound by the constraints of low-waged employment and responsibilities of motherhood (Pratt and Hanson 1994). Locating feminist discourse within tropes of exile or nomadism, it is argued, runs the risk of erecting boundaries between feminists by alienating working-class women from the perceived elitism and individualism of theoretical feminism (ibid: 9).

Thus, although the world is indeed more mobile, with local connections increasingly enacted in a global context, this must nevertheless be tempered by the recognition that, for most people, their ‘habitus’ – the everyday set of structured and structuring practices that constitute the social, spatial and temporal bases of everyday life (Bourdieu 1977) – is ostensibly housed within geographies of locality (Pratt and Hanson 1994: 10).

To reiterate, drawing attention to these material counterpoints to theoretical mobility does not, of necessity, imply a rigid, dualistic structuration. However, the inclusion of ‘real bodies’, and literal, empirical data to studies of movement and mobility, serves as a materialist corrective to a-spatial and abstracted concepts of displacement (Mitchell 1997: 111; Hyndman 1997: 152). The challenge is not to tread dichotomous, hierarchical paths of the literal and metaphorical, or of local stability versus global flows, but to consider, dialectically, representations of movement and fixity: images of the world as ‘a hybrid motion of displaced nomads... [and of] localities as integrated and settled communities (Featherstone 1995: 144). Or, as Clifford has argued, ‘to rethink cultures as sites of dwelling *and* travel’ (1992: 105, emphasis in original).

Clifford’s arguments stem from methodological debates within the discipline of anthropology, which consider the framing of the ‘object’ of field research in ethnographic modes of representation. Traditional conceptualisations of ‘culture’ as bounded, homogenous and localised in space and time are now widely accepted to be untenable in the context of globalisation and porous, transnational frontiers (cf. Appadurai 1996; Hannerz 1996; Rapport and Dawson 1998a). The question Clifford poses, however, is how far

ethnography, and, by extension, related disciplines such as cultural studies, should yield ideas of culture as dwelling in favour of culture as travel.

To illustrate anthropological privileging of roots over routes, Clifford juxtaposes the archetypal image of the ethnographer's tent, pitched in some isolated, remote village, with that of the hotel:

In tipping the balance toward travelling, the 'chronotope' of culture (a setting or scene organising time and space in representable whole form⁷) comes to resemble as much a site of travel encounters as of residence; it is less like a tent in a village... and more like a hotel lobby, ship, or bus. (Clifford 1992: 101)

Although this shift in perception is historically situated in contemporary cultural practices, the idea of cultures as sites of travel encounters has doubtless always, to a greater or less extent, been a factor in local constructions of being and place. Indeed, '[n]atives, people confined to and by the places to which they belong, groups unsullied by contact with a larger world, have probably never existed' (Appadurai in Clifford 1992: 100).

hooks (1992) rebukes Clifford for his 'playful' evocation of travel, suggesting that a deconstruction of the conventional sense of travel would expose its attachment to imperialism. The playful travel Clifford is argued to propose excludes other, often terrorising experiences of border crossings experienced by people of colour.

Putting aside the question of what or who constitutes '*the* conventional sense of travel', as a general note of caution in relation to hegemonic territorialisations of travel narratives, this criticism raises salient concerns. However, hooks does not acknowledge the breadth of travel experiences that Clifford clearly seems attuned to, and which can be illustrated in the following quote:

[T]ravellers move about under strong cultural, political and economic compulsions and certain travellers are materially privileged, others oppressed. These different circumstances are crucial determinations of the travel at issue – movements in specific colonial, neo-colonial and postcolonial circuits, different diasporas, borderlands, exiles, detours and returns. Travel, in this view denotes a range of material, spatial practices that produce knowledges, stories, traditions, comportments, musics, books, diaries and other cultural expressions. (Clifford 1992: 108)

It is difficult to fathom how hook's own travel stories, and of those with whom she identifies as a 'woman of colour', are somehow excluded from a range of spatial practices and narratives which Clifford's concept of travel unequivocally encompasses.

⁷ The term 'chronotope', which literally means *time-space*, originates from the work of the Russian linguist and philosopher, Mikhail Bakhtin, who defines it thus: 'the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature' (1981: 84).

By far the more substantive critique comes from Smith and Katz, who take issue with Clifford's 'spatial essentialism', arguing that 'an absolutist spatial ontology... provides the missing foundation for everything else in flux' (1993: 79). The social and cultural flows, in other words, are theoretically mobilised by recourse to static, and inadequately scrutinised spatial metaphors. The need for a broader spatial theorisation of travel narratives, tropes and concepts will be explored more thoroughly in the next section.

Clifford's intervention is, nevertheless, an important and timely recognition that ideas of place and identity are not merely synonyms for 'home' as a culturally distinct entity, but that home and movement are dialectical counterparts; each conforms and contorts to the assertions of the other; each extracts from itself a difference that is home/lessness and dis/placement.

Movement in-itself, as with specific travel typologies noted above, is often cited as a defining characteristic of who 'we' are. Berger suggests that it represents our 'quintessential experience' (in Rapport and Dawson 1998b: 23). Similarly, Chambers argues that 'modern culture is practised through, and the work of, wandering' (ibid: 24).

While these observations are partially true, they do not account for the dialectical configurations of emplacement and displacement, movement and fixity which concern us here. Movement, in the form of travel and migration, sets into play spatial imaginings and practices which etch contingencies of home – a fragility of placement both defined and dissolved by the yielding of presence to absence.

Applying deconstructionist theories to travel, Van den Abbeele argues that 'home' is the prerequisite for any notion of travel. The positing, cognitively and narratively, of a privileged point, or *oikos* (from the Greek for 'home'), defines the conceptual and narrative possibilities from which travel is realised.

Yet if travel can only be conceptualised in terms of the fixity of an *oikos* of home, then 'the positing of a point we can call home can only occur retroactively. The concept of home is needed (and in fact it can only be thought) only *after* the home has already been left behind. In a strict sense, then, one has already left home since home can only exist at the price of its being lost... the identity of home is breached by the very movement that constitutes it' (Van den Abbeele 1992: xviii-xix, xxiii).

The deconstructed traveller, clinging to the fixity and presence of an *oikos* of home, is ideologically undone via Derrida's analyses of the 'metaphysics of presence', that have, it is argued, defined the 'logocentric' and binary logic of Western thought. The privileging of voice over writing – the presuppositions of a presence that shuns the erasable *and* constitutive absence of difference (or *différance* to use Derrida's term – from the French verb *différer*, meaning both to 'differ' and to 'defer') – is matched, in the form of the Western traveller, by the privileging of an *oikos* in contradistinction to an Other. This, Van

den Abbeele contends, has formed the basis of the *ethnocentrism* and imperialism that have shaped the literary, political and colonial voyages of the Western ideological consciousness in its endeavours to know and exploit the Other (1992: xxv; Derrida 1976).

Literary metaphors of travel practice can thus be shown to operate within the discursive frameworks of hegemonic and ideological textualities. A deconstruction of the language of placement and displacement, as developed by Van den Abbeele, is set within broader poststructuralist interventions into the structures of discourse, and the ‘freeplay’, or migration of meaning across the plenitude of the signifying text. The spatialisation of tropic structures of meaning such as the metaphor, reveal a curious double play of metaphorical travel and travel metaphor. De Certeau has even suggested that ‘[e]very story is a travel story – a spatial practice’ (1984: 115). Both de Certeau and Van den Abbeele have remarked that in Greece, vehicles of mass transportation, such as the bus and the train, are called *metaphorai*, from the ancient Greek for transfer, or transport. This dovetailing of travel and metaphor in poststructuralist theory, yields a complex circularity of tropic displacement and displaced tropes: ‘[t]ravel...’, argues Van den Abbeele, ‘becomes the metaphor of metaphor while the structure of the metaphor becomes the metaphor for the travel of meaning’ (1992: xxiii).

The constitutive nature of the ‘outside’ Other is also explored by the political theorist Ernesto Laclau (1990), who, drawing heavily of the work of Derrida, argues that the totalising structures of discourse ‘hegemonise’ and essentialise their content by excluding the ‘constitutive outside’. A refusal to acknowledge the ostensibly *contingent* nature of social practice renders social relations and historical landscapes as *necessary* and thus politically, theoretically and ideologically constituted. Theoretical closure, the fixity of meaning, and the denial of all that is absent from positivities of knowledge and social discourse is that by which ‘society’ itself is made (discursively) possible. Yet these totalising structures of meaning which yield notions of the subject and the social are only able to withstand the imposition of the contingent as abstractions. To be implicated in the social is to be located within structures of meaning from which identity is simultaneously both constituted and deconstructed by an outside of endless difference and freeplay.

The role of movement in such an approach is assigned solely to the mechanisms of the temporal and historical. The ‘spatial’, in Laclau’s view, is a realm of stasis – a negation of historicity and the possibility of politics. The ‘essential orderliness’ (Massey 1993: 157) of spatial discourses are conceived of as (hegemonic) attempts to represent the unrepresentable – to map the unmappable.

This antipathy toward the spatial has implications for ideas of home (whether political, social, or cultural), as space (in Laclau’s conception) is ‘impossible’ by virtue of its contingent erosion by history. This level of abstraction, while drawing on spatial

metaphors to reconfigure post-Marxist political subjectivities, does not allow translation of engagements with the ‘constitutive outside’ from the metaphorical to the realm of the social and *spatial*. For Laclau space is an impossibility as it does not venture ‘outside of the text’, whereas in terms of social and cultural practice, ideas of contingency and the constitutive nature of the outside are useful precisely because they can also be theorised outside of, and against, spatial abstraction; i.e. within the actual relations of difference, and interactions of social space. The porosity of space as a political, textual entity renders its imposition and defence as a negation of relational subjectivity. The porosity of space as a social, cultural and phenomenological entity renders it a real and imagined domain of mobilised difference, spatial practice and the dwelling and dis/placement of ‘home’. Totalising discourses, it should be remembered, are also *lived*.

What can be shown from debates such as this, as Smith and Katz have pointed out in relation to Clifford, is that *space*, as a real and imagined locus of engagement, is often conceptualised, if at all, in static, unproblematised terms which fail to adequately theorise the productive nature of space as a lived, representational, and practised aspect of social experience. In the next section, the various discourses and theorisations of travel and mobility that have been discussed in this chapter will be examined from the perspective of wider debates around spatiality, drawing on the work of Henri Lefebvre to structure travel in terms of the *production* of displacement.

1.4 A Spatial Turn

Reflecting on the theoretical privileging of time over space in discourses of modernity, Foucault suggests that ‘[s]pace was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic... If one started to talk in terms of space that meant one was hostile to time’ (1980: 70). As has been shown in relation to contemporary theorists such as Laclau, this deep and lingering suspicion towards the spatial is still evident in critical discourses of the left. Seen in terms of a frozen dialectic and a denial, or negation of the political, space remains aligned with the reactionary forces of the hegemon, bent on paving over the processes of contingency, identity-formation, and History’s becoming.

By contrast, for others writing from a Marxist background, such as Harvey (1989a, 1989b, 1993), Soja (1989, 1996, 1999), and Jameson (1988, 1991, 1992) space has proved far from marginal or theoretically suspect. All have sought to emphasise the importance of space in contemporary analyses of what Featherstone and Lash prefer to term ‘global modernities’ (1995: 3): the social and cultural dynamics of global processes of uneven capitalist development and (post)modernisation.

While the latter show some degree of circumspection in respect of applying, as a cultural universal, a historical condition or aesthetic which has ostensibly been drawn from a Western experience, the former all relate in some way or another the importance of space with theorisations of the postmodern. Harvey's *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989a), Soja's *Postmodern Geographies* (1989), and Jameson's *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1984, 1991) – each easily the most cited of their respective oeuvres – have proved instrumental in establishing a materialist basis to debates surrounding postmodernism, locating it historically as an advanced stage of 'multinational capitalism' (Jameson), and post-Fordist, flexible accumulation (Harvey), thus representing an 'intentional announcement of a possibly epochal transition in both critical thought and material life' (Soja 1989: 5). Key to this transition is a belated re-evaluation of the importance of space in critical social theory; the much heralded 'spatial turn' (Jameson 1991: 154; Soja 1999: 261) of a conceptual landscape grounded in the material and experiential changes wrought by contemporary processes of globalisation, multinational capitalism, and the technological and geo-political shrinking of space and time.

This spatial turn, as Jameson has suggested, offers a means of distinguishing postmodernism from modernism proper, 'whose experience of temporality – existential time, along with deep memory – it is henceforth conventional to see as a dominant of the high modern' (1991: 154). Yet this epochal differentiation, or transition, as well as marking a supposed experiential shift in historical and ontological conditionality, simultaneously both conceals and reveals a certain continuity of theoretical practice in which the historical imagination can by no means be argued to have been supplanted by that of space and geography (outside, perhaps, of a stream of postmodernist thinking, branded by Soja as 'neo-conservative postmodernism' [1989: 74], which valorises the uncertainty of depthless flows of dispersed or 'weakened' historicity [Jameson 1991: 6], and for whom the spatialisation inherent in terms such as 'globalisation' upholds the ideology of corporate capital and the world market [cf. Hardt and Negri 2000: 150]). As Featherstone and Lash have argued in relation to global experiences of modernity and (post)modernisation, so the historical and the temporal, and the *positioning* of subjectivities within diverse material and collective circumstances, renders a contemporary experience that cannot so readily dispense with the temporal presuppositions of modernist epistemologies.

Furthermore, spatial concepts deemed 'postmodern' in terms of their empirical or theoretical specificity can have bearing on historical analyses of modernist spaces, as Hetherington's study (1997) of eighteenth-century 'heterotopias' (literally 'places of otherness' – see Foucault 1986) has shown. Dispensing with conceptualisations of modernity as either utopian or dystopian – for example, the Palais Royal in pre-Revolutionary Paris as a model of a new, egalitarian society, or William Blake's 'dark

satanic mills' of the Industrial Revolution, a dystopic vision set against the yearned-for utopia of Jerusalem – Hetherington argues that modernity should be understood as a process of ordering, played out in the in-between spaces of the heterotopic. Heterotopias are real spaces which are simultaneously *nowhere* (*ou-topia*, from the Greek for no-place or nowhere), and which are inversely structured toward a spatio-temporal 'other': the 'good place' (*eu-topia*) of alternate social ordering.⁸ These 'other spaces' are described by Foucault as 'juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible' (1986: 25; Hetherington 1997).

This concept of the heterotopic is an important contribution to debates on social and cultural space. However, while its theorisations have been linked to discussions around postmodern spatiality (Soja 1989, 1995, 1996; Harvey 1989a: 48, 273; Connor 1997; Lyon 1999), as this example shows it is not necessarily a geographic, architectural, or sociological phenomenon that is intrinsic to the periodisation that is 'postmodernity' (Hetherington 1997: 41). As such, it represents a shift in theoretical discourse in which 'geographical imaginations', to use Gregory's term (1994), have begun the process of redressing a disciplinary and intellectual bias towards historical conceptualisations of the human condition. Space, it can unequivocally be asserted, is back on the agenda.

The most fervent of champions for, in his own words, 'the reassertion of space in critical social theory', is the geographer Edward Soja. In *Postmodern Geographies*, he advocates the incorporation 'more centrally [of] the *fundamental spatiality* of social life' (1989: 137, emphasis added). The spatial determinism that seems implicit in this quote seems desirous of a *displacement* of the temporal, rather than envisaging a *corrective* role for space. Gregory, in an extended critique of this work, argues that Soja's 'single-minded determination to expose one 'hidden narrative' – the subordination of space to time – runs the risk of inviting a simple reversal in response: the subordination of time to space' (1994: 282).

From a broader critical perspective, Soja's intention appears ostensibly to be that of 'upping the ante' of the spatial, rather than an overall effacement of the temporal. In other words, he sets out to highlight deficiencies in a hitherto temporally-oriented discursive tradition, and to argue the case for the incorporation of critical spatial and geographical insights into contemporary social theory. Perhaps in response to allegations of spatial determinism, Soja later introduced an 'ontological trialectic' (1996: 70) of spatiality-historicity-sociality, arguing for the absence of *a priori* privileging of any of the 'trialectics of being' (ibid: 71). His reassertion of critical spatial thinking is thus

⁸ See Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of ideas of *outopia* and *eutopia* which are drawn from Louis Marin's *Utopics: The Semiological Play of Textual Spaces* (1984).

reconfigured as a transdisciplinary assertion of epistemological equivalence of the spatial, historical and social.

What seems less defensible is the contention, as Philo (1992: 139) observes, that 'postmodernism' is precisely this rediscovery of space in articulations of the social; a position which appears very close to defining an 'essence' of a form which by its very nature thwarts the positing of essentialisms, narrative closures, and totalising structures of discourse. In reference to *Postmodern Geographies*, Thrift argues that '[a]ttempts to privilege either time or space, suggesting that one or the other is the signature of an age... make only limited sense' (1996: 285).

It would seem to be more productive, therefore, to approach space not in terms of its association with the 'condition' of postmodernity *per se*, but rather as a comparatively under-theorised process by which contemporary forms of social and cultural practice are refracted through the epistemological lens of material, imagined and experiential geographies.

One of the most important influences on writers and researchers grappling with ideas of space in recent years is the work of the French Marxist philosopher, Henri Lefebvre. His seminal text, *La Production de l'espace*, published in 1974, has only reached English-speaking readers as relatively recently as 1991, with Nicholson-Smith's translation (Lefebvre 1991).

Lefebvre's work on space has to be understood in the context of its overarching Marxist-humanist critique of the social relations of production under capitalism, and the abstract spatialisations of a dominant, homogenising social order, in which 'space' is rendered at once 'transparent' and unproblematised, and wedded to an ideological imaginary of hegemonic spatial practice. Accordingly, Lefebvre argues:

[T]he social relations of production have a social existence to the extent that they have a spatial existence; they project themselves into space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing that space itself. Failing this, these relations would remain in the realm of 'pure' abstraction... in the realm of representation and hence of ideology: the realm of verbalism, verbiage and empty words. (1991: 129)

An important part of Lefebvre's project, and a crucial factor in his relevance to contemporary theory, is the critical awareness he brings to bear upon the conflation of the spatial with the abstraction of textual, representational, and mental conceptions of space; a process, he argues, which has largely 'usurped' (ibid: 52) considerations of social space: i.e. space as 'lived' loci of social relations and differential logic.

A spatialisation of theory, as evident in the fields of semiotics, structuralism and post-structuralism (Lefebvre specifically cites the work of Derrida, Chomsky, Kristeva, Barthes,

and Lacan in this regard [ibid: 5, 36]) is, for Lefebvre, symptomatic of ‘the basic sophistry whereby the philosophico-epistemological notion of space is fetishised and the mental realm comes to envelope the social and physical ones’ (ibid: 5).

Reiterating the point made in section 1 of this chapter, it is not my intention to create or maintain a dualistic ‘abyss’ (ibid: 6) between mental and actual, theoretical and experiential. Nor, indeed, is Lefebvre proposing this in the above quote. Rather, following the latter’s own programmatical stance with regard to space, I wish to explore the dialectical interplay between dominant *ideas* and representations of travel and displacement, and the more grounded spaces of *lived* travel. Drawing on and adapting Lefebvre’s tripartite spatial structure of ‘Spatial Practices’ (or ‘perceived space’), ‘Representations of Space’ (‘conceived space’), and ‘Spaces of Representation’ (‘lived space’), the approach I adopt in this thesis is to consider the spatial dialectics of travel rather than travel practices *per se*. Applying this to film, as will become clear in subsequent chapters, requires first and foremost an understanding of ‘cine-travel’ as both a set of socio-spatial practices and a simulacrum of reality from which space, and the spaces of travel, are dialectically construed.

Spatial practices are the materially grounded spaces of measurement and description, and form the traditional bases of empirical spatial disciplines. They define an understanding of space as a site and product of social and economic practice, and constitute the ways in which space is *perceived*, utilised, and negotiated in the everyday geographies of advanced capitalism.

Representations of space are the *conceived* spaces of rational, technocratic, and intellectual production. These ‘mental maps’ of groups such as architects, artists, urban planners, philosophers and mathematicians constitute an ideational realm of spatiality within which the lived and the perceived are absorbed. For Lefebvre, this is the dominant space in society, and provides, as Soja puts it, ‘a storehouse of epistemological power’ (1996: 67).

Representational spaces, or *spaces of representation*, are the *lived* spaces of the social imaginary; the symbolic, semantic, and experiential landscapes of embodied perception and phenomenological intentionality. As spaces *of* representation, these real and imagined spaces constitute ‘the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate’ (Lefebvre 1991: 39). Lived space is thus a site of resistance, openness, difference and struggle. In terms of empirical and intellectual enquiry it represents the domain most closely associated with the cultural anthropologist and ethnographer, and, to a lesser extent, the psychoanalyst (ibid: 41, 121; Bachelard 1994).

This conceptual triad does not set out to epistemologically privilege one aspect of the production of space over another. Despite acknowledging the dominance of conceived space in the abstract spatialities of advanced capitalism, Lefebvre is concerned to explore the dialectical relationship between these three conceptualisations of space.

Rather than substituting the historical and temporal with an exclusively spatialised agenda, as Soja appears to claim (1989; Stewart 1995: 617), Lefebvre's approach is in fact incorporated within an overarching historicism, in which 'time is the ultimate ordering of space' (Shields 1999: 172). For Shields, this historicisation of space is the least satisfactory aspect of *The Production of Space*, precisely because it lacks the dialectical analysis that Lefebvre brings, far more successfully, to his theorisations of space (ibid: 170-172).

Lefebvre's writings on the dialectic, from his early studies (1968 [1940]) through to his more recent work touching on space (1991; 1976), have sought to broaden the application and logic of the dialectic beyond that formalised by Marx and Hegel (and dogmaticised by orthodox Marxist epistemologies, and Communist Party doctrine).

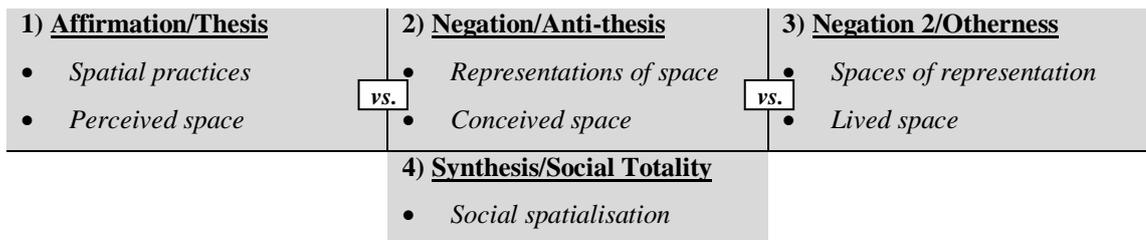
In *Survival of Capitalism*, Lefebvre writes:

The dialectic today is back on the agenda. But it is no longer Marx's dialectic, just as Marx's was no longer Hegel's... What matters is to grasp movement and non-movement in the *present*, to grasp what it is that shifts and collides with that which does not shift... The dialectic today no longer clings to historicity and historical time, or to a temporal mechanism such as 'thesis-antithesis-synthesis' or 'affirmation-negation-negation of the negation'... *This, then, is what is new and paradoxical: the dialectic is no longer attached to temporality.* Therefore, refutations of historical materialism or of Hegelian historicity cannot function as critiques of the dialectic. To recognise space, to recognise what 'takes place' there and what it is used for, is to resume the dialectic; analysis will reveal the contradictions of space. (1976: 14, 17, emphasis in original)

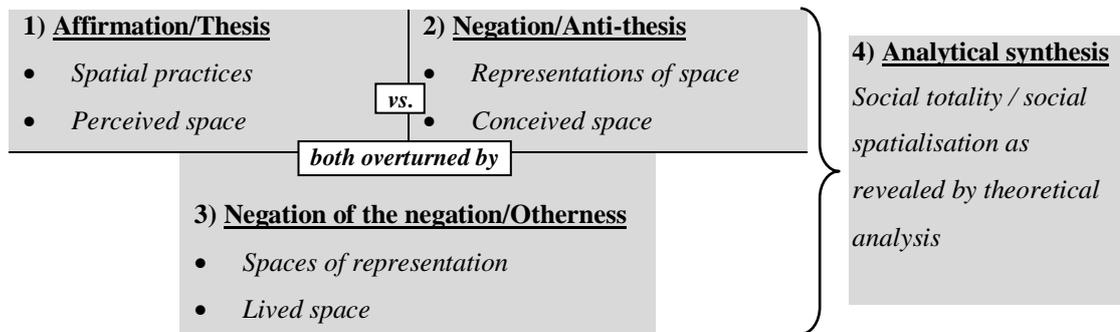
What matters is to grasp movement and non-movement in the present: for Lefebvre and others, this is to reposition space as the central dialectical logic at play in contemporary capitalist societies.

Consideration of the structural logic of Lefebvre's spatial triad reveals the full import of how space as a dialectical process is to be theorised, and how such a structure can methodologically address specific social and cultural practices (such as travel and migration) within an overarching spatial framework.

Shields notes that while Lefebvre's triad appears to suggest a tripartite synthesis of the process of social spatialisation, his third term – lived space – is in fact more of a negation of the other two, rather than their dialectical counterpart. Schematically, this can be illustrated as follows:



a) Common interpretation of Lefebvre’s triple dialectic.



b) The implication of Lefebvre’s dialectic of triplicity.

Figure 1.1: Spatial Dialectics (adapted from Shields 1999: 120)

While noting Lefebvre’s contention that ‘the perceived-conceived-lived triad... loses all force if it is treated as an abstract “model”’ (1991: 40), such a schematisation is nevertheless useful in that it highlights the agential and creative potentiality of ‘an assertively spatial praxis’ (Soja and Hooper 1993: 191). Rather than merely constituting the third element within a conceptual synthesis of social spatialisation, lived space thus re-emerges as a reservoir of spatial contradiction and differential praxis. Dialectically opposed to the negations and dualisms of practised and represented space, lived space mobilises the diachronic reconfiguration of the social and spatial.

As a quintessentially spatial practice, *travel*, like space, is an elusive, potentially ‘illusory’ concept which conceals its dialectical formations through, on the one hand, an illusion of transparency, whereby it is rendered ‘luminous, as intelligible, as giving action free rein’ (Lefebvre 1991: 27) (e.g. travel as an unproblematised trope of freedom and ideational mobility), and, on the other, through an illusion of opacity, or ‘realistic illusion’, in which the ‘natural’ and ‘substantial’ spaces of everyday travel and mobility (and by extension their associative travelling subjects) presuppose an empirically given, pre-existing order of reality, outside of language and human praxis (ibid: 29) (e.g. ‘natural’ topographies of place and home; geographical borders and zones of transit). Furthermore, as a spatial practice, travel, under different historical, ideological and material circumstances, has at the same time remained a signifying practice in which topic and topography are hermeneutically combined in the space of the text (de Certeau 1984; Marin 1984). These spaces of

representation (and representations of space) have played host to a long cultural and aesthetic tradition of Western travel which, with the advent of photography and cinema, has both compounded the illusion of spatial transparency by privileging the visuality of travel practice (e.g. the tourist/imperial gaze, the utopic gaze of migrancy and the quest – see Chapters 2 and 3 respectively), while at the same time opening up to critical scrutiny the ideological spaces and places of travel by drawing on an affective dimension of ‘lived’ space that taps into the embodied (im)mobilities of the travel experience (see Chapters 4 and 5).

For Lefebvre, however, visual mediations such as photography, advertisements and film cannot, in themselves, offer much in the way of spatial analysis. ‘Where there is error or illusion,’ he argues, ‘the image is more likely to secrete it and reinforce it than to reveal it. No matter how “beautiful” they may be, such images belong to an incriminated “medium”... images fragment; they are themselves fragments of space’ (1991: 96-97). In so far as these forms become complicit with dominant ideologies of space such a contention is unquestionably true. Yet what is less accounted for in this analysis, certainly with regard to film, is the extent to which a notion of lived space can be extended to the image-spaces of a medium which, although predicated on the act of seeing (actively creative in its framing and editing, passively reflective in its viewing practices), does not in itself presuppose an abstraction from a more grounded and open sense of agential spatiality. Whether in the context of viewing (the phenomenological relations between spectator and screen, or the social context – the spaces of representation – that constitute the place of viewing) or in the haptic⁹ engagement of the camera with the on-screen spaces of representation, cinema carries with it a potential to unmask the illusion of transparency and, in so doing, to pose dialectical challenges to dominant forms of socio-spatial being.

Lefebvre’s mistrust of the visual arts is well founded in so far as ‘the optical and visual world plays an integral and integrative, active and passive, part in [illusion]. It fetishizes abstraction and imposes it on the norm. It detaches the pure form from its impure content – from lived time, everyday time, and from *bodies with their opacity and solidity, their warmth, their life and their death*. After its fashion, the image kills’ (ibid: 97, emphasis added). In other words, the ‘society of the spectacle’, to use Debord’s description (1994), fetishizes abstraction by detaching itself from the embodied spatialities of lived experience which form the dialectical counterpart to ideological modes of social (and cinematic) spatialisation. The capacity for film to construct, or engage with, embodied spaces of ‘lived’ travel will be explored in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

⁹ A ‘haptic’ mode of film practice refers to the ‘sensorial immediacy’ of film (Clarke 1997b) in which the embodied vision of the viewer or filmmaker is prioritised over the disembodied visuality of the cinematic ‘gaze’ (see Chapter 5 for a fuller discussion of these themes).

To sum up, space has experienced a reversal of fortune of late, in that contemporary social and cultural theory is now far more attuned to the importance of incorporating spatial concerns alongside those of history and sociality. Its characterisation as dead, fixed, and undialectical, while still the position for certain critical theorists such as Laclau, has largely been undone by a belated reappraisal of its relevance theoretically, and by virtue of its experiential, virtual and material dynamics in the postmodern landscapes of late capitalism.

In the final section of this chapter, the ‘discursive traveller’ from sections 1.1 – 1.3 is reincorporated into the discussion by transcribing a Lefebvrian spatial analysis to the production of mobility and displacement in contemporary theoretical discourse. If, as I am suggesting, ‘spatial practices’ (perceived space) can be equated with empirical travel and migratory practices (tourism, economic migration, the plight of refugees and asylum seekers etc.), and ‘spaces of representation’ (lived space) with that of the real and imagined spaces of travel (oriented, for example, around tropes of symbolic and embodied [im]mobility such as the ‘border’, ‘road’, and ‘frontier’ etc.),¹⁰ then the otherwise abstract representations of space (conceived space) find their ideological counterpart in the hyper-tropic spaces of *ideational displacement* that have shaped the theoretical landscapes of *deterritorialisation*.

1.5 Ideational Displacements: Deterritorialised Spaces of Travel

‘We came, like bedouins, and pitched our tents’. So wrote the Soviet filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein in the 1920s, describing the emergence of a revolutionary form of cinema as a ‘place with unimaginably great possibilities’ (Kaplan 1996: 65). As Kaplan points out, this use of tropes and metaphors of the desert and the nomad from an earlier era has its parallels in contemporary theories of postmodern and poststructuralist discourses (ibid).

Indeed, in terms of its association with cinema and theatre, the tent, from its origins from the Greek *skēnē*, provides the derivation of the term *mise en scène*, which, in etymological terms, means ‘putting into a tent’ (Peters 1999: 27). ‘As an apparatus of performance,’ notes Peters, ‘the Greek *skēnē* invites mental travel in the realm of identity, as actors project themselves into fictional roles and audiences identify with them... [t]he ancient *skēnē* was a *machine for travel across space, time and identities*’ (ibid, emphasis added). Much the same could be said of the preponderance of travel metaphors found in more recent debates.

¹⁰ Tropes of the border and other liminal spaces, while frequently drawn upon to articulate the ‘radical openness’ (hooks 1990), or ‘*mestiza* consciousness’ (Anzaldúa 1987) of an (arguably romanticised) notion of postmodern decentred subjectivity, invite some debate as to whether, in the broader cultural economies of travel, these articulations of lived space are necessarily all that radical or oppositional in essence, or whether such tropes are complicit in the abstraction of *ideational displacements*, on the terms I set out in section 1.5 (cf. Hetherington 1997). Similar arguments, which are explored in Chapter 5, could also be put forward in respect of tropes, or chronotopes, of ‘the road’ in cultural and cinematic discourse.

These ideational travels are themselves mechanisms of a wider spatial metaphoric found within epistemological ‘landscapes’ of intellectual discourse. Foucault, questioned on his own reliance on many of these spatial metaphors, responded by outlining the largely juridical, political, and strategic foundations of terms such as ‘displacement’, ‘territory’, ‘domain’, and ‘horizon’. Spatial metaphors, he contends, are illustrative of the power-laden, technocratic, and militaristic underpinnings constitutive of discourses of knowledge (Foucault 1980: 68). By extension, the ‘tent-dweller’, rejecting the ‘striations’ of the ‘sedentary state apparatus’, to use Deleuze and Guattari’s terms, ‘clings to the smooth space left by the receding forest, where the steppe or the desert advance’ (1986: 51). These deterritorialisations of space and knowledge ‘map’ the rhizomatic topologies and lines of flight of the nomad: a figure as much the revolutionary hero of (post)Foucauldian and poststructuralist discourse as that of the early Soviet dialecticians.⁷

In their study of the everyday metaphors that structure our conceptual and perceptual understandings of the world, Lakoff and Johnson suggest that ‘the structure of our spatial concepts emerges from our constant spatial experience’ (1980: 56), a view shared by the anthropologist Anne Salmond, who examines the culturally contextual bases of conceptualisations of knowledge. In Western discourses, she argues, intellectual activity is often linked metaphorically to the journey (e.g. the first *step* in our analysis; we will *proceed*; we *arrive* at the concept of...); knowledge is conceived in terms of a landscape (e.g. the theoretical *universe* of...; the semantic *sphere*; an epistemological *horizon*); and argument is presented as war (e.g. *win over* their *protagonist* to their *side*) (Salmond 1982). The intellectual imperialism suggested here has direct geo-political connotations in the light of post-colonial studies such as Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), which examines the representational strategies of epistemological imperialism that supplemented the actual colonisations of the ‘Orient’ in the imperial imaginary of the West.

The spatialisation of intellectual discourse, while clearly evident in the epistemological structures of language and representation, is also reflected in areas of ontology in which spatialised – and ‘mobilised’ – notions of being ‘map’ the experiential terrain of the ‘human-technology interface’ (Jackson 2002). Ideas of displacement, speed, flows, cyborgs, and deterritorialisation are all suggestive of a crossing or erasure of boundaries, both physical and cognitive, in which subjectivities are held to be intersubjectively contingent within hypermodern environments of technology and virtuality.

For Virilio, theorising the hypermodern means confronting the problematic of speed, a process he dubs ‘chronopolitics’. Claiming that we live in the ‘age of the accelerator’,

⁷ Hardt and Negri note that as early as the nineteenth century, the proletariat were recognised as the nomads of the capitalist world (2000: 217).

Virilio suggests that ‘power is invested in acceleration itself’ (in Thrift 1996: 287). In this conception, contemporary urban and developed environments are largely products of an on-going militarisation of social space, in which the technocratic innovations of industrial-military bureaucracies are leading to ‘deterritorialisations’ of the modern city, as exemplified by the hypermodern airport with its perpetual circulations, flows, and non-places of transit (Armitage 1999). The ontological implications of this technocratic acceleration are profound:

What emerges is a new mode of being in the world in which the *extensive* revolution sustained by dynamic transport technologies which supported global trade and global migration is counterpointed by an *intensive* circulation of images and information, a virtual movement in which the human body is potentially reduced to a node within a network. (McQuire 1999: 146, emphasis in original)

Arguing along similar lines, Thrift (1996) writes in terms of an ‘emergent structure of feeling’ developed around the ‘machinic complexes’ of speed, light, and power: an ontology of *mobility* which, Thrift maintains, should be seen as a necessary prologue to current debates in poststructuralism, postmodernism, and postcolonialism:

[T]he ‘landscapes’ of the machinic world... provide a good deal of the basic vocabulary in which these debates are couched. Put at its crudest, this vocabulary describes the condition of modern life as a mobile topology. From the tropic ‘elements’ of this new topology new chronotopes can then be constructed... (ibid: 284)

Flows, networks, boundaries, absence: these seemingly ubiquitous tropes chart a theoretical landscape in which traces of alterity and displacement become resonant with the pulsating heterogeneities of the moment – other places, other events, other times, other-being – to invoke the social and cultural is to set theory in motion and motion in theory.

Sociologists such as Lash and Urry (1994) argue that contemporary societies are increasingly seen in terms of flows of capital, labour, commodities, information and images. Such flows, for Castells (1996), constitute a new spatial logic. The ‘space of flows’, as he describes it, ‘is becoming the dominant spatial manifestation of power and function in our societies’ (ibid: 378); a process amounting to the delocalisation of modalities of production and consumption (Robins 1989: 148).

Similarly, in emphasising the processual conditioning of global cultural flows over notions of static, sedentary cultures, Appadurai (1996) invokes spatial metaphors to discern what he sees as the five dimensions of these flows: Ethnoscapes, Mediascapes, Technoscapes, Financescapes, and Ideoscapes. Each of these ‘scapes’ is designed to invite consideration of the disjunctures of these global processes: movements and flows of people,

information, technology, capital and ideologies ‘now follow increasingly nonisomorphic paths... the sheer speed, scale, and volume of each of these flows are now so great that the disjunctures have become central to the politics of global culture’ (ibid: 37). While such a conceptualisation may seem to offer an insightful methodological template to these global processes, its seemingly isolative modes of categorisation suggest its own internal ‘disjunction’ that steers consideration away from broader, less compartmentalised issues of political economy (Kearney 1995: 553); a consideration bolstered by the lack of adequate empirical support.

The take up of the trope of flows raises questions as to the viability or sustainability of concepts of place. For Castells, the space of flows (a conjunction, perhaps, of Appadurai’s segmented ‘scapes’) is dialectically opposed to a rival, historically rooted spatial logic: the space of places (1996: 378). The command of capital over the space of flows, it is argued, means that it is increasingly less dependent on the constraints and fixities of place. Not only does this downplay the continued importance of fixed spaces and places to the movement of goods, capital and information (Smith 1996: 71) – and of empirical ‘non-places’ of transit, process and displacement (Augé 1995) – it also suggests a hypostatisation of spaces of flows and of place, thereby overlooking their dialectical interplay and mutual constitution (cf. Roderick 1997).

Such theorisations rely on a chronotopicality of flows in which capital is seen as either a global machine of social and spatial deterritorialisation, or as little more than an adjunct to cultural dynamics of global disjuncture and mobilisations of identity. What they both fail to address is the localisation and channelling of flows; empirical sites of the production of displacement where sedentariness and fixity are not just epistemological alternatives to movement, but are themselves integral components within geographies and economies of scale and mobility. Smith’s ‘spaces of vulnerability’ (1996), for example, identify actual sites of resistance where the power that directs the space of flows is vulnerable or absent.⁸ Augé’s concept ‘non-place’ (1995) refers to the contractual spaces of transit and process that increasingly dominate our everyday experience. Airports and other transport hubs, service stations, corporate hotel chains, not to mention (non)places of waiting and refuge, transit camps and the conurbations of the homeless – these emptied, deterritorialised spaces of ‘inorganic sociality’ localise experiences of displacement, flow and circulation in the albeit inverted geographies of place. In a more general sense

⁸ Smith cites the example of the 1981 strike against the Reagan government in the US by PATCO air controllers. Had it gained greater mobilisation in the form of sympathy votes of just 40 key controllers in Portugal, and a handful in Canada, the strike had the potential to close down North Atlantic air traffic. The centralisation of global air flow, with its attendant consolidations of power and scale, produced equally reconfigured spaces of production as sites of resistance. These spaces of vulnerability are predicated on the actuality and fixity of place.

chronotopes of the ‘non-place’ are arguably an increasingly central feature of recent ‘travel’ narratives, as I go on to discuss in Chapter 4.

The ideational language of flows, movement, and deterritorialisation seems to open up anxieties and uncertainties on two fronts: the fear of stasis or the fear of contagion. Both revolve around the ambiguity and porosity of borders. In the disciplines we have discussed the fear of stasis is largely epistemological (i.e. how to define, maintain and adapt categories of enquiry amidst the shifting complexities of postmodernity), whereas the fear of contagion connotes a more ontological disquiet.

The anthropologist Mary Douglas has described dirt as ‘matter out of place’ (1966; cf. Enzensberger 1972), or matter which does not quite conform to the sanctity of its borders. In the sanitised, homogenous spaces of air travel, the plane becomes a ‘disease vector’ (Rosler 1998: 42) in which the fear of contagion is both an embodied response to a tangible threat, and a metonymical conditionality of global flow and deterritorialisation. The permeable identities of being and place, the contingency of borders, the reduction of the body to a node within a network, or a ‘mere matrix of being’ (Rosler 1998: 50) – all these anxieties conspire to shape Hardt and Negri’s view that ‘[t]he age of globalisation is the age of universal contagion’ (2000: 138).

The unpredictability of flows and the unsustainability of borders, while a source of anxiety for some, are the very criteria which have prompted certain theorists to adopt these and similar tropes with more liberatory or deconstructive intent.

Serres’ reflections on the global networks and intercommunications of message-bearing systems – ‘the metaphysics of the service industries’ (1995) – is set, somewhat appropriately, in the hypermodern environment of the airport. The contingent and purposeless journeying of the mind within this milieu evokes similar reflections to those addressed by philosophers such as Deleuze and Guattari: ‘I find that the process of thought is rather like a large, unitary, fortuitous moment of being carried away, which is broken down into little *squalls* and *flurries* which have no particular relation to each other but which all come together in a greater overriding moment’ (Serres 1995: 33, emphasis added).

As with etymologies of terms such as ‘diaspora’, the intellectual metaphoric here is from the natural sciences. Similarly, the *rhizome*⁹ is a horticultural metaphor which Deleuze and Guattari draw on to delineate a nomadic political ontology which ‘provides movable foundations for a post-humanist view of subjectivity’ (Braidotti 1994: 23). According to Deleuze and Guattari, ‘[the] rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle between things, interbeing, *intermezzo*. The tree is filiation, but the rhizome is alliance,

⁹ **Rhizome** (Gr. *Rhizōma*, a root-mass) a rootstock, and underground stem producing roots and leafy shoots (*Chambers English Dictionary*).

uniquely alliance' (1988: 25). Rhizomatic epistemologies, unlike the arborescent, eschew logics of tracing and reproduction associated with genealogy, history and the search for roots: 'History is always written from the sedentary point of view... [t]he rhizome is an antigenealogy. It is a short-term memory, or antimemory' (ibid: 23, 21). Its (dis)connections and deterritorialisations operate along nomadic lines of flight, rootless trajectories and intentionalities of desire that undermine the foundations of Western civilisation's state apparatus: 'Nothing is beautiful or loving or political aside from the underground stems and aerial roots, adventitious growths and rhizomes' (ibid: 15).

This Nietzschean vision of rhizomorphic flows and lines of flight finds, perhaps, its ultimate manifestation in 'a delirious future: beyond cyberspace... where every trajectory is potentially connected to every other trajectory, and where all trajectories are equal and equally rootless. Where, truly we no longer have roots; we have aeriels. Where we no longer have origins; we have terminals' (Wark 1994: 120).

Bringing these abstractions down to earth, Deleuze and Guattari's antipathy towards Western arborescent culture also has its parallels with anthropological debates as to the roots and/or routes of culture (see section 1.3). These of course, proceed from the etymological recognition that the term 'culture' derives from the Latin for cultivation. Its link with the soil is more firmly entrenched through associative terms such as 'native,' 'indigenous,' and 'autochthonous' (Malkki 1996: 438). The term 'nation', for example, is, as Malkki notes, commonly referred to as 'the country,' 'the land,' and 'the soil'; an association often maintained both literally and metonymically by those going into exile, taking with them a handful of soil, or a seed or sapling from their homeland (ibid : 436-437). Similarly, in her study of imperialism and travel writing, Pratt uses the term *transculturation* to describe the processes whereby dominant and subaltern cultures extract from, and determine, the other. 'Transculturation,' she argues, 'is the phenomena of the contact zone' (1992: 6).

Roots, in short, are the precondition for a cultural politics of territorialisation; *routes*, those of deterritorialisation. The two, however, cannot be treated in isolation. As we have shown in section 1.3, dialectics of movement *and* fixity, travel *and* dwelling should form the necessary backdrop to discussions of travel and migration, both literal *and* metaphorical.

In the varied theoretical excursions of what I have loosely termed 'ideational displacement', the slippage into tropes of travel and movement often appears at best hierarchically privileged, and at worst, reductionistically absolute. As Pile and Thrift have observed,

Much of the writing on mobility and movement comes perilously close to reinventing the kind of modernism that celebrates speed, flow and vibration...[n]ot only is the language of

movement and mobility therefore nowhere near as radical as is often imagined but it can often simply displace rather than reformulate questions of subjectivity. (1995: 24)

Kaplan, commenting on the work of Deleuze and Guattari, draws similar reservations, suggesting that:

Their metaphorical mapping of space can be read within the context of Euro-American discourses of modernism, emphasising the benefits of distance and the valorisation of displacement... In their emphasis upon linguistic 'escape' and 'lines of flight', Deleuze and Guattari roam into realms of nostalgia, searching for a way to detour Western civilisation... 'Becoming minor'...a utopian process of letting go of privileged identities and practices, requires emulating the ways and modes of modernity's 'others' [such as the nomad]. Yet, like all imperialist discourses, these spaces and identities are produced through their imagining; that is, *the production of sites of escape or decolonisation for the coloniser signals a kind of theoretical tourism*. (1996: 86, 88, emphasis added)

The privileging of these ideational displacements, as Lefebvre points out with regard to space, creates a circularity of intellectual practice whereby 'mental' travel becomes the object and locus of theoretical practice, which, in its increasing abstraction from social practice, 'sets itself up as the axis, pivot or central reference point of knowledge' (Lefebvre 1991: 6). 'Theoretical tourism' becomes a practice of displacement within a broader intellectual 'landscape' of travel and movement, operative almost exclusively within a metaphorical and spatialised register.

The target of Lefebvre's criticism, as we have seen, is the disproportionate amount of scholarly attention paid to semiology and related 'practices' of structuralism, poststructuralism, and deconstruction. For Lefebvre, this privileging of the text constitutes and masks 'an incomplete body of knowledge which is expanding without any sense of its own limitations' (1991: 7). With regard to the intellectual fixation with movement and displacement such approaches are by no means exclusive in their embrace of the tropic and metaphoric language of travel. Yet even attempts to overturn the textual bias in recent debates implicate the writer within the same simulacrum of ideational mobility.

Grossberg, for example, acknowledges that 'specific vocabularies of travel are never innocent... they are always implicated in and articulated to larger structures of ideological, cultural and political relations' (1988: 377). Attempts to disentangle this Gordian knot of travel requires of the critic, whether poststructuralist 'tour-guide' (i.e. one who does not 'alight' from the theoretical *metaphorai*, opting instead for the endless deferrals of critical deconstruction), or the ethnographer-hermeneutician, to address the extent to which the critical 'object' can be collapsed exclusively into texts. '[T]he task of cultural criticism,' suggests Grossberg, 'is less that of interpreting texts and audiences than of describing

vectors, distances, and densities, intersections and interruptions, and the nomadic wandering (whether of people in everyday life or as cultural critics) through this unequally and unstably organised *field* of tendential forces and struggles' (ibid: 383, emphasis added). While a laudable enough aim in itself, such prolegomena nevertheless raises questions as to the critic's own seemingly uncritical drift into spatial abstraction in which the simulacra of travel and spatial discourse potentially obscure rather than reveal the dialectical tensions that constitute the 'field' of tendential – and spatial – struggle.

In many respects what such nomadic advocations attest to is an acceptance of sorts of the 'limits' and 'boundaries' (to invoke yet more spatial metaphors) of theoretical discourses of knowledge: as 'landscapes' they can only be travelled so far and to certain ends. Hermeneutics thus gives way to vectors, intensities and lines of flight: the 'force field' into which the cultural nomad and 'desiring machine' (Deleuze and Guatarri 1988) are thrown. As such, the deterritorialisations of knowledge which Deleuze and Guatarri and others advocate can be said to mark a shift from epistemological concerns of subjectivity and representation towards a more ontological field of discursive, or rather, *pre*-discursive enquiry.

As already noted, the shift from epistemology to ontology is cited as one of the defining characteristics of the postmodern condition (Harvey 1989a). In Deleuze and Guatarri's hands such a shift can more accurately be attributed to a post-human condition, an embodied landscape beyond the subject and subjectivity, in which a materialist aesthetic of machinic and technological *affect* creates deterritorialised spaces of ontological 'becoming'. As Featherstone notes, '[this] celebration of a return to pre-cognitive forms of experience and their concept of "flows" have been influential on a younger generation of theorists in cultural studies' (1995: 127). This is particularly the case in studies on cyberspace and the internet (ibid), yet these ideas have proved no less influential amongst writers on film for whom tropes of mobility, flow and movement denote 'a new cartography of the visual' (Kennedy 2002: 102) wedded to an idea of the film as an *event* rather, or as well as, a discursively embedded mode of representation.

In this analysis, contemporary film culture, by prioritising the experiential flux of sensations and affect (the haptic or affective 'space' of desire between the viewer/body-subject and the materiality of the image) can be shown to have some affinity with early, pre-classical narrative cinema in which 'desires were encapsulated through the "material" of the filmic process, through its very ontology' (ibid: 59), as is further attested by its reappraisal of early film theory, such as Jean Epstein's notion of the *photogénie*, an alchemic notion of cinema as 'modern magic' (Moore 2000; Ray 2000).

From the perspective of social spatialisation, this move towards affect and rhizomatic deterritorialisation (of the subject and of the image-space of representation) constitutes an

overlap of lived and conceived space in so far as the ‘mobile’ body is at one and the same time a ‘lived’ assemblage of rhythms, affects and vectorial desire, and an abstracted node in a virtual network of ideational mobility, ‘bracketed off’ from the real, (de)territorialised spaces of society, culture and ideology. This ambiguity is in part reflected in the degrees to which this ‘Deleuzian turn’ is heralded as a revolutionary new direction in film studies which champions ‘the idea of the “affective” as a force capable of liberating us from hegemonic ways of thinking’ (Kennedy 2002: 70), or as an influence requiring more sober assessment.

Drawing a tacit distinction between simulacra of the image and the materialist aesthetics of Deleuzian poststructuralism, Crang argues that

If we see observation as occurring on the same ontological plane as images, and see this not as a catastrophe of recent years but as the normal run of things, then we have a clearer way of looking at the embodied, mobile, and involved observer... We need not just to study the epistemological politics of truth but the “ontological politics” of how the world is pictured and viewed. (2002: 26)

Arguing along similar lines, Rutherford suggests that ‘Cinema is not only about telling a story; it’s about creating an affect, an event, a moment which lodges itself under the skin of the spectator’ (2002: 10). If, as Crang contends, image and observer share the same ontological plane then, *in the context of the film event*, an affective space of film is opened up which, in its capacity for embodied projection, can be dialectically construed as a lived space of representational mobility. Yet, by acknowledging the situated nature of such a context or event, Crang refuses to discount the broader epistemological or ontological politics which, in all but the most romanticised treatises on cine-nomadic mobility, situate the viewer in the ‘striated’ structures of place, space and society, thereby reacquainting the nomad with the altogether more pressing and grounded exigencies of the material world. The virtual spaces of *purely cinematic* deterritorialisation which, for all their inherent ‘mobility’, begin to cluster and ossify around abstracted (and quasi-mystical) notions of ‘affective space’ thus open their frontiers to the on-screen hermeneutical spaces of travel and deterritorialisation; cinematic geographies that demand a wider purview than that allowed by a Deleuzian aesthetic of the image (see Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of these themes).

Whereas, in Crang and Rutherford’s more balanced appraisals, the ontological turn in cine-spatial analysis does not subsume the discursive and representational spaces of the film narrative, Kennedy displays considerably less reticence in unambiguously nailing her colours to a post-humanist aesthetic of film, in which affect is uncoupled from the subjectivity of an agent, producing instead a nomadic subjectivity of ‘becoming-women’

constituted from the flows and vectors of a plane of immanence; a deterritorialised zone of free-floating affect into which the film viewer heroically ventures. For her, the filmic, ‘in-between’ space of a non-binary aesthetic of sensation is comparable to that of ‘cyborg-becoming, a space which is not strictly hybridised space, but a space of continual motion, movement and becoming’ (2002: 210). In Deleuze’s non-dialectical philosophy of becoming this smooth space of nomadic flux constitutes a hypostatisation of space in that its valorisation of motion, movement and becoming posits an ontological nexus that is abstracted from the lived and perceived spatialities of everyday practice.¹¹ In the reified context of the film-as-event, a reclamation of the aesthetic, as Kennedy puts it, ‘from those ideological, sociological and libidinal restrictions which have emerged in film theory for too long’ (ibid: 210) amounts to what can more accurately be described as a ‘bracketing off’ from a social-spatial dimension that encompasses the contested mobilities of the ‘tourist and vagabond’.

Furthermore, as Kennedy herself concedes, to ‘read’ and enter these affective spaces of film requires an *a priori* comprehension of Deleuzian semiotics, not least her own application of these ideas (ibid: 149). Given the degree of cultural and intellectual capital this demands, attempts to reclaim, in any substantive form, a politics of affect ‘as a force capable of liberating us from hegemonic ways of thinking’ appear somewhat overblown, but more crucially it connotes an elitist form of idealised ‘travel’ that recalls an earlier age of romantic modernism, typified by the attachment of the bohemian bourgeoisie to the nomadic lifestyle of the gypsy and outsider. As Featherstone notes,

From one perspective Deleuze and Guattari can be seen as the latest writers in a tradition of intellectual and artistic thought which, while influenced by the philosophies of Bergson and Nietzsche with their valuation of immediate experience over form, draws upon a transgressive avant-garde and bohemian impulses that can be found in the tradition of artistic modernism since the nineteenth century’ (1995: 127).

Kaplan, as already noted, is rather less charitable in her assessment, describing Deleuzian philosophies of deterritorialisation as ‘a kind of theoretical tourism’.

Although I have discussed this form of theoretical tourism in terms of ‘ideational displacements’ it is in fact more accurate to describe Deleuzian philosophies of affect and deterritorialisation not as idealist but as a form of ‘transcendental empiricism’; the ‘affects’ in question are physical and somatic as well as psychic. In a reversal of Baudrillardian simulation, in which ‘the materiality of things, is of course, their cinematography’ (1988: 85), for Deleuze and writers like Kennedy it is the materiality of the medium that counts.

¹¹ Similar observations could be made of ‘third space’ concepts of hybridity and diasporic becoming (Bhabha 1990a; Soja 1996).

That said, by approaching these ideas from the perspective of conceived spaces of ideational displacement I have sought to draw attention to the wider spatial metaphoric within which these discourses are embedded. Furthermore, however complex and suggestive an elaboration of the *haptic* properties of a filmic medium may be, there is no escaping the fact that film is primarily a visual medium, with all the incumbent attributes of visualisation and (spatial) representation that implies.

In this chapter I have outlined some of the theoretical debates that have shaped contemporary discourses pertaining to travel and migration. The complex nature of the problematic of ‘travel’ has demanded a detailed examination of some of its key theoretical and empirical implications. To examine travel, as we have shown, is to examine theory.

Certain of these complexities arise from an inadequate theorising of what are, after all, ostensibly *spatial* practices. By reformulating many of these debates in the framework of Lefebvre’s conceptual triad, I have shown how everyday perceptions of space from which notions of emplacement and displacement are construed, are not isolative empirical practices, but are components within a dialectical process – a production of displacement – in which ideational landscapes of mobility and those of empirical spatial practice come together in lived space. With these meta-theoretical excursions in mind, in Chapter 2 we move to consider the fate of the discursive traveller as it began to evolve in the representational spaces of early film practices.

Chapter 2

‘MERCHANTS OF LIGHT’: TRAVEL, FILM, AND THE ULYSSEAN GAZE

2.1 Travel and Film: Convergent Practices

Lisa Berndle: When my father was alive we travelled a lot. We went nearly everywhere.
We had a wonderful time.

Stefan Brand: I didn't know you travelled so much.

Lisa: Oh, yes.

Stefan: Perhaps we've been to some of the same places?

Lisa: No, I don't think so.

Stefan: Where did you go?

Lisa: Well, it was a long time ago. But, um... for instance there was Rio de Janeiro. Beautiful, exotic Rio with its botanical gardens, its avenue of palms, Sugarloaf Mountain, and... a harbour where you could look down and see the flying fish.

[LOOKS OUT OF THE WINDOW]

We're in Venice!

Stefan: Yes, we've arrived. Now, where would you like to go next? France, England, Russia?

Lisa: Switzerland!

Stefan: Switzerland! Excuse me one moment while I talk with the engineer...

(Scene from *Letter from an Unknown Woman*, Max Ophüls, 1948)

In the previous chapter we explored the broad, meta-theoretical terrain of travel and travel practices, and considered how these might begin to be assessed in terms of their spatial ramifications in contemporary landscapes of displacement. The development of technologies of travel and communication, and the instantaneity ascribed to postmodern modalities of spatio-temporal displacement, have led some writers, as we have seen, to attribute to this putative epochal historicisation a condition of 'space-time compression' (Harvey 1989a) in which our experiences of space and place have become radically deterritorialised. The anxieties and possibilities that have arisen in the wake of these developments, while unique in terms of their intensity, echo many of those that arose in response to the first great industrialisation and democratisation of travel that marked the advent of the age of the railway.

The expansion of the railways in the nineteenth century and the symbolic resonance attached to the train as a driving force of modernity in many ways prefigured both the experiential disjunctions of time and space that early cinema audiences were soon to inherit,

and the modernist and imperialist ambitions that cinema and the industrialisation of travel inscribed in the geographical imagination of industrial nations.

In this chapter I shall consider travel and film from this historical perspective, noting the confluence of ideas and practices at the turn of the twentieth century that shaped the experiences and understanding of both, and which thus preclude analysis of each as singular practices or histories.

Of the celebrated ‘coincidences’ that the birth of cinema shared with other emerging modernist projects, such as psychoanalysis, nationalism, consumerism, and imperialism (Shohat and Stam 1994: 100), cinema’s nascent links with the democratisation of travel remains the least adequately explored in studies to date. In the next section I will examine the experiential and social terrain which framed the development of travel and early cinema, and which instilled an embodied subjectivity of the spectator-passenger (Kirby 1997: 3) in many of its inter-related practices.

Francis Bacon’s seventeenth century depiction of travellers as ‘merchants of light’ (Adler 1989: 18), or purveyors of the Enlightenment vision, is adopted as a metaphor for the processes of travel in mapping the imperial and ethnographic gaze in film, and also alludes to the filmmaker as purveyor and practitioner of light in the more literal sense. In this latter regard, Thrift’s tripartite ontology of ‘mobility’ (1996) – the machinic complexes of light, speed and power – historically locates cinema, a machine ostensibly dependent on the physical properties of light, within a technocratic framework continually shaped by innovative and facilitative forces of modernity’s machinic complexus. Soon after its Parisian premier on the 28th December 1895, the Lumières’ *cinématographe* was launched throughout the world. Within two years ‘merchants of light’ – Lumière operators and cameramen – ‘were roaming on every continent except Antarctica’ (Barnouw 1993: 11). Literally and metaphorically, film’s capacity for illumination was forged in the traveller’s mobile gaze.

As an allegorical model of a traveller ‘whose journey brought inner as well as outer fulfilment, return to a spiritual plenitude lost in the travails of life’ (Elsner and Rubiés 1999: 9), the myth of Ulysses (Odysseus) has left a profound impression on cultural and historical geographies of the West. As will be discussed in section 2.3, travel expeditions to far-flung, invariably inhospitable corners of the globe evoke the gaze of this Enlightenment hero and prototypical traveller in the form of the adventurer-explorer valiantly battling against the frontiers of knowledge; a gaze which has left its traces in the archival film footage documenting many of these expeditions. Outside of formal institutional structures of travel and knowledge, such a gaze is no less retrievable from the work of that early exponent of Urry’s ‘tourist gaze’ (1990): the travelogue filmmaker. The democratisation of travel and film witnessed in the early decades of the twentieth century render the travelogue a key

exemplar of the convergence of filmic and touristic practice that has been much overlooked in studies to date. The influence of travelogues and ethnographic film on commercial, narrative cinema of the 1920s and 30s, although considerable, is rarely reflected in historiographies of the Hollywood feature film (Benelli 2002).

The popularising of travel narratives in film during this period corresponds with a prevailing positivistic epistemology in disciplines such as geography and anthropology in which images of the ‘other’ (typically exotic and pre-modern) were synecdochically representative of unequivocally bounded cultural and geographical totalities ‘out there’ – i.e. beyond self and nation.

In the last section of this chapter, I examine a selection of otherwise very different films in which travel *within* cultural and geographical boundaries of the nation structures narratives of ‘home’ and displacement. Travel in these examples is framed within specific national, cultural and historical contexts, in which the temporal modalities of modernity raise anxieties of imminent or transcendent loss. In Yasujiro Ozu’s *Tokyo monogatari* (*Tokyo Story*, 1953), the symbolic presence of the railway mediates concerns attached to notions of the rural and urban, tradition and modernity, in which the nation as a cultural, autonomous entity in the years following Japan’s defeat in the Second World War is mapped through the metonymic fragmentation of the family. Mitsuo Kurotsuchi’s *Jutai* (*Traffic Jam*, 1991) provides a more recent example in which tropes of travel and familial distance spatialise discourses of nation and nostalgia. In approaching notions of travel in a non-European context, these examples not only effectively illustrate the dialectics and ambiguities of national dis/placement, they also allow us to consider the extent to which concepts of ‘travel’ and ‘home’ are themselves culturally and hermeneutically specific, thus alerting us to the dangers of ethnocentric readings of travel narratives in diverse cultural and cinematic practices.

In Powell and Pressburger’s *A Canterbury Tale* (1944), made one year before the end of the war, a pre-modern tradition of travel practice – the pilgrimage – is transcribed onto an (interrupted) journey by rail to Canterbury. The journey, such as it is in the film, is alluded to by the very absence of movement or displacement. The fictional, rural idyll of Chillingbourne, one stop down the line from the film’s destination, diegetically operates as a stop ‘along the way’ towards the attainment – and re-attainment – of values of tradition, placement and national belonging; values which the people and landscape of Chillingbourne metonymically affirm in defence of England’s ‘imagined community’ (Anderson 1991).

Lastly, I briefly consider Theo Angelopoulos’ *O Thiassos* (*The Travelling Players*, 1975). In a film very much concerned with the historical forces that structure the cultural and political destinies of the nation, Angelopoulos’ Greece is ‘travelled’ in an ostensibly temporal and formal context. Although this historical consciousness is still evident in his

later work, the geographical interiority of *The Travelling Players* gives way in some of Angelopoulos's more recent films to an increasing awareness of the transnational discursive spaces that are redrawing contemporary configurations of national, cultural and political identity. These are themes I develop in later chapters.

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to explore, from an historical perspective, some of the multivariate ways in which ideas of 'travel' and cinematic practice have come together. From its inception cinema was to exploit both the formal aspects of 'travel' in its unique spatial and temporal modalities of displacement, and travel as a spatial practice within the temporal structure of the diegesis. The sheer number of films that could be discussed along these lines is, of course, almost limitless. The approach I have adopted, and the films I have cited in support of my arguments, are intended, on an empirical level, to illustrate three main areas of enquiry, as reflected in the chapter's structure: 1) the inter-related practices of film and travel in an historical context which witnessed the democratisation of both; 2) the adoption of film as a documentary tool of scientific and personal travel within the discursive regimes of class, empire, and nationhood; and 3) the role of 'mythic' travel narratives in filmic geographies of authenticity and national identity.

On a theoretical level the chapter also considers the extent to which, irrespective of distance, travel films remain bound within ideological territorialisations of place and identity. In so far that Ithaca remained at the centre of Ulysses' world, wherever his travels happened to take him, what 'homecomings' are there to be mapped in travel films? How far does Ithaca possess or dominate the hermeneutic spaces of the Ulyssean gaze? What impact do these cinematic travels have on constructions of place, space and identity? To begin to answer these questions we must first examine the specific historical and geographical contexts underpinning the discursive fixity of the traveller's virtual gaze, a gaze that emerged from distanced practices of 'travelling in comfort'.

2.2 Travelling in Comfort

One of the most frequently adopted tropes in the marketing of the internet as a form of mass consumption is that of instantaneous travel. In television advertisements for Internet Service Providers – the 'gatekeepers' of the World Wide Web – the spatial interiors of, say, a middle-class bedroom somewhere in suburbia dissolve at a click of the mouse to reveal exotic, colourful worlds inhabiting and displacing the formerly humdrum domestic space. The virtual voyager suddenly finds herself amongst relatives in Australia, sharing a barbecue beside the pool, or perhaps browsing the shopping arcades of New York or Milan. The tag line is usually something to the effect of 'Where do you want to go today?' (cf. Laderman 2002: 175-176; Bruno 2002: 107).

This virtual *flânerie* amidst the simultaneity of otherwise distant and disparate space-times bears many comparisons with cinema, not least in those practices which, aspiring towards simulation and verisimilitude, merge the visual with the experiential, such as IMAX and the virtual voyages of the hyper-real ‘ride-film’ (cf. Acland 1998; Rabinovitz 1998). Its earliest manifestation can be traced back to the panorama and diorama: early forms of the tourist gaze which predate the advent of the moving image.¹² There are, however, significant differences that should not be glossed over: the cyber ‘traveller’ primarily enters and exits via the embodied subjectivity of the individual, whereas cinema, at least in terms of its consumption and exhibition practices, has traditionally been regarded as a social activity. Secondly, the real-time, interactive relations between the traveller and the virtual spaces of the internet and other cyber technologies, highlight, in contradistinction, the passivity associated with the projection and reception of the cinematic image. As such, the adoption of Plato’s simile of the cave as a well-rehearsed metaphor of cinema begins to lose its currency in the context of multimedia interactivity and digital technology. The ‘prisoners’, if, indeed, they can still be referred to as such, now exhibit a greater degree of complicity and agency in the constructed simulacra – the ‘shadows on the wall’ – of contemporary visual culture.

These very important differences notwithstanding, the dynamics of ‘travel’ as a convergent trope of visual and social practice situates the ‘voyager-voyeur’, to use Virilio’s phrase (McQuire 1999: 144), within a social and historical continuum that throws into question any neat alignment of specific practices within temporal parameters of the modern or post-modern. Friedberg’s concept of a ‘mobilised virtual gaze’ (1993) provides a conception of postmodern subjectivity whereby contemporary manifestations of virtual travel and consumerist *flânerie* are argued to have been anticipated by nineteenth century innovations, such as the panorama and diorama, and by urban topographies of the *flâneur*, such as the shopping arcade and museum. For Friedberg, ‘[t]he *gradual shift* into postmodernity is marked... by the *increased centrality* of the mobilised and virtual gaze as a fundamental feature of everyday life... accounts of the cinema and the postmodern require a wider historical focus than simply that of the last two decades’ (1993: 4, 5, emphasis added).

This question of centrality and intensity in the deterritorialising of the cinematic subject allows us to ‘re-visit’ early and pre-cinematic conjunctions of travel and the mobile gaze while retaining a sideways glance towards the present.

¹² As a precursor to the filmic image, nineteenth-century panoramas were themselves regarded as ‘travel “movies”’ by early film historians of the 1930s (Griffiths 2003: 1).

In Max Ophüls' *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (1948), virtual travel by train in one key scene establishes a panoramic *mise en scène* in which the mobile gaze of film and its precursors is doubly alluded. Seated in a simulated train compartment, the film's two main characters, Lisa Berndle (played by Joan Fontaine) and Stefan Brand (Louis Jourdan), are seated opposite each other beside a window, the curtains of which are pulled back either side of the 'frame' like a cinema screen. Outside the window, scenic backdrops – panoramic reproductions of Venetian and Alpine landscapes – pass by creating the impression of vehicular movement. Upon their arrival in Venice, Stefan gets out to pay for their next trip. The cashier calls out to the operator, who changes the panoramic backdrops for Switzerland. The operator then climbs onto a customised bicycle that operates the movement of the panorama, blows a whistle and starts pedalling. The next journey is underway.

For Lisa, the illusion of travel facilitates temporal journeys to her childhood: reminiscences of time spent with her father travelling to exotic destinations. However, what we in fact learn from these reflections is that Lisa's childhood travels – to destinations such as Rio de Janeiro – were themselves no less virtual and imaginary. Her father would bring home pictures of foreign cultures and destinations from a friend he knew in the travel business. In the evening he'd put on his 'travelling coat' and ask: 'Where shall we go this evening?' With the aid of the tourist images, they'd consider the destinations to which they might next like to travel.

These reflections are presented within an overall narrative structure of the film that follows Lisa's epistolary recollections of her doomed and unrequited love for Stefan. The pivotal role of the panorama scene thus not only mobilises the complex emotional cartographies of presence and absence that come to define Lisa's diegetic subjectivity, it also alludes to the formal potentialities of 'travel' inscribed in the mobilised virtual gaze, which itself represents an extension of more static modes of vicarious travel amongst nineteenth century leisure classes, in the form of Victorian travel photography (cf. Osborne 2000).

Of the many variations of panoramic and dioramic exhibition that were devised for public spectacle throughout the nineteenth century, the machine depicted in *Letter from an Unknown Woman* recalls a device invented in Germany in 1832 by Carl Wilhelm Gropius (1793-1870) called the *Pleorama*. This moving panorama was staged in an auditorium designed to resemble the form of a small ship holding approximately 30 people. An illusion of movement was created by slowly drawing a scenic back-cloth across the stage, taking the audience on an hour's voyage in the Gulf of Naples, or on a journey down the Rhine (Gernsheim and Gernsheim 1968: 47). A related device, the *Padorama*, exhibited at the Baker Street Bazaar in London in 1834, consisted of a 10,000-square-foot dioramic strip

wound on drums which showed landscape scenery from the recently opened Liverpool to Manchester railway, the world's first passenger line (Altick 1978: 203).

In the 1900 Paris exposition, a Russian exhibit allowed visitors to take a virtual journey on the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The 'passengers' boarded seventy-five-foot-long carriages, including dining room, smoking room, and bedrooms, and took a forty-five minute trip between Moscow and Peking. Painted canvasses – scenic panoramas of the Caucasus and Siberia – rolled past the windows on an endless belt (Friedberg 1993: 84). Clearly on a much greater scale than the more intimate version depicted in Ophüls' film, this form of panoramic practice, like that of the diorama – in which changing light effects on giant, transparent paintings create the illusion of reality – were, as Altick contends, the 'bourgeois public's substitute for the Grand Tour, that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cultural *rite de passage* of upper class society' (1978: 180). The extent to which the panorama would have remained a popular mode of entertainment amongst the Viennese bourgeoisie in 1900, the setting for *Letter from an Unknown Woman*, is, however, open to question. This was, after all, five years after the Lumière Brothers had given the first public projection of the moving image to audiences in Paris. By 1900 cinema had already become a well-established form of popular entertainment and spectacle in Europe and North America.

If Ophüls' fictional characters had left Vienna of 1900 and visited the Paris Exposition that took place in the same year, as well as travelling the Trans-Siberian Railroad, they could also have embarked on the Lumière Brothers' *Maréorama*. Similar to Gropius' *Pleorama*, but with the heightened realism of moving imagery, spectators sat on a platform shaped like a ship's hull and, with simulated rocking of the ship in the ocean, viewed actuality footage of a sea voyage to Nice, the Riviera, Naples, and Venice (Friedberg 1993: 84).

A few years later in 1903, a cinema proprietor, George C. Hale of Kansas City, Missouri, introduced a simulated railroad experience in which the auditorium was designed to resemble a railway carriage, complete with a vibrating floor and sounds of a steam engine to make the trip more convincing. Exhibited widely in America and in London, these 'Hale's Tours', as they were known, took the viewer/passenger on short train journeys through the Rocky Mountains, Wales, or Scotland, using film footage shot from a camera mounted on the front of a railway engine (Gernsheim and Gernsheim 1968: 47). As the popularity of Hale's Tours spread it created a demand for evermore-diverse touristic scenery. Traveller-cameramen were dispatched throughout the globe to gather footage from destinations as far afield as Tokyo, Hanoi, Ceylon, Argentina and Borneo (Fielding 1983: 126, 127).

Hale's Tours played an important part in the overall development of the motion picture industry; many of the industry's leading luminaries began or furthered their careers

with Hale's Tours,¹³ and it served as a bridge between the arcade peep shows and vaudeville presentations which were still popular at the time, and the wider introduction of the cinema as a form of mass entertainment. When first showed in London, Hale's Tours attracted audiences from across the class spectrum, all of whom paid the same price of sixpence. Such an unprecedented disregard for class distinctions successfully wrong-footed the rival arcade owners who, somewhat sceptically had predicted that 'first class won't ride with third class' (Fielding 1983: 125).¹⁴

The role of the train in the perceptual and experiential practices of the panorama and of early film viewing cannot be overstated (cf. Christie 1994: 14-37). For Schivelbusch (1986), the impact of the railways effected a dramatic change in the way the spatial and temporal specificities of place and landscape were subsequently experienced by travellers. The hitherto more direct relationship between the traveller and the space travelled, in which the individuality of place, or the poetic and peripatetic (cf. Wallace 1993) engagement with landscape upheld ideas of 'tradition', succumbed, with the advancement of the railways, to modernist celebrations of speed, the standardisation of time, and the projectile passage of the travelling-subject through space. A phrase commonly uttered in relation to the railways during the nineteenth century – 'the annihilation of time and space' – underscored the sense of social unease and general ambivalence generated by this new technological phenomenon (Schivelbusch 1986: 10).

The 'perceptual paradigm' (Kirby 1997: 2) instilled by this new mode of travel – described by Schivelbusch as 'panoramic perception' – was shared by audiences of the panorama and diorama, and would later come to characterise the experience of the spectator in the cinema. The compression of time and space inaugurated by the railways also anticipated the radical discontinuities of space-time and the juxtaposition of disparate 'mobile gazes' that were to find their cinematic counterpart in editing techniques such as montage. For Schivelbusch, this was bound up with the loss of regional temporal identity (1986: 42). As Kirby argues:

The perceptual paradigm of cinematic spectatorship includes a changed temporal consciousness – an orientation to synchronicity and simultaneity embodied in the railroads' institutionalisation of standard time in 1883. Simultaneity as a mode of consciousness infected cinematic spectatorship from the beginning and became institutionalised in the classical system of alternation and parallel editing. (1997: 7)

¹³ The first job in the film business of Sam Warner, co-founder and owner of Warner Brother's Studios, was as a projectionist for Hale's Tours (Fielding 1983: 122).

¹⁴ For a study of the production and exhibition of Hale's Tours outside of America or England, see Iversen (2001).

Weiss draws similar conclusions, arguing that through the dynamics of speed and the collapsing of spatial distances, the landscape becomes ‘geographised’ (1998: 91). ‘Through this aestheticisation,’ he argues, ‘foreground becomes abstract while background becomes panorama... Speed incites aesthetics towards greater modes of synthesis, whether organic (as in the landscape) or dissociative (as in modernist collage and cinematic montage)’ (ibid).

The formal and aesthetic parallels between the train and cinema were further augmented by the development of the ‘tracking shot’, in which the camera was mounted on wheels or tracks. Similarly, innovations to improve the projection of film by the elimination of screen-flicker are said to have been inspired by riding on a train (Kirby 1997: 47).

Films shot from the front of a moving train – so-called ‘phantom rides’ – quickly became established amongst filmmakers and audiences alike. Like the Lumières’ *L’Arrivée d’un train en gare* (1895) – one of the very first films projected publicly, in which, as the title suggests, a train is shown pulling into a station – these were short actuality films, the novelty and interest of which lay in their realism and verisimilitude. As the novelty of the phantom rides wore off, they became incorporated into the travel narrative, with railroad companies in the United States proving no less keen to sustain the interest shown in their industry in order to exploit its commercial potential. Such was the dominance of travel and the railways in these early films that a sub-genre of the railway film soon began to emerge (Musser 1990). As Musser points out, the way particular films were seen or experienced was often dependent on the emphasis the exhibitor chose to give to a film. In Edwin S. Porter’s *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), the over-determination of the viewer-as-passenger (by presenting the film in a Hale’s Tour-type setting as a railway panorama, for example) enabled the film to be marketed within the travel genre. In other contexts, a greater emphasis on its narrative content, such as the chase sequence, facilitated the film’s absorption within crime or, later, western filmic genres (ibid). Its contextual framing is thus as important a criterion in considering the film’s popularity as its narrative elements, reaffirming the primacy of film’s status as a social practice. In the case of *The Great Train Robbery*, as with many other films of the period, the perceptual paradigm of the railways informs the social and discursive parameters within which such texts are framed.

The deterritorialising effects of the railway were an historical by-product of the industrialisation of travel: a radical experiential shift in the collective consciousness of industrial nations. The more sedate travels of the Grand Tour, which, for Schivelbusch, constituted ‘an essential part of [bourgeois] education before the industrialisation of travel’ (1986: 197), allowed, it has been suggested, ‘[an] assimilation of the spatial individuality of the places visited, by means of an effort that was both physical and intellectual’ (ibid). Altick’s contention that the panorama represented ‘the bourgeois public’s substitute for the Grand Tour’ thus raises the question as to what is lost – or gained – in this process of

substitution from ‘actual’ to ‘virtual’ travel, or, more accurately, between travel practices which predated the perceptual paradigm associated with the panorama and the railways, and those which followed in its wake.

As we saw in Chapter 1, the distinction between travel and tourism often masks class-based assumptions as to the degrees of autonomy and independence ascribed to each. Schivelbusch’s condemnation of the railways as ‘the destroyer of experiential space and time’ (ibid) hinges ostensibly on the criterion of *speed* as a factor in the decline from bourgeois autonomy and individuality to (an implied) touristic commodification of place and space – a commodification and democratisation of travel epitomised in the conjoined destinies of the railway and cinema, and ontologised in the subjectivity of the ‘spectator-passenger’ (Kirby 1997: 3). If looked at from the perspective of *comfort*, however, the differences between ‘real’ and ‘virtual’ travel as a bourgeois practice become less apparent.

Prato and Trivero describe trains, along with ships and airships, as ‘body containers’, associated with comfort, which entail ‘an implosive effect that “brackets out” the everyday world and recreates a smaller world with known and certain confines’ (1985: 29). By contrast, ‘body expanders’, such as cars, aeroplanes, and motorcycles are argued to be based on the regulation of speed in an *expansive* everyday world, entailing ‘the modification of the body according to the laws of movement’ (ibid).¹⁵ This distinction is useful when applied to the bourgeois appropriation and consumption of space in corresponding practices of the mobile virtual gaze. The *speed* of spatio-temporal dislocation is considered not in terms of its abstract and isolated properties, but in its phenomenological correspondence between subject and world via specific technologies of travel, whereas the *comfort* of travel becomes a crucial factor in the objectification of the gaze in travel narratives and panoramic geographies; a factor arguably no less applicable to the structured and rarefied circuits of the Grand Tour as to the passive consumption of the tourist gaze in practices of the spectator-passenger. ‘The journey in comfort...’ argue Prato and Trivero, ‘exemplifies the bourgeois utopia of being able to move without ever risking your identity and always remaining completely independent of the places you travel through and the people you meet’ (1985: 39). Although not intended as such, this quote could quite easily be a description of the consumption practices of cinema and travel lecture audiences in the first few decades of the twentieth century. It is these, and other discussions to which I now turn.

¹⁵ For a discussion of kinaesthesia and embodied travel see Chapter 5.

2.3 Ulysses' Gaze

The roads we follow are travellers' constructions, ways to find home. (Paul Carter, quoted in Osborne 2000: 46)

As a mythical template of the quest for knowledge and self-discovery in the Western imagination, Homer's heroic adventurer Ulysses has long provided a rich source of inspiration amongst European artists and writers. From Dante's *Inferno*, to Nikos Kazantzakis' *The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel* and James Joyce's *Ulysses*; or, in film, from Georges Méliès' *L'Île de Calypso: Ulysse et le géant Polyphème (Ulysses and the Giant Polyphemus, 1905)*, to *Ulisse (Ulysses, Mario Camerini, 1955)*, Godard's *Le Mépris (Contempt, 1963)*, and the work of Theo Angelopoulos (whose 1995 film, *To Vlemma Tou Odyssea / Ulysses' Gaze*, lest any confusion should arise, is not the subject under discussion in this section), this polymorphous wanderer has come to embody many of the inherent contradictions of the modern condition. From pre-history to history, the fate of this intrepid voyager has become that of a quintessential Enlightenment hero; yoked to contradictory forces, to ambivalent (dis)appropriations of nature, Ulysses takes on the mantle of the alienated modern seeking a rapprochement between nature and culture, art and science, imagination and rationality, tradition and modernity. With a gaze forever cast homeward to Ithaca, Ulysses 'loses himself in order to find himself' (Adorno and Horkheimer 1979: 48): a displaced circularity of self and home in which space, 'the irrevocable pattern of all mythic time' (ibid), resolves, in the form of the travel narrative, the ambivalent temporalities of the Enlightenment subject, caught between 'the teleology of progress... [and] the "timeless" discourse of irrationality' (Bhabha 1994: 142).

As a product of these 'dialectics of Enlightenment' (Adorno and Horkheimer 1979), the post-Homeric Ulysses surfaces in an array of different guises – as a prototypical imperialist and explorer in Gabriel Pereira de Castro's *Ulysses* (1636) (in which he is cast as a forerunner to Portugal's own Vasco da Gama and Magellan); as an allegorical figure representing the forces of history and 'heroic jurisprudence' (Stanford 1968: 185), a view held by the rationalist philosopher Giambattista Vico in his *Scienza Nuova* (1725); and, running counter to the prevailing scientific attitude of its day, as the altogether more mystical and romantic hero of Charles Lamb's 1808 allegory, *The Adventures of Ulysses* (Stanford and Luce 1974; Stanford 1968).

The conflicting goals which these Ulysean journeys represent in European literature are also reflected in their ambivalent geographies of 'home'. In Homer's epic, having banished the suitors, Ulysses is content to see out his days in the domestic bliss of Ithaca. In Dante's version, Ulysses turns his back on home, heading instead 'into the starry darkness of the unknown Western Sea, driven by restless curiosity to a fatal search for wisdom and

experience' (Helms 1988: 3). Caught between '[t]he security of home or the challenge of adventure; the centrality of the *axis mundi* or the lure of the distant horizon' (ibid), Ulysses comes to embody conflicting ideals of autochthony and utopic deferral. Yet far from representing divergent, or incompatible paths, it is this very ambiguity of 'home' that binds together these dialectics of Enlightenment. The homelessness of Dante's Ulysses, and that of Kazantzakis' hero after him, merely acknowledge the loss, or displacement of an *oikos* of home that was already evident in the Homeric journey. In so far as these ambivalent trajectories can be said to form a totality, or circularity of dis/placement in a broader context of Enlightenment discourse, 'home' is thus both never left and never fully arrived at. As a metaphor to explore the fixity, or *oikos* of the gaze in territorialised geographies of travel and film, it is this circularity of the homecoming 'Ulyssean gaze' which I am chiefly concerned with here.

For Adorno and Horkheimer, Homer's *Odyssey* represents 'the basic text of European civilization' (1979: 46), its hero 'a prototype of the bourgeois individual' (ibid: 43) for whom risk serves as the moral justification for profit and self-actualisation. Ulysses' resistance to the allurements of the Sirens (in which he orders himself strapped to the ship's mast, while his crew, their ears plugged with wax, row frantically ahead, unaware of the beauty of the Sirens' song that so enraptures Ulysses) becomes an allegory for the bourgeois separation of the transcendent and rational, of the sublimely aesthetic and the mundanely social. Reduced to a mere object of contemplation, the intoxicating beauty of the Sirens' song is neutralised, its power sublimated towards the more practical exigencies of production. As such, the worlds of art and labour become distinct, their social protagonists locked in a master-slave dialectic whereby each reproduces the conditions of their own existence: 'The oarsmen, who cannot speak to one another, are each of them yoked in the same rhythm as the modern worker in the factory, movie theatre, and collective' (ibid: 36-37).

In the tale of Ulysses and the Sirens it is hard not to draw allegorical comparisons with the 'primitive, bourgeois history' of the traveller and tourist, for whom, as for Ulysses, the lure of the transcendent is reduced to the 'wistful longing of the passer-by' (ibid: 59). As we saw in our discussion of the panoramic gaze, with the industrialisation of travel landscape was itself to become an object of bourgeois contemplation, its beauty and 'otherness' bleached of signs of production as engagement with the land retreated to the level of mere visibility. In the previously cited panorama scene from Ophüls' *Letter to an Unknown Woman*, Stefan and Lisa's 'travels in comfort' are those of a bourgeois couple passively consuming an unfolding, mobile virtual gaze. The panorama operator, on the other hand, occupying the marginal spaces of this class-encoded *mise en scène*, is symbolically deprived of both comfort and perspective. Pedalling furiously away (yet remaining fixed to

the spot), it is his own labour power upon which this touristic flight from the urban topographies of *fin de siècle* Vienna ultimately depends.

In the same way that itineraries of travel and tourism amongst the nineteenth century leisure classes became established through guidebooks, travel writing, and the work of travel entrepreneurs such as Thomas Cook (1808-92), the popularity of the travel film in the early decades of the twentieth century could also partly be attributed to the fact that, as potential tourists, many of its consumers were both active practitioners of this ostensibly bourgeois, touristic gaze, as well as its passive voyeurs. The conspicuous consumption of the leisure classes displayed in these films becomes – in the materiality of the films themselves – the *object* of consumption of these self-same classes, its symbolic power generated from socially and culturally-encoded practices of distinction (cf. Veblen 1899; Bourdieu 1984). In the context of tourism and the travelogue, a defining feature of the Ulyssean gaze is therefore its capacity to centre the voyager-voyeur within class-based structures of power and consumption.

The films of Burton Holmes, one of the earliest and most prolific exponents of the travel genre (and coiner of the term ‘travelogue’) were amongst the first to promote tourism as a natural form of leisure activity amongst the middle and upper classes. Shot, as Rony observes, from the point of view of a bemused wealthy traveller (1996: 84), films like *Beautiful Bermuda* (1921) – a ‘cinematic postcard’ (ibid) promoting Bermuda as the ideal honeymoon site – or his *The Melting Pot of the Pacific* (1923) – commissioned by the US Shipping Board to promote tourism in Hawaii – became as much a part of the general discourse of travel and tourism, alongside postcards, brochures, and guidebooks, as they were of the staple genre of travel films that were popular among early cinema audiences (Rony 1996: 84, 240).

Many early travelogues were short films consisting of panoramic views of landscapes shot from the point of view of a moving train (the phantom ride) or boat. Places and spaces of arrival and departure, such as railway stations, ports and harbours were regular features in these films, often sharing equal billing with the scenic views and sites of local interest. Indeed, as the titles of many travelogues suggest, it is the experience of travel itself that is the film’s primary subject, rather than the traveller’s destination or location: e.g. *A Trip on the Italian Lakes* (1908, Italy, director unknown), *Railway Ride Along French Riviera* (1910, country and director unknown), *A Cruise to St. Kilda and the Western Isles* (1929, UK, director unknown).¹⁶ However, given the ‘panoramic perception’ that is framed in these films, it is perhaps more accurate to argue that it is the act of *seeing* that is prioritised

¹⁶ All three films cited here are from the British Film Institute’s National Film Archive.

here; the subjectivity of the camera's eye being that of a traveller or tourist *viewing* the landscape from the perspective of railway carriage window, or the deck of a cruise ship.

For Tom Gunning, the 'view' represents one of the defining characteristics of early non-fiction film: 'we don't just experience a "view" film as a presentation of a place, an event, or a process,' he argues, 'but also as the mimesis of the act of observing' (in Griffiths 1999: 283). By way of illustration, in *A Trip on the Italian Lakes*, a short (313 feet) travelogue filmed from the point of view of a tourist on board a sightseeing cruise, the camera in one shot takes in the architecture and activity of a small lake-side town flanked by a rugged mountain landscape. Panning to the left, other cruise ships on the lake start to come into view, and the shot ends with a group of well-dressed tourists, viewed from behind, looking out from the deck of the ship towards the same scenic landscape. From 'tourist gaze' to gazing at tourists: the 'view' becomes a mimesis of bourgeois perspective and touristic practice.

In such examples, the disengaged nature of the relationship between the traveller-filmmaker and the ethnographic spaces of 'other' cultures recalls Prato and Trivero's description of travelling in comfort, cited in the previous section, as 'the bourgeois utopia of being able to move without ever risking your identity and always remaining completely independent of the places you travel through and the people you meet'. This ideal vision is foreshadowed in Renaissance discourses on travel and pilgrimage, such as those which followed the publication of Michel de Montaigne's account of his journey to Italy in 1580-81. For Henri de Castela, who challenged Montaigne's contention that the purpose of travel was to 'rub up against others' – i.e. to engage with and learn from different cultures – the success of a pilgrimage was measured in terms of its resistance to the effects of others. Always travelling with the protection of guides and never interacting with the locals, Castela's ideal pilgrim, as Williams suggests, would be a 'traveller without a body' (1999: 108): an appropriate metaphor for the disembodied (Ulyssean) gaze of the traveller-filmmaker-voyeur in early travel films; a gaze, moreover, that is discursively located within hegemonic mappings of class, race, gender, nation and empire.

To the Sunny East (1926, UK, director unknown), a later, and in terms of both itinerary (covering 12,000 miles from Britain to Japan) and length (9,100 feet), a considerably more ambitious travelogue than the early 'view' films and phantom rides, explores an 'imperial imaginary' (Shohat and Stam 1994) more reflective of these broader structures of power and representation. Despite the film's geographical scope (London – Gibraltar – Marseilles – Naples – Egypt – Colombo – Singapore – Hong Kong – Shanghai – Japan), the journey that is undertaken (on board the SS Haruna, a Japanese steamship) charts not so much the cultural and ethnographic diversity of these regions as the topographical

itineraries of class, nation and empire: a mapping, in short, of upper-middle-class British identity at the height of Empire.

The links between the early years of cinema and the heights of Western imperialism have been explored by writers such as Shohat and Stam, who point out that the most prolific filmmaking nations of the silent period (Britain, France, United States, Germany) were also the leading imperialist nations (1994: 100). In countries such as Holland and Germany government departments were established especially to control the production and distribution of colonial propaganda films (Rony 1996: 85). Cinema's powerful role as an 'epistemological mediator' (Shohat and Stam 1994: 93) between centre (the imperial metropole) and periphery (the colonised spaces of alterity) helped shape and maintain a geographical imagination of empire that legitimised and naturalised colonialist expansion. As Shohat and Stam argue:

The 'spatially-mobilized visuality' of the I/eye of empire spiraled outward across the globe, creating a visceral, kinetic sense of imperial travel and conquest, transforming European spectators into armchair conquistadors, affirming their sense of power while turning the colonies into spectacle for the metropole's voyeuristic gaze. (ibid: 104)

In the case of the travel film, we witness a conflation of this imperial gaze with that of the tourist. As the language used by early film pioneers suggests, the new medium's potential lay in its very capacity for *possessing* its subject, in direct allusion to this broader discursive context. Burton Holmes' motto, for example, was 'To travel is to possess the world'; Thomas Edison's travelogues were called 'Conquest Pictures'; and the stated aim of the Lumières' camera operator Félix Mesguich was 'to enclose the world in my cameras' (Rony 1996: 82-3).

While many of the traveller-filmmakers could be said to 'rub up against others', to use Montaigne's phrase, their portrayal of indigenous populations invariably traded on stereotypical notions of the pre-modern other and contrasts between the 'civilised' white traveller and the 'primitive' or 'savage' native. Often such binarisms were drawn upon, even 'scripted', for comic effect, as in Georges Méliès' brother Gaston's 'Round the World Films' of 1912-13, shot on location (in Tahiti, New Zealand, Australia, Java, Cambodia, and Japan) using non-professional native actors 'acting' at being rather silly and unthreatening savages (ibid: 85).

In addition to such tropes of 'infantilization' in travel and colonial film, tropes of 'animalization' also played an important role in highlighting the 'civilising mission' of the colonial adventurer.¹⁷ Culture and civilisation – the embodied virtues of the

¹⁷Similarly, gendered and eroticised tropes such as 'virgin land', 'dark continent' and 'veiled' territories conveyed a suggestive and passive complementarity to Western colonial 'penetration'

traveller/coloniser – ‘arrive’ in far-flung lands to tame and domesticate the natural, bestial terrain of the native/colonised; a recurrent theme, for example, in the exploration or safari film, and in depictions of the native as cannibal (Shohat and Stam 1994: 137-40; Rony 1996: 86-90). At the end of Burton Holmes’ *Sights of Suva* (1918), a shot of an empty Fijian landscape is accompanied by an intertitle which reads ‘No further fear of cannibals – Even the fat and appetizing tourist may wander freely anywhere in Fiji...’ In this comic play of racial and cultural stereotypes, not only is the civilising (and eradicating) influence of the fat colonial-tourist alluded to, it also conveys the suggestion that, given the economic rationale behind colonial and touristic appropriations of indigenous cultures, the fat tourist is potentially as much consumer (of the other) as consumed (Rony 1996: 84-5).¹⁸

A 1912 commentator on French colonial cinema observed that: ‘One indisputable advantage of the geographical film is that it helps link the colonies to the mother country. It shows us all the outlets offered to French enterprise by our vast overseas possessions’ (quoted in Griffiths 1999: 298). In a British imperial context, this is certainly the case with ‘geographical films’ such as *To the Sunny East*. As mentioned above, what is notable (or, rather, typical) about this type of film is that the colonial spaces that it ostensibly maps are those forged and inhabited by the agents of empire (merchants, administrators, military, etc.), rather than the ethnographic spaces of alterity represented by its subjects. Rubbing up against others this most certainly is not. As such, it is buildings and monuments that tend to catch the Ulyssean gaze of the filmmaker’s eye. Heavily intertitled or ‘signed’, the tour includes: Government House in Port Said; The Stately War Monument to the Indian Expeditionary Force; the first Christian church established in Colombo, Queen’s House, the official residence of His Excellency the Governor; in Singapore ‘We enter the famous harbour and admire the Flagship of the British Navy in the Far East’, stop off at the cricket club and Ohkura Rubber Estate; in Hong Kong, where ‘Sedan chairs, rickshas, and other strange conveyances are available’, we visit the racecourse and supreme court of justice, and pause to admire the war memorial which ‘is similar in design to that of the capital city of the Empire’. After a short stopover in Shanghai we finally arrive in Japan: ‘the land of enchantment’.

(Shohat and Stam 1994: 141; Van den Abbeele 1992: xxv). The origins of these gendered topographies, as Van den Abbeele notes, can be traced back to the *Odyssey*’s phallogocentric geographies of home and away, in which ‘home’ is the province of the domesticated women (in the form of Penelope, Ulysses’ wife); and away – the untrammelled horizons of the heroic male adventurer – becomes a seductive and dangerous zone of female sexuality and ‘otherness’ to be conquered (as represented by Ulysses’ encounter with the Sirens, and with Circe and Calypso) (Van den Abbeele 1992: xxv).

¹⁸ For a more recent examination of these themes, see Dennis O’Rourke’s travelogue documentary *Cannibal Tours* (1987).

The remainder of the film follows the filmmaker's tour around Japan, a country of which he seems clearly enamoured. Of all the non-European destinations filmed on the tour, the Japanese footage provides the only real evidence of any depth of interest shown towards the indigenous population of the countries and cultures visited. Perhaps not entirely coincidentally, Japan was also the only country not to have had any experience of, or association with, British rule. Indeed, in 1926 Japan was itself a nation with growing imperial ambitions. One of the first shots upon arriving in Japan is of a group of upper-middle-class Europeans (who we can assume are friends or travelling companions of the filmmaker) sitting in a café in Nagasaki overlooking the Inland Sea. The intertitle reads: 'From the Garden Café each hour of the day produces pleasing changes; there are 750 islands of all shapes and sizes, and from them and the towns and villages many men are recruited for the Imperial Japanese Navy'. That this should mark the commencement of the Japanese tour raises questions as to the political and ideological sympathies that may have drawn class and nation together in this context. More so when we consider that at an earlier point in the tour, the filmmaker, upon arrival in Naples, goes out of his way to note: 'Entering the city, our attention is first drawn to the Fascisti in their unique black shirts'. Although we can only speculate as to the political affiliations of the filmmaker, the discursive proximity of references to imperialism and extreme nationalism, given the subsequent orientation of both Italy under Mussolini and Hirohito's Japan, may provide some basis for arguing that another facet of the film's mapping of empire was that of a more specific imperial gaze, one that may well have drawn support from right-wing nationalist and fascist organisations during the 1920s and 30s.¹⁹

The well-structured, linear narrative of *To the Sunny East* is maintained in large part through the film's heavy reliance on the use of intertitles. As a method of establishing context and narrative intelligibility in silent film these frames of printed text – described by Tom Gunning 'as a sort of interiorized film lecturer' (in Sklar 2002: 51) – were less common in earlier travel films and actualities, or in travel lecture films, where spoken narration obviated the need for textual guidance. In extended travelogues such as *To the Sunny East*, in addition to providing a means of establishing location and editorial commentary on the action, intertitles function as signs of the tourist and imperial gaze.

In semiological studies of tourism, writers such as MacCannell have examined the relationship between 'marker' and tourist sight; i.e. the representation and information attached to a specific attraction, such as that found in guide books, maps, visitor centres, brochures, etc., and the actual sight (or site) itself. The nature of this relationship, he argues,

¹⁹ In Britain such organisations were represented by groups such as the Imperial Fascist League and the British Empire Union, later consolidated within the British Union of Fascists, founded by Oswald Mosely in 1932, and modelled after the Italian Black Shirts.

is that the marker potentially becomes more important than the sight. The marker functions as a means of sight recognition, displacing or obliterating the actual sight by processes of its own signification (1976: 109-133). Henri de Castela's insistence on travelling with the protection of guides provides an early example of this, highlighting the near-talismanic power of the 'map' in displacing the contingent materiality of travel destinations.

Similarly, as Griffiths points out, ethnographic verisimilitude in the 'ethnographic travelogue' (her term for pre-1908 commercial films featuring non-Western ethnographic subjects) was measured by the extent to which the image matched pre-conceived notions of 'what one would expect to see'; i.e. as already 'marked' by an informing context of film posters, fictional renditions and other established representational forms (Griffiths 1999: 284, 292-3).

Although he does not draw the distinction himself, in choosing the term *sight-seer* over *site-seer* in his description of the tourist, MacCannell indirectly pinpoints an inherent ambiguity in the semiotics of touristic attraction; one which is rarely commented on in tourist discourses where both spellings are used interchangeably. Highlighting the visual consumption of place (or 'site' of attraction) that marks out the tourist from other social actors, the 'sight-seer', somewhat tautologically, is one who sees what there is to be seen; i.e. what has been 'marked' for touristic consumption. Sight-seeing, unlike site-seeing, is fundamentally a visual hermeneutic, which in its abstraction from place – from topic and topography – constitutes a *utopic* marker that exists independently from the site, but which, at the same time, is no less a feature of a more discursively embedded tourist gaze. The 'site-seer', by comparison, represents a fundamentally discursive subjectivity who, like the map-reader, is the product of a topic space of travel (guide books, maps, tour itineraries, brochures, etc.). 'Site' in this context denotes a geographical marker which exists prior and subsequent to the act of seeing itself (i.e. the sight of the site). In hegemonic discourses of travel it is the site – the locus of the 'map' – that determines the signification of 'the seen'.

When considered in terms of the touristic 'gaze' of the travelogue – i.e. both the visual, cinematic specificity of the 'sight', and the informing discourses of narration, commentary or intertitles that comprise the textual hermeneutics of site-recognition – we identify a semiotics of the gaze which, in the case of *To the Sunny East*, is designed to remove all contingency from the sight/site of the image-marker. Affect, chance, the surrendering to the event; these less certain geographies of the image are reigned in and 'controlled' by the ideological bearer of the gaze. As a contemporary of the filmmaker, WB Yeats' famous lines: 'Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold; Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world' (from his 1921 poem, 'The Second Coming'), become resonant with an imperial anxiety which the familiarisation and domesticating of the 'other' serves to quell. By

holding on to an imperial imaginary, the centre is reinforced, order is maintained. Ithaca remains at the centre of Ulysses' world, wherever his adventures take him.

In *To the Sunny East*, the intertitles function as markers of image: 'The native fishing craft are typical of the East' is followed by an image of a 'typical' fishing craft; 'The Stately War Monument to the Indian Expeditionary Force' primes us for the image of an object we are now able to read competently as 'the stately war monument to the Indian Expeditionary Force'. Often these shots of static objects such as monuments and buildings are no greater in length than the intertitles that precede and 'mark' them. The guiding text functions to displace and obliterate the 'sight' of the image²⁰ in the same way that the referent (the image), as signifier (marker) of place, displaces and obliterates its own, secondary referent; for example, the monument to the 'founder of Singapore', Sir Stamford Raffles, as a marker of 'Singapore' semantically overwrites the actual place in a context rendered intelligible for the British colonial tourist. This filmic and touristic process of double marking removes twice over the lived space of the potential tourist or filmic encounter and reifies the mapping of representations of space conducive to Empire.²¹ Independent from, or obliquely related to this lived, ethnographic spatiality, the tour (the locus of sight) and the map (the determinant of site) form a mutually-constitutive totality:

[T]ours postulate maps, while maps condition and presuppose tours. It is their combination in a narrative chain of spatializing operations that defines for de Certeau the structure of the travel story: 'Stories of journeys and actions are marked out by the 'citation' of the places that result from them or authorize them'. (Morris 1988: 38; cf. de Certeau 1984: 120)

As the 'contemporary heir' to the Renaissance science of cartography, cinema shares with this more ancient visual medium an ability to plot and map the topographical itineraries of imperial power and dominion (Shohat and Stam 1994: 146-7). Burton Holmes' dictum that 'to travel is to possess the world' may be connotative of ethnographic curiosity, or of a (Grand Touristic) desire to 'broaden the mind' (as another old adage would have it), but it is no less a product of a European intellectual tradition – of Euclidean geometry and Cartesian rationality – in which the travel narrative 'became a key instrument of empire for describing, categorising and mapping the world which it aspired to possess' (Bravo 1999: 166).

²⁰ Indeed, for a researcher 'reading' this film, the ability to replay, rewind and fast forward the footage renders the actual displacement of the image a viable option. In instances where there is a direct correspondence between sign and referent, intertitle and image, it is possible to read the film (in the literary sense) by collapsing the (cinematic) space between the markers.

²¹ Like the Victorian photographer, Sir JJ Coghill's photo-travelogue of Spain, in which sites and monuments associated with British naval history feature strongly, in *To the Sunny East* Singapore ostensibly becomes a place where British history is staged. Travel functions as 'a ritual of self-affirmation in which the world in general is presented as little more than a projection of the traveller's mentality' (Osborne 2000: 17).

Travel films often open with or feature maps as a means of rendering the diegetic and geographic context intelligible. As an abstraction of place and territory, the map or ‘theatre’, as the atlas used to be called (de Certeau 1984: 121), colonises the spaces of representation to frame and determine the context of interpretation, pushing marginal narratives ‘into the wings’ (ibid). In *Glimpses of India* (1929, UK, director unknown), a documentary/travelogue from the British Film Institute’s British Raj collection, a map of Europe is shown superimposed onto a map of the Indian subcontinent. Intended as a measure of geographical scale, the symbolic potency of this image also conveys the political and ideological efficacy of the map. An absorption of periphery by the centre, Europe becomes a transparency by which India can be read; the cultural spaces of the East yield to those of a dominant West.

Cartographic representations of unfamiliar or uncharted terrain were a key feature of the expedition film, another genre of documentary travel film which, like the travelogue, was in large part popularised by the inclusion of travel/expedition footage in newsreels, ‘an almost exclusive source of moving images of contemporary reality’ in the 1920s and 30s (Benelli 2002: 5).²² Plotting the progress of the adventurer-explorer, the inclusion of maps served to highlight significant topographical details that represented challenges to be overcome, and were thus indispensable narrative tools in filmic constructions of the heroic adventurer, battling against the odds in a remote and hostile environment. In *90° South* (1933), Herbert Ponting’s record of Scott’s ill-fated polar expedition to the South Pole in 1910, as the camera’s gaze can only take us so far along the expedition’s route, the map becomes an important player in the remaining narrative journey.

The bulk of Ponting’s footage covers the voyage from New Zealand on board the *Terra Nova* (Latin for ‘new land’) to Ross Island on the edge of the Great Ice Barrier, which barred any further navigation southwards. Ponting’s commentary on reaching this point informs us that ‘The Great Ice Barrier is the largest known floating ice sheet in the world, and it fills a great bay as large as France, in a continent larger than Europe... if England could be laid on the Great Ice Barrier it would look like this...’ A map of Great Britain, not England, is then superimposed across the map of the Great Ice Barrier, its southern coastline level with the southernmost limits of the Ross Sea, the Scottish highlands straddling the mountain range that borders the 10,000-foot-high polar plateau. As with the example from *Glimpses of India*, the purpose of this comparative mapping is to provide a sense of scale, as

²² It should also be noted here that the horrors of World War I would have had a significant effect on the popularisation of these travel genres, as audiences sought an escape from the more grimmer realities of the newsreels, both during and after the war. Although no footage would have been available at the time, in Britain and the colonies, Sir Ernest Shackleton’s Antarctic mission of 1914-17, a period spanning almost the entirety of the war, would have provided some, albeit limited means of diversion from events closer to home.

well as to emphasise the endeavour and endurance required of those embarking on such a venture. What is striking here though is Ponting's apparent fascination with imagining Antarctica in terms of Europe. Even one of its fragments, in the form of an iceberg, is described as being big enough to 'carry London and most of its suburbs on its back'. Amundsen's rival (and successful) expedition to 'conquer' the pole (also mapped in the film), and the respective planting of Norwegian and British national flags, represent the physical inscription of this European imaginary upon a *tabula rasa* of uncharted – hence unpossessed – territory.²³

What is no less striking is Ponting's identifying the map of Great Britain as 'England'. For all the pomp and national pride that surrounded this near-mythic narrative of courage, honour, and endurance – virtues which had come to symbolise the British national character – the cultural epicentre of this expeditionary epic was England and the English. Scott himself confirms this in his final diary entry: 'I do not regret this journey which has shown that Englishmen can endure hardships, help one another and meet death with as great a fortitude as ever in the past'. Given that the first of Scott's party to die was a Welshman, the Rhosili-born petty officer, Edgar Evans, such an epitaph can have done little to endear Scott to those for whom Wales, historically and culturally, represents something more than a mere province of the English.²⁴

As an aside, it is worth noting at this point that in Kazantzakis' *The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel* (1958 [1938]), Ulysses turns his back on Ithaca and spends the rest of his days continuing his odyssey. His last voyage is to the icy wilderness of the South Pole where, like Scott and his men, he eventually dies. A negation of Ithaca, Kazantzakis' Nietzschean odyssey is striven until the end towards an overcoming of the self; a fate which can hardly be attributed to Scott, whose reification of the heroic virtues of an English imperial identity secures, with Ponting's intervention, the homecoming that is otherwise denied.

Ponting's role on the Scott expedition, like that of Frank Hurley on Sir Ernest Shackleton's 1914-17 Antarctic odyssey (*South*, 1919), was to document the mission and to

²³ Footage taken from Roald Amundsen's conquest of the South Pole in December 1911 was released in Norway in 1912, under the title of *Roald Amundsens sydpolekspedisjon (The South Pole Expedition of Roald Amundsen)*. Explorers such as Amundsen, Nansen and Sverdup were national icons in Norway, and the polar expedition film emerged as a popular subgenre of the travel film in Norwegian non-fiction cinema of the 1920s and 30s (Sorensen n.d.).

²⁴ A drama-documentary broadcast on the Welsh language channel, SC4 in 2001 set out to explore some of the suspicious circumstances surrounding Evan's death, in which Scott himself was implicated. The film, *Y Daith Olaf*, claims Scott was a man driven by the idea that the English were the best and that nothing, least of all a petty officer with severe frostbite, was going to stand in his way (Mainwaring 2001).

conquer through image that which they were unable to lay claim to in reality.²⁵ From as early as the seventeenth century, artists and, later, photographers had accompanied scientific missions and voyages of discovery to bring home visual evidence of remote and distant worlds (Rohdie 2001: 95). With the invention of cinema, the expeditionary filmmaker inherited this tradition (cf. Brownlow 1979). For geographers such as Jean Brunhes, the director of *Les Archives de la planète*, a vast image bank of the world compiled in Paris by the banker and millionaire philanthropist Albert Khan (see below), film and photography constituted the central scientific method for mapping the diversity of human experience (Rohdie 2001: 17). As well as providing a document of the expedition and a source of archival research, the positivistic acquisition of knowledge through image was also an important tool in the dissemination of research findings in the lecture theatres of institutions such as the Royal Geographical Society,²⁶ and amongst the public in general.

In its prior incarnations as a silent film,²⁷ Ponting's record of the 1910 polar expedition was also presented in the form of a lecture, consisting of both film footage and slide projections as was popular amongst 'cultured' travel lecture audiences at the time (Barber 1993: 82). The film and lectures were well received by a nation that was on the brink of war. In 1914 he gave a Royal Command Performance at Buckingham Palace, and in 1915 a set of the films were shown to the British forces stationed in France, in the hope that the totemic spirit of endurance and self-sacrifice witnessed on-screen would rub off on the troops as they prepared for battle. But by 1917 when he gave a second series of lectures interest had waned, and Ponting was later to declare the time spent lecturing and promoting the film during this period a waste (Brownlow 1979: 433; Lynch 1989: 294-295).

The legacy of this form of filmic exhibition was carried forward into the sound version of Ponting's film, made in 1933. *90° South* starts with Captain Evans from the 1910 expedition, followed by Ponting, introducing the film from the stage of a theatre, as if

²⁵ Ponting also provided entertainment for the expedition members in the form of slide lectures of his travels to exotic destinations such as Japan (Lynch 1989: 299).

²⁶ In her account of the late Victorian travel writer, Mary Kingsley, Blunt notes that in the 1890s, the period of Kingsley's travels in West Africa, the Royal Geographical Society was still debating whether to admit women as fellows. Clearly, the gendering of institutionalised geographies of the Ulyssean myth inhibited the conception of women travellers as anything other than a mere anomaly from the normative image of the domiciled Penelope, waiting patiently for the return of her male adventurer (1994: 157).

²⁷ Ponting's record of Scott's expedition was first released in several episodes in 1911-12, and was subsequently issued as a full-length film, *The Undying Story of Captain Scott* in 1913. Re-edited, in 1924 another version, *The Great White Silence* was released. Adding an introduction, music and spoken commentary, the sound version, *90° South*, finally appeared in 1933 (source: the introductory text to *90° South*, British Film Institute and the National Film and Television Archive, BFI Video; Brownlow 1979: 433). In 1948, *Scott of the Antarctic*, a feature version of the story, was released. Directed by Charles Frend, and starring John Mills in the title role, the film was met with a less than favourable response by the film theorist and critic André Bazin, who wrote: 'I have never seen a more boring and ridiculous undertaking than *Scott of the Antarctic*' (1967: 157).

addressing a live audience sitting behind the camera. The shift from introduction to commentary on the footage (via a map showing the *Terra Nova*'s route from Britain to New Zealand), although within the overall structure of the film, mimics the withdrawal of the lecturer in an actual theatre setting; i.e. as the house lights are dimmed and the projectionist gets ready to roll the film.

The inclusion of maps and voice-over narration in the travel and exploration film guides the viewer in his or her interpretation of the events and sights depicted on screen. Ponting's journey to the 'uttermost end of the earth [...] where nature is at its cruellest and ruthless' is as much a mapping of Antarctica's uncharted frontier as a 'mapping' of English identity and the heroic virtues of an imperial imaginary. In this broader discursive context of Empire the enduring appeal of this Antarctic odyssey can arguably be attributed to its reification of the geographic over the ethnographic, the inhospitable terrain erasing the more contentious or ambivalent binarisms of 'culture' and 'nature' found in other, less barren stretches of Empire.

In a prevailing scientific and epistemological climate that coincided with both the early years of film and the heights of Western imperialism, the positivistic 'voice of god' of institutional travel narratives (e.g. geographical and anthropological monographs and lectures) vied with the god's-eye perspective of Cartesian cartography to fix and 'possess' the objective, empirically-accountable world 'out there'.

For the geographer Jean Brunhes, such an ideal vantage point enables the observer to 'make note of the essential facts of human geography with the same perspective and regard which allows us to discover and map the morphological, topographical, and hydrographic details on the earth's surface' (in Rohdie 2001: 101). In his capacity as director of Albert Khan's *Archives* collection, Brunhes' positivism rested on the methodological centrality of the photographic image to the science of geography. Adapted as an observational tool of scientific enquiry, the collection and classification of images of other races and cultures was approached on the same empirical terms – i.e. as irrefutable 'facts' to be catalogued and stored in museum archives – as those associated with the natural sciences (Rohdie 2001: 17, 66; cf. Tagg 1988).

This 'classificatory gaze', as Amad describes it (2001: 142), underpinned Khan's utopian vision of capturing a (vanishing) world of facts for future posterity, and for the furtherance of mutual understanding between nations.²⁸ Housed at the Musée Albert Khan in Paris (more commonly associated with Khan's utopian garden project), *Les Archives de la planète* are a vast inventory of images, including some 72,000 colour autochrome

²⁸ A more recent example of the classificatory gaze of travel photography is that of the French aerial photographer Yann Arthus-Bertrand, whose survey of the earth from above, shot from planes or air

photographs²⁹ and approximately 183,000 metres of film, amassed from all corners of the globe between 1908 and 1931 (Amad 2001: 138-9). Sharing Brunhes' positivistic belief in the power of observation, Khan viewed film as an 'incorruptible language... a light which illuminates space and time' (in Amad 2001: 142).

Many of the films in Khan's collection, despite the elitist and scientific rationale of the archive, were modelled after the more popular conventions of the travelogue film (following the predetermined tourist routes found in travel guides), or of early 'view' and actuality films (phantom rides and panoramic shots taken from trains, buses, boats, etc.). While sharing many of the features of the commercial travel feature, Khan's films and autochromes were not intended for public consumption. Screenings and lectures were reserved for the cultural and intellectual elite, and as such remained largely isolated from commercial film culture (Amad 2001: 147,155).

The specific archival, institutional, and national frameworks of filmic and travel practices were therefore important factors in the reception and interpretation of travel and geographical films. Alongside the textual markers and guides to interpretation such as intertitles, maps, and, with the advent of sound, the voice-over, an extra-textual layer of interpretation was established by the presence of the lecturer; a presence, moreover, which often represented a symbolic embodiment of the same social, cultural or institutional frameworks through which travel images were discursively forged.

In the absence of ethnographic studies of early travel lecture films³⁰ it is perhaps easy to overlook the extent to which, in their theatrical context, these films constituted lived spaces of representation. The opening up of the cinematic space of the travel film to the discursive space of the lecture hall or auditorium unpacks the film's ideological content to allow for potential challenges to dominant filmic 'markers' of identity, place and space; a process dependent on the nature and context of exhibition. With its roots in the magic lantern shows of the late nineteenth century, the travel lecture film largely drew a middle- and upper-class audience. As with the Grand Tour and early tourist practices, these events served as markers of social distinction and national-cultural identity, and were considered an integral part of the 'refinement' and edification of the educated classes (Barber 1993: 69).

balloons, represents a 'god's-eye' perspective of the world's fragile environments, both human and natural.

²⁹ Invented by the Lumière Brothers, the autochrome is a photographic image produced on a glass plate. Unlike the conventional photographic image the autochrome is not reproducible, and is hence unique. It was most often used for illustrated travel lectures (Rohdie 2001: 50).

³⁰ In historical and anthropological studies of American film, travelogues and the travel lecture film have started to receive some degree of scholarly attention (cf. Ruoff 2002; Benelli 2002; Hammond 2002; Staples 2002; Griffiths 1999; Ruoff 1998; Rony 1996; Levy 1995; Gunning 1995; Barber 1993; Musser and Nelson 1991; Musser 1990); although on a smaller scale, there are also a growing number of studies of British or European travel films (cf. Norris Nicholson 2002; Schneider 2002; Amad 2001; Rohdie 2001; Toulmin 2001; Iverson 2001; Butt 1996; Peterson 1997; Sorensen n.d.).

What has been less adequately explored is the extent to which contrasting and ambivalent readings of the travel lecture film – cutting across hegemonic mappings of class, race, gender or national identity – shaped the hermeneutic spaces of the film or lecture theatre.³¹ As Griffiths has noted with regard to early travelogue films, ‘[the ubiquity of such] contemporary terms as “the colonial gaze” or “Western looking regimes” can attribute too much power to the motion picture camera; the axiomatic status of such terms has inhibited alternative ways of deriving meaning from these films’ (1999: 283). While this is true in an historical context, it is no less the case amongst contemporary practices of experimental ‘salvage’ filmmaking in which found and archival footage from early documentaries acquires new, deterritorialised layers of meaning and affect (cf. Russell 1999).

Similarly, while for some audiences the touristic and colonial gaze reaffirmed the Enlightenment values and ‘civilising’ agenda by which Western imperial powers sought legitimacy and identity, for others it reflected more negative concerns as to the impacts of Western capitalist modernity on fragile environments and traditional cultures (Griffiths 1999: 296). As Brownlow notes, the popularity of early ethnographic films such as *Nanook of the North* (Robert Flaherty, 1922) and *Grass* (Merian Cooper and Ernest Schoedsack, 1925 – discussed in Chapter 3.3) owed much to the underlying message they sent to the increasingly materialistic societies of the West: ‘Here is the spirit you have lost!’ (Brownlow 1979: 409).

These ambivalent responses to modernity’s encroachment on pre-modern communities were also reflected in travel narratives that had their roots closer to home. As I explore in the next section, in discourses of national-cultural identity the impacts of modernity on ideas of tradition, authenticity and community (often spatialised in terms of rural and urban) mapped, at a national level, the same ambivalent trajectories as those oriented towards the cultural and geographical ‘other’. An ‘ideology of travel’, as Marin has suggested (1993: 415), implies a mythic circularity of arrival and departure whereby the traveller always returns to the same point. The *oikos* of nationhood, as with many of the examples discussed in this section, marks a simultaneous point of displacement and return in which Ulysses is destined to forever search for a home that he has never really left.

2.4 The Travails of Modernity: Dis/placing the Nation

I am lost. In which foreign country have I landed? (Homer, *The Odyssey*)

³¹ Although this argument is put forward in relation to the travel film, it is no less applicable to other genres of early non-fiction film, especially those in which the audience had a more direct stake, such as local and municipal films (cf. Toulmin 2001; Lebas 2000).

A title card bearing these lines appears at the start of Theo Angelopoulos' 60-second contribution to Philippe Poulet's film project *Lumière et compagnie* (*Lumière and Company*, 1995). Marking the first centenary of cinema, forty international directors were asked to shoot a short film using one of the original Lumière Brothers cameras. The last of these shorts, that of the Greek director's, depicts a dramatisation of Ulysses washed up on a foreign shore. Emerging from the sea, he makes his way uncertainly towards the camera, his piercing gaze mirroring our own.

Angelopoulos had originally intended to include the shot in his 1995 epic *Ulysses Gaze*, but decided to remove the footage – the 'gaze' – from the final cut (Horton 1997b: vi). In its original conception, the missing reels of film which form the basis of Angelopoulos' Balkans quest reveal a Ulyssean gaze that looks out across a century; a gaze which Harvey Keitel's latter-day Ulysses, lost amidst a fragmenting vision of modernity, returns in despair.

Shot on a stretch of coastline in Greece, this proto-filmic gaze of Ulysses can also be interpreted as the wanderer's homecoming. The 'foreign shores' he peers into are that of an Ithaca he can no longer fully recognise as home. Prompting further displacement, his gaze, like that Dante's or Kazantzakis' hero, marks a point – an *oikos* – of continued deferral. Yet it is an interiority of vision that determines this odyssey: a gaze looped endlessly back in on itself from which, in the form of the nation-state, a specific and historicised dis/placement of home is mapped. Responding to its cue the camera absorbs this dialectic of movement and fixity, and in an industrial age defined as much by nationalist projects as those of imperial expansion, an early legacy of the Lumière's invention is forged: cinema is enlisted in the search for home.

In *Ulysses' Gaze*, the informing context of the traveller's gaze is the chaos and uncertainty generated by war in the Balkans. Likewise, at a national level, the threat or reality of war often lay behind the uptake of travel tropes in modernist discourses of national identity. In 1870s France, the popularity of the children's book, *Le Tour de la France par deux enfants* (*The Tour of France by Two Children*) was prompted initially by the loss of Alsace Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian War. By 1901 some six million copies of the book had been printed, 'offering a resolutely positive picture of a nation at ease with itself, territorially secure and blessed with a perfect equilibrium of the urban and the rural, the modern and the traditional' (Wagstaff forthcoming; Ozouf and Ozouf 1997: 126). In such examples, a dis/placement of nation, in which travel begets home, which 'can only exist at the price of its being lost' (Van den Abbeele 1992: xix), constitutes a mythic circularity of presence and absence which is replayed endlessly in domestic travelogues (cinematic and literary), and is no less traceable in modernist national cultures of film, as illustrated by the examples discussed in this section.

The trope of travel, I am suggesting, traces and replays the spatio-temporal roots/routes of national-cultural discourse which simultaneously posit the nation as both a locus of emplacement and displacement. Within these dialectics of presence and absence, belonging and loss, 'home' is often as much a destination (of future aspirations, or of nostalgic evocations of an idealised past) as a sedentary and fixed point of departure.

Many of these concerns reflect the structural dichotomies of modernity and 'tradition', a term which, as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) have shown, often describes an 'invented' set of mythic and ritual practices which operate to consolidate ties to people and place, thereby legitimating projects of cultural nationalism and imperialism. By re-viewing an otherwise disparate and culturally eclectic selection of films from the perspective of 'travel' it is argued that the spatio-temporal displacements that structure the filmic narrative in the examples cited underscore ambivalent responses to processes of modernisation and nation-building in the period around the Second World War.

The first (and briefest) of these examples takes us, for a moment, beyond the geographical remit of this thesis. In the case of Japan, a very specific and powerful discourse of 'home' effectively illustrates the narrative, spatial and discursive functionality of 'travel' in cultural and historical geographies of national dis/placement.

During the 1970s Japan National Railways ran a marketing campaign entitled 'Discover Japan' which prevailed upon the disaffected urbanite who, increasingly alienated from his or her surroundings, was invited to travel to and (re)discover a more authentic, traditional Japan: a *furusato* Japan³² located in the rural, or non-urban past (Ivy 1995). The motivations that such campaigns attempted to reflect and install in the tourist-consumer drew upon an already well-established tradition of national-cultural discourse in which the travails of modernity, urbanisation and industrialisation fuelled the mirroring of 'place-myths' (Shields 1991): nostalgic and touristic evocations of a 'real' Japan deemed both present and absent from the national psyche (cf. Martinez 1990; Robertson 1991).

This dialectical tension between structural dichotomies of rural and urban, traditional and modern underpins much of the narrative structure of Yasujiro Ozu's *Tokyo Story*, one of the most famous and celebrated of Japanese films amongst Western audiences. Made in 1953, *Tokyo Story* is historically situated in the period between the revision of the Civil Code in 1948, modelled after Western capitalism and liberal democracy, and the beginnings of Japan's rapid economic growth (Nolletti, Jr 1997: 30). Forced to reorientate itself politically and culturally following its defeat in the war and subsequent occupation, Japan in the 1950s was a nation in the midst of considerable social and economic change. As Marilyn

³² Meaning 'homeland' or 'native-place', *furusato* represents more of a state of mind than an actual place; a nostalgic yearning for a lost homeland that can be found in many forms of Japanese popular culture and in the marketing of local heritage initiatives and domestic tourism.

Ivy observes, it is in such periods of uncertainty that tropes of travel arise, particularly at times when Japanese national-cultural identity is at stake (1995: 34).

In the film, nostalgia and a return to *furusato* (in the form of Onomichi, the familial hometown and diegetic *oikos* of departure and return) are tempered by a pragmatic acceptance of the passage of time and the changes it brings, qualities which are enhanced by the meditative restraint of Ozu's direction.³³ In one scene, after having been dispatched to a hot springs resort by their children (who they've travelled to Tokyo to visit), the elderly couple, Shukichi and Tomi, find themselves back in Tokyo with nowhere to stay for the night. 'We've become homeless at last,' they joke. Looking out over a sprawling metropolis, Shukichi says, 'Isn't Tokyo vast?', 'Isn't it just?', Tomi replies, 'if we get lost we may never meet again.' That we do not share their line of vision (the low-angled perspective of the shot obscures the cityscape by foregrounding the wall against which the couple are framed) only serves to emphasise their alienation and marginality. In this understated moment of quiet devastation the city plays host to a sense of cultural and emotional disorientation. This metonymic loss of the local, communal and familial is experienced from a vantage point in which the *oikos* of home is defined by virtue of its distance and absence. The expansive, uncertain horizons of the modern evoke visions of more stable, pre-modern, or *gemeinschaft* landscapes. As with the 'Discover Japan' campaign, in these touristic economies of travel, distance and estrangement prompt a search for their antonyms. It is therefore not without irony that it should be the train, one of the foremost symbols of modernity, that bridges the spatial and temporal ambiguities that underpin the film's narrative and affective geographies.

Alongside other symbols of passage and movement such as corridors and alleyways, the image of the train appears in almost all of Ozu's films (Geist 1992). As a signifier of passage, transition and the ephemeral the train functions as a trope to explore social relationships and their supporting institutions. The family in *Tokyo Story* is a fragmenting unit whose increasingly atomistic members are only brought together by traversing the distance between. Keizo, a railway worker in Osaka, a city which lies mid-way between Onomichi and Tokyo, is also ambivalent in terms of the level of obligation and respect he

³³ Reacting against its political conservatism and rigid aesthetic formalism, new-wave directors such as Shohei Imamura and Nagisa Oshima challenged both the implicit rejection of any praxical engagement with the forces of history and modernity in Ozu's work, and the cultural aestheticism exemplified by Donald Richie's view of Ozu as the 'most Japanese of all directors' (1974: 1). This latter contention, which holds that artists and filmmakers such as Ozu are both a product and exponent of an innate 'Japanese' cultural and aesthetic tradition, is upheld in the orientalist approach of certain Western interpreters of Japanese film (Richie 1974; Schrader 1972), and in the nationalist discourses of Japanese writers and theorists of *nihonjinron* literature ('theories of Japaneseness') (cf. Dale 1986; Yoshino 1992).

shows towards his parents – more than Koichi and Shige (who live in Tokyo), but less than Kyoko (who lives with her parents in Onomichi).

The spatial and moral distances between family members acquire a further dimension with the symbolic bestowal of time and the temporal rhythms and anxieties of travel by train. Keizo, on arriving too late to see his mother alive, says ‘If I’d caught the 20:40 I’d have been in time’. Noriko, in contrast to her sibling in-laws who leave soon after Tomi’s funeral, remains in Onomichi to spend time with her bereaved father- and sister-in-law Kyoko. Returning home on the train she contemplates the pocket watch that Tomi has bequeathed to her – a literal and symbolic bestowal of time as signifier of social and moral continuity.

In a more recent variant on the search for *furusato* Japan, Mitsuo Kurotsuchi’s *Traffic Jam* (1991), the absence of filial piety which characterises *Tokyo Story* appears almost over compensated for, as if in guilty recompense for the earlier neglect. A young family, the Fujis, sets off from Tokyo for the father’s hometown, an island off Shikoku where his parents, who he hasn’t seen for five years, are eagerly awaiting his return home for the New Year holiday period. However, caught up in what one character describes as the ‘national migration’, it is not long before they encounter a huge traffic jam, the first of a catalogue of mishaps and frustrations which continually impedes their progress ‘home’. Unlike the world of Ozu, in this postmodern, consumerist Japan it is no longer the train that mediates these social-spatial relationships, but rather the rampant hypermodernity of automotive (im)mobility. In the moments when a sense of momentum is regained – for example, a shot of the family car speeding along an empty road, its excited inhabitants looking optimistically ahead – these ‘feel-good’, agential mobilities are enlisted in an affirmation of the national home, as illustrated in Figure 2.1, in which the purposeful Fujis are flanked by their iconic namesake. One of the most photographed tourist sights in Japan, Mt Fuji frequently appears in brochures and postcards as a symbol of authentic Japan (Figure 2.2),³⁴ often juxtaposed with the hypermodernity of the bullet train (Figure 2.3).³⁵

³⁴ In this particular image, what is striking is that the greeting appears to be addressed to Mt. Fuji itself, which, alongside the industrial scenes depicted in the foreground, promotes a ‘warts and all’ view of a nation at ease with itself; the modern in harmonious balance with the traditional and ‘authentic’.

³⁵ A similar image was used in a 1990s marketing campaign by the Japan National Tourism Organisation, the tag line of which was: ‘Japan: where the past greets the future’.



Figure 2.1: Dis/placing the nation: road scene from *Traffic Jam*



Figure 2.2: Mt. Fuji Postcard



Figure 2.3: 'Where the past greets the future'

Like Onomichi, the island *furusato* that consistently eludes the Fujis is a typically idealised vision of a sleepy fishing village untainted by the trappings of modernity. When the family eventually arrive, the entire community turns out to greet them, cheering when the ferry pulls into port. Although they can only stay a few hours before heading back to Tokyo, their trip has become a pilgrimage; a sacred journey to the nourishing, authentic heart of the national home.

Despite the cultural and religious specificity of travel practices in Japanese national-cultural discourse,³⁶ tropes of travel such as the pilgrimage, in which an imagined

³⁶ In the Japanese language there are several words for 'travel': *ryoko*, used for referring generally to trips, travel and journeys; *kanko*, referring to 'tourism'; and *tabi*, a non-sinified term which describes travel undertaken for a specific purpose – such as pilgrimage – involving the separation from and eventual reincorporation with the everyday environment of 'home' (Ivy 1995: 36-7). Recalling the solitary wanderings of Basho (1966), or the spiritual journeys of monks and deities such as Kobo Daishi, *tabi* reifies ideas of an authentic, *furusato* Japan, whose provenance lies in the pre-modern, non-urban landscapes mapped by journeys of the sacred.

community is bolstered by recourse to a (pre-modern) vision of the sacred journey, are by no means unique to Japan. Autochthonous claims of cultural and spiritual uniqueness have formed the basis of many a nation-state and nationalist discourse. The mapping of historical and sacred routes/roots in times of national crisis is no less evident in the cultural and cinematic output of war-time Britain.

Britain's status as an island-nation, like that of Japan, has meant that the immediacy of the border experience in discussions of an exclusive national identity has tended not to be as pronounced as that of nations in continental Europe or North America. Itineraries of the travel or journey film thus remain within the boundaries of its physical geography (e.g. *The Open Road*, Claude Friese-Greene, 1924; *Radio On*, Petit, 1979; *Robinson in Space*, Keiller, 1997; *Last Orders*, Schepisi, 2001), or else follow its outermost, peripheral limits traced along coastal margins (*Gallivant*, Kötting, 1996).

Britain's places – or non-places – of arrival and departure, such as sea and airports, have instead comprised the transitional zones whereby ideological and cultural fault lines are drawn between it and other nations. The proximity of Kent to continental Europe has, by contrast, meant that historically its status as a gateway to and from 'other' cultures and nations has raised its profile as a contested border zone in more diffuse ways than for, say, specific seaport towns and cities such as Liverpool or Bristol (whose heritage status owes more to the enforced migrations of the Atlantic slave trade). In recent British films touching on issues of migration and transnationalism, such as *Last Resort* (Pawel Pawlikowski, 2000), and *In This World* (Michael Winterbottom, 2002), Kent itself becomes a zone of arrival, departure and transition. The opening of the Channel Tunnel between Folkestone and Calais has, moreover, inaugurated the actual and symbolic touching of hitherto pristine national soil (a coming together satirised as early as 1906 in George Méliès' *La Tunnel sous La Manche*, in which the fantasy of harmonious cultural exchange between the two nations gives way to the reality and inevitability of disaster as English and French trains collide mid-way beneath the Channel).³⁷

Topographical features such as the Royal Military Canal (built during the Napoleonic Wars in response to the threat of invasion), a tranquil waterway bordering the remote Romney and Walland Marsh regions of South Kent, or the Pilgrims' Way, winding across Down-land and Weald towards Canterbury, suggest a sedate, pastoral vision of a 'Garden of England' that belies the strategic, military, and economic upheavals that have comprised the making and re-making of this historical border zone.

³⁷ See also Andrew Kötting's short film, *Là-bas (Down There)*, 1994 (<http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/589830/>).

The Pilgrims' Way, or 'Old Road'³⁸ (c.f. Belloc 1943), provides the central geographical setting for Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger's *A Canterbury Tale* (1944). Described by Powell as the story of 'a modern pilgrim' (Powell 1986: 437), the film centres on the modern-day pilgrimage of three characters *en route* from London to Canterbury in August 1943: Sergeant Bob Johnson, a GI from Oregon (played by the real-life US Sergeant John Sweet), Sergeant Peter Gibbs (Dennis Price), a classically-trained cinema organist, and Allison Smith (Sheila Sim), a Land Army girl. Shot on location in Kent, in the countryside around Canterbury where Powell was born and raised, *A Canterbury Tale* reprises Chaucer's 14th century story of a group of pilgrims travelling from London to the site of Thomas à Beckett's martyrdom at Canterbury Cathedral, and re-fashions it for war-time Britain. The film begins in medieval England with Chaucer and his fellow pilgrims winding their way along the Old Road. A voice-over reads from the prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*. A falcon soaring through the sky suddenly becomes a fighter plane swooping down towards the camera. The shot cuts to a close up of a modern 'pilgrim' in the form of a soldier. It is 1943. An ellipsis spanning six hundred years has, in an instant, affirmed the continuity of the road and of those who travel it.

Made in accordance with one of the three thematic requirements stipulated by the Ministry of Information in 1940 for propagandist feature films,³⁹ *A Canterbury Tale* was intended to express Powell and Pressburger's vision of 'what Britain was fighting for'; an exploration, as Aldgate and Richards contend, 'of the spiritual values for which England [sic]⁴⁰ stands, testimony to the belief that the roots of the nation lie in the pastoral and to the idea of England as synonymous with freedom' (1999: 61-2).

For Jones, Kent is imagined in the film as a 'psychic and historic border country' (2001: 223), and it is this sense of liminality that marshals the at times ambivalent trajectories of belonging and loss, modernity and tradition. Although the 'Old Road' clearly seems to steer the pilgrims *back* to an idea of a sacred, authentic England/Britain under threat of extinction, a personification of such a vision in the form of Colpeper, the local

³⁸ In terms of its almost mythical status as England's formative trading and pilgrimage route, the 'Old Road's' mapping of nation is comparable with that of its more modern counterpart across the Atlantic: Route 66, or the 'Mother Road' (see Christopher Lewis' 1994 travelogue, *A Journey Down Route 66*, based on Michael Wallis' best-selling book *Route 66: The Mother Road*).

³⁹ These were: 'what Britain was fighting for', 'how Britain was fighting', and 'the need for sacrifice' (Aldgate and Richards 1999: 57)

⁴⁰ As with Ponting's conflation of 'Britain' and 'England' in *90° South*, the values associated with an idea of British national identity are assumed to be interchangeable with those 'for which England stands'. In cultural and ethnic terms Powell and Pressburger's idea of 'what Britain was fighting for' appears to be the survival and restoration of what it means to be 'English'. Perhaps aware of the need to re-dress this cultural bias, their next film, *I Know Where I'm Going* (1945), was shot on location in the remote Western Isles of Scotland. Similar in spirit and sentiment to *A Canterbury Tale*, *I Know Where I'm Going* is no less a romantic and poetic evocation of a landscape steeped in history, tradition and organic community.

magistrate and 'Glue Man', does not go unchallenged by each of the three characters. A man deeply imbued with a sense of history and tradition, and a passionate belief in the sanctity of his native soil, Colpeper, played by Eric Portman, resorts to pouring glue on the heads of local girls to dissuade them from cavorting with the soldiers, thereby ensuring a healthy attendance of servicemen at his archaeological lectures. The strident and self-assured character of Allison, who undergoes such an assault at the hands of the Glue Man, refuses to conform to Colpeper's chauvinistic, indeed misogynistic attitudes towards women and challenges him at every turn, until a respect, of sorts, is mutually forged. Peter, the cynical materialist and city-dweller, comes closest to denouncing Colpeper to the authorities, having little truck with the spiritual values by which the latter claims legitimacy for his actions. He too, however, comes to acknowledge a grudging respect for these values when, by chance, he is given the opportunity to play Bach on the organ at Canterbury Cathedral; a reminder, perhaps, of the transcendence and idealism experienced in his student days before succumbing to the realities of modern life in the city, and the more mundane world of cinema, mass entertainment and a growing Americanisation of popular culture.

The relationship between modernity and tradition, urban and rural is played out, in part, in a dialogue between the quaint, hierarchical, and somewhat stuffy paternalism of Old England and a 'more dynamic and distinctly modern American idealism' (Jones 2001: 223) personified by the character of Bob Johnson.

His journey to Canterbury delayed, Bob decides to stay for the weekend with his fellow pilgrims in the (fictional) village of Chillingbourne. From the outset his character functions as a vehicle earmarking the idiosyncrasies, similarities and disjunctures of cultural difference 'across the pond'. A chord that resonates with the broader aspirations of the other pilgrims is struck when Bob chats with some local crafts- and tradesmen. Having come from a family of lumberers back in Oregon, Bob finds a kindred spirit in Jim, the Chillingbourne wheelwright with whom he shares his knowledge and love of wood. Aldgate and Richards describe this scene as '[a celebration of] the innate values of rural craftsmanship and the common bonds of England and America' (1999: 64). Values which the city dweller, having abandoned his rural roots, is felt to be no longer in touch with (ibid).

Bob's personal 'pilgrimage' which has awakened these dormant and nostalgic *gemeinschaft* ideals becomes incorporated within the collective mosaic of individual journeys that are oriented towards Canterbury Cathedral; the survival of which, for Powell, 'signifies the survival of Old England and a belief in the magic of rural forces' (Aldred 1987: 120). At times of political crisis, Aldred suggests, 'British culture tends to turn to its rural roots as a motif of continuity' (ibid: 118). If true, then in *A Canterbury Tale* Powell and Pressburger have in many respects upheld this tradition. As such, it can be argued that the film shies away from the more complex historical and social readings of 'landscape',

‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ in deference to the ‘middle-class cultural myth’ (Aldgate and Richards 1999: 74) that might otherwise constitute the film’s critical position.

That post-war Britain overwhelmingly rejected such a pastoral, conservative vision of ‘Old England’ and voted into power a reforming, progressive Labour government, the socialist heartlands of which were in urban and industrial-rural constituencies, goes some way to accounting for the poor reception *A Canterbury Tale* received amongst cinema audiences of its day. It clearly *wasn’t* ‘what we were fighting for’.⁴¹ Such were the subtle ambiguities and nuances of the film’s ‘rural modernism’ (Jones 2001), however, that, for some of its contemporary critics the film’s failure could be attributed more to an inability to clearly demarcate the boundaries between rurality and modernity (ibid: 213), although it could be argued that it is precisely this sense of ambiguity and indeterminacy that works in the film’s favour, establishing, as it does, a discursive space whereby processes of identity formation become mobilised in diegetic topographies of space and time, geography and history. Unwittingly Bob appears to lend weight to such an argument when, on the trail of the mysterious Glue Man, he remarks that ‘Topography plays an important part in my exposé [of the Glue Man’s identity]’.

The spatialisation of these patterns of discourse works by undoing (albeit with characteristically English restraint) fixed ideological mappings of the rural and urban, tradition and modernity. The film’s ‘mythic structure’ (Aldred 1987: 122) interposes, synchronically, contemporary relations of socio-spatial contiguity and cultural homology (such as that between Britain and the United States) within a diachronic axis of narrative continuity and national-cultural tradition, as symbolised by the ‘Old Road’. The contingencies of history and a nation’s ambivalent relationship with modernity are thus ‘contained’ and interpolated within a diegetic structure of landscape and identity in which ‘[h]istory is mythologised onto nature in order to connote continuity and the ‘heart’ of the Nation’ (Aldred 1987: 118).

As with films such as *Tokyo Story* recourse to tropes of travel and pilgrimage in *A Canterbury Tale* highlights the anxieties and uncertainties of a nation undergoing profound change. The titles of both films attest to their status as narratives of *place* (as metonymical signifier of nation), yet both are marked by the experience and tangible threat of displacement. The *oikos* of ‘home’, as Van den Abbeele argues, is posited ‘*après-coup*’ (1992: xix); similarly, the tropic device of the pilgrimage – a linear journey in which each step is an indexical inscription of its destination – signposts a nation whose affirmation of presence is dependent on a perspectival condition of absence, distance or becoming.

⁴¹ However, the more likely reasons for the public’s indifference towards the film were the negative critical reaction it faced at the time, and the somewhat curious, indeed, perverse nature of the plot surrounding the Glue Man.

In the opening scenes of the film, the uncertainty of Britain's national destiny in the midst of war and social change is alluded to in the following verse:

Alas, when on our pilgrimage we wend,
We modern pilgrims see no journey's end.
Gone are the ring of hooves the creak of wheel,
Down in the valley runs our road of steel.

A train comes into view far below in the valley as the camera pans across a picturesque Kentish landscape, as if to confront this sudden encroachment of modernity. The indeterminacy ascribed to the 'journey's end' signposts a nation whose history and identity are under threat of erasure. Yet these travails appear to inspire a more open and nuanced tone of engagement with the forces of history and modernity than is willing to be conceded at the film's conclusion.

Upon arrival at Canterbury, their individual blessings met, the pilgrims' tales are absorbed within a broader narrative resounding throughout the cathedral and the city. The climactic strains of 'Onward Christian Soldiers' as the film draws to a close suggest the narrative continuity and forward trajectory of the 'Old Road', yet it is to the values and traditions of Chillingbourne itself that the road is to return. Canterbury is the destination, yet it is in Chillingbourne that an *oikos* of home is inscribed. The circularity of this dis/placement of nation is affirmed in the film's final shot in which the Cathedral is glimpsed from the 'bend' in the Old Road near Chillingbourne: the pilgrimage is on-going and it is 'we', the viewer, who must now follow its path, an ideological legacy of nationhood that was to be revisited six years later in the landscape photography of Bill Brandt (see Figure 2.4). For Colpeper, the 'feudal patriarch' (Aldred 1987: 120), and self-assumed 'curator' of the landscape and its inherited traditions, the cultural and spiritual value attached to the legacy of the Old Road seems to lie precisely in the fact that, ultimately, it doesn't go anywhere.⁴² The drawing into complicity with Colpeper's perspective and the film's arbitrary sense of closure and resolution (perhaps not altogether surprising given its war-time remit) highlight the reactionary sentiments that appear to define Powell and Pressburger's vision of 'what we are fighting for'; a conclusion that does disservice to the more ambiguous and discursive mapping of nationhood and modernity that constitutes the narrative momentum and liminal journeying of the three pilgrims.

⁴² In Hilaire Belloc's study of the Old Road, first published in 1904, the Road, with its abiding wisdom, is likened to those 'whom we think at first unreasoning in their curious and devious ways, but whom, if we watch closely, we shall find doing all their work just in that way which infinite time has taught the country-side' (1943: 6). Such a characterisation anticipates the curious ways of the Glue Man, and Colpeper's subsequent moral vindication.

From a potential imaginary of Kent as a ‘psychic and historic border country’ we are left instead with the vision of a ‘Garden of England’: a landscape of spatial and temporally bounded insularity. In political terms this in many ways defines the county’s still persistent legacy as a Conservative stronghold of bourgeois ‘middle-England’ values: a bastion community doggedly resistant to change and the modalities of difference. It is against such a territorialised, organic vision of Kent that the Margate-based *Last Resort* is so strikingly contrasted, as we discuss in Chapter 4.



Figure 2.4: *The Pilgrims Way* (Bill Brandt, 1950)

Representations of culturally homogeneous and bounded communities are not, however, merely the preserve of the conservative Right. Filmmakers aligned with the Left, such as Theo Angelopoulos, have also adopted the trope of travel to map and reclaim national ideas of history and identity. The ‘bounded’ geographical entity that is travelled in Angelopoulos’ 1975 film *The Travelling Players* is a nation with no less a sense of the embedded nature of national-cultural identity. Unlike the examples of Japan and Britain, the interiority and autonomy of Greece’s imagined community in *The Travelling Players* is not that of an island nation, but of a culturally specific polity all but oblivious to its northern frontiers.

The importance of these and other frontiers and borders has become more notable in Angelopoulos’ later work. In his earlier films, however, a markedly different geographical imagination is evident, and it is partly for this reason that I have chosen to conclude this section with a study of *The Travelling Players*. In subsequent chapters chronotopes of the non-place and the border in films such as *Taxidi Sta Kithira (Voyage to Cythera, 1983)*, *Topio Stin Omichli (Landscape in the Mist, 1988)* and *To Meteoro Vima Tou Pelargou (The Suspended Step of the Stork, 1991)* demonstrate a shift in emphasis away from a national-cultural totality seemingly ‘rooted’ in place and history, towards more transnational and post-national narratives of ‘routes’, exile, and migration. This is not to suggest that history is in some way downplayed in deference to geography in this later work – indeed History (as an epic narrative within which individual and collective characters are framed) remains of central importance throughout Angelopoulos’ filmography; rather, it is the centrality of borders (cognitive, cultural, geo-political) which is of particular interest.

As a filmmaker so resolutely focused on the culture, geography and history of his native Greece, Angelopoulos remains firmly within the cultural and institutional parameters of Greek national cinema.⁴³ Following this canonical process of ‘narrating the nation’ (Bhabha 1990b) it is possible to trace emergent patterns of a shifting geographical imagination from which the very idea of nation itself starts to be redrawn. Discussing the ambivalent nature of nation and identity, Bhabha argues that

The ‘locality’ of national culture is neither unified nor unitary in relation to itself, nor must it be seen as ‘other’ in relation to what is outside or beyond it. The boundary is Janus-faced and the problem of outside/inside must always be a process of hybridity. (ibid: 4)

The boundaries to nation and identity, the contingencies of which are so acutely felt in the transnational spatialities of globalisation, and in the re-imagined geographies of the new, post-communist Europe, have become an evermore-dominant feature in Angelopoulos’ work. *The Travelling Players*, by comparison, narrates a *locality* of nation and presence, through which history passes, and *within* which national-cultural identity is centred, or indeed ‘staged’, to use the film’s metaphorical language of theatre.

Epic in scope and ambition, *The Travelling Players* is a structurally complex film that, in Brechtian fashion, inhibits passive engagement. Its rigorously auteurist vision and modernist aesthetic constitute a ‘voyage in time and space’ (Angelopoulos, quoted in Tarr and Proppe 1976: 5) in which the film’s formal and aesthetic properties – exemplified by Angelopoulos’ trademark use of the sequence shot (long, choreographed tracking shots utilising real time and off-camera space) – complement the complex modalities of history and myth that comprise the film’s narrative core. Running at just under four hours the film focuses on the turbulent period of Greek history between 1939 and 1952: a period spanning the Italian and German occupations and the subsequent civil war between communist guerrillas and the British and US-backed royalist forces of the Greek Right. Its central ‘players’ are members of an itinerant theatrical troupe that travel the small towns of rural Greece, their performances (of the popular nineteenth-century pastoral melodrama, *Golfo the Shepherdess*) continually interrupted by the historical events unfolding around them. The relationship between the actors is based on the re-enactment of another theatrical tradition in the form of the ancient Greek tragedy of the *House of Atrius* (in which Orestes

⁴³ Such is his unique and dominant position within Greek national cinema that as early as 1979 the catchphrase of the Thessaloniki Film Festival (Greece’s annual national film festival), no doubt reflecting the sentiments of the more marginalised exponents of Greek film culture, was ‘Death to Angelopoulos’ (Mitchell 1980: 32). At the 2000 Thessaloniki Film Festival Angelopoulos was both President of the Festival and recipient of one of its honours, causing similar murmurs of discontent within the Greek film community.

kills his mother Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus in revenge for the murder of his father Agamemnon).

As with Powell and Pressburger's reworking of Chaucer, this contemporary updating of a classical or mythic narrative serves to link past and present, people and place within a historical framework of national-cultural continuity. But whereas *A Canterbury Tale* upholds an ostensibly conservative vision of the past as a source of legitimacy and continuity, Angelopoulos' use of myth functions as a means to explore a more dialectical view of history, through which the discontinuities and repressed narratives of history and identity are expressed. At the beginning of the film, the travelling players, suitcases in hand, are standing outside a railway station in Aigion. It is 1952. The historical events their journey narrates have already unfolded. At the close of the film the shot is revisited. This time we are in 1939. These wandering figures, as Myrsiades suggests, 'are pre-scripted creatures of mythic history, programmed to begin all over again just as the film completes itself by returning to its own beginnings' (2000: 146); each new performance an interpolation of individual and collective narratives, as on- and off-screen witnesses to Greece's war-time history become drawn into the film's mythic structure. Describing this dialectical interplay of the personal, historical, and mythical, Angelopoulos argues that

The Travelling Players is nothing but a re-reading of a myth. But the account it offers is very significant for a contemporary reading, from pre-history to history. From myth, in the sense of something inaccessible, something of such magnitude you cannot grasp it, to something that is human. It scales it down to human size. In this way, myth becomes history and history becomes everyday reality. Personal experience is recast and turned once again into history and myth. (quoted in Rear Window 1993)

The 'staging' of history – both as theatrical metaphor within the film, and in reference to the totality of the film itself – thus becomes a site of mediation between reality and myth (Myrsiades 2000: 144).

The Travelling Players was the first film to tackle the subject of the Greek civil war from the perspective of the Left. At the time of the film's release in 1975, the legacy of the war, and its personal and political repercussions, still left a profound mark upon Greek national consciousness. Consequently, the impact of the film in Greece was unprecedented, winning six prizes at the Thessaloniki Film Festival and going on to become the largest selling Greek film ever.⁴⁴ Such were the political sympathies of a generation who had lived

⁴⁴ Internationally the film was also something of an event. Made under the noses of the military junta who had seized power in Greece in 1967, the film had to be smuggled out of Greece for its showing at Cannes, where it won the Critic's Prize in 1975. It went on to win numerous awards, including Best Film at London and Berlin, and was voted by the Italian Film Critics Association as Best Film in the World, 1970-1980, and by the International Film Critics Association (FRIPESCI) as one of the best films in the history of world cinema.

under the shadow of the war and the silencing of the Left, that the perspective offered by the film reflected a growing political orientation that would eventually lead to the 1980 election of Greece's first Socialist Prime Minister (Georgakas 1997: 38-9).

For Pappas, *The Travelling Players* heralded 'the resurgence of a new national cinema' (1977: 39). This reconfigured sense of the national and cultural was in part a product – and process – of resistance to the dominance of the United States, whether politically (America provided backing to the military junta who ruled Greece between 1967 and 1974), commercially (American imports constituted 80% of all films shown in Greece during this period), or aesthetically (which, in the case of *The Travelling Players*, with its long shots, long takes, Brechtian-style de-dramatisation, and de-emphasis of individual or psychological characterisation, is about as far removed from the conventions of Hollywood as it is possible to go) (Georgakas 1997: 30-1).

There is, however, another, more geographical basis to this renewed sense of the national that is evident in *The Travelling Players*; one more closely bound up with its central motif and trope of travel. Georgakas argues that '[i]f [the film] focuses on a group of actors making a journey that constituted a search for national identity, it is also a personal search for identity and values in contemporary Greece' (1997: 39). Ontologically the actors' journeys follow twofold trajectories of time and space. On the one hand they 'travel' through time and history; journeys, at times, unfolding within a single tracking shot. In one (ten minute-long) scene, for example, the troupe begins to walk through a town in northern Greece. It is 1952 and canvassing for a forthcoming election is taking place. By the time they reach the end of the street they are in 1939 and have arrived at a rally for General Metaxas. This shift in time, conducted solely at the level of *mise en scène*, establishes, within a single spatiality, the historical and political contiguities of a pre- and post-war military regime.

However, alongside these formal and temporal movements in history (or History in the more Marxist, dialectical sense of the word), *The Travelling Players* also travels in and through real landscapes and real locations. The real and imagined geographies that these itineraries inscribe in Greek national-cultural discourse map a more personal vision of contemporary Greece. It is in Angelopoulos' own travels in search of what he describes as the 'Other Greece' (in Horton 2001: 88) that we can begin to trace the spatial and geographical underpinnings to this 'resurgent' articulation of national identity epitomised by *The Travelling Players*.

Angelopoulos' 'odyssey of discovery' (Horton 1997a: 119) began with the making of his first film *Anaparastasis* (*Reconstruction*, 1970), based on the true story of a guest worker murdered by his wife and her lover after returning home to his native village, after years spent abroad in Germany (a tragedy carrying mythic echoes of the *House of Atrius*).

Searching for locations for the film, Angelopoulos explored the remote mountain villages of Epirus near the border with Albania in northern Greece. Travelling around this region and the experience of shooting *Reconstruction* in its barren landscapes and remote villages instilled in the director a growing awareness of and fascination with an ‘Other Greece’. As he explains:

I came across an interior space – which can be called an inside Greece – which was unknown to most people of my generation, people born and raised in the city. Today, except perhaps for professional geographers, I am one of the most extremely travelled Greeks... not just city by city, but village by village... It was a true discovery for me. (in Wilmington 1997: 65)

Despite the region’s geographical proximity to Albania and the former Yugoslavia, Angelopoulos’ gaze in his early films is not turned outward towards the borders, but rather inward to the ‘interior space’ of an ‘inside Greece’.

That Angelopoulos finds his ‘Other Greece’ in this rural, almost holistic vision of Greek village life is partly attributable to his disappropriation of urban, or more specifically, Athenian Greece:

Athens and life in this city, where forty percent of the Greek population lives, is a *deformed* image of Greek life... If you see only Athens, you have a false view of Greece. That is why I work in that Other Greece. (in Horton 2001: 88, emphasis in original)

The village, on the other hand,

is a complete world in miniature. The old Greek villages had a spirit, a life, full of work and play and festivity. Of course Greek villages began to depopulate by the turn of the century, but it was really World War II and the subsequent civil war in Greece that completely destroyed the reality and concept of the Greek village. (in Horton 1997a: 206)

The reality behind this nostalgic depiction of a national-cultural *gemeinschaft* idyll had, as Angelopoulos concedes, already begun to erode under the impacts of modernity and industrialisation which forced rural populations to migrate to the cities or abroad in search of work. The destruction of the *concept* of the Greek village, however, invokes a sense of nostalgia more firmly rooted in the political upheavals of 1939-1952 – the historical ‘terrain’ of *The Travelling Players*. Exile, displacement, alienation and loss become scorched on these cinematic topographies. Isolated, seemingly autonomous villages and towns, strewn across empty landscapes, or dwarfed by the vast greyness of the sea; crumbling facades overlooking deserted town squares; bleak, wintry mountain terrain,⁴⁵ this

⁴⁵ The cinematography of Giorgos Arvanitis, Angelopoulos’ long-standing collaborator, is a crucial factor in this atmospheric evocation of place. Preferring to shoot in the winter months, the exterior shots (which constitute nearly two-thirds of *The Travelling Players*) are filmed, using natural light, at

‘sadness of the north’, as Angelopoulos describes it (in Ciment 2001: 55), contains the mere vestiges of a sense of national belonging and political identity. Picking over the fragments of myth and history, the travelling players unearth both the irretrievable landscapes of a mythical, nostalgic – and tangibly real – past, and lay bear the foundations of an ‘Other Greece’, in which the ghosts of the past, long since banished to the peripheries of place and memory, find routes back from the *nostalgic rurality* of exile to confront a ‘deformed image’ of Greek national identity, spatialised and temporalised in the *contemporary urbanity* of the city.

The cinematic topography of *The Travelling Players* is thus in many ways the fruit of the director’s own travels in search of this ‘Other Greece’. Looking for locations for the film Angelopoulos visited almost every town and village in Greece, taking more than two thousand photographs. He then embarked on two more trips around the country with his director of photography, Giorgos Arvanitis (Horton 1997a: 121). The thorough, almost obsessive nature of this research is commented upon by Arvanitis: ‘Finding locations with Theodoros is always an adventure. I don’t think there is a corner of Greece which we don’t know. Imagine driving for fifteen days, fourteen hours a day without saying a word’ (quoted in *Rear Window* 1993).

This image of the filmmaker-as-traveller is perhaps at variance with that of, say, the travelogue filmmaker only by a question of degree. Both follow itineraries of travel from which specific ideas of space, place and landscape are crafted and framed. In the case of Angelopoulos the *actual* framing (in the form of the process of shooting and editing) is but the deferred result of a traveller’s gaze. In the pre-production processes of location hunting for Angelopoulos’ ‘Other Greece’, the immediacy of the travelogue filmmaker’s ‘kino-eye’ is replaced and pre-empted by the ‘framing’ of the landscape through the windscreen of a car, the viewfinder of a stills camera, and the (Ulyssean) gaze of the traveller-filmmaker’s unmediated vision.

As we saw in the examples of *Tokyo Story* and *A Canterbury Tale* the trope of travel provides a central, if not immediately obvious framework by which these films’ broader discursive formations can be ‘mapped’. In all three films ideas of place and national identity, rurality and urbanity narrate a bounded national-cultural totality undergoing profound and traumatic change. Buffeted by the contingent incursions of history and modernity, the dis/placements of identity, tradition, and nation are dialectically mediated and ‘contained’ by recourse to tropes of travel, pilgrimage, and the wandering itinerant. As Myrsiades notes in relation to Angelopoulos’ film, ‘*The Travelling Players* provides a

dawn and dusk, assiduously avoiding bright, sunny weather in favour of overcast skies and rain; a conscious reversal, as Georgakas argues, of the sun-kissed, touristic images of Greece to be found in travel brochures (1997: 33).

metaphor for a nation in duress, struggling to regain itself and insisting on continuity in the face of rupture' (2000: 137). As I have argued in this section, the trope of travel and the filmic inscription of an *oikos* of home maintains these dis/continuities and dis/placements of imagined community within the ideological boundaries of the nation. Of course, my analysis of these films – all landmarks in world cinema – is necessarily partial and is by no means intended as a critical overview. My intention in this chapter has been to examine place-based geographies of travel and film, from which a 'mythic' narrativity of home – a Ulyssean gaze – is in some way evident.

From the mobilised virtual gaze of experiential 'travelling in comfort' (section 2.2), and the touristic and imperial gaze of the travelogue and expedition film (section 2.3), we have therefore arrived in our discursive travels at the borders of an interiority of identity: mappings of being and place operative within or beyond, *but not across* its constitutive frontiers.

In the next chapter we turn our attention away from the mythico-geographic circularities of travel and home to consider the spatial transgressions of migrant narrativity; cinematic journeys which map not a centring of home as a locus of return, but the 'utopic gaze' of deferred arrivals.

Chapter 3

TERRA NOVA: THE SPATIAL UTOPICS OF TRAVEL

3.1 Ambivalent Trajectories

In 2001 the first London Kurdish Film Festival took place at the Rio Cinema in Dalston, north-east London, a multi-ethnic area of the city which boasts a strong Kurdish and Turkish community. One of the films shown was the Kurdish director Hiner Saleem's *Ji Xewnên Me Wêda* (*Beyond our Dreams*, 2000), a French, Italian and Armenian co-production which traces the flight of a young couple from their displaced homeland of Kurdistan to Paris where they hope to seek asylum. In the question and answer session that followed the screening, Saleem was accused of 'treating the Kurds like holiday-makers' by one audience member who took issue with the 'travelogue' shots of Venice and of the refugees standing, tourist-like, in front of the Eiffel Tower in Paris.

One strand of this criticism can, perhaps, be levelled at the bureaucratic structures of funding behind multilateral productions such as *Beyond Our Dreams*. The Eurimages programme, established by the Council of Europe in 1988, and which is Europe's largest public-sector film financier, was set up to encourage and facilitate European co-production networks, providing ten per cent of the overall budget of film projects produced within the programme. The logistics of reconciling the often-conflicting interests and cultural and commercial expectations of individual (national-cultural) investors can result in the compromising of the more specific cultural, aesthetic or political concerns that have shaped the filmmakers' authorial vision (cf. Wayne 2002: 13-19). In examples of tri-lateral production, the dominance of one or two of the partners can often be to the detriment of the third, often smaller country, who is most likely to wield considerably less influence over the production process (ibid). As a recipient of Eurimages funding, *Beyond Our Dreams* appears to have fallen foul of these processes of compromise; indeed, it could be argued that the more 'playful' and touristic images of Venice and Paris are a consequence of the *a priori* exigencies of the Eurimages remit, whereby its narrative 'itineraries' become obliged to pay heed to the geographical and national-cultural contexts of those providing the lion's share of the production budget.

As a corollary to this, the question of travel in examples of contemporary European film would do well to consider the extent to which the spatial and narrative structure of the travel or journey film provides a logistical rationale for facilitating the development of co-production and cross-border projects. In this scenario representations of travel and migration in European film become the by-product of an institutional endeavour to promote cross-cultural dialogue amongst nation states and to foster the sense of a shared European cultural experience. Driven by a representational imperative of supra-national space these journeys

are thus as much a ‘mapping’ of a post-national and ‘post-ideological’ imaginary of Europe as they are representations of specific and diffuse cultures of travel.

In addition to these extrapolations, the critical comments levelled at Saleem’s film also prompt a further line of enquiry, one more pertinent to the themes I wish to explore in the present chapter. The blurring of typological distinctions of ‘refugee’ and ‘holiday-maker’ in a discursive context of displacement, dispossession and political persecution threatens to undermine the degrees to which such ‘travel’ narratives are able to articulate questions of agency and necessity. By mollifying the distinction between voluntary and involuntary travel the political imperatives that might otherwise be expected to underwrite discussions of the Kurdish diaspora become lost in ambivalent modes of spatial practice. The ‘tourist’ travels with the expectation of a home to return to; the ‘vagabond’ moves with no promise of a restored home. In the absence of a clear marker between the two, ‘home’ as a locus of identity, self-autonomy and belonging is deprived of all critical resonance, the erstwhile migrant, exile or refugee becoming a generic ‘traveller’ on the highways and byways of Europe’s imagined community.

In *Beyond Our Dreams*, the blurring of typological distinctions that gives rise to these critical anxieties reveal a politics and poetics of *mise en scène* that is replicated in other, similarly ambiguous travel narratives. In *Tempo di Viaggio (Time of Travel, 1983)*, the exiled Russian director Andrei Tarkovsky records his collaboration with the Italian screenwriter Tonino Guerra (known more prominently for his work with Michelangelo Antonioni) as they go in search for locations for Tarkovsky’s first non-Soviet feature, *Nostalghia (Nostalgia, 1983)*. A documentary-cum-travelogue made for Italian television, *Tempo di Viaggio* provides a fascinating insight into the filmmaker-as-traveller, as, travelling around southern Italy, Guerra plays tour-guide to Tarkovsky’s reluctant tourist.

Unlike Angelopoulos’ near-obsessive travels in preparation for *The Travelling Players*, in *Tempo di Viaggio* we are left with the impression that Tarkovsky is distinctly ill at ease on his ‘Italian Journey’ (as the film was originally called), his principal anxieties stemming from overtly beautiful and touristic locations which Guerra was keen to impress upon him. This is best illustrated by quoting some of the dialogue from the film:

Guerra: Frankly, I would be very sorry if we threw away all Lecce and its baroque. Because it’s beautiful. You know, the Lecce baroque is unique and sophisticated. It’s simple. [...]

Tarkovsky: Tonino, I think this place is too beautiful for our movie. It’s too beautiful. [...] We always travel to these kinds of ‘tourist’ sites. We always go to tourist places. I’ve not yet seen the place where our character...could live... Why would a Russian person come here for a month?

- Guerra: He comes here for work, or not so much for tourism, but for culture. Our character would be abstract if we didn't show anything...
- Tarkovsky: I'm a bit worried as I feel like I am on holiday. And I am not used to this state. For me it's very important that we experience... not only the beauty of Italy, but also the people, their work; what happens in the street, their feelings...
- Guerra: [You're] right, but let me ask a question. How many days have we been around? Four days. You must see these things.
- Tarkovsky: I feel like we've been travelling for two weeks.

Dealing with themes of exile, homesickness, and 'the fatal attachment of Russians to their national roots, their past, their culture, their native places' (Tarkovsky, quoted in Johnson and Petrie 1994: 159), *Nostalgia*'s main protagonist is Andrei, a Russian poet and musicologist, who has travelled to Italy to study the work of another Russian expatriate, who, like Andrei, had suffered the pathos of exile both in, and from, his native homeland. The parallels between the on- and off-screen Andrei – Tarkovsky likened the experience of watching the completed film for the first time to that of seeing oneself in a mirror (ibid) – were such that neither was destined to set foot in his homeland again: Tarkovsky officially went into exile in 1984, declaring his intention of staying in the West, where he died two years later.

Although Tarkovsky's exilic status denotes a certain degree of privilege when set alongside other 'migrants of identity' (Rapport and Dawson 1998a) such as the Kurdish diaspora, the resistance to subjectivities of 'the tourist', and the dismissal of 'marked' landmarks of heritage and 'beauty' in critical aesthetics of the *mise en scène*, highlights a certain sensitivity behind the confusion or blurring of generic travel narratives. This conflictive discursive terrain is, as I have suggested, predicated on the degrees of contingency and necessity attached to ideas of, and the possibilities of return to, 'home'.

Yet it is the very provisionary and deferred status of home in practices of migrancy and exile that mobilises, as it were, the construction of more stable and 'authentic' landscapes in the anticipation and uncertainty of arrival in the 'new land'. Tarkovsky sought for signs of an 'authentic' Russian landscape in the Italian countryside.⁴⁶ A disavowal of the touristic in this example rests on temporal journeys *back* to a nostalgic reclamation of 'place' as an authentic sight of being and belonging. For the Kurdish refugees in *Beyond*

⁴⁶ *Nostalgia* was mainly shot in a small area of Tuscany near Sienna, a location that was chosen by Tarkovsky and his art director Andrea Crisanti for its resemblance to the countryside near Moscow. Although chosen for its geographical similarities, Tarkovsky's intention, as he made plain in an interview, was also to recreate a psychological state, 'typically Russian', that evoked the spirit of Dostoevsky (Mitchell 1984; Makolkina 1990: 217).

Our Dreams, the Eiffel Tower – one of the most iconic symbols of Paris and of France – represents both the dream of new beginnings across frontiers of identity (accessible through the global ubiquity of this tourist ‘marker’ of all things French, in the form of postcards and other visual media) and the realisation of such a dream (by standing in front of the *actual* symbol, thereby drawing, by dint of their physical proximity, on its totemic powers of representation – its symbolism co-opted in service of their own narrative struggle as members of the Kurdish diaspora). The ambivalence of ‘migrancy’ and ‘tourism’ in this example becomes a point of contention because in many ways it narrates the ambivalence attached to their diasporic subjectivity, in which nostalgic yearnings for a lost homeland co-exist alongside the pragmatic acceptance of settlement and hybridity in the ‘new land’.

Ironically, then, the ‘postcard’ becomes both a potent metaphor for the idealisation of a real or imagined better life *elsewhere*, and a materialisation of what Appadurai describes as ‘the imagination as social practice’ (1996: 31). Information about a proposed destination, whether in books, films, television programmes, or correspondence from those who have already made ‘the journey’, re-inscribes inverse geographies of an unsustainable or uncertain spatio-temporal present. In the context of tourism, the postcard is ostensibly the initiation of a dialogue with the home environment by those temporarily ‘away’; for the migrant the postcard operates in reverse in that it functions as a dialogue with ‘elsewhere’ from the sedentary perspective of those for whom home has become a locus of displacement or estrangement – less ‘wish you were here’ than ‘wish I was there’.⁴⁷

As was discussed in the previous chapter, the idea of *terra nova* in early travelogues and expeditionary narratives raises questions of power and representation in an imperial imaginary of territorial expansion. The blurring of the tourist and imperial gaze in early travel film corresponds with the blurring of spatial forms in Enlightenment discourse and practice. Geographically, ideas of the ‘new land’ become synonymous with metaphorical landscapes of intellectual discovery that lie beyond ‘frontiers’ of knowledge. The actual spaces of conquest function as palimpsests upon which are inscribed teleologies of power in Western discourses of knowledge. The panoptic spatialities of the I/Eye of empire – the pre- and pro-filmic merchants of light – by ‘turning the colonies into spectacle for the metropole’s voyeuristic gaze’ (Shohat and Stam 1994: 104), reinforce the subject position of the vicarious traveller. Ulysses’ gaze becomes ostensibly a celebration of the conquering

⁴⁷ In the nineteenth century the lure of the New World in the form of photographic ‘postcards’ sent back to the Old was likely to have been an influential factor shaping European migrations to the colonies. This was especially true in the case of Canada (Osborne 2000: 59). Books such as *Through Canada with a Kodak*, published in 1893, showed ‘a land filled with busy migrants from the Old Country... [and a picturesque landscape] of “timeless” grandeur... [and] sublime natural beauty which promised liberation, even transcendence. Such visual seduction might have converted an imaginary traveller into a settler’ (ibid: 59-60).

hero's homecoming, and hence serves to re-inscribe and strengthen hegemonic narratives of Self and Home.

In modernist discourses of national-cultural dis/placement, the translation of modernity's temporal processes into the 'new' spaces of urban and industrial development runs in parallel to the spatialisation of 'tradition' that constitutes its binary other; typically, rural, autonomous landscapes of *gemeinschaft* solidarity (Ozu's Onimichi, Powell and Pressburger's Chillingbourne, or Angelopoulos' 'Other Greece') that represent, in opposition to the alienating and inauthentic city, a nostalgic sense of originary placement and belonging. These ambivalent trajectories locate 'home' as a contradictory space of dis/appearance and dis/placement, albeit within the otherwise homogenous, unambiguous boundaries of the nation-state.

The spatial and narrative structuring of the 'travel film' in the examples discussed in Chapter 2 thus reflects the fracturing of an experiential localisation of space and time that pre-dated practices of the mobile virtual gaze; and which was concomitant to processes of urbanisation and nation-building in industrial societies. In the contemporaneous development of technologies of travel, such as trains and ships, and those of virtual 'travels in comfort', ontologies of 'mobility' and tropic displacement lay bare the spatial contradictions underpinning notions of 'home' as a nodal centre of identity and perennial return. The trope of travel in such a context functions in ways that are analogous to Lévi-Strauss' theory of myth as a narrative that resolves fundamental social contradictions. Structural dichotomies of Self and Other, centre and periphery, rural and urban, nature and culture, organic and dissociative (cf. Weiss 1998: 91), presence and absence, to name but a few, become mediated by spatial and narrative practices in which the identity of the home as a strategic formation is constituted and hierarchically ordered.

For Louis Marin, the mythic form as the basis of such spatial play can be distinguished from what he terms a 'utopic' discourse, in which critical routes are forged beyond and outside of this binary traffic of circuitous contradiction. 'The nature of myth', he writes,

or what in modern times we call ideological formation, involves setting up a contradiction whose elements have no other function but to be elements of an antithetic couple they form... Myth's nature is the contradiction of a theme and an antitheme, lacking any thesis or antithesis that would place them in any true contradiction. The myth is the simple and inert articulation of the situation and response made in terms of contrariety. It is the displaced repetition of this articulation, an unconscious reading determined in advance in the surface of social dynamics. Myth is a reading itself caught in this surfaces of appearances... the first phase of utopic discourse: a *critique* takes hold of a mythic, or ideological, contradiction, then reverses it by neutralising, and then exacerbating, the contradiction. (1984: 260, 261)

Marin's thoughts in this regard stem from his deconstruction of Thomas More's *Utopia*, the latter's sixteenth century satire in which 'utopia' – a neologism drawn from the Greek terms *outopia* ('no-place') and *eutopia* ('good place') – is the name given to a fictional island located 'somewhere' between England and America, in neither the Old nor the New World. Exploring the tension and spatial play between utopia as good place and no-place, Marin argues that utopic discourse occupies the textual space of the *neutral*, a concept which he describes as 'an in-between space without place' (ibid: 57); a space that cannot be assigned to any given geographical or historical reality, but which, as *topic* rather than *topography*, acquires its historicity in the discursive terrain of the text.

As a realisation of utopic practice in the empirical world, the travel narrative provides an exemplar of both the ideological *fixing* of frontiers and horizons and the free play and limitless horizon of the imagination in its quest for the good, or better place. These conflicting utopics resemble what Harvey describes as 'utopias of spatial form' and 'utopias of process' (2000). The former concept denotes the territorialisation of social space in totalising discourses of modernity (the ideological inscription of the frontier), and the latter, as with Marin's utopic space of the neutral, represents an 'impossible' space of social critique and historical change (cf. Hetherington 1997). By way of example, Enlightenment voyages to the New World reflect a material spatialisation of discourses that were infused with the spirit of utopian process, of infinite horizons towards which human endeavour and vision should endlessly strive. The translation of this temporal drive into spatial form – i.e. that of geo-political dominion over territories deemed hitherto *terra incognita* – demonstrates the spatial and dialectical utopics of the Enlightenment project in which the spirit of embarkation translates into the hegemony of arrival.

The extent to which the spatial contradictions of the travel narrative can be described as mythic or ideological is largely a measure of its capacity to reinforce totalising structures of place, space, and identity. By contrast, the utopic travel narrative finds its form in the very spaces of contradiction which the mythic seeks to close. In striving towards new horizons it mobilises not only the imaginary 'spaces of hope' (Harvey 2000), but also the narrative spaces of critique in which the spatio-temporal present is found wanting; an absence into which the social, cultural, and material idealisation of the 'new land' is propelled. The utopic travel narrative, therefore, can also be described as ideological in the sense that it harbours the potential provision of an ideological critique of the dominant ideology (Marin 1984: xiv). Exploring these themes of totality and infinity, Marin writes,

The ideology of the travel implies a departure from a place and a return to the same place. The traveller enriches this place with a large booty of knowledge and experiences by means of which he states, in this coming back to the 'sameness', his own consistency, his identity as a subject. *The utopian moment and space of the travel*, on the contrary, consists in

opening up, in this ideological circle, in the tracing out of its route, a *nowhere*, a place without a place, a moment out of time, the truth of a fiction, the syncopation of an infinity and paradoxically its limit, its frontier. (1993: 415, emphasis in original)

The contradictory visions of utopic practice – of a free play of the imagination in its expansion towards the limitless horizon, and of ‘a closed totality rigorously coded by all the constraints and obligations of the law binding and closing a place with insuperable frontiers’ (ibid: 403-404) – finds expression, in Marin’s analysis, in the form of two views of Chicago’s Sears Tower. These images, available for sale at the tower as postcards and souvenirs, show, on the one hand, a view taken at dusk from the observation deck (at the time, the highest viewpoint possible from a building anywhere on earth). This monarch of all panoramic cityscapes stretches out before the viewer towards the horizon and an infinite vanishing point, the linearity and geometric precision of its illuminated vectors establishing a perspectival dominance and mastery of space. The second image, by contrast, is of the tower itself, a ‘shadowy giant’ shot from ground level. Dwarfing all the other buildings similarly silhouetted against the fading light of the sky, the tower’s former subject (the panoramic viewer) is now the object of its dominating and omnipresent gaze. The horizon of the former image has receded to a limit and frontier in the latter. Marin invites us to consider these two images not as separate and opposed visions of the world, but rather in terms of their simultaneity as opposite terms, a critical conjunction given form as the ‘frontiers of utopia’; a tension between totality and infinity, limit and transcendence, closure and liberty, horizon and frontier that Marin emblematically represents in the Sears Tower’s dual gazes (1993: 397-406).

With these thoughts in mind, I wish to conclude this section by returning once more to that similarly pre-eminent tower and modernist phenomenon of its day, *la Tour Eiffel*, and by outlining a *modus operandi* constituting the broader remit of this chapter: to develop a theoretical understanding of the spatial utopics of travel by mapping the ‘utopic gaze’ in examples of early and ‘classical’ migrant films. This analysis shall determine an altogether different spatial hermeneutics than that characteristic of ‘mythic’ or ‘ideological’ travel films, oriented, as I have shown, around place-based geographies of the Ulyssean gaze.

As discussed above, the disquiet generated by Hiner Saleem’s *Beyond Our Dreams* at London’s Kurdish Film Festival can partly be attributed to the film’s blurring of travel ‘genres’ and their concomitant subjectivities as ‘tourist’ or ‘vagabond’. These critical inflections are further leavened by their contextual exposure to the political and cultural structures of discourse pertaining to the ‘idea’ of Europe in contemporary debates. Symbolically, the image of the Eiffel Tower codifies what MacCannell (1976) describes as a ‘semiotic of attraction’: a touristic reading by the sightseer of a marker of Paris. Indeed, so

iconic is its status that, as Barthes has suggested, the tower has become part of a universal language of travel (1983: 3). It is in this context, and by conflating the touristic with the otherwise marginal spaces more typically associated with exile, displacement, and migrancy, that the Parisian scenes in *Beyond Our Dreams* become open to contention.

As with Marin's Sears Tower, the panoramic view of the city afforded by the Eiffel Tower relates the spatial totality of urban and architectural form to the utopics of the horizon and the temporal processes by which the modern city (as a metonym of nation) is imagined and reflected upon:

[T]o perceive Paris from above is infallibly to imagine a history; from the top of the Tower, the mind itself dreaming of the mutation of the landscape which it has before its eyes; through the astonishment of space, it plunges into the mystery of time, lets itself be affected by a kind of spontaneous anamnesis: *it is duration itself which becomes panoramic*. (Barthes 1983: 11, emphasis added).

Time, in other words, is grafted on to space, and, for Barthes at least, to ascend towards this mastery of space and time becomes analogous to the first journey of those migrating from the provinces to the Parisian metropolis in order to 'conquer' the city (ibid: 13). The initiate's climb towards this panoramic gaze inaugurates a reading of, and interpolation within, the symbolic structures of nation, narration and modernity:

[O]f all the sites visited by the foreigner or the provincial, the Tower is the first obligatory moment; it is a Gateway, it marks the transition to knowledge: *one must sacrifice to the Tower by rite of inclusion* from which, precisely, the Parisian alone can excuse himself; the Tower is indeed the site which allows one to be incorporated into a race, and when it regards Paris, it is the very essence of the capital it gathers up and proffers to the foreigner who has paid to it his initiational tribute. (Barthes 1983: 14, emphasis added)

To stand in awe of this symbolic colossus of identity (both figuratively and, as with Saleem's tourist-refugees, within actual spatial proximity) is to be subject to (or an object of) its all-encompassing gaze. From this grounded perspective the sacrificial rite/right of inclusion is marked in terms of the limit or frontier; to identify oneself (as a Parisian, French, or European citizen) requires ascension towards the same totalising perspective, the reverse acknowledgement of which (i.e. the tower's subject position viewed from below) both affirms and negates the (individual and contingent) subject position of those bearing this reverse gaze. As a 'Gateway', the tower marks not only the 'frontiers of utopia' – the dialectical tension between frontier and horizon, closure and free play – but also the 'neutral' of home in the spatial utopics of migrancy in *Beyond Our Dreams*. The film's ambivalent cultural and political orientation is born out of this liminal, a-spatial imaginary of home as an indeterminate locus suspended somewhere between the 'old' and the 'new'.

As a symbol marking their proposed destination, the Eiffel Tower – a postcard from a real or imagined ‘good place’ against which the parlous state of the refugee’s displaced homeland is measured – marks the horizon of a narrative journey of hope, and, in the film’s conclusion – the horizon now experienced as a limit – symbolically affirms and questions their arrival in the ‘new land’.

In the following sections, I develop these themes in a broader analysis of the migrant and journey film, focusing in particular on key examples in which a displaced imaginary of *eutopia* – ideas of the promised land, new world, ‘l’america’, etc. – inform a narrative structure of spatial play. In section 3.2 I examine examples of early film in which European migrations to America chart the often ambivalent responses to the promise of the new land. Like the Eiffel Tower for Saleem’s Parisian Kurds, the ‘gateway’ of New York’s Ellis Island represents the spatial materialisation of Marin’s ‘neutral’, a place where horizon and frontier become convergent. In section 3.3 I open up the discussion of migration and film by exploring certain of the narrative conventions that are evident in films such as *America, America* (Elia Kazan, 1963), *Utvandrarna (The Emigrants)*, Jan Troell, 1971), *El Norte* (Gregory Nava, 1983),⁴⁸ and *Reise der Hoffnung (Journey of Hope)*, Xavier Koller, 1990). Drawing on these and other ‘migration films’, the experiences of, and attitudes towards, contemporary migrants and refugees are considered alongside the ‘classical’ migrations of those in pursuit of the American Dream. Lastly, section 3.4 provides a comparison of the spatial utopics in two migrant or journey films: Koller’s *Journey of Hope* and Barbet Schroeder’s *La Vallée* (1972).

3.2 (E)migration and Early Film

Representations of the journey of the migrant and displaced person – in film and societal discourse more generally – often ascribe a certain degree of closure to the anticipation and/or realisation of arrival in the new land. In the linearity of classical narrative structure such one-way journeys (in those examples where ‘arrival’ is secured) inevitably lead to the formal coalescence of topic and topography in the film’s conclusion. Yet these forward trajectories can often occlude or at best render ambivalent the real and imagined returns ‘home’ that such closures necessarily curtail. As with the example of *Beyond Our Dreams*, criticisms drawn along these lines problematise the ‘placing’ of political and cultural identity that becomes attached to the (im)migrant’s status in the new land. Moreover, popular (mis)conceptions of migration as journeys ostensibly *to*, but not *from* the shores of a

⁴⁸ Although neither this film, nor John Ford’s *Grapes of Wrath*, which I also briefly discuss, depict the experience of European emigrants to (or within) America, they are included in this study as they represent key examples of the ‘classical’ migrant film, in which, as I show, the trope of the horizon plays a central role.

‘host’ country, as is evident in contemporary debates on asylum and immigration, fuel the nationalistic and xenophobic rhetoric of groups opposed to further immigration, who, in countries such as Britain at least, frequently invoke the image of a nation ‘bursting at the seams’; a dystopic vision of an unsustainable socio-spatial totality collapsing under the weight of a relentless – and unidirectional – influx of people.⁴⁹

The complexities of a world of movement in an era of transnational flows of culture, capital and labour have displaced many of the myths – however well-founded – sustaining notions of ‘classical’ migration as principally a set of movements from rural and pre-modern spaces to those of the industrial heartlands of Europe and America. Migrant arrivals in the twenty-first century are in the vast majority of cases the result of departures to and from urban centres outside of Fortress Europe or North America. Moreover, regions of Europe traditionally associated with emigration and diaspora (such as Greece and Italy) have themselves become the destination or transit point for those journeying towards ideas of the ‘new land’ (Papastergiadis 2000: 45-46; Iordanova 2001a: 276). For Papastergiadis, the ‘turbulence’ and intensity of contemporary migration is indicative of the emergence of patterns of new global (dis)order:

If we tried to map current movements, it would be impossible to lay them out with a set of linear arrows pointing to identifiable nodal positions. It is clear that the Atlantic axis linking North America with Europe and the north-south axis are being significantly overlaid by a number of other lateral movements as well as the major shifting of power over the Pacific. (2000: 45)

This presents a significantly different picture of movement and migration from that mapped a century before. In the ‘Great Migration’ to the New World in the nineteenth century millions of Europeans left their homelands to establish new lives in destinations such as South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, South America, Canada and the United States. This mass movement of people occurred during a period of rapid growth in industrial development and a ‘depeasantisation’ of rural societies. Between 1815 and 1925 25 million people left Britain and Ireland alone, most heading for the colonies (ibid: 27). In the same period an estimated 35 million Europeans crossed the Atlantic to settle in the United States (Brownlow 1990: 302).

From a contemporary European perspective, part of these changes in patterns of migration is reflected in the historico-semantic shift from practices of *emigration* to those of *immigration*. In many ways the notion of emigration has almost become antithetical to the

⁴⁹ Despite xenophobic claims of Britain being ‘swamped’ by foreigners, with the exception of the period between 1958 and 1963, emigration levels have consistently outweighed the numbers of immigrants entering the country (Papastergiadis 2000: 45).

Western experience. A term rarely discussed in its neutral form, to speak of ‘migration’ as a contemporary social phenomenon is ostensibly to focus on practices of *immigration*, a near-automatic conflation that reinforces the generic (and erroneous) conception of migration as a one-way, unreciprocated inflow of human traffic. By contrast, the terms ‘emigration’, ‘emigrant’, or ‘émigré’ appear with considerably less frequency in advanced capitalist societies such as Britain, despite the no less substantive movements of people who continue to uproot themselves in pursuit of a better life ‘elsewhere’. Arguably this may partly be attributable to the negative connotations which the term ‘emigration’ relays in the Western imagination, in which the desire for new horizons – so powerfully mobilised in the mass migrations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – carries with it a sense of dissatisfaction expressed towards the ‘old world’. Moreover, while on the one hand the terms ‘emigrant’ and ‘immigrant’ merely relate the practice of migration to the contexts of departure and arrival, old world and new, the retreat from view of the e-migrant (from the Latin *ē*, from, and *migrāre*, to remove) upon arrival (as im-migrant) in the ‘new world’ closes off the context and circumstances of removal, or departure *from* the old, despite the emotional, familial, cultural and economic routes/roots of attachment that are likely to remain in place long after the settled migrant becomes incorporated within national structures of place and identity.

The arrival of emigrants at the Ellis Island Immigration Station in New York provided the subject matter of a number of early films, both factual and fictive, which explored, or provided an acknowledgement of, the symbolic importance of this ‘Gateway to America’ (as the title of one 1912 film described Ellis Island). The differences in tone and resonance attached to the term ‘emigrant’ from a contemporary perspective become apparent by the addition of or substitution by the word ‘immigrant’ in American historical and canonical records of key ‘arrival’ films. On its web site, the US Library of Congress houses a virtual gallery (called ‘American Memory’) which includes millions of digital images culled from film and photographic archives relating to the history and culture of the United States (<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/>). Amongst the early film footage that can be viewed are the *Arrival of emigrants [i.e. immigrants]*, *Ellis Island* made by American Mutoscope and Biograph Company in 1906, and Thomas Edison’s *Emigrants [i.e. immigrants] landing at Ellis Island*, made in 1903. Given the near-iconic status of Ellis Island in foundation myths of American nationhood (cf. Brownstone 2002), it seems hard to conceive that the primary rationale of the historian or archivist for adding these parenthesised terms was to clarify any confusion which may potentially have arisen from the conjunction of ‘emigration’ with ‘arrival’. Rather, by highlighting the *reception* of these arrivals as im-migrants, the contexts and origins of departure are downplayed, inviting the suggestion that the arrival of people of different ethnic and national origins in this formative period of American history were

secondary and subject to an *a priori* sense of history and identity, rather than being seen as *a posteriori* contributors to the nation's historical development. The differences in emphasis between the revisionist position and the then contemporary attitudes towards these arrivals can be illustrated from the following summaries of Edison's 1903 film. The first is that provided by the curators of American Memory's virtual library:

The film opens with a view of the steam ferryboat 'William Myers', laden with passengers, approaching a dock at the Ellis Island Immigration Station. The vessel is docked, the gangway is placed, and the immigrant passengers are seen coming up the gangway and onto the deck, where they cross in front of the camera. ([http://lcweb2.loc.gov/...](http://lcweb2.loc.gov/))

The second summary, also included on the web site, is taken from an Edison film company catalogue:

EMIGRANTS LANDING AT ELLIS ISLAND. Shows a large open barge loaded with people of every nationality, who have just arrived from Europe, disembarking at Ellis Island, N.Y. A most interesting and typical scene. (ibid)

Both summaries are, in their own way, accurate descriptions of the film's content, yet the second, with its original title intact, not only acknowledges (albeit generically) a point of origin, but also provides an indication (indeed celebration) of ethnic and cultural diversity. The first summary, by contrast, neither acknowledges difference (the [e]migrants are referred to generically as 'immigrant passengers') nor provides any clue as to their geographical origins. The nondescript 'large open barge' of the second has become 'the steam ferryboat "William Myers"' of the first, as if to serve as a symbolic reminder of the history and tradition that has preceded these arrivals, represented by the public official and dignitary after whom the boat has been named. Finally, the reference to the camera in the revised summary, in the context of the immigrants stepping onto the dock for the first time, renders it more as a tool of power and surveillance – as if alluding to the use of such technologies in modern-day sea- and airports – than a means to document reality and record a fragment of history. Having drawn attention to the camera – in front of which the arrivals must pass – the summary invites the latter-day viewer of the film to identify with the I/Eye of the dominant subject, erasing the confluence of narratives and histories that might otherwise constitute these (dis)embarkations.

The only travellers passing through Ellis Island today are tourists and sightseers visiting the museum of immigration that is now housed on the site. Upon entering what was formerly the arrival hall, visitors are confronted with a wall of luggage, consisting of suitcases, baskets, hampers, etc., which runs for almost 30 feet throughout the exhibition space. Accompanying these symbols of transition and displacement are old photographs of

immigrants arriving at the Island, and information plaques which establish the central signficatory narrative. Relics of the old country – pre-modern farm tools, strange cooking utensils, clothing, etc. – are displayed in glass cabinets in the manner of ethnographic curios (Rogoff 2000: 41). This spatial and symbolic conflation of the (contemporary) tourists' experience with that of the (historical) immigrants', as Rogoff suggests,

condense[s] the experience of immigration to a single visual metaphor and ... produce[s] a concrete borderline for a nation or a national culture, to embody the moment of crossing over to the United States. Thus these suitcases and bundles have been drafted into the cause of nation building or nation imagining by drawing a line and then crossing it, but have in the process *been evacuated of the meanings they once held in another culture...* In the photographs which accompany the wall of luggage, immigrants have their back to the island, to the ocean and to the old world they have come from...The line has been crossed and there is no looking back... [The museum's] exhibits signify the end of a utopian journey away from poverty, discrimination, disease and backwardness, racism and political persecution and the entry into a new culture, an enunciatory arrival in the most complex sense of a new beginning. (ibid: 41-2, emphasis added)

In the Library of Congress's summary of Edison's Ellis Island film references to the migrants themselves are replaced with a greater emphasis on the materiality of arrival – the ferryboat, the deck, the gangway, the dock, the camera – thereby marginalising the importance of individual migratory experiences. Similarly, in the Ellis Island visitor attraction, as Rogoff's description shows, the luggage-relics are a material residue of their original bearers' experience only in so much that they serve to recount a national and mythological narrative of (American) identity and modernity.

In narratives of exile and migration luggage has long functioned as one of the most prominent and resonant tropes of travel, displacement and cultural memory. For Hamid Naficy, the suitcase is 'a contradictory and multilayered key symbol of exilic subjectivity' (2001: 261): a metaphor of travelling identity expressive, on the one hand, of liberatory and utopian mobility, and, on the other, of oppression and exilic dystopia.⁵⁰

The struggle to maintain symbolic control over the suitcase as an artefact of personal, cultural and historical memory lies at the heart of Ellis Island's contested closures of identity, and is reflected more generally in border narratives of migration and exile. In Koller's *Journey of Hope*, a film I discuss in greater detail in the following two sections, migrants and refugees embarked on a perilous, Swiss-bound journey across the Italian Alps

⁵⁰ To illustrate this Naficy cites the examples of Atom Egoyan's *Next of Kin* (1984) and Ghasem Ebrahimian's *The Suitors* (1989), the latter based on the tragic case of a newlywed Iranian woman who, in the early 1980s, was crushed to death in transit as her husband attempted to smuggle her into the United States from Europe inside a suitcase (2001: 261-265).

are left with little option but to discard their suitcases and bundles to lighten their load. As their luggage crashes onto the rocks below, the contents strewn across ice and snow, it is clear that for these bearers of Turkish and Kurdish cultural memory, it is not just material possessions that they have been forced to leave behind (cf. Naficy 2001: 266). In Berger and Mohr's classic study of migrant workers in 1970s Europe, they describe how, in some of the barracks and institutions housing temporary migrant workers in advanced capitalist nations such as France and Germany, the authorities tried to prevent migrants from keeping their suitcases in their dormitories on the grounds that they made the rooms look untidy. The workers strongly resisted these demands, a stance which sometimes led to strike action. 'In these suitcases', writes Berger, 'they keep personal possessions, not the clothes they put in the wardrobes, not the photographs they pin to the wall, but articles which, for one reason or another, are their talismans. Each suitcase, locked or tied around with cord, is like a man's memory' (1975: 179).

Spanning a century of a nation's history, Ellis Island's more recent appropriation of residual traces of memory – whether its symbolic assemblage of luggage and cultural relics, or its erasure of difference and emigrant narratives in the curatorial re-packaging of early 'arrival' films – highlights the role cultural institutions and heritage organisations play in the construction of totalising discourses of national identity. The shifting symbolic status of this gateway to America also reflects the changing attitudes towards (im)migration in the Western imaginary; a shift no less traceable in examples of the classical 'migrant film' (see section 3.3). For Rogoff, Ellis island,

which has long served to symbolise both the 'New World' aspect of the United States and the all-important emphasis on a migration from 'Europe' (as opposed to other regions considerably less culturally privileged) has now become the site of mourning for this lost metanarrative of modernity and progress through mobility... Once the United States can no longer provide refuge and improved circumstances to those coming from the 'mother' cultures of Europe, then the entire project shifts – as do the population of migrants, now arriving primarily from South East and East Asia, from Latin America – from a euphoric narrative of new beginnings to a completely opposite one of misery, cultural incomprehension and extreme foreignness. (2000: 42-3)

It is as part of this modernist and 'euphoric narrative of new beginnings' that the early migrant and arrival films gaze back at us a century on. Reflecting not only the spatial utopics of a temporal metanarrative of progress and industrial development, made geographically material in the mass movements of people from rural to urban spaces, films such as *Emigrants Landing at Ellis Island* also relate these spaces of arrival (and departure) to the more complex and turbulent geographies of post-modernity. At the same time,

however, an over-emphasis on the utopics of modernity and mobility in these travel narratives can obscure the extent to which Ellis Island, and the topic of migration more generally, provoked more ambivalent responses from early filmmakers and audiences.

Coeval to the mass migrations of Europeans to the New World, the development of cinema as a new form of mass entertainment in the United States relied in no small part on the patronage of the immigrant communities who comprised its most important audience. In New York the Dora Film productions of the Naples-based filmmaker, Elvira Notari were hugely popular amongst the Italian-American community during the 1920s. Like the immigrants themselves, these films also travelled, their popularity helping to finance future productions back in Italy, which in turn provided a continued means of vicarious travel for the immigrant audiences, for whom, as ‘travelogues in absentia’, these filmic journeys represented ‘touristic traces of an impossible voyage [back home]’ (Bruno 1993: 122-133).⁵¹

Historians of early film have suggested that cinema played three central roles in the lives of immigrant communities: they provided ‘a form of socialisation and apprenticeship into American life’; they were ‘makeshift “schools”’ for learning English through the collective deciphering of titles and song lyrics; and, perhaps most crucially, they functioned as a means of escape from ‘the realities of work and tenement life’ (Mayne 1982: 3; Mullins 2000).

A satirical take on the ‘acculturation’ of immigrant arrivals is provided in *Making an American Citizen*, made in 1912 by Alice Guy Blache, reputed to be the first ever woman director. Herself a recent immigrant, the idea of the film was based on an incident which occurred upon Blache’s own arrival in New York. A policeman had stopped an immigrant couple, removed the heavy baggage which the woman was carrying, and handed it over to the husband, an act she described as ‘a lesson in American courtesy toward women’ (in Brownlow 1990: 304). The film opens with scenes of a husband and wife excitedly preparing for their departure to America where they are planning to settle. Upon disembarking from the Ellis Island ferry the husband loads a huge bundle on his wife’s back. A crowd gathers to witness the spectacle. An American steps forward and rebukes the husband for letting his wife carry the luggage. He transfers the load onto the back of the husband and shows the wife how to poke sticks at her man to chivvy him along. Similar scenarios follow in which, following the intervention of a passer-by, the husband is rebuked for his treatment of his wife (beating her, making her work in the garden), and the roles are reversed. Finally, the husband is sent to prison – his fourth lesson in Americanisation – from

⁵¹ Notari herself never set foot in New York, preferring instead ‘to stay in Naples and send her fans beautiful animated post-cards’, as her son Edoardo recalls (quoted in Bruno 1993: 133).

which he duly emerges as a model citizen. The film ends with the now-harmonious coupling of husband and newly-independent wife, the 'old country' patriarchy successfully expunged.

A more famous example of the American immigrant/emigrant film is Charles Chaplin's *The Immigrant* made in 1917 (also known as *A Modern Columbus and the New World*). The first half of the film is set aboard a steamer conveying US-bound migrants towards New York. The 'arrival' scene in the film is announced by an intertitle which reads 'Arrival in the Land of Liberty'. This is followed by the immigrants' first glimpse of the Statue of Liberty, upon sight of which they are roped together like cattle on the deck of the ship in order that each can be processed in turn. The irony and satire here seems clearly intended – and, as Brownlow shows, Chaplin was indeed aware of its potential shock value – but whether this was intended to be interpreted as political, as some historians have claimed, remains open to question (Brownlow 1990: 308).

The satirical content of these two films gently mocks the utopianism of America's modernist vision, yet, at the same time, *Making an American Citizen* and *The Immigrant* both affirm the hegemonic structures of process and identification that such a vision necessarily entails, and, in the spatial and temporal distancing of the 'old country', highlight the undesirability and impossibility of 'returns' (both literal and metaphorical) to a 'backward' pre-modern condition, the embodiment of which were the ragged and unsophisticated masses arriving at Ellis Island.

In reality, the prospect or threat of going back to the former homeland played a significant, if less generally acknowledged, role in the migrant narratives of those passing through this gateway to America. At the end of the nineteenth century an estimated 47 per cent of European migrants who had travelled to the United States returned home (Papastergiadis 2000: 28). Often these returnees went back to build 'American' homes in their old villages; a display of wealth and modernity which, as Papastergiadis notes, itself encouraged further emigration (ibid). Yet many of the journeys home were the involuntary departures of those deemed 'undesirable' by the immigration authorities. For those refused entry – whether on grounds of extreme poverty, disease, or suspected revolutionary or criminal tendencies – Ellis Island represented not so much a utopic gateway to the promised land as a brutal repository of despair and broken dreams. As one municipal reformer described it, Ellis Island was 'a storehouse of sob stories for the press; deportation, dismembered families, unnecessary cruelties made it one of the tragic places in the world' (quoted in Brownlow 1990: 303).

For those who were granted entry it was hardly a bed of roses either. They often faced discrimination from 'natives' (i.e. earlier settlers and immigrants) who blamed them for rising crime levels, the spread of disease and moral corruption, and for undermining the pay and conditions of the established labour force by working for lower wages (Brownlow 1990:

302). Early films often reflected the hardships and injustice faced by immigrant communities arriving in the United States. On such example was *The Italian* (Reginald Barker, 1914) in which a young immigrant family recently settled in New York suffer a cruel and tragic fate at the hands of a corrupt local politician. Although the film paints a somewhat sympathetic portrait of the Italian immigrant in the face of unspeakable injustice and discrimination, it is a film, as Brownlow suggests, that in all probability was motivated by anti-immigration views (despite the fact that *The Italian* was never shown in Italy): ‘Apart from a woman neighbour and a kindly old Jew, there is not a sympathetic character in all the New York sequences. Nothing is shown, apart from the ward boss’s home, which could possibly entice anyone to leave their own country’ (1990: 318).⁵²

Other films set out to explore some of the moral consequences of turning one’s back on the old country. In *The Lad from Old Ireland* (Sidney Olcott, 1910), Terry, the Irish lad of the title, leaves his sweetheart Aileen and his back-breaking life working as a farm labourer and heads for America where he makes his fortune. Meanwhile, back home in Ireland Aileen’s plight has worsened. Forced to the brink of poverty she writes to her estranged sweetheart appealing for his help. Terry, now a well-heeled and successful American, returns home, guilt-stricken, to confront the consequences of his actions.

As was the case in countries such as Ireland and Italy, dire economic conditions and the plight of the rural poor also forced considerable numbers of Swedish emigrants to abandon their homeland and cross the Atlantic around the turn of the century. In 1909-1910 the situation had reached its peak and the Swedish authorities stepped-up measures to try to stem this outflow of migrants. Filmmakers were conscripted to make features that were intended to discourage potential migrants by showing that, far from being the promised land that many imagined, America was in fact a place where immigrants were liable to be robbed, exploited and drawn into errant and morally corrupt lifestyles. As with *The Italian*, films such as *Emigranten* (*The Emigrant*, Robert Olsson, 1910) and *Amuletten* (*The Amulet*, 1910, director unknown), which painted a similarly unfavourable picture of America, promoted, by contrast, a ‘dystopic gaze’ that reaffirmed the relative merits of home (Brownlow 1990: 304-7).

What distinguishes these films from the ‘arrival’ film is that the diegesis spans or proceeds from the act of arrival itself, thus allowing for reflections on the consequences of

⁵² In research for his film *The Godfather Part II* (1974), the director Francis Ford Coppola used Barker’s *The Italian* as a main point of reference in his recreation of turn-of-the-century New York (Brownlow 1990: 319). Like his contemporary Martin Scorsese, whose *Gangs of New York* (2002) recounts the violent clashes of rival immigrant groups in nineteenth century New York, in *The Godfather* films Coppola goes in search of the origins of modern-day America in a mythologised New York of violence and municipal corruption set against the backdrop of immigration to the New World.

immigration, in both New World and Old. In examples of films where marginalisation, racism and ethnic strife beset the potential migrant in his or her country of origin, ideas of the New Land as a utopian calling present the experience of migration in a considerably less ambiguous fashion. In *The Hebrew Fugitive* (1908, director unknown), a Jewish family in Russia are persecuted by a group of Cossack soldiers who banish them from their home and place of work. On the street they are beaten and told to leave. They seek refuge from the pogrom in a ruined building where they rest. While they sleep, an apparition appears among them in the form of a woman dressed in the colours of the American flag. She swings back and forth with her arms aloft, as if gathering up the sleeping, exiled family. Pointing straight ahead to camera, she disappears. Their resolve strengthened, the family struggle on until finally they arrive at a harbour where a ship is docked. A close up of the steamer reveals the Stars and Stripes flying from its mast.

In this example, (e)migration, and the anticipatory experiences of travel, assume the form of a critical utopic practice in which America becomes a ‘beacon’ of hope, spatially oriented away from the abandoned ruins that represents the dreamers’ temporary ‘home’, towards the distant horizons of the ‘new land’ – horizons which ‘we’ (i.e. as 1908 US immigrant audiences) are invited to affirm and inhabit by the outstretched arm pointing at the viewer through the camera’s mirrored gaze. This is a narrative of migrant *departures*; the logical continuation of which would be to follow the journey as it progresses across the Atlantic. With the exception of later features such as Kazan’s *America, America*, or Troell’s *The Emigrants*, there are comparatively few examples of such filmic odysseys evident in archival collections. In the case of home movies and documentaries, given that migrants, unlike the travelling bourgeoisie, would have had neither the money nor the technical resources to commit their travels to film this is hardly a surprising legacy. With films such as *A Trip to Brazil* (1910, director unknown), however, we come close to what we might otherwise choose to dub the ‘migrant travelogue’: a film in which, as with the more conventional travelogue of the tourist gaze, we share the perspectival subjectivity of the traveller-filmmaker.

The film records the voyage to Brazil of the *Tomaso Di Savoia*, a ship carrying emigrants from Europe.⁵³ In many respects *A Trip to Brazil* is little different from some of the sea-voyage or cruise ship travel films discussed in the previous chapter. Consisting largely of actuality shots taken on board amongst passengers and crew, the film follows the progress of the ship as it makes its way, via the Windward Isles, down the Brazilian coast,

⁵³ In the British Film Institute’s archive notes the migrants’ nationality is listed as Italian, although this is not known for sure. The titles are in German, yet the film is credited as a British production.

stopping off at Pernambuco (Recife) and Bahia (Salvador), before finally arriving in Rio de Janeiro, where the passengers disembark.

Aside from its providing a rare documentation of early migrant travels to the New World, what is particularly striking about *A Trip to Brazil* in the present context of discussion is a sequence of shots in which the camera looks out at a sailing vessel passing in the distance. Clearly welcoming this chance distraction, the camera operator remains fixed on the four-masted barque, slowly zooming in. Cutting to a closer view, the camera continues its gradual zoom until the barque completely fills the frame. In contrast to the relative mundanity of the on-board actuality shots, this contemplative, protracted gaze evokes a powerful sense of kinaesthetic freedom and desire. The romance of wind and sail and the harnessing of natural forces give rein to a poetical meditation on ideas of agency and transition – of flights towards utopian horizons.⁵⁴ Projected onto the distant vessel, this lightness of being mirrors the more laboured and purposeful passage of the iron-hulled Tomaso Di Savoia and the no doubt more sober expectations of the Rio-bound migrants as they steam towards spaces of urban and industrial development.

Sharing this gaze almost a century after it was captured on film, it is perhaps easy to overlook the extent to which these affective geographies of utopic mobility reflected a wider sense of optimism and progression in the teleological march of Western industrial modernity. Recognising, at the same time, that it is perhaps also easy to over-determine such representations by too ready a recourse to historical grand narratives, I am nevertheless reminded of the opening frames of Theo Angelopoulos' *Ulysses' Gaze* (1995), in which just an association is made in a context not dissimilar to that which I have raised above. It is 1954, Yannakis, one half of the early Balkan filmmaking duo, the Manakia brothers, is sat on the quayside at Salonica (Thessaloniki) harbour in Greece, camera and tripod at the ready. A blue ship – a two-mast fore-and-aft schooner – appears on the horizon, its sail set for some unspecified destination. The elderly Yannakis collapses before he has a chance to film the ship. The shot continues uncut. It is now the present day. 'A', a Greek émigré filmmaker (played by Harvey Keitel) has returned from America to his former homeland on a quest to find three missing reels of undeveloped film shot by the Manakia brothers around 1905, reputed to be the first film – the first gaze – shot in the Balkans. As he contemplates

⁵⁴ More recently, the association of sailing vessels with ideas of utopia is reflected in examples of contemporary tourist practice. In Macbeth's study of long-term ocean yacht cruising he argues that, as individuals and as a subculture, long-term cruising sailors are part of what he describes as 'modern utopianism', in that, as with practitioners of ecotourism and adventure-based tourism, 'they are primarily concerned with *action*; that is they seek to change their own lives to suit the ideal they hold... [They are] part of modern utopian thought by being fundamentally a *critique* of the society of their origin' (Macbeth 2000: 23, emphasis in original).

the Balkan odyssey upon which he is about to embark, 'A' walks slowly along the quay staring out towards the blue ship which is still visible on the horizon. On the soundtrack we hear Keitel utter the words: 'The three reels... the three reels... the journey' as the camera slowly zooms in on the ship until it completely dominates the frame (see Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1: Journeys of Hope: stills from *Ulysses' Gaze*

Returning to 1910 and the Tomaso Di Savoia, we look out towards the utopic horizons of a century about to unfold. In the circularity of an odyssey that spans the displacements and migrations of 'journeys of hope', and the dystopic, post-ideological fragmentation of 'utopias of spatial form', to use Harvey's phrase (2000), we are left staring into the unfathomable void between frontier and horizon; a gulf that the cinematic gaze, stretching out towards this distant and nebulous image of utopian process, strives to both measure and contain.

Exploring further these shifting geographies of hope, in the next section I examine a number of classical migrant films, paying particular attention to the narrative and spatial tropes that structure these filmic journeys.

3.3 Journeys of Hope

The way of the world is west.

Long the sages have told us how our forefathers, the Aryans of old, rose remote in Asia and began conquest of the earth, moving ever in the path of the sun.

We are part of that great migration.

We are the travellers who still face to the westward. (Opening titles of *Grass: A Nation's Battle For Life*, Merian Cooper and Ernest Schoedsack, 1925)

The way of the world is west. A camel train moves slowly across the horizon. Facing eastward it marks the pronouncement of a reverse odyssey; a journey backwards in time, back to the origins – the dawn – of Western civilisation: 'Back in the East behind us are the secrets of our own past, and a tradition of our brothers still living in the cradle of the race –

a long since Forgotten People... Eastward through the hills of Asia Minor our journey begins'. A map of the near and middle east appears; the route proceeds from Constantinople (Istanbul) and Angora (Ankara) towards Persia (Iran). The 'Forgotten People' in question are the Bakhtiari nomads, whose mass migration with their herds in search of fertile pastures – a treacherous journey which takes them across the flooded river Karun and the snow-covered Zagros mountains in western Iran – forms the subject of one of the most celebrated of early ethnographic and documentary films.

Questions of authenticity aside, as an ethnographic text, *Grass*, which Cooper and Schoedsack filmed among the Bakhtiari in 1924, clearly bears the influence of some of the diffusionist theories that were influential amongst anthropologists and geographers in the early decades of the twentieth century. The idea that the origins of human civilisation can be traced back to a single (geographical and [pre]historical) source, from which heliocentric migrations of peoples and cultures ('moving ever in the path of the sun') 'radiated' out across the globe, sustains the myth of anthropological and historical Genesis underpinning Cooper and Schoedsack's reverse teleology: 'So for months we travelled – met with many strange peoples – endured many hardships. But going ahead, we were turning the pages backward – on and on further back into the centuries – Till we reached the first Chapter, arrived at the very beginning...'

Although not explicit in the film, the parallel with Judao-Christian origin myths and the 'first Chapter' of the biblical Genesis cannot be readily discounted from subtextual interpretations of this ethnographic odyssey.⁵⁵ Indeed, what *Grass* may or may not impart in terms of its *a priori* rationale as an ethnographic document – i.e. the extent to which it is able to provide an accurate and authentic account of Bakhtiari cultural practice in 1920s Persia – has tended to occlude consideration of the film as a bearer of mythic narratives pertaining to ideas of the 'great migration' in the Western imagination.

In Christian painting and iconography, for example, the subject of forced migration and the plight of refugees have long provided a source of aesthetic inspiration. In an article exploring visual representations of migrants and refugees in film and other media forms – an area of research that remains largely overlooked in studies to date – Wright argues that many contemporary images of migrants and refugees, such as those found in news media and migrant films, conform to 'biblical precedents' established by iconographic paintings such as Masaccio's 'The Expulsion from Paradise' (1425-1428) (Figure 3.2), which depicts

⁵⁵ Diffusionism arose in large part as an alternative to evolutionary theories of human and cultural development, such as those advanced by early sociologists and anthropologists like Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and Edward Tylor (1832-1917). As such, it is perhaps not altogether surprising that diffusionist ideas would find a greater degree of tolerance amongst the clergy. In Germany, for example, where many of these ideas originated, the *kulterkreis* ('culture circle') school of diffusionism became closely associated with the Catholic Church (Wedenoja 2002).

Adam and Eve being ushered out of the Garden of Eden by an angel (an image Wright compares with a press photograph taken in East Timor in 1999 of a mother and child being led away from a ruined settlement under armed escort) (Wright 2002: 57-8).

The migration of the Bakhtiari in search of '[a] far valley...where the meadows are rich with plenty' (as another intertitle informs us) becomes, in Cooper and Schoedsack's hands, not only the focus of an empirical ethnographic study, but also a metanarrative of lost origins, and of an expulsion from, and return to, an earthly Paradise. When the fifty thousand strong exodus descends from the mountains, having successfully scaled the icy peaks of the twelve thousand foot Zardeh Kuh, an intertitle reads: 'They have fought and attained their goal... They have reached the Promised Land – the Land of 'Milk and Honey' – the Land of GRASS'. Although terms such as the 'promised land' and 'land of milk and honey' have long since become incorporated within a secular vernacular of diaspora and displacement, their Old Testament origins in 'migrant travelogues' such as *Grass* are clear and unambiguous. In Exodus, God commands Moses to lead the Israelites out of Egypt and to deliver them from the wilderness unto the land which God had promised on oath to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Appearing before Moses in the form of a burning bush, God tells the prophet, 'I have come down to rescue [my people] from the hand of the Egyptians and to bring them out of that land into a good and spacious land, a land flowing with milk and honey' (Exodus 3:8). A twelve second pan shot of an empty desert landscape – 'out across the barren infinity of Asia' – prefigures the struggles and 'many hardships' yet to unfold in Cooper and Schoedsack's 'biblical' odyssey (the crossing of the River Karun/Red Sea/River Jordan, the deliverance from a desert wilderness, the scaling of Zardeh Kuh) and poses a striking contrast to the fertile pastures of 'milk and honey' which mark their arrival in the land of grass.

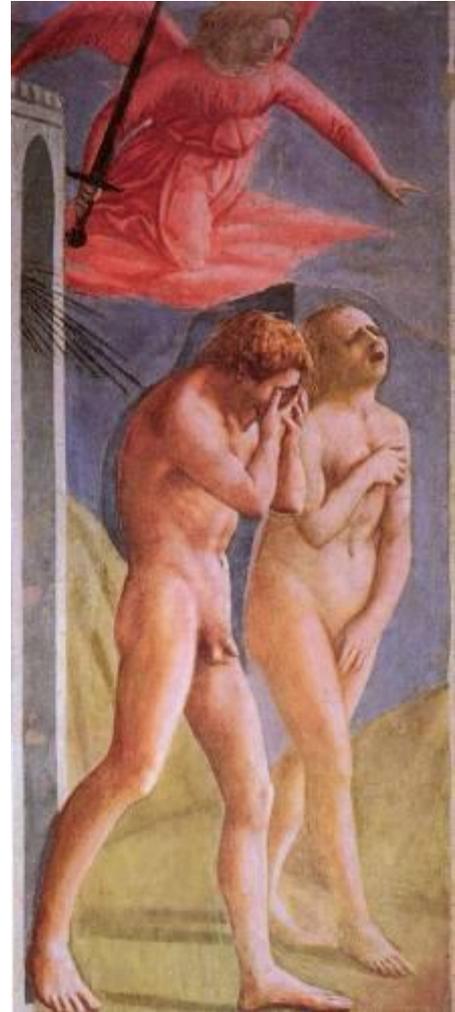


Figure 3.2: *The Expulsion from Paradise* (Masaccio, 1425-1428)

Although spatially eastbound and temporally backward in orientation, the migrant itineraries of *Grass* are, paradoxically, also those forged by westward- and forward-looking

frontiersmen (reflected partly in Cooper and Schoedsack's status as pioneers of documentary and ethnographic film, but more notably through their explicit valorisation of a Western metanarrative of modernity). In an American cultural and cinematic context, the element of frontiersmanship that is evident in this and other examples of the migrant film invites comparisons, as Wright suggests, with film genres such as the western and the road movie (2002: 62). Although pursuing this line of enquiry would take us beyond the scope of this thesis, it can nevertheless be argued that from John Steinbeck to Jack Kerouac – 'I was halfway across America, at the dividing line between *the East of my youth and the West of my future*' (Kerouac 1957: 20, emphasis added) – and, in film, from John Ford to *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1969) – 'A man went looking for America and couldn't find it anywhere' (ad campaign for *Easy Rider*) – cultural geographies of 'migrancy' and the frontier open up otherwise distinct travel narratives and genres to broader discursive analysis (cf. Cohan and Hark 1997a).

The Grapes of Wrath (1940), John Ford's adaptation of Steinbeck's Depression-era novel published a year earlier, can in many ways be looked upon as a domestic (US) counterpart to *Grass* in both its conformity to a 'biblical precedence' and, more crucially, its iconic frontiersmanship. Driven from the dustbowl of Oklahoma, the Joad family take to the road to join the thousands migrating westward to California in search of work and a better life. Undeterred by reports that the promised land is a fraud, the Joads, moving ever in the path of the sun along Route 66, continue onward through New Mexico and Arizona until they reach the Colorado River marking the border with California. Looking out towards the barren landscape of the Providence Mountains⁵⁶ their first glimpse of the promised land incurs a less than enthusiastic response. 'Well, there she is folks', announces Pa Joad ironically, 'the Land of Milk and Honey – California'. 'Maybe it's nicer on the other side', suggests his daughter, Rosasharn, 'in my picture postcards they was real pretty'.

Although we do not see the postcard images of California to which Rosasharn refers, the disparities between frontier and horizon are no less apparent. Indeed, as was discussed in

⁵⁶ A term itself conveying biblical precedence, 'providence' is defined in the *Chambers English Dictionary* as 'foresight: prudent management and thrift: timely preparation: the foresight and benevolent care of God'. As with *Grass*, a mountain range marks the final providential frontier to the land of promise and divine deliverance that awaits the Joads 'on the other side'. The semantic ambiguity of 'crossing over to the other side' in this context suggests that the mountains are as much a theological as geographical frontier, marking the boundaries between this life and the next. For Grandma Joad, who dies shortly after arriving in California, this is indeed the case. Similarly, in *Journey of Hope*, the last stage of the migrants' journey to Switzerland – which Haydar, the film's main protagonist describes as 'Paradise beyond the mountains' – involves crossing the Alps; a treacherous undertaking which ends with the tragic death of Haydar's son. This geographical/theological ambiguity is also reflected in a scene from Troell's *The Emigrants* in which a priest delivers a funeral oration for one of the emigrants who has died on board the ship crossing the 'great divide' between Europe and America: 'You and your beloved wife did not get to see the New Land', he intones, 'You went first to that other homeland...'

section 3.1, as a dialogue with Elsewhere the ‘postcard’ (as both a literal object and as a generic description of visual markers of attraction) is central to mobilisations of migrant and utopic practice, and provides a crucial link between old and new, real and imagined, despair and hope in the narrative structure of ‘classical’ migrant films.

In a scene from Jan Troell’s 1971 film, *The Emigrants*, Karl Oskar (played by the veteran Swedish actor Max von Sydow) reveals to his younger brother Robert, who has just announced his intention of emigrating to America, that he too has been dreaming of the New World. Excitedly he shows Robert a newspaper report describing the prospects of future wealth awaiting the hard-working farmer in America. The report is illustrated with a picture of a horse and plough working a fertile and abundant-looking wheat field; an image at odds with the harsh and austere conditions (religious as well as environmental) experienced by nineteenth century Swedish farming communities such as those dramatised in Troell’s epic saga. Unlike the realities that confront the Joads upon arrival in 1930s California, where the migrant fruit pickers are exploited by the farm owners, harassed by the police, and resented by the locals whose jobs they threaten, for these earlier migrants and frontiersmen the discrepancies between the ‘postcard’ idealisations of the promised land and the realities of arrival and settlement are considerably less pronounced than those with which Rosasharn Joad would have had to contend. Upon arrival in Minnesota, the Swedish emigrants are at first disheartened to discover that an earlier emigrant from the old country, now settled in America, is living a solitary existence in a remote, ramshackle barn; a life which, contrary to their expectations, seems little more favourable than that left behind in Sweden. Undaunted, Karl Oskar continues his search through the Minnesota wilderness – ‘the greenest meadows are the ones that lie furthest away’, sighs one of migrants – until he finds the ideal spot where he and his family can settle: a fertile area of ‘unclaimed’ woodland near the shores of a lake; a place where real and imagined, destination and ‘postcard’ come together in a single, long-sought-for vision of the Promised Land. The film ends with a contented Karl Oskar leaning against a tree, listening to the sound of migratory birds flying overhead.⁵⁷

For Haydar, the central protagonist of Xavier Koller’s *Journey of Hope*, the promised land – ‘Paradise beyond the mountains’ – takes the form of an idyllic Swiss mountain scene on a tourist postcard, the authenticity of which (as a ‘good place’) is affirmed by its sender,

⁵⁷ A second film, *Nybyggarna (The New Land)*, Jan Troell, 1972) continues the story from the point of the settlers’ arrival in Minnesota, and charts the fortunes of Karl Oskar, his wife Kristina (played by Liv Ullmann) and their family as they adjust to the challenges and opportunities that confront them in the ‘new land’. Paying heed to the colonial legacies of European settlement, the film also considers the plight of the early migrants in relation to that of the local Native Americans upon whose land they encroach.

Haydar's cousin Cemal, who reports of his arrival in Switzerland and whose example provides the catalyst for Haydar's own 'journey of hope'.

In the next section I examine the spatial utopics of *Journey of Hope* in greater detail. In the context of the present discussion, Koller's film is cited alongside *The Grapes of Wrath*, *America, America* and *El Norte* in order to examine some of the narrative and cinematic tropes that can be traced across examples of the classical migrant film.

The first of these are based around the act of departure. In a poignant scene from *The Grapes of Wrath*, Ma Joad picks over a box of personal effects and souvenirs, while the men load up the truck outside. Briefly reliving the memories attached to each object, Ma decides which items to take with her and which to consign to the past.

This discarding of objects and possessions marks a point of reflection in which the memories attached to the old country are gathered up and 'placed' in practical and symbolic orientation towards the future. The destruction (and immolation) of Ma Joad's past closes off the possibility of return and as such marks the temporal inscription of a new frontier which the family's subsequent departure and migration re-inscribes in space. Similarly, the selling of Haydar's farm animals in *Journey of Hope* represents an irreversible step away from tradition; an act in which the inevitability of departure is assured, albeit in more ambivalent and contested circumstances. The moral implications of discarding one's culture and tradition lie at the heart of the film's overall concerns, and are given further symbolic emphasis in the scene in which the migrants' luggage is jettisoned crossing the Alps (described above in section 3.2). The moral and ethical weight that is attached to Haydar's decision is made clear to him at the outset, thereby placing the burden of responsibility for the events that unfold firmly on his shoulders. Holding aloft a handful of grass, his father warns Haydar, 'Over there without roots you'll be nothing... If you sell your animals you'll be like this grass'.

The degrees of ambivalence or moral certitude attached to the act of leaving are also reflected in the departure scenes of migrant films, which, following John Ford's mythic template laid down in *The Grapes of Wrath*, are typically long shots of the departing migrants silhouetted against the twilight expanse of a distant horizon. Leaving their Oklahoma farmstead, the Joads drive out of shot and for a moment the camera lingers on their deserted and dust-blown home, its door and windows crashing in the wind. Inside the cabin of the truck Ma refuses to look back. Against the light of the dawn sky the truck proceeds diagonally towards camera, before finally turning off to join an open road heading away towards the horizon. In a corresponding scene from *The Emigrants*, a horse and cart bearing Karl Oskar and his family slowly makes its way towards camera. Behind them, flanked by a line of pine trees outlined against the morning sky, the distant figures of Karl Oskar's parents can be seen standing beside the farmhouse. The scene cuts to a close up of Kristina

and her husband looking back, before cutting back to the horse and cart as it passes through the farm gate for the last time. The image slowly dissolves into a shot of the grandparents,



Figure 3.3: Departure scene from *The Emigrants*

smoke now visible from the chimney of the farmhouse (Figure 3.3). A long, reverse zoom bids a last farewell to this homely image of roots, tradition and familial warmth. Receding towards the horizon, it is a mythic landscape that serves as a mirror to the forward-looking



Figure 3.4: *The Emigrants' Last Sight of Home* (Richard Redgrave, 1858)

trajectories of those moving ever in the path of the sun. As with Richard Redgrave's painting, *The Emigrants' Last Sight of Home* (1858) (Figure 3.4), for the emigrants, this near-sacred landscape remains as a 'lost secure symbol of home and peace, to treasure as a talisman while they travel' (Morley 2000: 36).

In a scene from *Journey of Hope* which prefigures the actual point of departure, Haydar and his wife return from a meeting with the 'fixer', whom they have paid (with the

proceeds from the sale of their livestock) to make the necessary arrangements for their trip. Their fate now sealed, they make their way down a road leading back to their village and to an uncertain future. On the skyline above them a ploughman can be seen working away in the fields, symbolising, as Wright suggests, the traditional life of toil and hardship that is to be left behind (2002: 61). A pan shot follows their progress as the husband leads the way along a winding, uncertain road, while his wife, who is beginning to have misgivings about the journey, follows on behind. Unlike the Joads, who look resolutely and confidently ahead, or Karl Oskar's family, who pay a valedictory tribute to the life they know must be left behind, Haydar's stubborn determination to follow the trail blazed by his cousin Cemal blinkers him to the values, traditions and counsel of those around him. He doesn't look back, yet his hope and resolution belie the more complex, uncertain geographies of contemporary migration. As such, they are born more from naivety and bad faith than from any latter-day spirit of utopian frontiersmanship.

To illustrate these shifting geographies of hope I wish to conclude this section by briefly considering the examples of *America, America* and *El Norte*; two films which, despite their differences (culturally and historically), share a strikingly similar narrative structure.

America, America, directed by Elia Kazan and released in 1963, charts the story of Stavros Topouzoglou, a young Greek living under Turkish rule in 1890s Anatolia, who leaves his homeland to embark on an epic journey that takes him first to Constantinople, and then across the Atlantic to the United States where he becomes Joe Arness, an American citizen and shoeshine boy. The character of Stavros is based on Kazan's Uncle Joe, Avraam Elia Kazanjoglou, who was one of thousands of Greeks who emigrated to America (from both mainland Greece and Anatolia) at the turn of the century. Himself an immigrant, Kazan arrived in New York with his father in 1913 when he was just four years old (Neve 1987: 63). Made in the 1960s, the film, as Neve argues, prefigured the popularity of books and films produced in the 1970s which sought to trace American cultural and ethnic 'roots' (ibid: 67). Troell's *The Emigrants* and *The New Land*, for example, although Swedish-language films, enjoyed widespread success in the States following the release by Warner Brothers of versions dubbed into English. Both films picked up Academy Award nominations for Best Foreign Language Film, and in 1972 the 'naturalised' version of *The Emigrants* went on to attract a further four nominations (Best Picture, Directing, Actress, and Writing).⁵⁸ The 1970s also gave rise to the hugely popular television dramatisation of

⁵⁸ 1972 was also the year of the popular television history series *Alistair Cooke's America*. In one of the episodes, *The Huddled Masses*, the BBC broadcaster and historian sets out to explore the experience of immigrants arriving at Ellis Island from Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Alex Haley's epic novel *Roots*, which recounted the eighteenth-century enforced migrations to America of slaves from the east coast of Africa. Had *America, America* been made a decade later the film would have doubtless benefited from this genealogical obsession with roots and origins and, in all likelihood, fared considerably better commercially than it did upon its release in 1963. As it was, Kazan's personal foray into his family's history was not able to connect with a wider discourse on (im)migration and cultural identity, and, despite mostly favourable reviews, *America, America*'s fate was one of general indifference. Such a response, in a political climate more sensitive to the critical and negative attitudes towards immigration, would have no doubt been wished upon Nava's *El Norte* by some of the more conservative of US film audiences of the early 1980s.

El Norte relates the story of two indigenous Guatemalans, Enrique and his sister Rosa, who, fleeing the ruthless and genocidal campaign being waged against the native *campesino* guerrillas in their homeland, head north to Mexico and California where they become illegal workers in the US service sector economy. Inspired by the ideals of their father who fought against the exploitation of the plantation workers and who wanted a better life for his children, Enrique and Rosa set off with high hopes for the promised land of *El Norte*. However, a tragic turn of events and the stark realities of migrant labour leave Enrique no better off. Putting on his 'pocho' hat and reclaiming his Chicano identity, he resigns himself once more to a life of low wages, exploitation and casual labour, the only difference being that this time it is in 'El Norte'. His sister, on the other hand, is not so lucky. She dies from an infectious disease caught from a rat-infested sewer pipe through which she and Enrique crawled crossing over the border from Mexico.

Although both *America, America* and *El Norte* are powerful and epic films which raise many important issues relating to the historical and cultural geographies of immigration to the United States (and which thus warrant in-depth studies in their own right), for the purposes of this study I wish to limit my discussion of these films to a comparative analysis of some of their key thematic and narrative tropes in keeping with the overall focus of this section.

The first of these, as above, relates to the preparation for, and the act of departure. Determined to leave his war-torn homeland for America, Stavros approaches his grandmother in the hope that she will lend a sympathetic ear and provide him with sufficient money to fund his passage. She refuses. In the meantime, his father has decided to send Stavros to Constantinople to work in a carpet business owned by one of Stavros' cousins. Entrusting his son with the family savings to invest in the business, the father plans for the whole family to join him once Stavros is settled and prosperous in his new life. Bidding farewell to his family, Stavros makes his way out of the village by donkey. Standing on a rugged hilltop, silhouetted against the skyline, the family watch him leave. The shot cuts to

a view of the densely-clustered rooftops of the houses in the village, and then back to the solitary figure of Stavros making his way down the hillside toward a barren mountain landscape in the distance. The family stand watching until he disappears, before finally returning back home. The last shot is of the mother and father, still standing on the hilltop.

No less determined to flee the violence and economic privations of their homeland, Rosa and Enrique also approach an elderly family matriarch for financial assistance. With their godmother's help and blessing, the siblings make their escape under the light of a full moon. Unlike the departures in other migrant films discussed in this section, Rosa and Enrique's takes place in secret under the cover of darkness. The trope of the horizon is replaced by that of dense forest thicket through which the refugees clamber up a rugged mountain path. The covert and urgent nature of departure takes precedence over the utopic expectations of arrival. As such, the line between (e)migrant hope and desperation has been more finely drawn. Like Haydar in *Journey of Hope*, Enrique climbs on ahead while Rosa struggles to keep up. Ambivalence is embodied in the figure of the female migrant: it is Rosa, not Enrique, who looks back at the village settlement sprawled out below. A rear shot of them struggling further upward cuts to a final view of the village before fading to black.

Stavros, and Rosa and Enrique, each set off having been entrusted with the family savings. Their journeys are thus as much an investment in the future of those left behind as of that of the migrants themselves. Early on in their respective journeys the migrants are befriended by characters who are initially drawn into their confidence, but who subsequently turn out to be thieves. In the case of Stavros, he has all his money and possessions stolen by Abdul, a bandit who leeches on to him at the earliest opportunity. The only way that Stavros is eventually able to rid himself of this curse is through murder: the first of a series of moral transgressions that unfold along the way to his becoming an American.⁵⁹ The robbery and subsequent reprisal marks Stavros' initiation into the moral and ethical ambiguities of a world of unbridled competition and individualism that awaits him in the heart of capitalist America.

In Mexico, Enrique and Rosa are befriended by a fellow traveller who offers his services as a guide to take them across the border. He attempts (and fails) to rob them of their money. The ensuing scuffle attracts the attention of the Border Patrol guards who apprehend Enrique and Rosa and take them in for questioning. They are sent back to Tijuana, described by one would-be immigrant as: 'the shit-hole of the world'. With the help of a friend of a *campesino* from their home village, they plan another strategy. Needing

⁵⁹ Stavros' destiny, as Neve suggests, is established through the journey's right of passage: '[he] has killed, lied and whored to get across [to America]. He has lost his innocence – including his innocence about America – and in the same process he has discovered the path to American success. He will not stay long shining shoes' (Neve 1987: 68).

to raise a hundred dollars to pay their accomplice, Rosa is forced to sell a silver necklace that belonged to her mother, another symbolic surrendering of home. Rosa and Enrique are taken to the mouth of a sewer pipe that passes beneath the US-Mexican border. Climbing reluctantly inside they start the long crawl through the rat-infested pipe. When they finally emerge on the other side they can see San Diego: they have arrived in 'El Norte' – California.

The anthropologist Michael Kearney, whose ethnographic research was conducted along the US-Mexican border, argues that the policing activities of the US Border Patrol authorities are not intended to prevent the entry of migrants seeking work in the United States, but 'instead are part of a number of ways of disciplining them to work hard and accept low wages' (1991: 61; Zilberg 1998: 202). Crawling through the sewer pipe and dodging the surveillance helicopter as they emerge at the other end, Rosa and Enrique's journey can thus be interpreted as as much a processual induction into the exploitative class structures of a late capitalist economy as that experienced by Stavros several generations before in an age of industrial capitalism and migrant labour arriving from Europe. The implied success and social mobility of the latter stands in marked contrast to the fate of those arriving from the south in post-industrial geographies of contemporary migration.

Both journeys then can be looked upon as rites of passage. In the case of *El Norte*, the liminal, transnational space of the sewer pipe not only highlights the processual nature of 'border crossings' between real and imagined spaces of difference and economic disparity, but also functions as a (somewhat overly-determined) symbol of salutary inversion and neophytic debasement.⁶⁰ From Tijuana they are forced to crawl, like vermin, through the 'shit-hole of the world' before they can claim their entitlement as would-be Americans. Similarly, in *America, America*, Stavros' unwavering ambition and determination to reach the promised land leads to a moment of critical self-examination, prompting the confession: 'I believe that in America I will be washed clean'. Passing through the 'in-between' spaces of transition and moral inversion, Stavros, like Rosa and Enrique, becomes soiled and corrupted in the dogged pursuit of his goal. Only the prospect of his reincorporation into the societal and juridical structures of place and identity – the long-sought-for bestowal of US citizenship – can offer the hope of redemption. When he finally disembarks at Ellis Island, sacramental rites of renewal pronounce the arrival of the all-American Joe Arness: 'Well Joe,' an immigration officer tells him, 'you're reborn. You're baptised again and without the

⁶⁰ According to Arnold Van Gennep's theory of *rites de passage*, the temporal (and often spatial) interstices between social and institutional structures which mark the transition from one stage of life to the next become ritualised in ceremonies and practices in which normative behavioural expectations are suspended or reversed. The initiates undergoing such rituals pass through three stages: the rite of separation, the marginal state (*rite de marge*), and the rite of aggregation or reincorporation (Van Gennep 1960; see also Turner 1969).

benefit of the clergy'. Leaving his luggage, and his former self, behind (an early installation, perhaps, in the Great Hall's symbolic wall of luggage) Joe steps triumphantly through the gateway to 'freedom'.⁶¹

The religious symbolism here adds a further dimension to the notion of a 'biblical precedent' informing contemporary representations of migrants and refugees. But whereas Stavros/Joe is able to purge himself of his corruption and is born again as an American citizen, for Enrique and Rosa the canker remains, killing Rosa and condemning Enrique to the sullied margins of bourgeois America.

There are other parallels that could be drawn between *America*, *America* and *El Norte*,⁶² however, despite their similarities, taken together the films illustrate the disparities of fate between early and more recent 'journeys of hope'. The changing social, political and economic circumstances informing these journeys are reflected in part by the shifting tropes and geographies of the 'horizon' in each film. Like *Journey of Hope*, *El Norte* ends by reversing the utopic gaze of earlier migrations and by revealing its spaces of hope to be false, or 'lost' horizons. Yet although they are ostensibly sympathetic in their treatment of the migrant protagonists, it could nevertheless be argued that these more recent examples of the migrant film function as 'cautionary tales', whereby their avowedly humanitarian stance serves less as a critique than as a defence of stricter border controls, by reinforcing the notion that such measures will act as disincentives to those willing to put themselves at the mercy of people traffickers and to embark on such perilous and foolhardy journeys. As such these films could also be said to serve the interests of those pushing for a more conservative, anti-immigration agenda in a similar fashion to early (im)migration films such as *The Italian* (see section 3.2).

In the final section of this chapter I examine more closely the idea of lost horizons by considering the examples of *Journey of Hope* and Schroeder's *La Vallée*, two films which, in their different ways, highlight the growing disparities between real and imagined geographies of *eutopia* and *outopia*, 'good place' and 'no-place'; disparities which, as I go on to argue in Chapter 4, are increasingly reflected in the material spatialities of 'place' and 'non-place' that are shaping cinematic geographies of travel and migration.

⁶¹ In director Frank Darabont's adaptation of Stephen King's novel *The Shawshank Redemption* (1994) a convict escapes from a brutal and dehumanising penal institution by climbing on his hands and knees through a sewage outflow pipe. His rite of passage towards freedom and redemption echoes, both directly and thematically, the migrant experiences recounted in Kazan and Nava's films.

⁶² For example, in both films the flight, or ongoing flight of the would-be Americans results from the break-up of an illicit meeting of political dissidents and revolutionaries with whom they are linked, groups who are subsequently massacred by their respective oppressors; also, in both films the 'postcard' impressions of the promised land are gleaned from the glossy pages of American lifestyle magazines.

3.4 Lost Horizons

‘Don’t you ever want to see what’s on the other side of the hill?’

‘What could there be, except another hill?’

(From *Lost Horizon*, Frank Capra, 1937)

Adapted from James Hilton’s novel published in 1933, Capra’s *Lost Horizon* tells the story of a group of Western air passengers who are hijacked fleeing war-torn China in 1935, and are taken to Shangri-la, a utopian paradise located in a secret, ‘uncharted’ valley in the Tibetan Himalayas. Led by the British diplomat, Robert Conway (‘England’s “Man of the East”’), the group discover a world of peace and longevity, far removed from that which they’ve left behind. Brought to Shangri-la to take over from the High Lama, Father Perrault (the 330-year-old Belgian priest and founder of Shangri-la), Conway, a visionary and romantic, soon becomes reconciled to the idea of remaining in the valley. His brother George is more sceptical and negative. For him, the alleged utopia represents merely another of many hills to be climbed. Determined to leave, he eventually persuades his reluctant brother to join him. Robert Conway is the sole survivor of this fateful journey back to ‘civilisation’ and is last heard of desperately trying to find his way back to the lost valley of Shangri-la. The film ends with Conway struggling through wind and snow until once more he sees the mountain pass that marks his return to Paradise.

Made in the height of the Great Depression, Capra’s utopian fantasy is a world away from the dustbowl America of *The Grapes of Wrath*. Indeed, the escapist appeal of films such as *Lost Horizon* given the wider social circumstances is hardly surprising. No less a factor, as Hutt notes in his study of Hilton’s novel, is the popular and literary antecedence of such myths in the Western imagination: ‘Many Europeans before Hilton had entertained the fantasy of a paradise beyond the world’s highest mountains, fuelled perhaps by apocryphal stories of “lost valleys” where people lived to an enormous age’ (1996: 51).⁶³ A more recent variation on this myth is presented in Barbet Schroeder’s 1972 film, *La Vallée (The Valley)*,

⁶³ Similar myths and legends can be found across cultural and literary traditions. Typically these recount the quest for a lost paradise – an island or valley (often shrouded in mist) – which, once discovered, can never be returned to, except in death. An Irish legend tells the story of Saint Brendan, a sixth-century monk who, with his companions, goes in search of the Promised Land of the Saints. At the end of their seven-year journey they arrive at a fog-encircled island of light and fruit and precious stones. After forty days, a young boy tells Brendan he must leave, promising him that he will return to the island paradise only upon his death (Lecoq and Schaer 2000: 52-3). In ‘The Well in the Peach Blossom Forest’, a Chinese fairytale by Tao Yuan-Ming, a fisherman travels upstream in an unfamiliar landscape and discovers a great forest aglow with peach blossoms. Travelling further on to the edge of the forest he reaches a mountain from which the river flows. A narrow entrance in the mountain leads to a beautiful and fertile landscape spread out before him, where ‘[m]en and women sowed the fields...[and c]hildren and old folk were peaceful and serene in what they were

also known as *Obscured By Clouds*, from the title of the soundtrack album by the rock group Pink Floyd). Like Capra's utopian odyssey, this *Lost Horizon* for the hippie generation is based around the myth of a lost, timeless Paradise, hidden from the world in a remote mountain valley.

Along with other (French) films of the period, such as *Les chemins de Katmandou* (*The Road to Kathmandu*, André Cayatte, 1969), the thematic content of *La Vallée* draws on the experiences of those embarked on the counter-cultural migrations of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The travels of artists, poets and hippies to exotic and 'pre-modern' destinations during this period reflected a wider sense of disenchantment with Western capitalist-modernity felt by many of its then emergent middle class. Ideas of tradition, authenticity and *gemeinschaft* community suggested by mythical notions of 'the East' and other orientalist constructions, fuelled the quest for the lost, idealised horizons promised by these occidental destination myths (cf. Said 1978; Selwyn 1996). In an age of travel in which ideas of the 'authentic' and 'traditional' had yet to succumb to the consumerist simulacra of postmodern semiotics, such journeys could in many respects be said to represent the last gasp of utopian frontiersmanship in the modernist practices of the Western traveller/tourist and explorer; a fact which *La Vallée* appears to hint at in the implied (and muddled) ambiguity of its ending.

The film is set in Papua New Guinea and centres around a group of French hippies who are planning an expedition in search of a mythical valley 'obscured by clouds'. Following a chance encounter with Olivier, one of the hippies, Viviane, the bored wife of a French diplomat (played by Bulle Ogier),⁶⁴ is invited to join the expedition part of the way to seek out traders of exotic feathers for her export business. The expedition is funded by the idealist and mystic, Gaetan, who, having recently inherited an unspecified sum of money, is the driving force and inspiration behind the project.

In my analysis of both *La Vallée* and *Journey of Hope*, I have broken down the narrative structure of the films to two thematic areas so as to maintain the focus of enquiry on the discussion at hand. Examining their respective cinematic geographies of 'Hope' and 'The Fall', I map, on the one hand, the spatial correspondence between each film's

doing'. Eventually the fisherman returns home and reports the news of his discovery, but no one is ever able to find the valley again (Wilhelm 1985: 142-3).

⁶⁴ Another film made in 1972 featuring the *Nouvelle Vague* stalwart, Bulle Ogier was Luis Buñuel's *Le Charme discret de la bourgeoisie* (*The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie*), prompting one to imagine what treatment Buñuel might have meted out towards *La Vallée*'s migrant bourgeoisie had he, rather than Schroeder, been behind the camera. In the hands of the director of *Las Hurdes* (*Land Without Bread*, 1933), a satirical take on the travelogue and ethnographic documentary, *La Vallée* would have provided a wealth of ammunition for a Buñuelian assault on the mystical idealism and self-indulgence of the errant middle classes.

representations of utopic dis/placement and the real and imagined spaces of ‘arrival’, and, on the other, the fate of the utopic gaze in ‘post-classical’ discourses of migrant practice.

Hope

All utopias, as Cosgrove observes, require some form of mapping: ‘their social order depends upon and generates a spatial order which reorganises and improves upon existing models’ (1999: 15-16). Such a spatial order is no more immune to the historicity of its formal composition than that of the social order from which it is generated. This dialectical interplay between the spatial and social is well illustrated in Danny Boyle’s *The Beach* (2000), based on Alex Garland’s best-selling novel of the same name (1997). In the film, a backpacker newly arrived in Bangkok is given a map to a utopian beach community ‘off the map’ of the hitherto established tourist gaze. Unsullied by the vulgar trappings of modernity, this image of paradise appears to offer an (albeit temporary) refuge from the more contested and complex realities of lived space. Inevitably, though, like all utopias it proves to be a vision that cannot be sustained. What is notable in this example is that the very form that creates and provisionally sustains this vision (the map) is itself a determinant factor in the community’s eventual ‘fall’ from paradise. Carelessly, a copy of the map is made and allowed to enter general circulation, thereby compromising the control of its own territory through the somewhat more dystopic chain of events precipitated by the ensuing arrivals.

In *La Vallée* and *Journey of Hope*, the role of the ‘map’ in their respective constructions of utopia proves no less central, although, as these examples show, the contrast between the empty space of the former and the semantic plenitude of the latter reveals markedly different utopics of ‘hope’.

As discussed above, in *Journey of Hope* Haydar’s decision to uproot his wife, Meryem, and their seven-year-old son, Mehmet Ali, is inspired by the arrival of a postcard from his cousin Cemal who has recently emigrated to Switzerland. The image is an idyllic, ‘typical’ Swiss mountain landscape, with a homely-looking herdsman’s chalet in the foreground of the picture. Together, Haydar and Mehmet Ali read the message on the back:

Dear Haydar. We arrived safely. Müslüm and his wife have work. We’ll get some soon. It’s true, it’s Paradise. Butter would flow from the udders of your goats. Your yoghurt would be firm like ice cream from Maras. Once you cross the mountains, you’re OK. Cemal.

Excited by the prospect of their journey, Mehmet Ali shows the postcard to one of the goats: ‘Uncle Cemal says this grass makes butter flow from your udder’, he tells the animal, ‘This could be your stable’. The boy then tries to feed it the postcard, as if the image itself could

provide the totemic bounty suggested by its referent. The goat nibbles away at the corner of the postcard.

Haydar's father is dismissive of his son's expectations for the new land, telling him that he is filling his kids' heads with rubbish. Undeterred, Haydar sets off for market to sell his cows. Upon his return to the village, Haydar sees a rainbow, yet this portent of hope is tempered by the more ominous rumble of thunder in the distance.

Their preparations complete, Haydar and Mehmet Ali sit in the shade of a tree and look longingly at their 'map' of *eutopia* in the form of the Swiss mountain landscape. Haydar's other children gather around, and together they share this vision of hope. Following their gaze, the camera zooms in until the image completely fills the frame (Figure 3.5). A corner of the postcard has been chewed away by the goat. With it has gone the



Figure 3.5: Postcard from *eutopia* in *Journey of Hope*

mountain chalet, a further portentous sign of the destiny that awaits them beyond the mountains. The image cuts to a coach speeding along a main road in the pale blue light of dawn: the journey is underway.

In a parallel scene from *La Vallée*, Viviane and the four hippies gather around a map of Papua New Guinea showing the location of the hidden valley. Like Capra's *Shangri-la*, the valley is represented by a blank spot on the map. It is *terra incognita*, an unexplored zone lying beyond the gaze of Western panoptic regimes of 'power-knowledge' (Corner 1999: 218): 'It's there. It's not on the map; it's as if it didn't exist, but it does exist', Gaetan explains. 'Your valley must have been seen from planes', Viviane replies. A close up of the map reveals a landscape with an oval-shaped blank space marked on the map as 'obscured by cloud' (see Figure 3.6). 'You can't see it', says Gaetan, 'It's shrouded in mist'.

Blank spaces on the map, in the context of both *Lost Horizon* and *La Vallée*, convey a certain anxiety and disquiet felt towards the home or ‘known’ environment, and hint at the foundering, or at best, the questioning of a modernist vision and teleology:

Failure to frame a land mass, or of mapped territory fully to occupy the map’s boundary lines, as in the seventeenth-century maps of Van Diemen’s Land, speak of failures of vision and knowledge, of the uncertainty implied by the *peripateia* – the meandering, linear progress whose trace may disappear into trackless space. ‘Blank’ spaces within the frame also generate and reflect aesthetic and epistemological anxiety, they are thus the favoured space of cartouches, scales, keys and other technical, textual or decorative devices which thereby become active elements within the mapping process. (Cosgrove 1999: 10)



Figure 3.6: Obscured by clouds: mapping *outopia* in *La Vallée*

In the hippies’ Rousseauesque and primitivist odyssey back from knowledge, the textual marker ‘obscured by clouds’ becomes an ‘active’ *eutopia* (or *outopia*) by the very fact that it *does* represent a failure of vision and knowledge; its trackless space holds out the promise of an authentic, utopian existence as yet untainted by the Enlightenment gaze of the ‘decadent West’.

In a review of Michael Winterbottom’s *In This World* (UK, 2002), a migrant travelogue tracing the overland journey of an Afghan refugee seeking asylum in Britain, it was argued that the film ‘plays as much like a western backpackers trip (from the postmodern west to the “authentic” wilderness) told backwards as a dramatisation of one boy’s Odyssey representing those of thousands’ (*Sight and Sound*, April 2003: 17). In drawing attention to the ambivalent trajectories of utopic spatial practice this observation raises salient concerns. As we saw in section 3.1, the ‘ambivalence’ of travel narratives can both mask and reveal the material and ideological circumstances surrounding individual experiences of travel and migration. The countervailing trajectories of *La Vallée* and *Journey of Hope* reinforce such concerns and raise the spectre of class in relation to the

substance (or lack of it) behind their respective visions of *eutopia*. The hippies' journey, despite their protestations about the 'decadent West', amounts to little more than a neo-colonialist adventure in what has become, like many other exoticised 'pre-modern' destinations, largely the preserve of the bourgeois traveller or (eco)tourist.⁶⁵ Funded by Gaetan's inheritance, their 'expedition' – or 'Journey to the Centre of a Cliché', as one critic described the film (*Time Out Film Guide*, 2001: 1178) – represents the 'dropping out' and renouncing of the very society that continues to provide them with the resources to do so.

For those less blessed with the requisite cultural or economic capital, and for whom 'dropping in' let alone 'dropping out' remains an unlikely prospect, the routes of travel and migration in this context represent the post-colonial confluence of material spatial practices in which the borders to 'utopia' are not so much mystical and ideational as real contested spaces of social, cultural and political friction. In *Journey of Hope*, despite Haydar's naive faith in his journey's deliverance he is nevertheless cognisant of the realities that await him as an illegal immigrant arriving in Switzerland. Yet even the prospect of low-paid (or no) work, poor housing, and racial discrimination does not sully his long-awaited vision of hope.

Shying away from the more political and contentious issues surrounding asylum and immigration, it is only at the end of *Journey of Hope*, in a brief exchange between a doctor who is treating the migrants and an immigration officer who would rather they be sent straight back, that Koller comes anywhere near to critically engaging with these debates. Moreover, the director's apolitical approach towards his subject matter has left him open to the charge of complicity in the Turkish government's continued oppression and marginalisation of its minority Kurdish population. Despite the fact that the family on which the story was based were Kurds, Koller neither acknowledged their minority status in the film, nor thought to question whether his use of Turkish dialogue was anything other than appropriate (Kermode 1991: 21).⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Common to both backpacker and migrant itineraries are the notion of trails and routes established by previous travellers. In the case of the former, word of mouth and, more crucially, guide books such as the *Lonely Planet* or *Rough Guide* series are key determinants of these tourist/traveller geographies. For migrants such as Haydar, the reports of those who have already made the journey, like his cousin Cemal, play a central role in shaping specific migrant routes. Due to the tightening-up of immigration laws in recent decades, however, 'chain migration' is no longer as widespread a practice as it was in the early part of the twentieth century. As Papastergiadis notes, '[pre-World War II] chain migration... depended on the authority and enthusiasm in the reports of life in the New World from friends and family members. They would not only pass on practical information for securing the passage, but also provide loans for the journey and assistance in resettlement. In this way, whole villages would often follow the path of one migrant' (2000: 29).

⁶⁶ His defence of this decision was that when he shot the film, the Kurdish language did not officially exist in Turkey, and he was forbidden to use it (Kermode 1991: 21). Koller's justification seems to have genuinely missed the point as to why or how the Kurdish language does not 'officially' exist, and why film and other forms of cultural expression have political implications, irrespective of authorial disclaimers of ideological intent.

Choosing not to identify the film with the plight of specific groups and cultures, Koller's liberal-humanist stance adopts the theme of migration to examine the more general experiences of those forced to move in an increasingly restless and 'turbulent' (Papastergiadis 2000) world, and also to map out his own (arguably no less naive) 'hope' of cultural and racial harmony that underpins his idealistic brand of multicultural humanism:

My motive is basically humanistic, and if there is a message in my film it is that I wish people to be more open in their hearts and minds towards people of other languages, other nationalities, other skin colours... If we go closer we will lose our fear and become friends... and we will also change ourselves. I like people to be together. I know it's a simple sentiment, but it's a starting point. (Quoted in Kermode 1991: 21)

Koller's hope is expressed through the family's relationship with Ramser, the Swiss truck driver who drives them to Milan, and who later visits Haydar in prison ('I'd have liked to have been your friend', Haydar tells him in the final scene), and through the camaraderie of the travellers (at Milan Station they meet a fellow migrant who, suitcase in hand, introduces himself with the words 'Exile brings people closer'). These examples aside, the other encounters on their journey belie any such hope; refused entry on their first attempt to cross the border, the migrants are forced to rely on the services of a group of unscrupulous mafiosi traffickers. Haydar hands over all his money to fund their passage, and is asked to sign away fifty per cent of the wages he will earn from a job the traffickers have lined up for him in Switzerland. Together with other migrants and refugees, the family are driven up into the mountains where they are left to fend for themselves, their appointed guide having bailed out because of the dangerous weather conditions. 'Going up you're in Italy. Going down, it's Switzerland', they are told.

In *La Vallée* a brand of romantic humanism not dissimilar to that of Koller's (albeit more hallucinogen-induced and quasi-mystical in orientation) can be traced in the attitudes of the hippies towards the mountain tribespeople of Papua New Guinea.

In a review of *La Vallée* in an anthropological journal, the critic, although describing it as 'a silly, boring, freaked-out, commercial, neo-colonialist film', also concedes that it 'commits no positive cinematic outrages against the tribesmen, who are treated with distance and as much respect as the actors' narcissism and incuriosity make possible' (Benthall 1975: 9). The scenes involving the actors and the Mapuga tribespeople are mostly improvised, and from an ethnographic perspective, their (real) encounter and subsequent (albeit scripted) reflections on the part of the hippies/actors do at least provide both an early ethnographic example of the tourist/traveller encounter with the 'exotic other' (anticipating Dennis O'Rourke's 1987 Sepik River odyssey, *Cannibal Tours*) and an attempt to critically engage with some of the issues raised by such encounters.

The footage shot amongst the Mapuga shows the hippies interacting, seemingly harmoniously, with the natives as they prepare for, and participate in, a festival that brings together local tribes; a colourful, exuberant event replete with body adornment, dance, speeches honouring the guests, and ritual feasting in honour of the Mapuga's ancestors. Taking time out from the festivities, Olivier and Viviane sit and reflect on their 'discovery'. It soon becomes apparent that Olivier is harbouring doubts and misgivings as to realities behind their utopian vision:

Viviane: Olivier, isn't it wonderful? We've become so close to them. We're practically like them [...] I'm Happy. We've found truth, you know. [...]

Olivier: It's just the opposite. We're lying. Whatever Gaetan says, we're tourists here. [...] One can't forget one's past Viviane. It's not possible to undo your conditioning. Once it's lost, innocence can't be found again. Paradise is a place with many exits, but no entrance... There's no way back from knowledge. When you fall from grace, that's it. I wonder, to find it again, whether we shouldn't do just the opposite of what we've done...

In this latter-day *Lost Horizon*, the reservations expressed by Olivier (a more measured George Conway to Gaetan's Robert) do not precipitate his flight from *outopia/eutopia* back towards the West, as in Capra's film, but nevertheless raise the question as to whether hope is in fact better sought by reversing their odyssey – by seeking their 'utopia' in the world from which they've flown. Schroeder describes the hippies' quest as being 'spurred on by the need to seek out their origins' (quoted in National Film Theatre programme notes, 1995); a mythical journey where the routes of social and cultural differentiation lead back to the common 'cradle' of autochthonous humanity. Although sharing this vision, Olivier, like Cooper and Schoedsack before him, comes to the realisation that there is no turning back from knowledge, and that 'as travellers who still face to the westward', to quote from *Grass*, any glimpse of Paradise can only ever be that which is irretrievably Lost. Olivier's reverse 'awakening' thus marks the prelude to the expedition's inevitable fall.

The Fall

In the last push towards their respective goals, the travellers of *La Vallée* and *Journey of Hope* each set off in less than auspicious circumstances, the seeds of doubt and foreboding slowly beginning to eat away at their utopic visions. On learning of their fate at the hands of the traffickers, one of Haydar's fellow migrants angrily responds by shouting 'You were supposed to take us to Paradise'. Without a guide or map to assist them across the Alps, the prospect of failure – of paradise lost – confronts them for the very first time on their journey. Struggling up the Alpine foothills it is not long before they lose their way. As they

climb higher above the snow-line the going gets evermore difficult and hazardous; the mood evermore sombre.

In *La Vallée*, soon after the hippies set off on horseback on the last stage of their journey, they too come to suspect that they have taken the wrong path and head off in a different direction. Later, at camp, Gaetan surveys the mountainous jungle terrain that lies ahead. He decides to set the horses loose and to continue on foot. Climbing up through the dense jungle, fatigue and hunger begin to gnaw away at the explorers. As they struggle further on, a thick mist starts to envelop the group. Eventually they arrive at a mountain ridge and collapse with exhaustion. Removing their backpacks, they huddle together under blankets to keep warm. The camera pans left to take in the mist-covered mountains that surround them.

Descending from the mountains, the migrants and refugees spot a border post: Switzerland is finally within their sights. By now it is night and the weather has worsened. In the darkness Haydar and Mehmet Ali lose their way and end up wandering alone through the freezing snow. Meryem, meanwhile, has stumbled down with the others in her group to make their way towards the warm glow of civilisation. In a striking sequence, the wretched-looking vagabonds can be seen peering through the glass walls of a spa resort. Inside, reflected against the glass, a lone swimmer is oblivious to their presence. Hearing their banging, he looks up, clearly not expecting such an incongruous sight, but ignores their desperate pleas for refuge.

By the time Haydar and his son are found the next morning, Mehmet Ali has frozen to death. The grief-stricken father is charged with illegal crossing of the border and neglect of his child. A Turkish-speaking official who questions Haydar reads out the postcard from Cemal. Its idyllic image of a lush, sunny alpine landscape now seems cruelly at odds with the realities of arrival. Asked what made him come to Switzerland, Haydar simply replies, 'hope'.

For the hippie-adventurers, 'Paradise beyond the mountains' remains an *outopia* – a non-place of the imagination. Lacking the substantive form of Haydar's *eutopia*, the valley's *terra incognita* ultimately reveals the emptiness of vision that underpins this bourgeois odyssey into the unknown. The valley remains a 'blank spot on the map' precisely because its *outopia* cannot translate into material geographies of dis/placement. Although their quest clearly ends in failure and death, as Schroeder himself has suggested (National Film Theatre programme notes, 1995), the director nevertheless saw fit to cloak the ending in ambiguity, presumably to keep on board any like-minded 'fellow travellers' who still wished to identify with the aspirations and vision of their on-screen counterparts. This is done in such a perfunctory fashion, however, that any such cynical motivations seem barely concealed. Looking up and peering over the mountain ridge, Viviane looks out to

camera. Behind her the sun breaks through the rising mist. ‘The valley... I see it!’ she cries, as the Pink Floyd theme music starts to play. This cuts to a rear view of the hippies looking out over ‘the valley’ (with the sun now ahead of them!). Partly sharing their gaze, all we see is a rugged mountainous landscape stretching towards the horizon.

Such a conclusion replays the utopic ambiguities of hope which Capra’s equally irresolute narrative embodies in the Conway brothers: ‘Don’t you ever want to see what’s on the other side of the hill?’ ‘What could there be, except another hill?’ However, whatever critical or mystical interpretation we attach to the hippies’ persistent vision, Paradise is clearly a place that can only be entered through death. In this respect, *La Vallée* is ultimately the inheritor of a long cultural and religious tradition of quest literature that can be traced back to the Christian Middle Ages:

All the texts that recount voyages back to paradise – whether novelistic, dream-like, or metaphoric – end in failure in some way. Paradise, even for the best is merely glimpsed. Nothing can totally dissipate the fog or shadows that surround it, nor pierce the secrets of space and time. (Lecoq and Schaer 2000: 57)

No less an argument could also be made in support of a Christian interpretation of *Journey of Hope*. However, by focussing on the spatial utopics evident in each film I have sought to explore the disparities of vision between the real and imagined geographies of dis/placement which underpin their respective utopic practices. The idea of ‘lost horizons’ in this context is less a return to a paradise lost than a realisation that, unlike filmic examples of classical migration, it is in the process of arrival rather than departure that horizons are understood to be lost or absent. In the case of *La Vallée*, this conflation of presence and absence merely peters out into a wispy, ill-defined *eutopia* ‘obscured by clouds’. In *Journey of Hope*, on the other hand, non-places of the imagination become the conflated spaces of presence and absence constitutive of *material* geographies of the ‘non-place’: spaces of dis/placement and transitory inertia that have become an evermore-dominant feature of landscapes of contemporary migration, as I go on to discuss in the next chapter.

To recap: in the present chapter I have examined representations of migration in film, from early actualities to filmic narratives of classical migration. Drawing on Marin’s work on spatial utopics, I have explored the spatial play of horizons and frontiers, *eutopia* and *outopia* underpinning these journeys of hope. Predicated on distance, it is argued that the utopic gaze has opened up spaces of contradiction in which place and non-place, horizon and frontier are now increasingly conflated. This, I am suggesting, is a development which has given rise to new chronotopes of travel that map the altogether more complex and uncertain geographies of deterritorialisation and transnational space. It is these to which I now turn.

Chapter 4

FROM PLACE TO NON-PLACE

4.1 Re-orientations

The idea of progress, which implied an afterwards explainable in terms of what had gone before, has run aground, so to speak, on the shoals of the twentieth century, following the departure of the hopes or illusions that had accompanied the ocean crossing of the nineteenth. (Augé 1995: 24)

It is tempting at this juncture to posit an epochal axis of re-orientation in terms of the fate of the utopic gaze, in which its foundering on the shoals of the late twentieth century equates with some putative transition to an age, or condition, of post-modernity. We could argue the case, no doubt persuasively, that the ‘lost horizons’ of *La Vallée*’s intrepid and ill-fated pioneers symbolically narrate, post-1968, the beginnings of a gradual retreat from a politico-historical ‘utopianism of process’ (Harvey 2000), a long-belated valediction to ideologies of the ‘new world’, and a collapse, or at best, relativisation, of grand-narratives. Yet cloaked in its utopic guise (one of many), modernity, as one such ‘grand-narrative’, still casts its spell over vast swathes of the earth’s impoverished and dispossessed masses, conjuring up alluring vistas of organic sociality (Cemal’s postcard in *Journey of Hope*), within which are wrapped the more dystopic landscapes of urban and (post)industrial production. The dualities of home and displacement, utopia and dystopia, presence and absence, modernity and tradition as rehearsed, for example, in the ambivalent temporal trajectories of post-war modernist cinema can be shown, as I have argued, to be deeply ‘grounded’ in the geographical and ideological soil of the nation-state.⁶⁷ Breaking free from the mythopoeic circularity (and Lévi-Straussian timelessness)⁶⁸ of national-cultural dis/placement and home/lessness, a utopics of travel inscribes time, in all its sweeping and epic glory, across

⁶⁷ This grounded and rooted sense of place and nation has its epistemological parallel in the way ‘culture’ has traditionally been conceptualised in disciplines such as anthropology (see Clifford 1992; Malkki 1996). The privileging of ‘relations of dwelling over relations of travel’ (Clifford 1992: 97) in much of twentieth century ethnographic practice can arguably be applied with equal validity to post-war film production and criticism: ‘Various formulated investments in the static conditions of ‘home’, ‘dwelling’ and ‘origin’ have also marked film production in the postwar years in ways that are instructive for any consideration of *the moves* [i.e. ‘moving’ (travelling) images]’ (Welchman 1996: 346, emphasis in original).

⁶⁸ In this analysis myths serve as mediators of structural oppositions and contradictions. For Lévi-Strauss, the tension between these oppositions is ‘played out’ in a way that is analogous to a musical score. Myth and music function as ‘machines for the suppression of time’ (Lévi-Strauss in Leach 1970: 115) in that the diachronic movement of the musical score, like that of the mythic-ideological travel narrative, if taken in isolation, conceals the a-temporal, synchronic relations of its compositional elements (in terms of travel these may take the form of self-other, rural-urban, tradition-modernity, etc.). Historicity is thus surrendered to mythic time: ‘mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions toward their resolution’ (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 221).

trans-national spatialities of hope. History, whether collective, national or individual can be measured in the spatial practices of travellers, ‘migrant-explorers’ and refugees whose very movement connotes a critique and flight from the ‘here and now’. Whether or not this still accords (if it ever did) with a totalising vision of historical progress is a question which obscures the more important concerns raised in respect of the shifting temporal geographies of the ‘horizon’, and how these may impinge upon, or be reflected in, filmic landscapes of (post)modern travel and displacement.

Outside the fashionable, metropolitan, and largely ethnocentric obituaries on Historical form and the temporal linearity of ‘hope’, the utopic imagination, if not exactly in rude health, can at least be said to have not faded from view. We need look no further than the later films of Theo Angelopoulos (see sections 4.4. and 4.5) to re-awaken the spirit and gaze of the Tomaso Di Savoia in *A Trip to Brazil*; we could perhaps inversely map the *eutopia* of ‘Kilburn High Road’ fashioned in the mind of Jamal, the young Afghan refugee who embarks on an epic overland journey to Britain in Michael Winterbottom’s *In This World*; or we might contemplate the painting which Tanya’s Russian asylum seeker carries with her on her quest for Elsewhere in Pawel Pawlikowski’s *Last Resort* (see sections 4.3 – 4.5), a naive art depiction of an ark, perhaps *the* archetypal image of escape, refuge and hope. In these fragmentary horizons of utopic spatial practice, broken off, like flotsam, from the ideological certitudes of modernist epistemologies, or, more specifically given the examples cited, from the geo-political certitudes of cold war ideologies, we can begin to detect the movements of a new, more chaotic dialectic, no longer, as Lefebvre has shown, attached to temporality and historicity but one which requires greater recognition of the emergent contradictions of space (1976: 17). History, as the later films of Angelopoulos demonstrate, is more and more experienced as nostalgia, ‘as a *horizon* fast disappearing behind us’ (Lefebvre 1991: 51, emphasis added), with no obvious complementary ‘horizon’ *towards* which the utopic gaze might otherwise be directed. Whether as a consequence or contributory factor of this temporal anxiety, the focus has shifted to a more problematised, processual understanding of space, a concept which, as Foucault observed in the mid-1970s, had hitherto been treated as ‘the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile’ (1980: 70).⁶⁹

In the wake of Lefebvre’s seminal influence in this field theorists such as Soja, Harvey and Jameson have shown little reticence in attributing this spatial turn to the general condition of postmodernity. While it is certainly misguided to deny many of the unquestionably unprecedented social, historical and cultural developments to which these and other writers have drawn our attention, it is no less the case that this form of epochal

⁶⁹ See Chapter 1.4 for a more detailed elaboration of these debates.

prefixion, like the other much-touted ‘posts’ of our age, such as ‘post-colonial’, ‘post-national’ or ‘post-ideological’, can run the risk of distracting attention away from any on-going structural continuities with the former historical or discursive regime.

It is less the ‘end of history’ that is at stake here, than its acceleration and immanence within contemporary structures of a heightened, or ‘super’-modernity (Augé 1995) – a case of ‘history snapping at our heels’, as Augé puts it (ibid: 30). In this analysis, temporal anxiety can be attributed to an overabundance of events in an increasingly shrinking and contemporaneous global totality, rather than to ‘the collapse of an idea of progress which... has been in a bad way for a long time’ (ibid). Key to this is the question of distance, or, indeed, in experiential terms, the lack of it. Horizons presuppose a distance in space and time from which bearings are taken, and orientations mapped. If we consider this in relation to practices of migration, the epic and historic sweep of the utopic horizons mapped in *The Emigrants* or *America, America*, for example, chart an era of optimism and classical migration long since passed. In a contemporary context there has more latterly arisen the need

to redefine the conceptual language of migration. The structures for movement and the possibilities for settlement are more precarious and unstable. The migrant’s dream of starting a ‘new life’ in a ‘new country’ now sounds strangely distant and anachronistic. There is no ‘new frontier land’ in which these fantasies can be staged, and the capitalist projects which stimulated these adventures are now in a state of dispersal and reversal. The semiotics of global capital are framed by concepts of ‘decentralization’, ‘flexibility’, ‘outsourcing’, and ‘contractualization’. The master concept is the ‘circuit’. *Distance is no longer a key factor on the circuit. Time has overtaken the significance of space.* (Papastergiadis 2000: 95-6, emphasis added)

Paradoxically, the overabundance of events and contemporaneous worlds by which spatial horizons are rendered increasingly obsolete are, in the post-industrial context of much contemporary migration, not just a case of time’s supremacy over space in its capacity to determine, through ever faster modes of exchange, the nature of late capitalist geographies, but also of an unprecedented *surrender* of time (as an existential and social entity) to the abstract yet ‘concrete’ spaces of flow and transit, such as borders, frontiers and non-places of waiting and passage in and through which migrants and other human traffic are processed. In these material geographies of social or lived space, the question of time is reformulated as one of *agency*: of stasis and transition.

Much has been made of the *heterotopic* nature of postmodern spatiality: the simultaneity of multiple space-times, in which landscapes are ‘travelled’ *in situ*. Yet often in these analyses the processual nature of space, and its formal structures of social

(re)production and differentiation become lost in a rush to extend spatial simultaneity to the conceptual ‘landscapes’ and dichotomies of theoretical discourse. Soja, for example, adopts Borges’ model of the ‘Aleph’ as one such vision of heterotopia in which, he claims, ultimately *everything* comes together: ‘subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined... structure and agency, mind and body’ (1996: 56).⁷⁰ Soja’s attempt to chart the postmodern geographies of Aleph/Thirdspace chronotopicality, somewhat ironically given the dynamic, Lefebvre-inspired understanding of space which he calls for, renders space curiously static in terms of its composite social and dialectical fabric. Thirdspace (unlike Lefebvre’s concept of *espace vécu*, or lived space upon which it is fashioned) becomes little more than a conceptual synthesis, or negation, of dualistic epistemologies of ‘objectivist-materialist’ and ‘subjectivist-idealist’ (or Firstspace and Secondspace) spatial practice (ibid: 62): a real *and* imagined space into which complexity and contradiction are ushered, but only at the cost of a corresponding neutering of conceptual form in the contained indeterminacy of Thirdspace’s universal simultaneity. As a consequence of this, time becomes a symptom of space only to the extent that it succumbs to an ontological *a priori*: ‘the fundamental *spatiality* of social life’ (Soja 1989: 137, emphasis added), rather than stemming from an overabundance of events in the contemporary world and the collapse of spatio-temporal distances; developments which are concomitant to the growth in communications technology, global capital markets, rapid modes of transport, and their proliferating (abstract) spaces of transit, circulation and process.

By situating postmodern geographies in terms of an ontological shift towards a ‘spatiality of being’ (ibid), Soja overlooks the lingering, all-pervasive *intensity* of the modern in its capacity to shape, determine and reflect our everyday experience. Time has become not merely reflective, to be mobilised across spatial palimpsests of nostalgia and memory, but concretised in bureaucratic structures of spatial practice from which it ceaselessly tries to extricate itself. Glimpsed in the fragments of utopic hope which can be found in the clamorous, diasporic spaces of travelling cultures, time both frustrates and facilitates the forward movement of narratives, identities and material spatial practices. Structure and agency do not meet here in silence to cancel each other out, as Soja’s Thirdspace infers, but rather square off with as much a sense of urgency as ever. This is not to propose a return to static binaries of outmoded sociological analysis, but to acknowledge, post-Lefebvre, that the movement and fixity of the social lies in the particularities and dynamics of the spatial. The question of agency in this regard can be shown to be a central

⁷⁰ In Borges’ short story, the Aleph is a point in space, little more than an inch in diameter, that contains all other points seen from every angle of the universe (Borges 1971).

factor in the cinematic geography of recent travel narratives, as the examples discussed throughout this chapter will set out to demonstrate.

In the spatial logic of ‘classical’ utopic travel, presence and absence are ‘stretched’ across cinematic topographies of hope and displacement. The locus of the ‘neutral’ which Marin designates as the ‘impossible space’ between *eutopia* and *outopia* is a textual topos of utopian form: a space where horizon and frontier are destined to confront each other only in the contingent geographies of social space (e.g. the Eiffel Tower or Ellis Island as ‘gateways’ to, respectively, French nationhood or the ‘New World’ – see Chapter 3). In this chapter I propose to explore the extent to which the utopic gaze has more latterly fashioned the conflation of presence and absence in the spatial simultaneity of the non-place (or, in more oblique terms, the extent to which the ‘space-travel’ of the (*e*)*utopic* journey has given way to the ‘time-travel’ of the (*o*)*utopic* ellipsis). The intention here is not to uphold a Thirdspace conception of heterotopic postmodern spatiality, but rather to propose an idea of space and place in which the *outopia* (no-place) of the traveller’s gaze has come to assume concrete dimensions in the real non-places of transit, passage and refuge that have been given form in the re-constituted chronotopes of contemporary travel films. Foucault defines utopias as ‘sites of no real place...[with] a direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society’ (1986: 24). The non-place, by contrast, ‘is the opposite of utopia: it exists, and it does not contain any organic society’ (Augé 1995: 111-112). This double-play between imaginary, organic *outopias* and concrete, ‘empty’ non-places, their etymological counterpart, opens up an as yet untapped area of enquiry pertaining to space, place and the travel narrative which this chapter sets out to explore.

Inextricably linked to this area of enquiry remains the vexed question of home. Whether politically, culturally, or geographically adduced, ‘home’ is a concept which, as Van den Abbeele has demonstrated, constitutes a point, or *oikos*, of orientation from which any discussion of travel cannot but remain conceptually tied. Indeed, for Van den Abbeele, home is the very antithesis of travel (1992: xviii), implying a dialectical configuration between movement and fixity, travel and dwelling: ‘The travel narrative is... one in which the transgression of losing or leaving the home is mediated by a movement that attempts to fill the gap of that loss through a spatialization of time’ (ibid: xix). This spatialisation of time, as I have argued in previous chapters, can take the form of a mythic, ideological travel discourse in which home ultimately remains a centre of return: an *oikos* from which ‘the other’ is invoked across temporal boundaries (traditional/modern, progressive/archaic, enlightened/primitive). Travel films embodying what I have termed a ‘Ulyssean gaze’ can thus be said to centre discourses of identity and place (national, imperial, cultural, etc.) through a mediative conjunction of home and away, self and other. Absence and loss vie with presence and acquisition through strategies of conquest, reclamation and dis/placement

from which the circularity of 'home' becomes entrenched and contained. The homecoming Ulysses thus remains forever at sea while, paradoxically, never venturing beyond the natal *domus* of ordinary Being.⁷¹

Cinematically, such circularity is written into the formal properties of a medium whose subject – and gaze – have, at least provisionally, remained discursively 'fixed', whether in terms of gender subjectivities (Mulvey 1975; Kaplan 1997), the imperial imaginary (Shohat and Stam 1994), or the mobile, panoramic gaze of early film 'views' (Friedberg 1993; Bruno 1993; Gunning 1997). Moreover, the spatialisation of time which is set in motion through the traveller's circular gaze is no less a product of that which, through the formal specificity of the 'movement-image' links temporality, in all its raw, phenomenological immediacy of duration, to the framing, segmentation and contiguity of space intrinsic to classical film aesthetics. Its reversal – the temporalisation of space – represents, in the form of the Deleuzian 'time-image', an altogether different form of mobility: one in which cinematic space plays host to travels in time (Deleuze 1986, 1989).

This introduces a formal dimension to cinematic travel which I have not touched upon thus far. At this juncture I merely wish to consider how orientations of 'home' – i.e. as 'sites' (or sights) of organic connection and return – can attach themselves to discursive travels through 'pure time' as much as those that are measured and constructed through movements in space. Deleuze's thoughts in this regard stem from his argument that the post-war 'time-image' inaugurated a break from the rational, segmented duration of time characteristic of classical film semiotics of the movement-image, towards a fragmented and disconnected temporality in which duration becomes detached from the spatial logic of the sensory-motor system and from a chronology conceived in terms of a linear continuum. Deleuze develops these ideas principally in relation to the films of the Italian neo-realists and to the 'empty', disconnected spaces of duration typical of modernist filmmakers such as Antonioni. A film which Deleuze does not discuss in his two cinema books, but which is in many ways exemplary of this shift towards direct images of time in post-war cinema, is Chris Marker's short film and *photo-roman*, *La Jetée* (1962).

⁷¹ Writers such as Bruno (after Van den Abbeele) have explored the implications of this circularity in terms of gender constructions of home (as *domus* – the domestic) and travel: 'Conceived as a circular structure, the metaphor of travel locks gender into a frozen, binary opposition and offers the same static view of identity. Travel as metaphor involves a voyage of the self, a search for identity through a series of cultural identifications. If such travel is simply conceived as a return to sameness, or nostalgia for the loss of sameness – the home of identity or the identity of home – *domus*, domesticity, and domestication continue to be confused and gendered feminine... When seen as both point of departure and destination, and gendered female, the *domus* represents one's origins: the womb from which one originates and to which one wishes to return' (2002: 85-86; Van den Abbeele 1992: xxv).

Although it is not my intention here to rehearse the already extensive analysis afforded to this classic and seminal film, *La Jetée* nevertheless warrants brief attention in the present context by virtue of its explicit interrogation of time, memory, and images of stasis (Kawin 1982). The film's title refers to the 'jetty' or pier at Orly airport serving Paris where a young boy witnesses a murder at some unspecified point in the future (before the outbreak of World War III). It is a 'place' to which, as an adult, he is destined to return in his memory of the event through the image of a young woman's face who also witnessed the murder; an image that has continued to haunt him since his childhood and which serves as a 'gateway' into the past in a post-war scientific experiment in 'time travel' in which he is called upon to act as a guinea pig. Following the devastation and annihilation of geographical space wrought by the war, its survivors are forced underground from where, in bunkers controlled by an orthodoxy of scientists and bureaucrats, the only 'movement' or travel that is possible is that conducted through time and memory. Fittingly almost all the shots in the film are still images from which all movement has been drained. Captivated by the memory of the woman's face, the film's central protagonist travels back in time to real and imagined moments of encounter with this virtual – and static – embodiment of personal memory. Satisfied with the outcome of these experiments, the scientists decide that their guinea pig is ready to be sent into the future in order to retrieve the knowledge and resources by which civilisation can once again flourish in the present. Once 'there', however, the time-traveller opts to return to the past – to the moment at Orly airport when he witnessed the murder and first caught sight of the woman's face. As he runs along the jetty to join the woman, an assassin who has followed the time-traveller back from the 'present' of the underground camps shoots and kills him. It is then that he realises that the murder he witnessed as a child was his own.

By detaching time from the spatial logic of the sensory-motor system, Marker collapses notions of time as linked to spatial extension (i.e. as spatio-temporal continuity and chronological duration) to that of temporal simultaneity (all events and historical moments potentially co-existing with the present) and spatial stasis. Commenting on *La Jetée*, Rodowick notes that

Once chronology is pulverized, time is fragmented like so many facets of a shattered crystal. The chronological continuum is flayed, shaving past, present, and future into distinct series, discontinuous and incommensurable. The narrative sections of the film are disconnected spaces, divided into blocks of time linked in a probabilistic manner... Time no longer derives from movement; 'aberrant' or eccentric movement derives from time. (1997: 4-5)

The 'place', or space of travel, in other words, becomes a non-place or any-space-whatever (Deleuze 1986: 109) of movement conceived of in terms of pure time: subjective,

phenomenological duration divorced from the actual geographical spaces of everyday experience.⁷² ‘Home’ becomes a virtual site of memory; a place of eventual return which the time-traveller accesses via the present, but which, as an image, or locus of stasis, necessitates the inevitable negation of experiential time: home (with its attendant inflections of subjectivity and agency) is ultimately a non-place of stasis reached only through death (of the film’s diegetic traveller and of the cinematic narrative itself in that this point marks the film’s end). That these travels and the film’s narrative begin and end at an airport adds a further point of departure in relation to the broader cinematic geographies of the non-place, which I explore in section 4.3. First I wish to develop more fully these ideas of ‘non-places’ and ‘any-spaces-whatever’ as discussed in the writings of Marc Augé and Gilles Deleuze.

4.2 Non-places and Any-spaces-whatever

The rooms all smell like diesel
 And you take on the
 Dreams of the ones who have slept there.

(Tom Waits, *9th and Hennepin*)⁷³

In *Cinema 1* Deleuze suggests that the modern (cinematic) voyage ‘happens in any-space-whatever – marshalling yard, disused warehouse, the undifferentiated fabric of the city – in opposition to action which most often unfolded in the qualified space-time of the old realism’ (1986: 208). In his complex and multifaceted elaboration of the movement- and time-image, Deleuze’s concept of any-space-whatever (*espace quelconque*) emerges as one of the key formal characteristics marking the transition from the aesthetics of the former (movement-image) to that of the latter (time-image). Any-spaces-whatever can take different forms in Deleuze’s analysis; for example, the ways in which colour, light and shadow (and here he cites the work of Antonioni), or close-ups of the face (Dreyer) are used to construct ‘deconnected or emptied spaces’ (ibid: 120) which shatter or fragment the

⁷² Again, as with Clifford and the relations of dwelling over travel in anthropology (see note 1), the homologies of cinematic and ethnographic spatialities become evident in the writings of anthropologists who have sought to re-conceptualise ethnographic practice or imagine its delirious future. In Chris Pinney’s ‘Future Travel: Anthropology and Cultural Distance in an Age of Virtual Reality’, the author ‘travels’ to the year 2029 to write from the perspective of a world where air travel is banned and cyberspace technologies have replaced the need or capacity for actual travel across spaces of cultural distance: ‘From the perspective of 2029 it is easy to see the Journey Programmes of cyberspace as the culmination of two millenia of human travelling. From its origins as a sacred journey, travel has come... finally in this age of cyberspace to reside in the brain – a neurological chorology... In only forty years Virtual reality made ‘distance-travel’ a reality while ‘time-travel’ has remained the domain of science fiction. Some of today’s distance-loop paradoxes are as remarkable as any time-loop paradox dreamt up by Ray Bradbury or the makers of *Terminator* [or *La Jetée*]... one of the fascinations of the time-loop paradox was the possibility of observing the ‘primal-scene’ (parental intercourse – one’s own conception) and of assuming the identity of one’s own father or mother... Whereas time travel blurred parent and child, Virtual Reality’s distance-travel has blurred self and other’ (1992: 47, 49, 50).

⁷³ Lines from song/poem on Tom Waits’ 1985 album, *Rain Dogs*.

space-time co-ordinates of the 'action-image'. No longer 'determined' (ibid: 117), space becomes abstracted from real (geographical) space to embody the qualities of 'pure potential...[independent] of the state of things or milieux which actualise them' (ibid: 120). As mentioned above, Deleuze situates the emergence of these proliferating any-spaces-whatever in the post-war cinema of the Italian neo-realists:

[A]fter the war, a proliferation of such spaces could be seen in film sets... and in exteriors, under various influences. The first, independent of the cinema, was the post-war situation with its towns demolished or being reconstructed, its waste grounds, its shanty towns, and even in places where the war had not penetrated, its undifferentiated urban tissue, its vast unused places, docks, warehouses, heaps of girders and scrap iron. Another, more specific to the cinema... arose from a crisis of the action image: the characters were found less and less in sensory-motor 'motivating' situations, but rather in a state of strolling, of sauntering or of rambling... The action-image then tended to shatter, whilst the determinate locations were blurred, letting any-space-whatever rise up where the modern affects of fear, detachment, but also freshness, extreme speed and interminable waiting were developing. (ibid: 120-121)

Such 'affects' are certainly evident in films such as *L'avventura* (*The Adventure*, Michelangelo Antonioni, 1960) and are no less traceable in the work of 'late modernist' (Jameson 1997) directors like Angelopoulos (whose films are often compared to those of Antonioni, who has remained a major influence on the Greek filmmaker). In a key scene from Angelopoulos' *Mia Eoniotita Ke Mia Mera* (*Eternity and a Day*, 1998), the young Albanian boy whom the film's central protagonist (played by Bruno Ganz) befriends is abducted by people traffickers and taken to an abandoned warehouse in a remote motorway location. Once there he is lined up with other orphaned boys to be sold off to a coach-load of wealthy middle-class couples who arrive to inspect the 'goods' on offer. The nature of the location and the activities taking place there is such as to infuse the proceedings with a sense of indeterminacy, dislocation and placelessness; qualities that are enhanced by the muted blues, browns and greys of Giorgos Arvanitis' cinematography, and the broken glass and debris of the interior scenes (made up of long and medium shots and little in the way of dialogue). Outside, traffic can be heard droning back and forth as the various parties – children, traffickers, would-be parents – negotiate their respective positions with guarded circumspection and uncertainty. The geographical any-space-whatever (there is no clear oriented 'placing' of this space with other geographical locations in the film, such as the Greek-Albanian border, or the streets and harbour at Thessaloniki) underscores an ambient

tone of waiting, detachment, and absence in keeping with the overall mood and thematic content of the film.⁷⁴

Appended to the post-war European context of Deleuze's analysis, the disconnected and empty spaces of contemporary any-spaces-whatever chart an alienation and disorientation specific to the realities of post-communist Europe. Whether or not these contemporary any-spaces-whatever can be aligned with some generic notion of postmodern spatiality – Jameson, in this regard, argues that the later films of Angelopoulos demonstrate a 'new narrative structure [of the] "spatial"' which find accordance with the 'radically new situations and representational dilemmas of postmodernity' (1997: 90) – is a question which begs comparisons with old theological debates as to the number of angels dancing on the head of a pin: the singularity of the filmic 'punctum' (i.e. the contextual hermeneutics of *mise en scène*, or the given specificities of cine-spatial form) is forced to bear the strain of a multi-layered, amorphous (and ultimately static) idealisation of the spatial constitutive of that variously championed as 'postmodern'.⁷⁵

A more fruitful adaptation of the Deleuzian concept is offered by Laura Marks, who argues that 'any-spaces-whatever are not simply the disjunctive spaces of postmodernism, but also the disruptive spaces of postcolonialism, where non-Western cultures erupt into Western metropolises' (2000: 27). For Marks, the 'new race of characters' (Deleuze 1989: xi), which Deleuze ascribes to the proliferating post-war any-spaces-whatever, 'describes the very real conditions of migration, diaspora, and hybridity that characterize the new populations of Europe and North America' (Marks 2000: 27). By extending the Deleuzian concept to encompass actual, geographical spaces Marks ventures beyond the epistemic bubble of pure cinematic spatiality (i.e. as restricted to the ontology and aesthetic of the film image) and opens the way for a rapprochement – or confrontation – between representations of space (conceived cinematically) and the lived spaces of representation drawn from the sociological, geographical, and phenomenological fabric of quotidian experience. The indeterminacy of Deleuze's modern voyager who is left to wander the 'undifferentiated urban tissue', waiting for some form of action or movement to resume, acquires more

⁷⁴ For a more detail discussion of *Eternity and a Day*, see Chapter 5.4, in which I examine a bus ride sequence that occurs towards the end of the film.

⁷⁵ This theological/postmodernist comparison is perhaps not as curious as it first appears when we consider how theologians have attempted to answer the 'angels on a pin' question. On a website devoted to the study of phrases, the origins of the expression are discussed and various interpretations suggested. One such interpretation concluded that 'Angels aren't spatial, and so an infinite number of them could occupy a point' (<http://phrases.shu.ac.uk/bulletin_board/13/messages/1512.html>); an observation which bears some comparison with Soja's near-mystical embrace of Borges' Aleph (see section 4.1). In the indeterminacy of heterotopic simultaneity a given space *potentially* contains all the other spaces of difference by which it assumes singularity of form. As this potentiality stretches ever-closer towards the infinite, real or lived space – and the geographical locus of the punctum – must logically succumb to the a-spatial domain of the Ideal. This, it should be noted, is not a conceptualisation to which the Deleuzian 'any-space-whatever' affords easy comparison.

contemporary relevance in the diasporic spaces and non-places of travel through which asylum seekers, refugees, and other displaced persons of our age pass *en route* to Elsewhere. Movement and stasis conceived aesthetically in terms of action or affect thus give way or run parallel to social geographies of agency, stasis and transition in which ideas of *movement* acquire an altogether different experiential dimension.

What we have here is an apparent disjuncture between movement as *duration* and movement as a contradictory facet of the production of (social) space. As Lefebvre has argued, in terms of its dialectical composition ‘all movement is contradictory because without an immanent contradiction nothing can move’ (1968: 40). Similarly, in *Dialectic of Duration*, Bachelard overturns the Bergsonian notion of continuous duration, stressing instead the essentially fractured, interrupted nature of a duration that is ‘teemed with lacunae’ (2000: 19).⁷⁶ A spatial dialectics of movement, therefore, runs counter to ‘Bergson’s duration, a Becoming without discontinuity and without drama, an amorphous, abstract, and purely psychological movement’ (Lefebvre 1968), and compels us to engage with a wider sense of the spatial than that presupposed in Deleuze’s Bergsonian film project where, throughout, space remains conceptually shackled to Bergson’s notion of *durée*. Accordingly, in a discussion of Deleuze and Guattari’s *Anti-Oedipus*, Lefebvre concludes that ‘[t]heir hypothesis leads them to reduce space, social reproduction and society itself to superimposed fluxes (of objects, signs, codes, etc.)’ (1976: 34); a critique which lends itself with equal validity to Deleuze’s later work on cinema.

Deleuzian caveats aside, and despite Lefebvre’s dismissal of film as an ‘incriminated medium’ (1991: 97) that is ill-equipped to reveal the underlying contradictions of space, discussions of travel, mobility and cinematic space have begun to confront, if at times obliquely, the dialectical nature of space as a discursive foundation of social reproduction and praxis. What quickly becomes apparent, however, as the geographer Doreen Massey has observed, is the extent to which questions of place and space in relation to film typically presuppose, by default, a link between cinematic space and that of ‘the city’ at the expense of other, less ‘concrete’ geographies of mobility and transit (in Lury and Massey 1999: 230). Such a trend is certainly reflected in the cinematic topographies explored in Deleuze’s work, no less than in those ‘mapped’ by writers such as Harvey (1989a), Bruno (1993, 1997), Clarke (1997a), Friedberg (1993), to name but few. Commenting on Bruno’s study of

⁷⁶ For Bachelard, ‘[t]he rhythm of action and inaction...[is] inseparable from all knowledge of time. Between two useful, fruitful events the dialectic of the useless must be in play... Duration is a complex of multiple ordering actions which support each other... In fact, duration always needs alterity for it to appear continuous’ (ibid: 54, 65). Bachelard’s attempt to develop a *rhythmanalysis* of duration, a concept he developed from the work of the Brazilian philosopher, Peinheiro dos Santos, writing in 1931, was to provide the inspiration for Lefebvre’s own theory of rhythmanalysis (1996) written in the 1980s and published in 1992 (Kofman and Lebas 1996: 28-31; cf. Lefebvre 1996; Lefebvre and Régulier 2003; Lefebvre 2004).

the mobile, cinematic spaces of the urban *flâneur* in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western cities, Massey points out that

it is not just city spaces which were ‘of transit’ or even transitory. Empirically, one might (perhaps should) point to that other set of mobilities – the massive mobilities of imperialism and colonialism – which were underway – beyond, way beyond, the little worlds of *flânerie* – at the same period of history. Other ‘spaces’ too were mobile. (in Lury and Massey 1999: 231)

For Massey, this tendency to restrict discussions of space, place and film to geographies of the city runs the risk of essentialising ‘the urban’ to the detriment of a broader field of enquiry: ‘the relation between film and spatiality in general’ (ibid). Moreover, in terms of mobility the urban *flâneur* has arguably left less of a mark on the geographical and cinematic imagination of the modern era than those forms of convergent mobility which, since the early days of film, have cemented the ontological foundations of the voyager-voyeur (see Chapter 2.1). As such, ‘[i]t is not the pedestrian *flâneur* who is emblematic of modernity but rather the train passenger, car driver and jet plane passenger’ (Lash and Urry 1994: 252).

The pursuit of productive links between, broadly speaking, *cinematic* space and geographical or ‘anthropological’ spaces (de Certeau 1984: 117) of contemporary travel and mobility would thus benefit from a greater consideration not only of geographical markers of travel and dwelling less firmly entrenched – or fixed – within overarching discourses of specifically *urban* spatiality, but also of the commensurability (or otherwise) of concepts such as any-spaces-whatever with those developed by anthropologists and social scientists such as Augé.

In this regard, Réda Bensmaïa suggests that Deleuze in fact borrowed the concept of any-space-whatever from ideas developed by Augé. In the hands of Deleuze, Bensmaïa contends, the any-space-whatever is transformed and adapted from its strictly anthropological application to explore the cinematic transition from the movement-image to the time-image (1997: 25).

According to Bensmaïa, in its original formulation any-space-whatever was a concept analogous to, or rather interchangeable with that which Augé more specifically ascribes to the term ‘non-place’ (*non-lieu*). It has to be said at this point that there is some considerable room for doubt as to whether (Marc) Augé was indeed the source, as Bensmaïa claims, from which Deleuze develops his ideas of the any-space-whatever (see below). Yet this notwithstanding, there remain significant homologies between these two concepts to enable us to open up the purely cinematic spaces of deterritorialisation that Deleuze proposes and

to consider these alongside their sociological and geographic counterparts. First it is necessary to briefly review Augé's thoughts on the social anthropology of non-places.

To start with it is important to keep in mind that for Augé the non-place is ostensibly defined in opposition to what he refers to as 'anthropological place': an organic sociality, localised and bounded in time and space, and sharing common symbols, narratives and coherent structures of identity. By contrast, the 'non-place' is ascribed to a world

where transit points and temporary abodes are proliferating under luxurious or inhuman conditions (hotel chains and squats, holiday clubs and refugee camps, shanty towns threatened with demolition or doomed to festering longevity); where a dense network of means of transport which are also inhabited spaces is developing... a world thus surrendered to solitary individuality, to the fleeting, the temporary and ephemeral. (Augé 1995: 78)

Sterile, inert spaces of transit and circulation, such as airports, supermarkets, high speed roads and railways, as well as transit camps and holding areas for refugees, asylum seekers and other displaced persons: these shifting geographies of late capitalism are, for Augé, increasingly central to an understanding of what he describes as supermodernity.

The relevance of traditional anthropological notions of place within the complex and increasingly porous frontiers and landscapes of global capital and transnational (im)mobility has come under some considerable scrutiny in recent years (cf. Rapport and Dawson 1998a; Clifford 1997; Appadurai 1996) – as Augé notes, "try to imagine a Durkheimian analysis of a transit lounge at Roissy [the airport serving Paris]!" (1995: 94). This shift from place to non-place, 'dwelling' to 'travel' in contemporary social and cultural theory is also reflected in post-Marxist critiques of multinational capitalism, in which capital and political sovereignty are argued to have become increasingly deterritorialised within virtual, imperialistic regimes and networks of global power (cf. Hardt and Negri 2000).⁷⁷

For Augé, however, the term is more specifically predicated on the surrendering of identity and the 'solitary contractuality' (Augé 1995: 94) that characterises the individual's passage through the homogenised space of non-places: '[t]he passenger through non-places retrieves his identity only at customs, at the tollbooth, at the check-out counter... [unlike anthropological places], the space of non-place creates neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude, and similitude' (ibid: 103).

As Bensmaïa shows, while Augé's non-place represents a homogenising and de-singularising space, for Deleuze the any-space-whatever emerges as a space of pure potential and singularity:

⁷⁷ 'In...[the] smooth space of Empire, there is no *place* of power – it is both everywhere and nowhere. Empire is an *ou-topia*, or really a *non-place*' (Hardt and Negri 2000: 190, emphasis in original).

Any-space-whatever is not an abstract universal, in all times, in all places. It is a perfectly singular space, which has merely lost its homogeneity, that is, the principle of its metric relations or the connections of its own parts, so that the linkages can be made in an infinite number of ways. *It is a space of virtual conjunction, grasped as the pure locus of the possible.* What in fact manifests the instability, the heterogeneity, the absence of link of such a space, is a richness in potentials or singularities which are, as it were, *prior conditions of all actualisation, all determination.* (Deleuze 1986: 109, emphasis added; Bensmaïa 1997: 29-30)

Although Bensmaïa is correct in drawing this distinction, upon closer examination the actualising or *de*-actualising properties of any-spaces-whatever/non-places are not necessarily as fixed or absolute as such a distinction might otherwise infer. For Augé, neither place nor non-place exist in pure form; the former is never completely erased, the latter never fully completed (1995: 78-79). The question of singularity thus becomes not just a process of measuring its absence or negation in the proliferating landscapes of the non-place, but also of paying closer attention to ‘the singularities of all sorts that constitute a paradoxical counterpoint to the procedures of interrelation, acceleration and de-localization sometimes carelessly reduced and summarized in expressions like “homogenization of culture”’ (ibid: 40-41).

In the case of Deleuze, on the other hand, while the any-space-whatever may establish real connections linked to the sensory-motor schema – i.e. as the space of emergence of a particular space-time or situation yet to unfold – or ‘virtual conjunctions’ of contingent, indeterminate possibility unique to the ‘emptied’ space of the time-image (Rodowick 1997: 74-75), his claim that the any-space-whatever is the ‘pure locus of the possible’ where singularities and potentials constitute the ‘prior conditions of all actualisation’ appears to discount the possibility that a given any-space-whatever may itself harbour the very qualities of stasis and de-actualisation that thwart and *dis*-connect these spaces from those in which the contingently possible is potentially realised. If, for the sake of argument, Bergson’s foundational, *a priori* notion of *durée* was removed from the equation, then surely a crisis in the movement-image such as Deleuze diagnoses towards the end of *Cinema 1* would pose the more immediate question as to the extent to which any-spaces-whatever may be considered spaces of virtual *disjunction*. The virtual connections of pure potentiality become transitional landscapes of Becoming solely by virtue of the surrender of (geographical) space to time: duration and temporality remain the explanatory principle by which movement remains an actualising force. Conceived in more dialectical terms, however, the relations of movement and stasis problematise this notion of temporality without discontinuity, and, in terms of the qualities of the image (or *qualisigns* to use

Deleuzian terminology), the mobilities of affective duration are tempered by the spatial ‘lacunae’ of the non-place/any-space-whatever. Viewed thus, ‘mobility’ and agential potentiality hang in suspension (like the ghostly silhouettes of bodies clinging to the border fence in *Eternity and a Day*) in situations where the contingent and possible are not merely arbitrary properties of the *durée*, but are instead yoked to more specific modes of formal structuration (diegetic, spatial, social, political) in which questions of *movement* vie inexorably with those of *stasis*.

In order to pay heed to these rhythm-analytical temporalities (Lefebvre 2004) of agential (im)mobility I am therefore proposing an alternate, tri-partite structure of the non-place/any-space-whatever in the form of *zones of arrival and departure*, *zones of stasis*, and *zones of transition*. Drawing on ideas developed previously in relation to Pawlikowski’s *Last Resort* (Roberts 2002a), in the remaining three sections of this chapter I explore each of these more specific geographies of the non-place in turn, focusing in particular on Pawlikowski’s film and Angelopoulos’ *Taxidi Sta Kithira (Voyage to Cythera)*, 1983).⁷⁸

In drawing this section to a close, I wish to return once more to Bensmaïa’s contention that Deleuze’s any-space-whatever originated from ideas developed by Marc Augé. As general texts on Deleuze and cinema are now beginning to reproduce the claim that Deleuze ‘[borrowed] the term [*espace quelconque*] from the anthropologist Marc Augé’ (Bogue 2003), some degree of clarification in this matter is warranted.

In *Cinema 1*, Deleuze specifically cites a *Pascal Augé*, not Marc, as the originator of this concept (1986: 109, 122). However, Deleuze does not reference his source, and I have been unable to trace any publication bearing his name. While Bensmaïa maintains that Deleuze was in fact mistaking in citing Pascal, rather than the anthropologist as the originator of *espace quelconque* (personal communication, 2003),⁷⁹ at the time when any such cross-fertilisation of ideas would have taken place (late 1970s and early 80s), (Marc) Augé had yet to fully develop his ‘anthropology of the everyday’ from which his work on *non-lieux* emerged. It therefore seems unlikely that the anthropologist was in fact the source, a conclusion which Augé himself confirms (personal communication, 2004).

However, as Bensmaïa rightly points out, whether Deleuze’s reference to Pascal Augé is mistaken or not does not detract from the overall value of the concept in terms of its use and general application (personal communication, 2003). As I have endeavoured to show,

⁷⁸ This is the first film of Angelopoulos’ ‘trilogy of silence’, made in the 1980s, which, alongside *Last Resort*, provides the main focus for discussion. The other two films from the trilogy, *O Melissokomos (The Beekeeper)*, 1986) and *Topio Stin Omichli (Landscape in the Mist)*, 1988) are also drawn on in section 4.5 in relation to zones of transition. For a more detailed study of *The Beekeeper*, see Chapter 5.5.

⁷⁹ Although apparently a Pascal Augé did in fact surface after the publication of Bensmaïa’s article to lay claim – unsuccessfully it transpires – to the concept (Bensmaïa, personal communication, 2003).

regardless of any direct link between (Marc) Augé and Deleuze, there are nevertheless intriguing parallels between their respective notions of non-place and any-space-whatever that enable us to pursue productive lines of enquiry pertaining to questions of space, travel and film, without necessarily distorting or misrepresenting the unique and specific contexts of their respective theoretical positions.

4.3 Zones of Arrival and Departure

I suspect that the airport will be the true city of the next century. The great airports are already suburbs of an invisible world capital whose faubourgs are named Heathrow, Kennedy, Charles de Gaulle, Nagoya, a centripetal city whose population forever circles its notional centre... [airport] concourses are the ramblas and agoras of the future city, time-freeze zones where all the clocks of the world are displayed, an atlas of arrival and destinations forever updating itself, where briefly we become true world citizens. (Ballard 1997: 11)

At first glance, the novelist JG Ballard's observation that '[airports] constitute the reality of our lives, rather than some mythical domain of village greens' (ibid) would appear to concur with Augé's distinction between anthropological place and non-place. Yet in dismissing the organic sociality of the former ('a mythical domain'), Ballard, unlike Augé, embraces the airport *non-lieux* ('reality') not as a symptom of supermodernity that warrants sociological concern, but as a positive and 'benevolent social and architectural influence' (ibid). Welcoming its 'transience, alienation and discontinuities' (ibid), Ballard champions the airport precisely because it has succeeded in evacuating history (Pascoe 2001: 32); its practices of deterritorialisation representing 'the most important civic duty that we discharge today, erasing class and national distinctions and subsuming them within the unitary global culture of the departure lounge' (Ballard 1997: 11).

Ballard's vision of a postmodern global city of perpetual transit and circulation, while already apparent in terms of multinational capitalism's circuitous migrations of highly-skilled professional workers of the new service economies, in constant movement between global cities or centres of power (cf. Sassen 1991), is not exactly a vision likely to be shared by those excluded from this privileged and highly determined network. For economic migrants of considerably lower socio-economic status, as for many exiles and refugees:

[A]irports are not just rhizomatic points of linkage to other points in an abstract network of relation and commerce, as they may be for transnationals and cosmopolitans. These are nodal sites of high intensity in which their belonging and unbelonging are juxtaposed in often cruel, sometimes humorous ways. If for some upper-class, cosmopolitan transnationals, planes are where they feel most at home, for many exiles airports and planes

are places of dread and dissemination, where safety and identity are at stake. (Naficy 2001: 246)

The sheer scale of major international airports and of the logistical operations they demand (Ballard observes with admiration the fact that the catchment area around Heathrow – motorway intersections, dual carriageways, science and industrial parks, etc. – extends ten miles to its south and west [1997: 11]) ensures that, while in essence sites of transit and passage, airports are no less ‘settled’ (or for that matter ‘mobile’) than the cities and other ‘sedentary’ destinations which they serve. Within these nodal sites of high intensity, ‘grounded’ personnel – as personified by Pia, a doctor stationed at Charles de Gaulle Airport in Serres’ *Angels* (1995) – are in constant dialogue with embodied vectors of rhizomatic flow – as symbolised by Pantope, Pia’s rootless interlocutor, who spends his time in constant transit through the virtual and concrete abstractions of (air)space. Within these dialectical loci of movement and fixity, dynamism and stasis, abstractions such as ‘airspace’ or ‘cyberspace’ emerge not as ‘free-floating’ spatial representations by which movement, circulation and transit are valorised, but rather constitute a broader production of space and displacement, materially grounded in the heterotopic spatialities of arrival and departure. Indeed, we need only consider the plight of the ‘airport homeless’ who have sought refuge in the vast open spaces of major airports such as New York’s JFK International Airport (Naficy 2001: 313) to appreciate the extent to which hyper-tropic travel discourses are critically ‘grounded’ by the empty landscapes and horizons of material geographies of sedentary travel. Perhaps the most famous example in this regard is the much-celebrated case of Merhan Karimi Nasseri, a 58-year-old Iranian exile who has lived in Charles de Gaulle Airport in Paris since the late 1980s. Caught in a transnational liminal zone, his disavowal of his Iranian nationality and his non-recognition by any other nation state have led to his living out of suitcases and being fed by airline personnel and passengers; a situation which he has maintained for well over a decade, leading some commentators to dub him a ‘postmodern icon – a traveller whom no one will claim’ (Rose 2003: 14; cf. Naficy 2001: 313; Pascoe 2001: 212).⁸⁰

⁸⁰ The rights to Nasseri’s life story have been purchased by the Hollywood director, Steven Spielberg, in whose hands the ex-Iranian is transformed into a sort of cultural ‘everyman’, who hails from a fictional east-European country caught in the grip of a civil war. Re-located to the New York’s JFK Airport, *The Terminal* (2004) ignores the specific historical and cultural circumstances that have in fact shaped Nasseri’s postmodern (non)odyssey. Spielberg is not the first filmmaker to be drawn to Nasseri’s rather unique example of airport homelessness. Glen Luchford’s *Here to Where* (2001), a ‘documentary’ in which fact and fiction are deliberately blurred, tells the story of an American film director who grows increasingly obsessed with the plight of Sir Alfred Merhan (Nasseri’s nickname, coined from his desire to travel to England), in whose limbo status the director begins to recognise his own predicament (see also Philippe Lioret’s *Tombés du ciel* [*Lost in Transit*, 1993]).

While typically cited in support of postmodern notions of nomadic homelessness, such examples can also be said to exhibit another, more paradoxical inversion of home and travel in that, from the sedentary context of *place* these groups and individuals are perceived as displaced and homeless, whereas, in the transitory environs of the *non-place*, where travel and displacement are the norm, their relative fixity suggests, somewhat ironically given their status, a sense of ‘dwelling’ and placement. Similarly, as Augé notes, a central paradox of the non-place is that ‘a foreigner, lost in a country he does not know (a “passing stranger”) can feel *at home* there only in the anonymity of motorways, service stations, big stores and hotel chains’ (1995: 106, emphasis added). In this analysis, the de-actualising, homogenous any-spaces-whatever of transit create inverse geographies of place which, in their uniformly emptied structuration, provide a space of orientation (or rather *de-orientation*) from where the uncertainty of ‘arrival’ is itself ‘emptied’ or deferred. Like the motel, arguably the most iconic of cinematic non-places, these interstitial zones of spatial and temporal discontinuity ‘[represent] neither “arrival” nor “departure” but...[operate] passages from one to the other in the *metaphorai* of the pause’ (Morris 1988: 41, emphasis in original).

In what Braidotti seductively describes as these ‘oases of nonbelonging and detachment’ (1994: 19), time is stretched to a continuous present (*ibid*). Measured in units of temporal affect, non-places and any-spaces-whatever of arrival and departure, such as international airports, become not only sites of entrance and exit between contingent points in space and time, but also constitute potential *zones of stasis*: a temporal unfolding of spatial restriction where movement is inhibited (e.g. time spent waiting in the departure lounge or in immigration detention areas); and *zones of transition*: a spatial unfolding of potentiality and temporal mobility.

The actualising or *de-actualising* potential of airport time is governed by the spatial and architectural modulations of structure and agency by which ‘time zones and time lags begin to assume concrete reality’ (Pascoe 2001: 34). The sociological distinction between what Sarup (1994: 95) terms a ‘space-based action’, an action from which an agent can move on from, and a ‘space-bound action’, where agency in movement is restricted, is replicated in contemporary non-places and any-spaces-whatever where temporal phenomenologies of movement and stasis become inscribed in space.

In its modulations of inert and dynamic temporality, the chronotope of the airport in many ways exemplifies the contingent, processual and transitory spaces of the postmodern tourist and vagabond.⁸¹ Rather than serving as an idealised trope of nomadic deterritorialisation its spatial dialectics of transition and stasis are representative of the

⁸¹ See Chapter 1.2 for a discussion of Bauman’s ‘tourist and vagabond’.

inherent *discontinuities* of spatial practice, and of the *relative* porosity (or opacity) of contemporary frontiers to identity. If anything the non-places of the airport could be described as a heterotopia in that the commodified spaces of consumption⁸² and the inert, bureaucratised spaces of waiting and asylum become co-extensive with ‘other spaces’ of ‘supermodernity’, such as the holiday resort or the transit camp (cf. Foucault 1986).

In Pawel Pawlikowski’s *Last Resort*, Tanya, a young Russian woman (Dina Korzun) and her son Artiom (Artiom Strelnikov) arrive in Britain from Moscow. Upon questioning and detention by the immigration officials at Stansted Airport she decides to claim asylum. Transported to a ‘designated holding area’ – a bleak seaside town called Stonehaven (the real-life Margate in Kent) where they are to be detained pending the outcome of their asylum application – the passage between the airport and ‘resort’ resembles a somewhat grimmer version of the transfer journey undertaken by the tourist under the stewardship of the tour-operator. This blurring of travel narratives, like other ironic juxtapositions in the film, presents a microcosmic snapshot of post-colonial, *fin de siècle* displacement, where the human flotsam of Blair’s Britain rub shoulders with its new outsiders: migrants and refugees from countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, the former Yugoslavia, Iran, Turkey, Somalia, Sri Lanka.⁸³ Subverting the metonymic signification of the ‘typical’ British seaside resort, Stonehaven/Margate both literally and metaphorically exists as a ‘place on the margin’ (Shields 1991) of nation, identity and organic sociality. The view that greets Tanya and Artiom from the window of the dingy tower block where they are housed is of a fenced-off and abandoned amusement park. A sign reads ‘Dreamland Welcomes You’. The eerie, ghost-like atmosphere of a time-locked, bygone age⁸⁴ permeates a less certain and spatially incoherent present where even access to the ludic, post-colonial spaces of coastal resorts such as Gurinder Chadha’s Blackpool in *Bhaji on the Beach* (1993) have been denied. Stonehaven’s Dreamland, like its railway station, is closed until further notice. This non-place of stasis and asylum, where totalising systems of administration and the panoptic gaze of surveillance cameras wield discursive control, mirrors the inert spaces of arrival and

⁸² In this regard, Rosler suggests that ‘[t]he blank-walled, elevated, and enclosed walkways [of contemporary airports]...share something with the elevated shopping arcades, or skywalks, in malled-up America’ (1998: 53). The entropy and boredom attached to airport waiting time is thus sublimated to the pleasurable distractions of leisure and consumption. As Lloyd points out, the ‘pleasurable postfunctionalism’ of these non-places of transit utilises the otherwise non-productive temporality of the waiting zone, as encapsulated in the concept used by airport planners of (quantifiable) ‘dwelltime’ (2003: 94-95).

⁸³ Nationalities representing the highest number of asylum applications to the UK in 2000. Source: Home Office statistics reproduced in *The Guardian* publication ‘Welcome to Britain: A Special Investigation into Asylum and Immigration’, June 2001: 22-23.

⁸⁴ Most memorably captured in Lindsay Anderson’s 1953 Margate film, *O Dreamland*, whose sinister and slightly disturbing images of dummy policemen, cackling hysterically, have seared themselves on the cultural psyche of this seaside town.

departure through which Tanya and her son pass *en route* to and from this heterotopia of millennial Britain.

Like *La Jetée*, *Last Resort* begins and ends at an airport. The opening and closing travelling shots of Tanya and Artiom in the airport shuttle car can, at least provisionally, be seen as the spatial enactment of a positive and agential mobilisation of future aspirations, or perhaps, as Iain Sinclair suggests, a ludic substitution ‘for the aerial thrills of the [closed] Dreamland park in Margate’ (2001: 16). As potential zones of transition these journeys are as yet undetermined in that we do not know the fate that awaits them in the spaces beyond. Their return passage through the airport, like the initial embarkation which opens the film, is essentially a voluntary act. They are proceeding towards unknown horizons that lie outside the film’s diegetic spaces: horizons which, we can only presume, play host to some renewed manifestation or projection of hope. In terms of the forward trajectory that we are privy to – the narrative journey that unfolds from the opening scenes – what quickly becomes apparent in relation to the three main zones through which Tanya and her son pass – the zone of arrival and departure (London Stansted Airport); the zone of transition (between airport and holding area); and the zone of stasis (Stonehaven) – is the *absence* of agency in movement characteristic of all three. They are *conveyed* through the airport on the shuttle car, *processed* by the immigration officials, *despatched* by the police and *delivered* to the holding area, where the curtailment of movement and the imposition of actual and cognitive borders by the immigration authorities structure, by way of opposition, the spatial practices of resistance by which connections beyond this zones of stasis are potentially realised. The protagonists’ eventual escape from Stonehaven towards the end of the film, in contrast to the space-bound actions to which they have hitherto been restricted, thus represents a more positive production of transitional spatiality in which agency in movement is wrested back from the abstract spaces of state officialdom.

A more detailed analysis of the film’s geographies of stasis and transition will follow in the sections below. The purpose of this section is to consider questions of non-place in terms of zones of arrival and departure. As I have argued, these ‘zones’ cannot be treated in isolation, but are interdependently structured in conjunction with their composite, affective modalities of transition and stasis. Although *Last Resort* proceeds from and returns to the airport, the heterotopic nature of this particular zone of arrival and departure is such that it permeates and extends to the film’s intervening diegetic spaces. In this respect, the zone of arrival and departure is in fact never left; it is less the geographic specificity of the locations that is of concern (although the importance of Margate can by no means be left out of the equation, as I discuss below), but rather how these co-extensive spaces shape the action and agential subjectivities of the film’s diegetic travellers.

The use of airport locations in films exploring themes of displacement, alienation or emotional stasis can be traced back to the modernist cinema of the French *Nouvelle Vague*. I have already mentioned Marker's *La Jetée*, to which we might add François Truffaut's *La Peau douce* (*The Soft Skin*, 1964), in which the vast, vacuous spaces of Orly airport establish a ready-made *mise en scène* which complements the empty life of the film's central protagonist, a middle-aged writer who embarks on an adulterous affair with an air hostess; or Jean-Luc Godard's *Une femme mariée* (*A Married Woman*, 1964) in which, like Truffaut's film of the same year, Orly again functions as an empty space into which the main character 'escapes' to evade the responsibilities of marriage and the social strictures of selfhood;⁸⁵ or we could cite Jacques Tati's *Play Time* (1967), again (partly) set at Orly (or at least a replica of the airport which Tati had constructed). As Pascoe observes, in the choreographed movement of Hulot (Tati's eponymous alter-ego) through the airport Tati 'presents us with a void – a duty-free zone' (2001: 261, 258-273).

There is an overarching sense of passivity governing these transitory passages through airspace. The existential vacuity and inertia of the airport environment in these examples reflect a desire to surrender oneself to its evacuated narratives and moral abstentions. As such, the alienation typically ascribed to airport modernities – as transitory spaces of movement and stasis – becomes, paradoxically, the very quality that functions to counter social alienation experienced elsewhere in life. The airport becomes a space of existential 'thrown-ness': a void of contingent connections into which the subject is cast.

In this sense the airport chronotope treads a delicate balance between transition and stasis; the former potentially extracted from the latter (new subjectivities formed, narrative 'journeys' resumed); the latter potentially subsuming the former (the dislocation of the subject *beyond* its capacity to recoup former bearings; the sheer intensity of these contingent, possible connections ultimately *condemning* the subject to be free, to paraphrase Sartre).

A more recent elaboration of these themes is provided in Roch Stephanik's *Stand-By* (2000), a film which revisits the same vast, inert spaces of Orly that the new-wave directors had set out to explore back in the 1960s. The film is set almost exclusively within the airport's huge glass concourses, save for occasional, brief relocations to other non-places serving the airport (an underground car park and bland, corporate hotel rooms – locations in which Héléne, the film's main character, exchanges casual sex for money). The film opens with Héléne and her boyfriend Gérard queuing at an airline check-in desk. Héléne thinks they are about to fly to Buenos Aires to start a new life together, but is shocked by the

⁸⁵ As precursor to these films, the Italian neo-realist director, Vittorio De Sica explored similar themes in *Stazione Termini* (*Station Terminus*, 1953), which is set in a different zone of arrival and departure in the form of a railway station in Rome (cf. Bruno 2002: 28).

sudden revelation that Gérard wishes to break up the relationship. Having kept hold of Héléne's passport, he goes to board the plane alone. Left behind at the airport, Héléne finds that she can neither 'move on' nor go back to her former identity. When later she phones Gérard in Argentina from the airport, the exchange is edited in such a way that Héléne's pleas to her former boyfriend are cut between shots of empty airport spaces which resound with Gérard's absent replies. Through this dialogue with emptiness it becomes apparent that Héléne's emotional stasis has become inextricably associated with the transitory, processual landscape she has come to inhabit.

However, as she becomes more of a permanent fixture in the airport, striking up a friendship with Marco who works in the concourse café, and gradually learning to fend for herself in this hyper-individualist environment, her relationship with its empty spaces begins to change. She dyes her hair, starts smoking and, acquiring a newly-found confidence, supports herself by becoming a prostitute servicing businessmen in transit between flights. Such becomes her mastery of the space that when Gérard, learning from Héléne's family of her airport 'situation', returns guilt-stricken to Orly to take her back to Argentina with him, Héléne stands her ground and refuses to leave the airport. The power relations are now reversed; the empty concourse no longer resounds with the absent tones of missed connections and trampled emotions awaiting correction, but with the charged potentiality of contingent desire; a world where refusal and rejection are as readily and as assuredly dispensed as a casual fuck.

These affective spaces – or non-places – of stasis and transition dominate the filmic geography of *Stand-By*. The emotional fate of the film's heroine is as much played out through an engagement with the deterritorialised spaces she inhabits as with the people who enter and exit her world of transit. The airport's zone of arrival and departure thus encompasses the heterotopic spatialities of stasis and transition that modulate the temporal structure of the film's narrative, and which play host to the shifting dynamics of embodied (im)mobility. When, at the end of the film, Héléne finally leaves the airport (on board 'Air Liberty' bound for some unspecified destination) it is in response to a space that has exhausted its potential for emotional growth, thus precipitating journeys of transition that take her beyond this (de)actualising any-space-whatever.

This section has discussed arrivals and departures particular to air travel. The post- or hyper-modern environment of the airport reflects a contemporary experience of mobility that in an age of classical migration and bourgeois travel had been more commonly associated with seaports and railway stations. Typically, these earlier chronotopes of arrival and departure tended to narrate more resolute and located (and hence less 'emptied') geographies of place, space and identity. The homogenous spaces of international airports, by comparison, function chiefly as any-spaces-whatever in that their actual geographical

locatedness and the routes and connections awaiting those in transit remain arbitrary and undetermined (the Elsewhere of Hélène's onward journey becomes literally 'anywhere'; i.e. it is not the destination that counts but the *freedom to actualise* volitional trajectories and desires in an individualised – or privatised – moral economy). The ideological plenitude of place translates into the emptied and processual anonymity of the non-place.

Yet, reiterating the note of caution raised in section 4.2 with regard to film and spatiality, there is a danger here of downplaying the extent to which these other spaces of mobility feature in contemporary cinematic geographies of travel and migration; i.e. other than specifically urban, complex built environments such as airports (which, moreover, are further ring-fenced through modern/post-modern categories of periodisation). To explore this further I now turn to the work of the Greek filmmaker, Theo Angelopoulos.

4.4 Zones of Stasis

In Angelopoulos' 1983 film *Voyage to Cythera*, Spyros, an elderly Greek communist, returns 'home' after thirty-two years of exile in the Soviet Union. Like his absence, the arrival and presence of this (pall-)bearer of history is met with silence and denial. An old neighbour tells him he is dead, his daughter declares that she 'doesn't want to spend her life chasing phantoms', and the authorities, at a loss as to where to 'place' him, try, unsuccessfully, to expedite his return to Moscow. Unable to expel or accommodate this ghost from the past, they put him on a raft and tow him out into international waters: a neutral and ambivalent zone of stasis. For this dialectical refugee, the clamour of history has given way to the inertia of silence. Banished to the margins, to the interstices of identity and community, his is a vision of frail and precarious isolation. Home, for this latter-day Ulysses, has become a 'non-place in the mist';⁸⁶ Ithaca a displaced, internalised landscape prompting existential journeys of the individual.

The first of his self-dubbed 'trilogy of silence', *Voyage to Cythera* is as much the director's valedictory reflection on his hitherto more political, historiographical corpus of films – perhaps best represented by *The Travelling Players* – as it is a meditation on the death of ideology or the 'end of history'. In the film's final scene, Spyros, now joined by his estranged wife, unfastens the rope mooring the raft in place. Drifting away towards a mythical *u-topos* – Cythera's fabled island of dreams⁸⁷ – the film's end marks the journey's

⁸⁶ The present discussion of Angelopoulos trilogy of silence draws on work conducted for the article 'Non-Places in the Mist: Mapping the Spatial Turn in Theo Angelopoulos' Peripatetic Modernism' (Roberts forthcoming).

⁸⁷ As well as the elusive, mythical place of poets and artists such as Baudelaire (for whom Cythera was a synonym for Utopia) and Antoine Watteau (whose painting *Embarkation for Cythera* provided the inspiration for Baudelaire), geographically, Cythera is also the name of one of the Greek islands. In his study of the mythical and symbolic significance of the island of Cythera in Greek and European history, Rafalidis shows how even the geographical Cythera has managed to elude the more

beginning: a cinematic odyssey embarking, in the first instance, from inside the head of Alexander, the director of the film-within-a-film that is *Voyage to Cythera* (in which he plays Spyros' son – a Telemachus to the homecoming Ulysses). A secondary embarkation is that which marks the ongoing odyssey of Alexander/Angelopoulos' exilic and existentially homeless Ulysses. Travelling from film to film, this melancholic drifter charts a cinematic topography of displacement, alienation and nostalgia for a lost vision of modernity. Subsequent incarnations, whether in the form of Marcello Mastroianni's Spyros (*The Beekeeper*, 1986), Harvey Keitel's 'A' (*Ulysses' Gaze*, 1995), or Bruno Ganz's Alexander (*Eternity and a Day*, 1998) – all ageing leftists reflecting on a past increasingly irreconcilable with the present, follow narrative trajectories of individual protagonists which represent a defection away from the formal and political aesthetic of films such as *The Travelling Players*.

This shift in emphasis from a Marxist perspective which, Brechtian-style, sought to block and de-emphasise psychological identification in order to draw out collective structures of representation and narration, is generally attributed to the auteur's disenchantment and cynicism towards politics (cf. Bordwell 1997). On the evidence of the films cited above – the main protagonists of which share a not dissimilar profile to that of their creator – these political considerations clearly have some bearing. However, while commentators have quite rightly drawn attention to this two-part periodisation, there are a further set of criteria by which the critical re-orientations 'embarked upon' in *Voyage to Cythera* are arguably no less accountable. These are not so much temporal in origin – i.e. formal/thematic transitions from (collective) historicity to (personal) memory, revolution to nostalgia (although these are certainly no less valid) – as spatial.

In Chapter 2.4 I examined the development of a quite specific geographical imagination evident in Angelopoulos' films, which began with his first feature, *Reconstruction*. The idea of an 'Other' or 'inside Greece' describes a sense of organic authenticity associated with traditional Greek village life, the reality and concept of which spatialises an all but forgotten historical national consciousness, a spatiality that silently ushers forth its ghosts and repressed narratives to confront the realities of the present. The

definitive cartographies of place and cultural identity: 'Cythera is at the southernmost tip of the Peloponnese, south-west of Cape Maléa. And yet it belongs administratively to Attica! This land-administrative paradox happens to be grafted to another: Cythera, as land topography, as architecture and also as culture, belongs to the Cycladic islands. However, it is the sixth of the Ionian islands (the seventh is the even more distant Anticythera). So Cythera belongs to the Ionian isles, belongs to the Aegean islands, belongs to Attica – could it perhaps belong to the Peloponnese? Cythera belongs wherever you place it by making a decision or an official declaration. Cythera belongs to everywhere, except to itself. Just like Greece. Cythera is a non-place. (In Greek, "non-place" is "u-topos", a "utopia" with such a confused history that no historian has managed to sort it out adequately, just like the "Cytherian" Greek history)' (1997: 45-46).

isolated, seemingly autonomous small towns and villages of films like *The Travelling Players* and *Reconstruction* geographically narrate an *interiority* of national-cultural identity that dialectically mobilises time while reifying ‘place’. ‘Authentic’ Greece’s dialectical engagement with its (internal) ‘other’ is conceptually held in check by the same totalising conception of place and space that its external borders have sought to sustain geo-politically (a conception which, in recognition of the increasingly porous nature of these and other such borders, demands of itself a greater cognisance of what Ernesto Laclau terms its ‘constitutive outside’). As was discussed in Chapter 1.3, for Laclau, space is an ‘impossibility’ by virtue of its contingent erosion by history: to ‘fix’ space (as a theoretical construct) is to deny the porosity of its otherwise constitutive frontiers. Seen in terms of a frozen dialectic, the ‘spatial’ is a realm of stasis – a negation of historicity, the fluidity of identity and the possibility of politics (Laclau 1990; Massey 1993). Indeed, looked at from this perspective, it could be argued that the space represented by the floating raft in *Voyage to Cythera* provides a cinematic affirmation of such a position: Spyros is reduced to little more than a relic, akin to the politically-neutered statue of Lenin transported along the Danube in *Ulysses’ Gaze* .

However, the limitation of this conception is that the ideological closures it disclaims become co-extensive with the theoretical closures it promotes, whereby *movement* as a progressive force remains exclusively attached to time, thereby discounting the very possibility of a spatial dialectics. The ‘silence of history’ which Angelopoulos ascribes to the trilogy of films commencing with *Voyage to Cythera* (which some critics might well equate with prevailing theories of the ‘end of history’) does not of itself open the way for a hypostatisation of space. His departure from a materialist aesthetic – which, for Jameson, denotes a ‘formal regression’ in the later films (1997: 89) – corresponds not only with the formal ‘quiescence’ of Marxist historiography in the wider social and political domain, but also with the growing clamour – post-Lefebvre – of theorisations of space reflecting the inherent contradictions and dialectical configurations of critical spatial practice. It is from such perspectives that the later films are more productively approached; i.e. not merely in terms of a progressive/regressive mode of assessment whereby the transition from collective to individual becomes complicit with an arrested dialectic of neo-liberal hegemony, but rather where a formal dialectic formerly attached to time can be said to have more latterly shifted to that of space. This is not to say that, in broader terms, a concern with space and place is absent from the earlier films; nor, indeed, do later ‘historical’ films such as *Ulysses’ Gaze* dispense with Angelopoulos’ somewhat unique temporal dialectic (orchestrated in the long, complex sequence shots juxtaposing different historical moments within a single, unfolding movement through space). It is rather the case that the contradictions we are confronted with are increasingly those which confound the positing of place and ‘home’.

Voyage to Cythera functions as the point of axis on which these shifting cultural and cinematic geographies turn; as Spyros (Ulysses) and his wife Katerina (Penelope) drift further out to sea ‘Ithaca’ (as a mythic-ideological delimitation of place) fades from view. Their embarkation to Cythera marks the start of an ongoing cinematic odyssey in which an increasing observance of borders, frontiers, and places of transit reflect a transition away from geographies of place to those of non-place – or, to be more precise, the later films reflect an increasing dialogue between *idealizations* of place as a structuring absence (*eutopia*) and the *material* non-places (*outopia*) of transit, waiting and refuge which Augé describes. Adopting the spatial template I have outlined in this chapter, these affective geographies of the non-place may be re-cast in terms of *transition* and *stasis*; the on-going dialogue between the two corresponding with the ambivalent modalities of integration and fragmentation operative across Europe’s national frontiers. In this light, what sets the post-*Voyage* films apart from the earlier, placed-based filmic geographies is the overwhelming state of *suspension* which the exiled, disorientated and generally displaced protagonists of these films both embody and are positioned to negate. Suspended *between* narratives of nation, culture and identity, Spyros’ predicament thus prefigures the plight of those whose movements and displacements confront the re-imagined geographies of a post-communist Europe: in *The Suspended Step of the Stork*, a village called ‘The Waiting Room’, visible on the far side of a river marking the border between Greece and Albania, is the temporary ‘home’ of thousands of displaced persons, each waiting for the opportunity to start a new life ‘somewhere else’; in *Ulysses’ Gaze*, as ‘A’ embarks on his journey into the heart of darkness that is the former Yugoslavia, he passes groups of refugees embarked on a reverse odyssey, heading back towards the border with Greece; and in *Eternity and a Day*, the ghostly silhouettes of bodies, barely visible in a misty wintry landscape, cling to a tall border fence marking the same real and imaginary zone of suspension and stasis. In these examples the certitude of place and ideology has given way to an indeterminacy of spatial form in which zones of arrival and departure such as borders function as chronotopes of a wider uncertainty connotative of ruptures or transitions experienced both historically (post-modern, post-communist, post-colonial) and geographically (trans-national/post-national; an intensified dialectic between local and global).

Commenting on Angelopoulos’ own transition from his early to later phases, Jameson remarks ‘from the still locally anchored situation of the elderly protagonist of the *Voyage to Cythera*, who no longer has a country, neither at home nor in “Moscow”, nor in the Revolution itself or History, the later films drift decisively away from Greece itself towards some transnational situation which they cannot properly fix or identify’ (1997: 91-92). For Jameson this movement towards a transnational spatiality in films such as *Ulysses’ Gaze* signals the beginnings of ‘a new formal situation utterly unforeseen in the earlier period, and

anticipatory of realities not yet adequately confronted anywhere in the art beginning to emerge in our New World Order' (ibid: 89). In terms of a critical geography of film there is much to be said for this argument, however, it is the specific form by which this transnational spatiality may be said to open up to a wider, more productive level of critical engagement that I would wish to draw into sharper focus. On the basis of the three films cited above it is the trope of the border that emerges as the dominant spatial motif. However, as I will argue in the next section of this chapter, Angelopoulos' treatment of the border as a symbolic, metaphorical entity is at times problematic, and suffers from the same rather static and reductionist conceptualisations of space as those coalescent around tropes of the border in much of contemporary theoretical discourse.⁸⁸

If collapsed into the more spatially discursive 'non-place', tropes of travel and displacement such as the border become co-extensive with other geographies of transit in ways that allow for greater critical insight. For these reasons I would argue that, in terms of 'mapping' a spatial transition – from place to non-place, national to transnational – the trilogy of films commencing with *Voyage to Cythera* engage more productively with ideas of place and space than the later 'border' films in that they ostensibly chart the *internal* 'dissolution of an autonomous Greek story', as Jameson puts it (1997: 91), thus asserting an incremental, dialectical negation of 'organic' place that reflects the more diffuse geographies of deterritorialisation operative within, as well as across national borders. As I set out to demonstrate below, the emergence of geographies of the non-place in their respective travel narratives – which only 'arrive' at the border in the final scenes of *Landscape in the Mist*, paving the way for the 'suspended' border dialogues which follow – situate these films within a wider discourse of national displacement that has recently gathered pace around issues of asylum, immigration and European integration.

Spyros' position, then, is such that, poetically, his terminal 'voyage' inaugurates a departure from a period of creative suspension or stasis – which, following the completion of *O Megalexandros (Alexander the Great)* in 1980, represented Angelopoulos' own transitional 'journey' away from the formal aesthetics of his early films – yet politically, ideologically and geographically his fate is one of isolation and interstitial suspension. Taking up this secondary 'embarkation' for a moment, in the light of recent debates on the politics of asylum, it is hard not to draw comparisons between the plight of this dispossessed

⁸⁸ This is not to situate Angelopoulos within postmodern and post-structuralist appropriations of the border as deterritorialised and de-essentialised 'spaces of radical openness' (hooks 1990; Soja 1996). Indeed, in films such as *The Suspended Step of the Stork*, the border ostensibly functions as a trope of exilic homelessness, alienation, and nostalgia, traits more commonly associated with modernist – and essentialist – cultural discourses. My argument is that *both* appropriations of the border – i.e. as a real and imagined space of flux, and as an abstract space of despair and alienation – reproduce static, un-dialectical conceptions of space reliant on inadequately scrutinised spatial metaphors.

Ulysses and that of the economic migrants and refugees who inhabit the non-places of a Fortress Europe. In Britain, the opposition Conservative party have recently advocated that asylum seekers be housed on what they euphemistically term ‘offshore havens’ – essentially floating, or actual islands on which claimants are detained pending the decision of the authorities as to their fate.⁸⁹ Although we can but speculate as to what geographical islands the Tories have in mind – the Isle of Wight, perhaps? or the rocky outcrops mentioned on the BBC shipping forecast? or some unspecified location beyond Britain’s territorial waters? – in a broader European context the peripheries and margins of a national, or supra-national sense of place are not necessarily restricted to those which may be drawn along (or beyond) its external frontiers. The binaries of place and non-place are not correlative with those of centre and periphery; rather, a ‘constitutive outside’ – in the embodied subjectivity of Europe’s ‘other’ – is firmly entrenched *within* the discursive fabric of a European consciousness as well as those places of organic inversion in which Europe’s transitory populations are amassed and encamped.

Viewed from this perspective, Pawlikowski’s *Last Resort*, like Angelopoulos’ trilogy of silence, can be said to reflect the dissolution of a sense of national ‘organic’ placement in that it forces us to look again at the everyday spaces of inert sociality that form the backdrop to the increasingly clamorous, dissociative narratives of place and identity; spaces which the outsider, or stranger is often in a better position to extract from the heterotopic landscapes of contemporary Britain than its ‘indigenous’ inhabitants (cf. Simmel 1950).⁹⁰ For the latter, the marginal status of these (non)places of identity is obscured not so much by their lack of discursive or geographic peripherality (in the case of Margate, although it may qualify as a ‘place on the edge’ in view of its coastal status, ideologically as well as geographically it is no less a part of the ‘Garden of England’, which given its organic, ‘rooted’ associations, symbolically ‘centres’ Kent as the nourishing heart of English identity) but by the prevailing discourses of Britishness – or Englishness – which have continued to shape the symbolic landscape of such places. By subverting the very ‘British’ sense of place typified by the seaside resort – which, in the case of Margate, is defended vehemently by an often xenophobic local press⁹¹ – the place-myths attached to these destinations, not least those

⁸⁹ See Travis (2003) and Addley (2003).

⁹⁰ Polish-born Pawlikowski is himself an immigrant, having arrived in the UK with his mother when he was twelve. Describing himself as a ‘Polish émigré living in Britain’ the director frames a view of Britain/England very much from the perspective of the outsider: ‘Maybe because I myself have been a foreigner most of my life, I find the condition of an outsider more interesting than that of a local’ (www.eu2003.gr). Despite his nationality it could also be argued that Angelopoulos’ fits into this framework of the outsider in that his journeys in search for the ‘other Greece’ presuppose another ‘other’ (the ‘deformed image’ of ‘authentic’ Greek life represented by Athens).

⁹¹ Asylum seekers in nearby Dover were described by one local newspaper as ‘human sewage’ (Gibbons 2001: 2).

which the local tourist, heritage and culture industries are keen to promote, are brought into discursive proximity with other, less palatable narratives of millennial Britain. Sold as a place of leisure and consumption, where the term ‘British’ is as likely to function as a signifier of race and exclusivity as that of an inclusive multiculturalism, the presence of Margate/Stonehaven’s ‘others’ subverts the more dominant metonymic associations attached to this very British landscape to present a view of Britain as a (non)place on the margin. Suspended at the border zones of identity, this parochial, rather isolated landscape, emptied of history and relations of identity, invokes a spatial and temporal Elsewhere against which the anxieties and discontents of the ‘here and now’ may be measured. As such, in the same way that Spyros’ spatial isolation and suspension symbolises the transition towards an uncertain, post-communist Europe, the non-places of *Last Resort* become the ‘empty meeting grounds’ (MacCannell 1992) where the diasporic geographies of twenty-first century Britain confront the disorientated legacies of its imperial past.⁹²

Both *Last Resort* and *Voyage to Cythera* may be regarded as travel films, but only to the extent that their respective narratives begin with an arrival and end with a departure (in the case of *Voyage to Cythera* this only applies to the film-within-the-film; i.e. the scenes in the film which follow Alexander’s finding his ‘father’ [the old man who is to play Spyros], and which open with Alexander and his sister, Voula waiting at the quayside for their exiled father to arrive ‘home’ from Russia). The ambiguous references to an utopian destination in each film (the ironic ‘Dreamland’ of Stonehaven and Cythera’s isle of dreams) highlight the discrepancy between the structuring absence of home (*eutopia*) and the non-places (*outopia*) of transit and suspension which frame the intervening narrative spaces. As zones of stasis, geographies of hope and transition form the dialectical counterpart to these emptied states of suspension, which I explore in section 4.5. At this stage I wish to look more closely at the ‘arrested’ travel narrative that unravels in each film.

As Andrew O’Hagan observes, ‘[*Last Resort*] is a film about journeys’ (2001: 25), yet despite, or because of this, much of what constitutes the action of the central characters is punctuated by long periods of waiting and enforced sedentariness. Tanya and Artiom are shown waiting in the airport lounge for immigration to let them enter the country; waiting for the immigration service to process their asylum claim (and subsequent withdrawal); waiting for the phone box to call Tanya’s fiancé (who she is waiting to be rescued by); and waiting for the tide to rise so as to secure a safe, undetected passage out of the resort.

In this Godot-like atmosphere, Stonehaven represents the most immediate of quotidian constraints on endeavours to establish or attain a sense of place. Prevented from

⁹² On Margate seafront one can detect the truncated histories of Empire inscribed on the crumbling facades of its grand seafront hotels. Built in an age of Victorian pride and conspicuous consumption, The Nayland Rock Hotel, which overlooks Margate Bay, now serves as a hostel for asylum seekers.

leaving the holding area, the detainees' movements throughout the resort are under constant surveillance and restriction. The railway station is closed 'until further notice', and the grey, imposing presence of the sea provides a natural barrier of containment and exclusion. The essential otherness and objectification of the asylum seekers in *Last Resort* is further accentuated by provision of food vouchers which restrict their autonomy over their day-to-day patterns of consumption. Meagre cash benefits and denial of the right to work compound their outsider status, leaving them ripe for exploitation.

The surrender of identity that accompanies this process of othering is inscribed in almost every form of interaction and material exchange between Tanya and the sedentary spaces⁹³ of Stonehaven. The desire for mobility thus reflects a need to re-establish a sense of self-autonomy. Accordingly, the ability to secure connections beyond these imposed boundaries becomes the central preoccupation of the film's asylum community. The phone box on the seafront (which can only be operated by card) provides a focal point around which the asylum seekers and refugees gather. As well as serving as a portal by which to access the diasporic spaces beyond Stonehaven's borders, the phone box also acts as a marker of anthropological place to the extent that relations are established (albeit provisionally) amongst those waiting in line to 'connect'.

The only other outside or transnational connections that breach this zone of stasis take place within the virtual non-places of the Internet. Les, Stonehaven's resident pimp (played by the real-life porn star Lindsey Honey aka Ben Dover), scouts around the town looking for women to employ as virtual prostitutes for an on-line client base from across the globe ("We've got punters in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, everywhere"). Ironically it is the relative ease of the immigrants' breaching of the transnational boundaries of global capitalism, and their concomitant exploitation and commodification, that enables the town's most economically viable industry to sustain the prevention, or delay, of the same immigrants' actual crossing of transnational boundaries of labour, and of economic and political disparity.

Stonehaven's 'emptied' spatialities can thus be considered non-places in both Augé's terms (Stonehaven/Margate in this respect represents a quite striking contrast to Powell and Pressburger's vision of the Kentish landscape in *A Canterbury Tale*, i.e. as a place of history, tradition and organic sociality) and in relation to the virtual 'places' of nomadic

⁹³ For Deleuze and Guatarri, sedentary space represents the formalised, territorialised space of the state, in contrast to nomadic spaces of deterritorialisation: 'sedentary space is striated, by walls, enclosures, and roads between enclosures, while nomad space is smooth, marked only by "traits" that are effaced and displaced with the trajectory' (1988: 381). In Deleuze and Guatarri's hands 'deterritorialisation' is defined in a very specific theoretical context (see Chapter 1). My use of the term throughout this thesis draws on the broader hermeneutic context informing debates surrounding questions of place, space and identity in recent social theory.

multinational capitalism discussed by Hardt and Negri (2000), in which the deregulation of capital and the increased regulation of movements of low-skilled labour are the product of the ceding of power and autonomy away from national and place-based political economies.

Made seventeen years earlier, *Voyage to Cythera* hints at these more recent developments in its depiction of a society on the brink of change: an ‘inside Greece’ gradually succumbing to the ‘outside’ forces of the marketplace. Returning to his native village high in the Greek Macedonian mountains, Spyros discovers that his former neighbours (who had abandoned the village for the lowlands 15 years earlier) intend to collectively sell off the land to developers who are planning to build a ski resort. Without the signatures of all the landowners, however, the deal cannot go through. Spyros, who still owns his small plot of land, refuses to sign. In so doing he not only precipitates the chain of events that will eventually lead to his ‘third exile’,⁹⁴ he also pays tribute to the spirit of other ‘ghosts’ from the past for whom the empty village now stands as little more than a monument to spatial and temporal absence. Amongst the few distinguishing landmarks remaining in this remote mountain wilderness are Spyros’ old tool shed and a single, barren tree. Like the old man, the roots sustaining this fragile symbol of organic connection have all but died. Cythera, the *eutopia* of Spyros’ imagination, becomes a *outopia*: ‘hope’ has nowhere – no *place* – else to go.⁹⁵

Yet, as Biro notes, ‘the paradox of the old man’s journey is that he never arrives’ – Cythera is not so much a landscape or destination as the voyage itself (1997: 72, 77). It is not Spyros’ imagination we are ultimately privy to but Alexander’s (and by implication Angelopoulos himself). The narrative structure of the film, and the blurring of reality and fiction which the trope of the film-within-a-film represents, self-consciously draws attention to the artifice behind this ostensibly *imaginary* journey to reflect upon both the historical legacies of the Greek left and the political re-orientations confronting those who are heir to its revolutionary tradition. For example, a shot of Spyros dancing beside the grave of a departed comrade (singing ‘Forty Red Apples’, a traditional folk ballad about loss and old age) pulls back in a reverse zoom (from 25mm to 250mm) which Angelopoulos deliberately exaggerates, reducing the figure of Spyros to little more than a dot on the landscape, thereby highlighting the extent to which this scene is framed from

⁹⁴ This phrase, attributed to Spyros yet uttered by Alexander (the director) when reading from the script of *Voyage to Cythera* in the film-outside-the-film, refers to the exile depicted in the film and the two periods of exile which historically preceded it: the displacements following the Greek defeat at the hands of the Turks in 1922, and the exile of communists at the end of the civil war (Groden 2001:51-52).

⁹⁵ The tree symbolism of this landscape *mise en scène* recalls the poet Baudelaire’s *Voyage to Cythera* in which the ‘Island green with myrtle, rich with bloom’ of the traveller’s imagination, becomes, in reality, ‘nothing more than a thistled promontory... [where] black against the sky, no cypress but a branching gallows-tree’ (from *Les Fleurs du mal* [1982: 134-136]).

Alexander's perspective (Biro 1997: 76; Horton 1997a: 132-133). The old man's plight thus becomes both an elegy to a dying past and a meditation on a transitional present. Alexander's passive ambivalence in this regard is clear from his silent, non-committal response to his father's intransigence over the sale of the land. Voula, by comparison, is angry at Spyros for refusing to let her mother sign the contract.

If transcribed into spatial terms, this ambivalence can also be detected in the film's intermediary space, diegetically and geographically located between the city and Spyros' rural homeland: a Mobil petrol station (and corporate symbol of multinational capitalism) which Alexander pulls into *en route* to and from the mountain village. At home in neither the 'deformed image' of the city nor the lost 'reality and concept' of the Greek village, Alexander/Angelopoulos takes temporary refuge in the familiar anonymity of this most Augé-esque of non-places. A Guido to Angelopoulos' Fellini,⁹⁶ Alexander pauses in this ambivalent zone of stasis and transition, where past and present, centre and periphery are diegetically interwoven – a discontinuity in space and time where narrative and creative mobilities are potentially resumed. The petrol station represents a '*metaphorai* of the pause' where movement and metaphor come together, etymologically and cinematically, in narrative spaces of arrival and departure (cf. Morris 1988).

This non-place of identity, adrift in an increasingly deterritorialised space-time of the nation-state, provides a contemporary mirror to that represented externally by Spyros' raft, drifting slowly out of history and locality. In both instances we witness a movement away from an idea of 'inside Greece', towards, on the one hand, chronotopes of the transitory, processual and contingent, and, on the other, towards frontier zones of transnational space. Like the artist Rachel Whiteread's casting of negative space, these negatively reconfigured places inscribe inverse geographies of absence and displacement: an 'inside Greece' turned inside out.⁹⁷

The increased centrality of non-places of travel such as service stations, roadside cafés, motels, and railway stations – which, alongside modes of transport themselves (trains, buses, ships, ferries), are a dominant feature of Angelopoulos' later work – opens up the seemingly autonomous spaces and towns of *The Travelling Players* to expose a world where 'home' is a landscape suspended between destinations. This state of existential suspension which is characteristic of all of the later films is composed of

⁹⁶ A reference to Fellini's *Otto e Mezzo* (8 ½, 1963), which, like *Voyage to Cythera*, is also a self-reflexive enquiry into the creative process of filmmaking, in which the central protagonist (played by Marcello Mastroianni) is the alter-ego of the (real) film's director.

⁹⁷ Whiteread's piece entitled *Ghost* (1990) is the cast of the interior contours of a Victorian living room. The emptiness of negative space is given form; the form (walls, windows, fireplace) is emptied. As with her later, and more ambitious *House* (1993-4), these intimate spaces of memory and time are rendered tangible and, quite literally, concrete in formal properties of the non-place (cf. Lingwood et al 1995).

complex modalities of movement and inertia in which utopic horizons become etched on the empty, yet no less arresting landscapes of the director's gaze. In a scene from *Voyage to Cythera*, Katerina elects to remain with her estranged husband at the old stone cottage which many years previously had been the family home. In a touching moment of solidarity and defiance the elderly couple are shown standing hand-in-hand outside their long-since abandoned place of dwelling (see Figure 4.1). The camera pulls slowly back as if paying tribute to this passing generation and the ideals they fought for. This point also marks the temporary exit from the film-within-the-film, emphasising the fact that a chapter (in both the historical and filmic narratives) has been completed.

What is notable about this scene is the resemblance it bears to the departure scene from Troell's *The Emigrants*, in which the camera assumes the point of view of Karl Oskar and his family as they leave behind their family home for the last time. Standing outside the farmhouse, smoke drifting from the chimney, the figures of Karl Oskar's parents can be seen slowly receding into the distance as the migrants set off for the New World (see Chapter 3). The differences,



Figure 4.1: Departure scene from *Voyage to Cythera*

however, are more significant than the similarities. For Spyros and Katerina there is no smoking chimney, no familial warmth of hearth and home. The cottage in *The Emigrants* establishes home as a place of memory and nostalgia in the minds of those leaving, whereas in *Voyage to Cythera* Ithaca is a place long-since emptied of any organic content, where the displaced are the objects rather than the bearers of the camera's gaze. To 'inhabit' or stay behind in this place of memory is to accept the same fate as that which has befallen the dwelling itself.

If we extend this comparison, replacing this scene with the final shot from *Voyage to Cythera*, we see that while Karl Oskar and his family are travelling from place to (non)place – i.e. moving away from a fixed point of departure towards a utopic horizon of displaced arrival – in *Voyage to Cythera* it is not so much that the travellers are moving away from home; rather, home, in relative terms, is moving away from the travellers. In the scene in question, Spyros and Katerina are huddled together on the raft (see Figure 4.2). Spyros undoes the rope mooring them 'in place', and, looking ahead, they drift slowly away towards the horizon.

Framed from the fixed perspective of those on land, it is of course the raft that moves, and the elderly couple who are the travellers. Yet it could also be argued that, like Karl Oskar and his family, it is the bearers of the gaze who are in fact the travellers;

defined as they are *in relation to* a vision of ‘home’ that is otherwise fixed – or suspended – in a frozen image of time (echoing the earlier scene at the cottage). The forward displacement of the raft thus simultaneously enacts a counter displacement, operating relative to this zone of stasis, marking the start of Alexander/Angelopoulos’ own ‘voyage to Cythera’: internal journeys of exile



Figure 4.2: Final scene from *Voyage to Cythera*

and displacement that unfold in each of the subsequent films. These inverted, ambivalent trajectories re-draw the map of Cythera (i.e. Greece) as both an island of mythic, organic returns (*eutopia*) and as an emptied non-place (*outopia*) of identity adrift in a sea of contingent connections. In both senses of the term ‘utopia’ becomes a reference to the voyage itself:

It is impossible for us to live and die permanently on a raft floating in international waters. The *voyage* to Cythera must somehow be made, no matter how many boats are sunk on the way. Utopia is meant to be lived, and Cythera is on the map. Therefore it must also exist in our lives. (Rafalidis 1997: 49, emphasis added)

It is the voyage not the arrival that forms the essence of Rafalidis’ entreaty; a journey – from place to non-place – which takes us away from the dialectical mobilities of historical time towards an uncertain, more chaotic dialectic of space. As they embark on their voyage Spyros and Katerina look out towards a horizon that is not ahead of them, but behind: landscapes of memory irrevocably lost to the mists of time. Drifting away from place towards a mythic *outopia*, never to be realised in this world, they look to the past with the fortitude of those ready to face their own imminent mortality (again in parallel to the earlier scene⁹⁸) – valedictory reflections on a temporal dialectic now frozen in stasis. At the same time they embody a transitional gaze born as much from spatial contradiction as from any post-dialectical configuration of historical time. As in Pawlikowski’s *Stonehaven*, the voyage to Cythera’s projected Dreamland takes place in the proliferating, empirical *outopias* of transnational spatiality that are shaping the ideological landscapes of contemporary Europe. Torn between place and non-place, a utopics of travel reveals the

⁹⁸ Emotionally these scenes convey an added poignancy in that Manos Katrakis, the elderly actor playing Spyros, was himself to die shortly after the shoot had ended. Suffering from terminal cancer, Katrakis’ performance, delivered in the knowledge that he might die before completion of the film, thus becomes as much a personal valediction as that which his role in the film represents politically or metaphorically, further blurring the distinction between reality and fiction.

underlying contradictions at the heart of these heterotopic spaces – a dialectic of movement and fixity which is mobilised through, or as, *zones of transition*.

4.5 Zones of Transition

In the film that followed *Voyage to Cythera*, 1986's *The Beekeeper*, another Spyros (played by Marcello Mastroianni) sets off with his bees on a final migration, headed south across Greece towards his childhood hometown. Upon his arrival towards the end of the film, Spyros wanders through the haunts and ruins of what remains of his former home; the house where he was born and raised is now crumbling and deserted; a run-down cinema is to be sold off through lack of interest. Now and again a train, one of the few signs of life and movement amidst these relics of the past, passes back and forth in front of the cinema, on its way to some other place and time. Dominating the frame, the train's effect is like that of film spooling rhythmically through a projector.

With this image in mind, we observe the initiation of another transitional passage between films. The opening shot of *Landscape in the Mist*, the third of the trilogy of silence, is of two children standing on a railway platform in front of a stationary train bound for 'Germany', a mythical place where the children believe that their father, whom they have never known, can be found. As the train starts to pull away, leaving the children behind, the camera zooms in so that once again it dominates the frame. In a reversal of the *Beekeeper* shot, the two protagonists are now on the near-side of the train/film, sharing the viewers' perspective of the narrative journey, or *metaphorai*, about to unfold.⁹⁹

In these cinematic any-spaces-whatever, *movement*, or spaces of transition (the spatial unfolding of temporal duration), punctuates or emerges from spaces of stasis (the temporal unfolding of spatial restriction) in order to facilitate the linear progression of the filmic narrative. The association of train and film in this respect could hardly be more explicit. Yet in the case of Angelopoulos it is a narrative that continues between films, the 'interludes' in effect becoming extra-diegetic transitional spaces (from *Voyage to Beekeeper* to *Landscape* and beyond). This then is Angelopoulos' Cythera: a journey where the destination is reached only to the extent that it is able to frame ongoing creative paths of aesthetic mobility. In the same way that Spyros' terminal journey in *Voyage to Cythera* paves the way for Mastroianni's Greek odyssey in *The Beekeeper*, the second Spyros' death on the hills overlooking his former hometown is dialectically countered by the onward

⁹⁹ As discussed in Chapter 1.3, the word 'metaphor' is derived from the ancient Greek for transfer, or transport. Travel and movement, in etymological terms, are therefore semantically embedded in the tropic displacements of metaphor, including those conveyed in the visual landscapes of film. Moreover, as noted previously, in modern-day Greece, vehicles of mass transportation, such as the bus and the train, are called *metaphorai*.

displacement of the train that leaves him behind; a vehicular narrative destined for re-embarkation in *Landscape in the Mist*.

The *metaphorai* of train and film in this context reappears in a scene from *The Suspended Step of The Stork* (1991), the film which followed the trilogy of silence. In *The Beekeeper* and *Voyage to Cythera* the different perspectives of the films' respective 'travellers' are dependent on their position relative to the moving train – Mastroianni's character is trapped in the gaps between the frames/carriages, unable to 'move on', whereas the children stand to the near side of the train, thereby becoming potential agents or 'passengers' of the filmic *metaphorai*. In both examples the characters, and the camera, are fixed relative to the movement of the train. In *The Suspended Step of The Stork*, by contrast, it is the camera that moves, framing the inhabitants of a stationary train that is bound for nowhere. In a long, slow tracking shot the camera moves alongside a line of boxcars, each in turn the temporary 'home' of a refugee family, and each, as Horton describes, 'with its similar silent staring of people displaced, *waiting, waiting, waiting*' (1997a: 165, emphasis added). An impression of objective movement is created relative to the tracking camera, but the movement that in fact unfolds in this scene establishes a space not of transition, but stasis. The stately mobility of the camera (and, by implication, that of the vicarious voyager-voyeur) highlights, by distinction, the leaden immobility of the refugees. These are travellers who can foresee no unfolding narrative journey. Their existence, such as it is, is laid bare by the camera's deictic gaze to which they can but impassively respond. Their fate is one of suspension and inertia as if frozen in the individual frames of a film that has long since ceased to roll.

As we saw in the previous section, much of what constitutes the action in *Last Resort* is similarly constructed around spaces of waiting and inertia from which the desire for mobility is itself mobilised. In this respect the fictional Stonehaven draws effectively on the very real experiences of asylum seekers and other displaced persons whose 'suspended step' lingers uncertainly within the any-spaces-whatever of temporary hostels such as Margate's Nayland Rock Hotel. Like the refugees in *The Suspended Step of The Stork* (who are in fact filmed from the perspective of a documentary film crew and the television journalist around whom Angelopoulos' film is centred), or the asylum community in *Last Resort*, Margate's real-life contingent of asylum seekers and refugees is the object of a discursive gaze over which they have no control. Constantly under surveillance, the detainees' own gaze is directed further afield towards utopic horizons beyond the spatial constraints imposed by their asylum status, as illustrated by the photograph in Figure 4.3, which was taken outside Nayland Rock Hotel in September 2003.



Figure 4.3: ‘Horizons and frontiers’: asylum seekers in Margate, Kent, 2003 (author’s photo)

What this still image is not able to convey is that looking out over this seascape the eye is drawn to the yachts and sailing boats that provide the only signs of movement on the distant but otherwise fixed horizon. Like the kinaesthetic pleasures of dance, or, indeed, of film itself, sailing can imbue the subject with an ‘embodied affect’ (Rutherford 2002) of visceral emotion¹⁰⁰ and agential mobility. The sense of lightness and freedom suggested by sailing vessels has thus ensured their enduring status as ready-made symbols of utopic hope in cinematic narratives of travel and migration (see Chapter 3.2). In the social and ethnographic context of the Nayland Rock Hotel, the ‘utopic gaze’ of the asylum seekers (recalling that of the filmmaker on board the *Tomaso Di Savoia* in *A Trip to Brazil*), is carried over, consciously or not, into the fictional spaces of *Last Resort*. With the help of Alfie, who works in the bingo hall and amusement arcade, Tanya and Artiom plan their escape from Stonehaven by sea. Hiding in a boat overnight, they wait for the tide to rise and at dawn set sail around the headland towards freedom.

The flight out of Stonehaven on the yacht juxtaposes movement and a liberatory, almost tangible lightness of being with the inert and oppressive spatialities left behind. In so doing it reinforces the distinction in the film’s representation of space between zones of stasis and transition. The camera’s meditative and detached gaze in this scene – in particular the close-up shots of Alfie and Tanya ‘suspended’ in motion as they glide through a background expanse of waves gently billowing in the early morning light – is a celebration

¹⁰⁰ The idea of emotion stems from the work of Bruno, whose *Atlas of Emotions* explores the motion of emotion and affect in visual and spatial cultures (2002).

of Deleuze's movement-image, combining the mobility of action with that of pure duration and cinematic form (Figure 4.4). This valorisation of movement and mobility is accentuated



Figure 4.4: Flight scene from *Last Resort*

by the addition of dominant non-diegetic music which, for the first time in the film, informs a temporary suspension or ‘submergence’ of the character’s diegetic subjectivity within a temporal phenomenology of what Deleuze terms ‘liquid perception’ (1992).

Both Deleuze (1992) and Bruno (1993) have explored the relationship of water, movement and film. For Deleuze ‘water is the most perfect environment in which movement can be extracted from the thing moved, or mobility from movement itself’ (1992: 77). Drawing on CS Peirce’s theories of semiotics, Deleuze ascribes the liquidity of perception (which he terms the *reume*) to a ‘camera-consciousness’ (ibid: 80) in which perception and movement flow through the frame rather than an image isolated within the frame, or a perception within a (liquid) perception (*dicisign*). Arguably, the signification of the movement-image in this transitional scene in *Last Resort* is a composite gestalt of *reume* and *dicisign*, of movement in action and action in movement. Nowhere in the film are ontologies of agency and mobility made more explicit. Within a zone of transition through the coastal waters of a fortress Britain, Tanya literally becomes herself in and *as* movement.

In her discussion of the ‘fluid *meter-polis*’ of Elvira Notari’s filmic representation of Naples, Bruno suggests that ‘the sea epitomizes *transito*’ (1993: 222), a concept she derives from the Italian philosopher Mario Perniola. This theorises the spatialisation of desire as inscribed in physical and mental motion, incorporating states of transit, transition, movement and circulation. In Bruno’s analysis the emphasis is ostensibly on the pleasures of the gaze in cinematic topographies of urban spatiality. With its emphasis on flows, movements and the spatial enactment of desire *transito* addresses itself to *transgressions* of social, spatial and moral boundaries, and the desires and kinaesthetic pleasures of embodied perception (cf. Merleau-Ponty 1962; Deleuze and Guatarri 1988).

As a transitory state the *transito* of Tanya, Artiom and Alfie’s cinematic flight out of the resort constructs an alternate space of desire and resistance that is dialectically complicit with the disciplinary space of Stonehaven. However, the tension between zones of transition and stasis is maintained throughout the remainder of the film. Tanya does not ‘arrive’ at any point; in terms of a spatial resolution, there is no arbitrary *placement* that might otherwise be expected to occur following her escape. ‘Dreamland’ remains as elusive as ever. Tanya and Artiom’s journey continues within the inorganic spaces – or non-places – of transit that have framed every aspect of their journey to the stultifying heart of English ennui. Having bid farewell to Alfie by the side of a motorway, we see them board a lorry heading for London. In the next and final scene they are back at the airport being carried away once more by the shuttle car. By ending the film within this zone of transition Pawlikowski not only alludes to the extra-diegetic journeys yet to unfold (echoing the other ‘airport film’ of that year, Roch Stephanik’s *Stand-By*), he also invites us to consider the extent to which these otherwise voluntarist, indeterminate itineraries may be framed within a more circular narrative structure in which the ‘terminal’ voyage (in both senses of the word) depicted in the final scene becomes indistinguishable from that embarked upon in the film’s opening frames. Looked at from this perspective, time and agency are predestined, but only in so far as the projected horizons of utopic hope remain formally constrained within material non-places of stasis and transition. Dreamland, like Cythera, is ultimately not a place of arrival but the endlessly deferred product of a spatial contradiction. Reflecting on her British odyssey in search of love Tanya acknowledges to Alfie, and to herself, that ‘I have to stop dreaming – I’ve been dreaming all my life. I have to go back and start my life...’. The closed down amusement park’s ambiguous reminder that ‘Dreamland Welcomes You’ becomes an ironic and harsh rejoinder to the folly of utopia, in which a structuring absence is forever destined to conflate the expectation of arrival with the inevitability of departure. It is thus not the idealism of the dreamer that determines Tanya’s ongoing pursuit of her life; it is rather with a pragmatic recognition of certain of the realities of twenty-first century Europe that she embarks on her journey through yet another zone of transition.

The shift from idealism to pragmatism which Tanya's personal odyssey could be said to reflect politically,¹⁰¹ is a trend that could hardly be applied to the cultural geographies of travel in films such as *Landscape in the Mist*, or the more recent 'border films'. In Angelopoulos' hands, idealism gives way to nostalgia. Yet at the same time the idealisation of home remains largely intact. The difference lies in the distinction between the structuring absence of *place* as a politically viable vision of collective agency and organic connections, and *non-place*, in which absence and presence are formally conflated. Home, as Van den Abbeele has argued, 'can only exist at the price of its being lost' (1992: xviii-xix). The travel narrative that is adopted in Angelopoulos' later films establishes a formal and thematic structure by which 'home' can be imagined but geographically (and hence politically and existentially) never reached. As a consequence, ontologies of the real and imaginary, the political and aesthetic are brought into sharper focus by virtue of their growing incommensurability. Home becomes an individualised, internal landscape that can only ever be accessed through the medium of film. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the third of the trilogy of silence, a film in which Angelopoulos bids a last farewell to the dialectical 'travellers' of his earlier work.

Wandering from film to film, the travelling players venture beyond the diegetic space of the 1975 film to reappear in 1988's *Landscape in the Mist*, a time span of thirteen years, equivalent to that travelled in the earlier film. In this later work, these bearers of history, now 'ravaged by time', can no longer find a venue to perform their play, nor an audience receptive to the antecedent trajectories of nation and narration. Reduced to performing on the beach to anyone who will listen, the players' recital is now little more than a cacophony of monologues, overlapping fragments of a grand narrative (quotes taken from *The Travelling Players*) bereft of place or formal structuration. These peripatetic players now inhabit a diegetic space where travel is less a movement between places (historically or geographically adduced) than a journey between real, empirical non-places of waiting, transit and refuge, and imaginary, a-spatial and a-temporal 'landscapes in the mist'.

¹⁰¹ Pawlikowski has in fact distanced himself from political readings of *Last Resort*, disputing claims made by critics that it is a social realist film *about* asylum. Closer in spirit to the early films of Ken Loach, such as *Kes* (1969), than that director's more recent work, Pawlikowski's brand of *poetic* realism strives for an 'authenticity' of human experience which defies the sociologically-defined characterisation which, he argues, typifies so much of contemporary British film: 'All I can fight against in my films is the industrialization of life and the industrialization of movies. All I do now, or try to do, is get at something in humans, or characters, which is genuine, authentic... and which defies the norm in a believable way' (Roberts 2002b: 94). However, given the racial and political tensions that exist in Margate, and the urgency of debates on asylum and immigration in a broader political context, the hermeneutical spaces of Stonehaven, irrespective of authorial intention, are inevitably suffused by the same sociological constraints as those experienced by the town's real-life asylum community.

The landscape in question is a utopia; one arrived at through, and inhabited in, film itself. In this regard, Angelopoulos subscribes to the persistence of a modernist vision of cinema's exalted and utopian role in modern society:

The world needs cinema now more than ever. It may be the last important form of *resistance* to the deteriorating world in which we live... in dealing with borders, boundaries, the mixing of languages, and cultures today, the refugees who are homeless and not wanted, I am trying to seek a new humanism, a new way. (Angelopoulos, quoted in Horton 2001: 86, from an interview conducted in 1992, emphasis in original)

Note that it is the deteriorating *world* which the director cites resistance to, rather than any notion of class, ideology or formation of power to which such deterioration might be attributed. For Angelopoulos, cinema appears to offer a retreat from that world, rather than any form of resistance in the political sense.

By far the more interesting aspect of this retreat to a disengaged utopianism is the spatial contradiction that emerges in the double play between a notion of the non-place in the sense that Augé describes it, and the structuring absence of an imaginary non-place or utopia.

As in *The Beekeeper*, the journey that structures *Landscape in the Mist* is an odyssey that largely unfolds in the sedentary spaces of travel, such as railway waiting rooms, truck stops and roadside cafés, as well as the actual spaces and modes of travel themselves (train, bus, lorry and motorcycle). It is also a journey that traces absent geographies located beyond the diegetic spaces of the film. Travelling from south to north – a reversal of the beekeeper's journey – the two children, Voula and Alexander (also the names of the brother and sister in *Voyage to Cythera*) embark on an odyssey in search of their father, a journey that takes them to an imaginary border with what they believe to be Germany. We never discover the identity of the father; all we know of him is his absence – somewhere 'across the border' in Germany. That Angelopoulos chose this particular country, a nation whose real borders do not coincide with Greece, suggests a deliberate 'placing' of the father amongst the many economic exiles who were forced to abandon their homeland to become *Gastarbeiter* in Germany. This inverse mapping of an Other Greece is that of a diasporic nation, a theme partly explored the director's latest work, a trilogy of films, the first of which, *Trilogy: The Weeping Meadow*, was released in 2004.¹⁰²

¹⁰² At the time of writing, the remaining two films, *The Third Wing* and *Eternal Return*, are still in pre-production.

On the various train journeys north, Voula composes imaginary letters to her father. The absent replies, which Voula receives from the sound of the train moving along the tracks, are from another, as yet unspecified, space and time: diasporic landscapes which these most recent films, having literally ‘stepped across the border’, attempt to give voice and substance. Yet these epistolary narratives are also sent to and from a landscape outside history: utopian non-places of the imagination that are given flesh in the cinematic image.

A traveller not only from the pages of Greek myth, but also from *The Travelling Players*, the character Orestes, who befriends the children and gives them a lift in his travelling home, finds himself, along with his fellow travelling players, at the end of the road. Soon to join the army, he tells the children that he is ‘a snail slithering away into nothingness’, no longer knowing where he is going. Bending down, he picks up a small piece of 35 millimetre cine-film. As he holds it to the light, the camera zooms in to reveal an empty frame. Orestes tells the children that he can see a tree – a landscape in the mist.

When they finally reach the border, Alexander and Voula step from the darkness of night into the blinding light of a misty landscape. ‘Wake up, its light. We’re in Germany’, Alexander tells Voula. The tree that Orestes has described slowly comes into view. The children have entered the fragment of film and found their ‘father’. Absence and presence, place and non-place, past and present – all become reconciled in this organic vision of authenticity and autochthony: reconciliation with a father whom the Voula and Alexander of *Voyage to Cythera* watched drifting out to sea.¹⁰³ For Angelopoulos, the contradictions of space and the dialectical ebbs and flows of history can only be resolved by entering the utopian dream-spaces of film. This non-place in the mist has become the realisation of a vision of Cythera. The voyage, for the time being at least, is over.

Landscape in the Mist is by far the most accessible of the director’s films. This is no doubt partly due to the casting of children in the central roles, and the mythical and fairy-tale elements of the story. A more likely factor to which this accessibility can be attributed is the linear structure of the journey. The film has a forward momentum in which zones of stasis are for the most part *passed through* (e.g. the scene on the beach where the travelling players finally come to rest) rather than functioning as structural discontinuities in the desire

¹⁰³ In an interview discussing the film shortly after its release, Angelopoulos claims that the tree in *Landscape in the Mist* is the same as that in Spyros’ home village in *Voyage to Cythera* (Toubiana and Strauss 2001[1988]: 64). In a more recent interview, however, he reveals that the landscape in question was shot in the Italian mountains (Fainaru 2001[1999]: 133), suggesting that the father’s homeland, as symbolised by the tree, is as much, if not more a part of the director’s personal landscape of film than that constituted by the actual geographies and histories of the region(s) under discussion.

for movement and transition (the children move on from this scene, it is the players who remain suspended). In this respect the film could be said to more closely resemble the structure of a 'road movie', a generic label often attached to the film by critics, but which Angelopoulos himself rejects (see Chapter 5).

The film then recounts a transitional journey, but one which nevertheless operates within several different symbolic registers. For the teenage Voula, the journey becomes a rite of passage into adulthood. The single gunshot that is heard as the children attempt to cross the border into 'Germany' pronounces the symbolic death of the child. As the mist fades and the children rush to embrace the landscape that lies beyond the frontier, Voula and her brother step from the darkness to a new beginning. The intertextual rites of personal and political reconciliation rehearsed in this scene also mark a point of closure in terms of Angelopoulos' own creative odyssey. Having bid farewell to the travelling players and their dialectical journeys through history, the director returns to the symbolic landscape of *Voyage to Cythera* to embrace an idea of home that now resides outside place and time. Whereas the earlier Alexander/Angelopoulos occupied a more ambivalent position in relation to his 'father' – an ambivalence further enhanced by the blurring of reality and fiction, historicity and memory – the zone of transition represented in these final scenes of the trilogy constitutes a more resolute 'border crossing' in that the ambiguous duality of the real and imagined is replaced by the monistic ontology of a purely cinematic, a-spatial and a-temporal locus of utopic dwelling. It is as if Alexander/Angelopoulos from the earlier film had finally decided to join his father on the Cythera-bound raft.

In this final 'landscape' scene, the spatial contradictions that have hitherto structured the trilogy's cinematic odyssey are resolved in a space, or moment, of *stasis* conceived less in the terms I have argued in this chapter, than those more closely resembling Paul Schrader's 'transcendental' style of film. In his discussion of the 'spiritual universality' (1972: 3) of the films of Ozu, Bresson, and Dreyer, Schrader defines stasis as 'the quiescent, frozen, or hieratic scene which succeeds the decisive action and closes the film. It is a still re-view of the external world intended to suggest the oneness of all things... *a frozen view of life which does not resolve the disparity but transcends it*' (1972: 82, 49, emphasis in original). I am not suggesting here that Angelopoulos is lapsing into a transcendental monism attached to some ill-defined notion of the 'spiritually universal', but rather that the dialectical spatialities that precede this scene are brought to a form of artificial resolution in a decidedly un-dialectical process of *transcendence* from a quotidian realm of the social and political. The notion of *pure cinema* becomes just that: a utopian world at one removed from the otherwise corrupting realities of history and the 'world outside'. So although this final scene in some ways may be considered optimistic in terms of the closure and resolution it offers the 'fellow traveller', in other respects it represents a profoundly pessimistic

statement in which the arrival at the border marks a point not of political or historical transition but of solitary introspection, nostalgia and existential suspension: in other words a zone of *stasis* defined on the terms originally expressed. Fittingly, Marcello Mastroianni's character in the film which followed *Landscape in the Mist* is a former politician who disappears after writing a book called *Despair at the End of Century* and who is now rumoured to be living amongst the homeless refugees in the 'Waiting Room' on the Greek-Albanian border. The 'new collective dream' for which he yearns in the book is no longer to be found in the world of politics. It is sought instead amongst the 'sea of humanity' which the refugees and displaced masses clustered either side of the border come to represent. For Angelopoulos, the historicised landscapes of the earlier films have thus given way to the more metaphysical and humanistic terrain which he explores in this later work.

All of the director's most recent films (*The Suspended Step of the Stork*, *Ulysses' Gaze*, *Eternity and a Day*) employ the central trope of the border in their respective mappings of exile, migrancy and displacement. Yet despite the very tangible and material status of the border zone in the films cited, for Angelopoulos these zones of stasis and transition function less as geo-political or sociological entities, but rather as metaphors mapping the metaphysical landscapes of the human condition. A shift from place to non-place in these films reflects an historical transition away from ideological certitudes of place and identity towards what Jameson describes as 'some transnational situation which they cannot properly fix or identify' (1997: 91-92). Given this lack of fixity or certitude in Angelopoulos' re-imagined geographies – an uncertainly born as much from the post-Marxist, post-national realities of contemporary Europe as from any formal or aesthetic re-orientations in the director's work – it is therefore not altogether surprising that many of the journeys that unfold in these films take 'place' within the more navigable landscapes of memory and nostalgia.¹⁰⁴

In terms of the more central arguments to be expounded in this thesis, this shift in the geographical imagination of filmmakers such as Angelopoulos can thus be shown to be illustrative of the wider developments which this chapter has set out to explore. Like the trilogy of silence, this chapter has attempted to chart a process of transition whereby the

¹⁰⁴ It is worth noting that this turning away from the interiority of an 'inside Greece' towards these real and imagined borders coincides with the start of Angelopoulos' collaboration with the Italian screenwriter, Tonino Guerra, who has co-scripted all the screenplays from *Voyage to Cythera* to date. Released in the same year as *Voyage to Cythera*, Andrei Tarkovsky's *Nostalghia/Nostalgia* (1983) was also written in collaboration with Guerra, a process recorded in the documentary *Viaggio di Tempo* (Andrei Tarkovsky, 1983, see Chapter 3.1); and it was while visiting the exiled Russian director in Rome that Angelopoulos first met the screenwriter. In an interview discussing the ideas behind Tarkovsky's film, Guerra explains that 'It is the nostalgia for a world without frontiers...for a world which is disappearing...Nostalgia for a life which we do not have and perhaps we never had' (Biarese 1983), sentiments which could easily have been expressed by the later Angelopoulos.

changing cultural and cinematic geographies of travel over the last three decades are argued to be connotative of a fundamental shift in spatio-temporal mappings of place and 'home' in contemporary Europe. From history to memory, national to transnational, *eutopia* to *outopia*: these transitional journeys to nowhere (or no-place) represent a crisis in the utopic gaze.

As we have seen, the Old Road that the pilgrims trod in *A Canterbury Tale* has led to the deterritorialised spaces of Margate in *Last Resort*. The blessings bestowed on their respective travellers inform two very different ideas of nation, place and identity: the former ideologically 'centred' as a place of historical continuity and organic return; the latter a landscape suspended in empty duration. For the utopic traveller, unlike the tourist or pilgrim, the projected horizons of a *deferred* vision of home and organic continuity – i.e. located beyond the horizon's frontier – confront the mythic temporalities of place and nation that these same frontiers, from *within*, might otherwise sustain. As a consequence, historical time attaches itself to the dialectics of place, space and *eutopia*. These journeys of hope, so powerfully dramatised in the epic migrations of *America, America* and *The Emigrants*, are predicated on the notion of spatial and temporal distance between geographical points of departure and arrival. The extent to which the utopic gaze can be said to have foundered is therefore a question which invites us to reflect upon the nature of the relationship between tropes of horizon and frontier in contemporary travel narratives. What is immediately apparent from the examples considered in this chapter is the extent to which these tropes have merged. Travel becomes less of a *transitional* spatial practice predicated on movement from place to place as a sedentary activity confined to non-places of waiting and refuge, where the passage of time, or of other travellers passing through these spaces, provide the only forms of movement. In these shifting cinematic geographies of travel and migration the immobilities of space become the fertile ground from which 'mobile' ontologies of time – e.g. the 'time travel' of the (a)spatial ellipse, or the empty duration of zones of stasis – are brought to the fore.

In *Last Resort* or the later films of Angelopoulos horizons and frontiers have contracted so far in scale that they are virtually indistinct. The empty meeting grounds and any-spaces-whatever of these films correspond to Marin's 'impossible space' of the neutral: 'an in-between space without place' (1984: 57) where horizon and frontier come together. But whereas, for Marin, this impossible space cannot be assigned to any given geo-historical reality, and hence is reserved for the 'non-place' of the utopic text, the spatial utopics of these and other examples from contemporary European film lend a material dimension to the concept of the neutral, which, as I have shown in this chapter, acquires its more substantive utopic form in the shape of Augé's non-place.

Breaking Augé's concept down into the tripartite spatial structure I have suggested here, it has been demonstrated that what have increasingly determined the nature, or more precisely, the *production* of these affective spaces of travel are the dialectics of movement and fixity operative within non-places of arrival and departure such as border zones, airports, transit camps and such like. In this section I have focused on spaces or zones of transition which are mobilised in opposition to zones of stasis. Clearly the largely suspended travel narratives discussed above are not therefore intended to be representative of a totality of travel experience peculiar to our age. At some point most travellers move on from these transitory spaces (even if only to imaginary destinations), and by no means are contemporary references to travel and migration in film solely preoccupied with the spatial discontinuities of those 'on the move'. What we therefore need to develop further are these spaces of transition where *movement* rather than fixity is prioritised. As I will show in the next chapter, this demands a closer examination of embodied or 'psychogeographic' mobilities of utopic travel. Embarking on a more restless *metaphorai* of travel and film, I now go in search of 'peripatetic' geographies of the road in contemporary European film.

Chapter 5

SPACES OF TRANSITION: PERIPATETIC GEOGRAPHIES OF THE ROAD

5.1 The Road Ahead

The opening shot from *Spoorloos* (*The Vanishing*, George Sluizer, 1988) begins with a close up of an insect at rest on a branch. As the camera slowly pans left the shallow focus of the image opens to reveal tall grasses swaying in the breeze, and beyond, as the credits are displayed and the film's haunting theme music begins, a picturesque rural scene appears: a sleepy hamlet or village nestled between rolling green hills. As the camera continues to pan across the landscape the elevated sections of a motorway come into frame, its huge concrete pillars conveying a steady flow of traffic to and from the now fixed space of composition. The road's sudden appearance is unexpected and, enhanced by the score, rather unsettling and ominous. Rising like a monolith from the organic and more intimate locality of the environs over which it towers, the road's abstract space sets the tone for what follows: an eerily disturbing tale of loss, uncertainty and emotional stasis. From the outset it is clear that these are emotional topographies that are unlikely to follow a linear trajectory, where tropes of the horizon unfold or 'unpack' a narrative space of travel in some way correlative with that of the road itself. Indeed, the juxtaposition between the near-tangible sense of place evoked by the natural environment, and the abstract non-places of the motorway's built environment complements the circular, irresolute tension of presence and absence that is replayed, over and over, throughout the film. When, in the final scenes, closure is finally attained, Rex, the film's central protagonist, enters into a pact with the abductor of his girlfriend, whose unknown fate has haunted him since her disappearance at a motorway service station three years earlier while on holiday together in France. In a bid to learn the truth Rex allows himself to be drugged by his tormentor; a journey of transition which takes him from the site of the abduction – a place by now inseparable from the emotional and psychological affects attached to this event – to the claustrophobic interiors of a coffin; a journey of elliptical blackness broken only, as for the viewer, by the faint glow from a cigarette lighter. Like his girlfriend Saskia before him, Rex has been buried alive, cocooned within the very same earth that nourishes the altogether more reassuring intimacy of the natural terrain revealed in the film's opening frames.

In this brief introduction culled from *The Vanishing*'s filmic geography are contained a number of themes which I wish to develop across the five sections of this chapter. Foremost amongst these is a desire to examine cinematic topographies of 'the road' while managing to avoid many of the pitfalls and constraints imposed by an *a priori* notion of a 'road genre'; a convergence of filmic and geographic space that owes much of its discursive 'baggage' to very specific cultural and historical frames of reference. These I address briefly

below (but only in the sense of wishing to hurriedly vacate a room in a gallery or at a party, the location of which demands the necessary passage through to the more interesting space beyond). *The Vanishing* is not what might more conventionally be considered to be a road film,¹⁰⁵ yet at the same time much of the action takes place in or around cars, non-places of transit such as the service station, and, in an early scene, a long dark tunnel in which Rex and Saskia's car breaks down (invoking a premonitory vision of their destined fate). As in Antonioni's *L'avventura*, the disappearance of a lover transforms what start out as tourist itineraries into cartographies of desire and alienation. The emptied any-spaces-whatever of each film come to reflect the interior psychological landscapes of their respective protagonists; but whereas the disappearance of *L'avventura*'s Anna becomes at best a matter of indifference – her absence acting as little more than a catalyst for the construction of the real and imagined 'empty spaces' through which Antonioni's characters wander – in *The Vanishing* Saskia remains a 'present absence' (Pastor-Gonzalez 2003) throughout, elevating Rex's peregrinations to the status of a quest: an obsessive search for truth and deliverance.

Rex's is no road journey in the sense of a Joad-style quest for a promised land (see Chapter 3.3); there awaits no geometrically strewn vanishing point on the horizon into which a linear, projectile space is progressively fed. In so far as such a trope may be usefully deployed here, the *horizons* that are sought are ones that have been dispersed along the contours and tributaries of the road itself. These utopics of immanence are not predicated on a destination in an empirically geographical sense, in which the subject moves across Newtonian space-time towards a structuring absence located somewhere 'down the road'. Rather, space takes on attributes akin to those of a conscious entity – an indeterminate, interlocutory dimension which brings the subject under its spell, and mutates in accordance with his subjective and contingent desire. Viewed thus, the appearance of the elevated motorway at the start of *The Vanishing* is that of a slumbering giant, or concrete miasma, rising from the earth. The use of organic and biological metaphors in reference to the road is, as I demonstrate below, a recurring theme in many examples of what I shall provisionally term 'psychogeographic' road films. No less notable is the use of embodiment metaphors that serve to highlight the phenomenological relations that structure the subject's engagement with the landscape through which he or she passes. In short, the centrality of the body becomes visibly more apparent, and it is arguably this sensitivity to the *physical* presence of the road traveller in relation to that of the landscape itself that compounds the horror of Rex's fate, a palpable disquiet that lingers long after the film has ended.

¹⁰⁵ Although I have reservations about categorising the films discussed in this chapter in terms of an intrinsic topography of 'the road' (in most cases they are more conspicuous by their differences than their shared topographies), for practical purposes I use the term 'road film' throughout merely to draw attention to those aspects of the films discussed that are the focus of my enquiry.

As a place of memory, revelation, liberation or, indeed, death, the destination that is sought here is located beyond or beneath the asphalt (literally so in this example); a transcendent zone of spatial intentionality in which the *haptic* and tangible properties of the road milieu are prioritised over a (disembodied) *visuality* of landscape. In terms of the road movie it is the latter which has tended to dominate in postmodern writings on the genre, the landscape reduced to a depthless simulacrum of the image viewed through the car windscreen. Of the usual suspects rounded up in this vein, the most cited is Baudrillard, whose pursuit of ‘*astral America*’ takes him to the ‘empty, absolute freedom of the freeways... [where] the materiality of things is, of course, their cinematography’ (1988: 5, 85, emphasis in original). The road films of Wim Wenders, such as *Alice in den Städten/Alice in the Cities* (1974), *Im Lauf der Zeit/Kings of the Road* (1976), or *Paris, Texas* (1984), offer the richest pickings for those cruising this conceptual terrain (cf. Cook and Gemünden 1997). Kuzniar, for example, writing on ‘Wenders’ windshields’, argues that:

The windshield [in Wenders’ road films] does not open onto the landscape but reproduces it on its screen... The car in postmodernity does not delineate an interiority: its doors and windows do not mark a boundary between inner and outer. Rather the windows act as an interface that renders indistinguishable inner and outer. The landscape is no longer ‘out there’ but nearby, flattened onto a screen. (1997: 228, 230)

If we take the windscreen to be an extended metaphor for the hyper-reality of cinema itself, then in order for this particular notion of postmodern spatiality to remain conceptually viable, it is necessary that the voyager-voyeur remain ‘on the road’ – i.e. fixed behind the wheel (or, given the collapsing of spatial distinction this logically infers, fixed in front of the cinema screen). In other words, whether in terms of a film narrative falling in line with the conventions – or constraints – of a ‘road’ genre, or, *a posteriori*, of a critical ‘mapping’ of generic narrative at the expense of less ‘well-trodden’ filmic geographies a reviewer may otherwise have overlooked, such an approach inevitably discounts potential ‘off road’ (or, indeed, ‘off screen’) excursions: i.e. the detours and other road lacunae that bring the traveller and the more sedentary points on the map into closer, more tactile proximity.

Drawing on examples from European film (with one minor North American detour), my intention is to approach chronotopes of the road in a more oblique fashion, to recognise and pay heed not so much to the ‘absolute freedom of the highway’ as to the road’s potential capacity to frame transitional spaces that question dominant modes of spatial representation.

In Lefebvrian terms, the approach I adopt in this chapter is broadly to consider examples of the road/travel film in which confrontations between notions of ‘abstract space’

and ‘absolute space’ (1991) are in some way evident.¹⁰⁶ Extending ideas developed in Chapter 4, I argue that these tensions are played out in a dialectic of place and non-place, stasis and transition in which embodied practices of *movement* through space and time create psychogeographic mobilities of utopic travel: affective spaces of transition in which geographies of *distance* (relations of departure and arrival) are sublimated to those of *immanence* (the experiential presence of utopic mobility).

Considerations of the road as an abstract space will be explored in section 5.3, focussing on short sequences from Tarkovsky’s *Solaris* (1972), David Cronenberg’s *Crash* (1996), Chris Petit and Iain Sinclair’s *London Orbital* (2002), and Laurent Cantet’s *L’Emploi du temps (Time Out)*, (2002). Absolute space, which, as Lefebvre suggests, enshrines ‘a strictly symbolic existence’ (Lefebvre 1991: 236), articulates a lived and imagined spatiality linked to practices and beliefs variously ascribed to notions of the divine, sacred or transcendental. Yet crucially it describes a relationship or bond with the natural environment which in the modern, and particularly capitalist era has long since eroded as the social domain has fallen prey to abstraction. This is not to say that absolute space disappeared in the process, ‘rather it survived as the bedrock of historical space and the basis of representational spaces (religious, magical and political symbolisms)’ (ibid: 48). It is these lived spaces of representation – confronting, in different ways, the abstract spaces of the road – that constitute the practised spaces of transition that I have set out to explore.

Appended to this, as I have already indicated, are questions posed by the notion of a *haptic* space of filmic travel. From its Greek etymology, haptic translates as ‘able to come into contact with’, and the privileging of tactile sensations over the purely visual defines a sense of a haptic space in which embodied responses to the landscape *mise en scène* counter those practices of ‘travelling in comfort’ discussed in Chapter 2, orientated, as we saw, around structuralist and post-structuralist ideas of the gaze, and pose a ‘free indirect subjectivity’ (Pasolini 2000) in which the voyager-voyeur enters what Merleau-Ponty describes as ‘the flesh of the world’ (1962).¹⁰⁷

Far from phantasmagoric visions of road itineraries as landscapes of ‘pure travel’ (Baudrillard 1988), in which interior and exterior are collapsed into a simulacrum of the screen, or, as in *Solaris*, of an automotive, projectile space of mechanised mobility whose abstraction from the exterior world is emblematic of modernist alienation, in ‘road films’

¹⁰⁶ For a study of Lefebvre’s concept of abstract and absolute space in relation to the ‘landscape cinema’ of filmmakers such as Milcho Manchevski and Theo Angelopoulos, see Christie (2000).

¹⁰⁷ A classic example which effectively illustrates the visual/haptic distinction is Wim Wenders’ *Der Himmel über Berlin (Wings of Desire)*, (1987), in which a disembodied angel, voyeuristically gazing upon the city below, moves from this detached, a-spatial domain to inhabit a corporeal, haptic space of embodied mobility (Faulkner 2003: 142). See also Clarke (1997b), Marks (2000), and Bruno (2002) for discussions of the ‘haptic’ and film.

such as Agnès Varda's *Sans toit ni loi* (*Vagabond*, 1985) which is discussed in section 5.5 alongside Angelopoulos' *The Beekeeper*, the raw presence and materiality of the landscape inscribe a sense of haptic space in which movement is suggestive of personal and laborious cultivation. It is not the window of a car that functions as the interface between subject and topography in these examples, but rather an embodiment which ventures beyond the merely visual, encompassing qualities such as touch, smell and corporeal sensation, often in a harsh and unforgiving environment.

The haptic, as Bruno suggests, is also related to kinaesthesia: 'the ability of our bodies to sense their own movement in space' (2002: 6). In my discussion of the 'flight' scene from Stonehaven in *Last Resort* (see Chapter 4.5) this sense of haptic kinaesthesia – which Bruno ascribes to Perniola's concept of *transito* – was shown to construct and mobilise affective spaces of transition. In section 5.4 of this chapter I extend this analysis – or rather this *rhythmanalysis* of filmic mobility (Lefebvre 2004) – by considering the extent to which spatial movement facilitates the appropriation of temporal landscapes, whether in a linear sense of agential progression – and here I discuss a short scene from Winterbottom's *In This World* – or in 'circular' journeys of personal and collective memory, as shown in a key scene from Angelopoulos' *Eternity and a Day*. Characteristic of both of these examples is that they depict road journeys taken not by car, but by bus. In turn, this social mode of travel is characteristic of a European tradition of road film that can be contrasted to the individualistic auto-mobile journeys associated with the US genre. As Rascaroli observes, 'whereas the main vehicles for traversing the North American expanse are the private car (preferably a coupe) and the motorbike (Harley Davidson), European films often opt for public transport, if not hitchhiking or travelling on foot' (2003: 73). Thus in the very mode of transport itself, the landscape traversed (whether social, cultural, historical or natural) is brought into closer proximity, reinforcing the primacy of its embedded itineraries, both past and present, while at the same time dispelling culturally specific assumptions of the road space as 'an empty expanse, a *tabula rasa*, the last true frontier' (Dargis 1991: 16) – i.e. the road as a mythical zone where the past is erased (Eyerman and Löfgren 1995: 73), and the utopic, in the shape of the American Dream, is always just over the horizon.

A cultural legacy of the frontier myths of the early settlers in the New World (the 'first leg' of which – the arrival at the eastern seaboard – was discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to the European emigrant film), the US road movie is, as many writers on the genre have noted, a modern descendent of the western (cf. Corrigan 1991: 143; Roberts 1997; Sargeant and Watson 1999b: 13; Laderman 2002: 14), as well as drawing much of its early inspiration and rebelliousness from novelist Jack Kerouac's beat generation classic *On the*

Road (1957), which Laderman describes as the genre's 'master narrative' (2002: 10).¹⁰⁸ By contrast, the European road film, or at least the sample I am discussing here, hails from a cultural, literary and artistic tradition which, as I discuss in the next section, can at least partly be defined in terms of a 'peripatetic' mode of spatial practice. While there is a risk of generalising the 'European road film' on the terms suggested here, such is the dominance of the US genre that any form of geographical 're-location' will inevitably pose questions that directly or indirectly draw comparisons between 'alternative routes', as Cohan and Hark describe them (1997b), and their North American counterparts. Even prominent European examples such as Wenders' 1970s road films, Fridrik Thor Fridriksson's *Á köldum klaka* (*Cold Fever*, 1994), or even Godard's 'anti-road' film, *Weekend* (1967) represent a dialogue of sorts between Europe and the States in which cinema's mythology of the road plays a central role. However, the differentiating attributes to which I have drawn attention are neither intended as an exercise in intertextuality nor as a claim for a specific aesthetic genus in relation to the 'European road film' (if, indeed, such a category is even valid).¹⁰⁹ Crucially, the distinction is one in which dominant modes of spatial or chronotopic representation (e.g. 'the road') are potentially transformed by the peripatetic mobilities of 'the wanderer', as against a master trope¹¹⁰ in which geography holds the key to time only to the extent that it conforms to a linear metaphoric of 'life as a journey', or flight to or from a fixed Euclidean point. In short, the road as a *cultivation* of topographical selfhood as against a conditionality of being in which the self is the product of a neo-Kantian *a priori* conception of road space.

¹⁰⁸ The availability of mobile, lightweight cameras and the greater use of location shooting were also important factors that helped lay the foundations for the genre's enduring appeal from the 1960s onward (Orr 1993: 130).

¹⁰⁹ As this chapter is focused primarily on the notion of a 'peripatetic' European road film, a broad diversity of films that would otherwise merit attention fall outside the parameters of this discussion. A sample of recent European road films include: *Drôle de Félix* (*Funny Felix*, Olivier Ducastel and Jacques Martineau, 2000), Tony Gatlić's *Gadjo Dilo* (1997), *Lacho Drom* (1993), and *Exils* (2004), Fridriksson's *Cold Fever* and *Fálkar* (*Falcons*, 2002), *Güнесе Yolculuk* (*Journey to the Sun*, Yesim Ustaoglu, 2000), *Alla rivoluzione sulla due cavalli* (*Off to the Revolution by 2CV*, Maurizio Sciara, 2001), *Die Reise nach Kafiristan* (*The Journey to Kafiristan*, Fosco Dubini and Donatello Dubini, 2001), *Dom za Vesanje* (*Time of the Gypsies*, Emir Kusturica, 1989). For discussions of European road films, see Rascaroli and Mazierska (forthcoming), Rascaroli (2003), Laderman (2002), de Witt (2001), Tarr and Rollet (2001), Everett (2001), Orr (1997) and chapters in Sargeant and Watson (1999a), Cohan and Hark (1997a).

¹¹⁰ With a few notable exceptions, such as Ridley Scott's *Thelma and Louise* (1991), the gendered space of the road – as with Kerouac's 'master narrative' (the 'appropriate' domain allotted to the beat generation women, as Carolyn Cassady and others have attested, was at home, 'off the road', awaiting their men's return) – is that of an exclusively male domain predicated on the production of hegemonic or 'disassociated' masculinities (Aitken and Lukinbeal 1997; Wolff 1993: 228-229). For exceptions to this masculine bias, see Tarr and Rollet's study of recent French feminist road movies (2001: 228-250).

5.2 Wandering

As Eyerman and Löfgren point out, the life as a journey metaphor is by no means exclusive to an American literary or cinematic tradition (1995: 55). Its European origins can be traced back as far as Homer and Apuleius, whose *The Golden Ass* provides an early example of a novelistic chronotope of the road as a ‘path of life’ (Bakhtin 1981: 120). According to Bakhtin,

The chronotope of the road is both a point of new departures and a place for events to find their denouement. *Time, as it were, fuses together with space and flows in it (forming the road)*; this is the source of the rich metaphorical expansion of the image of the road as a course: ‘the course of a life,’ ‘to set out on a new course,’ ‘the course of history’ and so on; varied and multi-leveled are the ways in which road is turned into metaphor, but its fundamental pivot is the flow of time. (ibid: 243-244, emphasis added)

To fetishise the road, I am suggesting, is to singularise the nature of its constitutive temporalities; to downplay the expressive and textural rhythms – the eddies *and* flows¹¹¹ – that make up time’s fusion with space. The varied and multi-levelled concordance of time and space to which Bakhtin quite rightly refers highlights the extent to which the road chronotope is as much a process of *forming* the road – akin to what James Corner describes as the ‘agency of mapping’ (1999) – as it is a structuring device (the closed field of the roadmap) that establishes location and a continuity of form in which ‘spatial stories’ (de Certeau 1984: 115) are rendered both navigable and immune from diversion. The life as a journey trope conforms to a closed field of mapping in which time is yoked to the formal dimensions of Euclidean space, whereas a notion of the peripatetic road film occupies a more open, agential spatiality. The differences between these two approaches represent two very different ideas of mapping: the geographical and the *psycho*geographical.

As a methodology or aesthetic practice psychogeography derives from Situationist theories of the *dérive* (drifting), defined by Guy Debord as ‘a technique of transient passage through varied ambiances. The *dérive* entails playful-constructive behaviour and awareness of psycho-geographical effects; which completely distinguish it from the classical notions of the journey and the stroll’ (quoted in Jenks 1995: 154).¹¹² By combining subjective and objective responses to the social environment through which one drifts ‘purposefully... in alert reverie’ (Sinclair 1997: 4), Situationist ‘psychocartography’ (Bruno 2002: 267)

¹¹¹ These aquatic metaphors of the road serve equally well when turned on their head, as in Sorfa’s study of the river journey film, where ‘the road’ is used to metaphorically describe the ‘interrupted flow’ of river travel (1999).

¹¹² Commenting on this quote, Elizabeth Lebas points out that the extent to which such a distinction is tenable cannot easily be determined in any empirical sense, as the effects to which Debord refers are as much psychic as social and thus potentially blur the otherwise theoretical (or taxonomic) distinction between the ‘stroller’ and the psychogeographic drifter (personal communication, 2004).

reconfigures the totalising attributes of an idea of mapping linked to power and the *conquering* of space to embrace what Bruno describes as the ‘tender mapping’ of ‘emotional cartography’ (ibid: 268), in which psychic and geographic mobilities converge to map the less static contours of lived space.

Inspired by Surrealist and Dadaist experiments in *errance*, ‘an aimless wandering in the city’s streets meant to encourage the eruption of unconscious images into the perceptual field’ (Laxton 2003: 6),¹¹³ and before them the reveried, often drug-induced peregrinations of figures such as Thomas de Quincey and Arthur Rimbaud, ideas of the *dérive* departed from the random itineraries of surrealist automatism to adhere to a spatial politics of wandering intended to combine, not without some inherent contradiction, individual/psychic and collective/social (re)mappings of the city (Sadler 1998: 77; Plant 1992: 58-9; cf. Corner 1999; Wollen 2004). Countering dominant modes of spatial practice, a politics and poetics of walking (literally and figuratively speaking), as de Certeau suggests, attempts to plumb the strangeness of the everyday to produce reconstituted cartographies of the city operative ‘down below’ at street level, i.e. in opposition to ‘the “geometrical” or “geographical” space of visual, panoptic, or theoretical constructions [Levebvre’s “conceived space”]’ (1984: 93).

A more recent exponent of psychogeographical wandering, the novelist and walker Iain Sinclair, whether through a legitimate mode of critical categorisation, or through his own co-option of an otherwise diverse body of work,¹¹⁴ has become something of a one-man industry championing the psychogeographic in recent British film, as well as in his own work as a writer and sometime filmmaker. Alongside Sinclair’s usual coterie of obsessively namechecked ‘fellow travellers’ such as JG Ballard and Chris Petit (whose Wim Wenders-produced 1979 film *Radio On* represents perhaps the closest British geography and cinema is able to offer in terms of a recognisable ‘road movie’), the work of filmmakers such as Patrick Keiller (*London*, 1994, *Robinson in Space*, 1997), Andrew Köttling (*Gallivant*, 1996), and Michael Winterbottom (*Butterfly Kiss*, 1994) all feature in his writings as exemplars of a filmic *dérive* that probes the ‘off road’ places and spaces of contemporary Britain, and whose protagonists drift purposefully, ‘tramping asphalted earth in alert reverie, allowing the fiction of an underlying pattern to reveal itself’ (Sinclair 1997: 4).

Considering the Keiller and Köttling examples for a moment, all of these films can be described as geographic in the sense that a) they adopt (albeit idiosyncratically) the conventions of travelogue filmmaking, b) landscape topographies provide the structural and

¹¹³ The Surrealists also developed a practice of what they called ‘voyages of cretinization’ in which, in a state of reveried distraction, they descended into the Paris metro on a psychogeographical mystery tour. Paul Éluard was said to have once spent weeks underground, resurfacing in the New Hebrides (Conley 2002: 111, 125n).

¹¹⁴ Although other writers, such as Picken (1999), have also talked in terms of a psychogeographic tradition in recent British film.

thematic content, and c) as spatial practices of mapping each film sets out to secure historical, cultural, political, and personal bearings. Geography, in other words, holds the key to these broader hermeneutical ‘landscapes’. As Sinclair argues, adopting this ‘topographic essay form... [these] film essayists find their voice in place... Landscape is the story, memory and meaning. You begin there’ (2002b: 34).

In *psychogeographic* terms, however, the differences are more pronounced, with Keiller’s films, unlike *Gallivant*, adopting a more rigorous formal structure in which, cinematically at least, movement and contingency (the elemental bases of the *dérive*) are notable by their absence. In *London*, apart from one travelling shot (moving up an escalator at Brent Cross Shopping Centre), the camera remains static throughout, the fixed space of composition framing medium and long shots of streets, buildings, landmarks, monuments and places of consumption, many of which are devoid of human activity. *Robinson in Space* is a little more dynamic, including short travelling shots taken from a train pulling out of Paddington station and on board a ferry crossing the English channel, and a single pan shot, the only actual movement of the camera itself in either film (including in-camera movements, such as the use of zoom or changes in depth of field). Accompanying the succession of static images in both *London* and *Robinson in Space* is Paul Scofield’s erudite narration, and it is these literary peregrinations that open up the otherwise fixed frame of composition to encompass the narrative spaces of the unnamed narrator and his fellow traveller, Robinson, neither of whom is seen on camera. If anything it is the movement *between* shots – the empty spaces of ellipsis and extra-diegetic travel – which enable these topographic essays to most effectively engage with their audience.¹¹⁵ In the spirit of the best travelogue, Keiller’s deictic, contemplative direction invites us to inhabit these vacated spaces; to interweave our own narrative itineraries within and between its mundanely beautiful fragments of everyday life.

As such the psychogeographic potential of these films is just that: a deferred process of interpolation whereby filmic geographies function as points of access in a critical dialogue between real and imagined geographies of contemporary Britain. Although on Sinclair’s terms a self-consciously psychogeographic rationale is evident in these films – for example, in *London* the narrator remarks that Robinson’s quest constituted ‘exercises in psychic landscaping, drifting and free association [...] Robinson believed that if he looked at it hard enough he could cause the surface of the city to reveal to him the molecular basis of historical events, and in this way he hoped to see into the future’ – for the most part

¹¹⁵ As Bruzzi notes: ‘There is much motion implied through the film, but never by the images; tantalisingly, the stages of the physical journey occur only between the shots; there are not even any edits suggesting movement or the passage of time, just hard cuts between images and cuts to black or subtitles’ (2000: 121).

Keiller appears to pay lip service to this and the more esoteric (and distinctly Deleuzean) tone hinted at in such examples is downplayed to pave the way for what are ostensibly more conventional (but no less innovative) cultural and historical geographies of Britain, drawn from a tradition of romantic travellers and *flâneurs* such as Rimbaud, Verlaine (*London*) and Daniel Defoe, whose *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-6) provides the inspiration for *Robinson in Space*.

If Keiller's work can be characterised in terms of the static nature of its shot composition, and of a rigorously crafted formal style, the same cannot be said of *Gallivant*. The peripatetic subject matter of Kötting's film, a circumambulation of coastal Britain accompanied by his grandmother Gladys and nine-year-old disabled daughter, Eden, is matched by a peripatetic style of shooting in which the camera is as restless and erratic as the director. Displaying a heady fascination with formal experimentation,¹¹⁶ the film jumps between Hi-8 video, 16mm and Super-8 film stock in a delirious *mélange* of eccentricity, community spirit, humour and, less immediately apparent, pathos. For all its engaging and playful tone, at its heart lies an absence compounded by the fact that both Gladys and Eden, who suffers from Joubert's Syndrome, are nearing the end of their lives. This absence is presaged by the return home to rest of the grandmother and her great-granddaughter on two occasions leaving Kötting (and his crew) to temporarily continue alone. It is further suggested through the use of non-synchronous sound, in which voices of those occupying off-screen space are often kept apart from their corresponding or coeval images. For example, early in their journey (in Newquay, Cornwall) shots of women playing bowls are matched up with a non-synchronous soundtrack comprised of what we assume to be the same women talking and bowling. The effect is to create the impression of an off-screen space which we expect to 'arrive at' soon. That we do not heightens the sense of absence in that the images become absent or temporally detached at the very point of their documentation, a quality further enhanced by the periodic use of Super-8 footage throughout the film.

The haptic qualities of Kötting's impassioned engagement with the landscape in *Gallivant* (both physical and cinematic)¹¹⁷ is at once both a personal and, through the eyes

¹¹⁶ These include: jump cuts; speeded-up sequences of film; a freeform appropriation of the travelogue documentary (intercut with home movie-style footage of Kötting, Gladys and Eden, and the lampooning absurdity of the BBC-style commentary and the semaphoric weathermen which crop up intermittently); point-of-view travelling shots from the front of a camper van; the obligatory tracking shot, that staple of the road movie genre; use of non-synchronous sound; the inclusion of the film's skeletal crew within the frame, and a general transparency of the filmmaking process (memorably, a shot of Kötting posting Super-8 footage to Kodak for developing, reinforcing the elements of chance and contingency that are central hallmarks of the film).

¹¹⁷ For example, crawling along the ground on his hands and knees; close-ups of beach pebbles; jumping fully clothed into the icy cold waters of a Scottish sea; and standing on the running-board of the camper-van, thus breaching the interiority of the windscreen point-of-view shots and positioning

of his fellow travellers and the scattered individuals and communities he meets along the way, a collective vision of a nation ‘on the edge’ (of identity, geography, tradition, and coevality). The film’s tangential embarkations, elliptical narrative, chance encounters and psychogeographic sensitivity render *Gallivant* not so much a road film but an *off-road* film. As Picken observes, it represents ‘[t]he “drift” transmuted into celluloid, transplanted into the rural landscape... scripted according to the vagaries of location, structured according to the laws of chance... an emotional rather than physical process of mapping’ (1999: 226, 227).

What films such as *Gallivant* and other so-called British ‘road films’ demonstrate is that the tropic associations – so powerfully mythologised in the US genre – of a spatio-temporal linearity in which ‘events act upon the characters’ (Corrigan 1991: 145) sit uneasily alongside the contingencies of an alternate, agential spatial practice in which temporal and geographical form determines not so much the fate of the on-screen travelling subjectivities, but rather possibilities for the mapping of alternate cultural geographies. A key criterion in this regard, one which is mostly absent from the established genre, is the concept of ‘wandering’, or to be more precise, an idea of the ‘peripatetic’.

Taken from the Greek *perepatein*, meaning ‘to walk about’, the term originally referred to the school of philosophy founded by Aristotle, who taught while walking in the *peripatos*, a place for walking in the Lyceum at Athens. It has since loosely defined a literary tradition, ranging from de Quincy, Thoreau and Wordsworth to Baudelairean *flânerie* and the work of contemporary writers like Sinclair, in which aesthetic value is invested in cultural practices of walking.¹¹⁸ While theorists on film, drawing largely on the work of Walter Benjamin, have begun to explore notions of the cinematic *flâneur* (cf. Bruno 1993, Clarke 1997b, Friedberg 1993), as we saw in the previous chapter, this has often been at the expense of non-urban spatial formations and other modes of (peripatetic) mobility.

Anne Wallace, in her study of walking in nineteenth-century English literature, designates the peripatetic as a unique literary mode in which a poetics of wandering constitutes a reappropriation of the English landscape; a metaphorical ‘gathering up’ of a pastoral vision of nation and identity under threat of erasure. Wordsworth’s walking poetry, for example, occupied an ideological space that ran counter to the appropriation and industrialisation of the landscape under the enclosures (1993: 11). As the geographer Nigel

himself in closer proximity to the passing landscape (a practice which was to be curtailed by his falling off and fracturing his ankle).

¹¹⁸ As an aside, it occurs to me that, on occasions throughout the writing up of this thesis, I have often found myself walking/pacing around the room when working through some of the more complex areas of discussion. Without my having been necessarily conscious of the fact, the embodied mobility established through physical movement was found to have eased the mental passage of the thought process itself.

Thrift points out, the impact of nineteenth-century romanticism, which railed against the mechanisation of travel and the modernist celebration of speed, elevated the humble practice of walking to the status of ‘true’ or ‘real’ travel (1996: 265). As such, the peripatetic mode, as Wallace argues, ‘represents excursive walking as a *cultivating labour* capable of renovating both the individual and his society by recollecting and expressing past value’ (Wallace 1993: 11, emphasis added).

It is this notion of the peripatetic as a ‘cultivating labour’ that has particular resonance in terms of the road films under discussion in this chapter, as it is suggestive of a haptically productive relationship with the landscape and its dormant, multi-layered and potentially subversive temporalities. This is developed more thoroughly in section 5.5 in relation to *The Beekeeper* and *Vagabond*. For the moment, though, it is necessary to consider filmic depictions of abstract road space in order that these countervailing practices may be brought into sharper focus.

5.3 Roads to Nowhere

As I argued in the previous chapter, filmic geographies of stasis and movement often establish points of dialectical tension whereby affective (im)mobilities of suspension and desire are respectively displaced onto sedentary and nomadic non-places of travel. Yet, as the examples discussed in this section indicate, movement in itself does not presuppose the construction of transitional spatialities, it can equally be said to map abstract spaces in which the asphalted expanse of the road represents, by comparison, zones of stasis or ‘roads to nowhere’.

In the wider cultural imaginary the stasis-mobility dichotomy is often metonymically tied to that of tradition and modernity, a transference from spatial to temporal cartography in which, as Papastergiadis notes,

The old home needs to be left behind because from the modernist’s perspective it is locked into the frozen time of the past... to stay there is to atrophy... [By contrast t]he spirit of modernity is defined by the dynamism for change; the significance of place is always secondary in this revolution against the rooted practices of being and belonging. (1998: 7)

Although arguably too ‘starkly oppositional’ (Morley 2000: 42) to sustain any critical efficacy, this stasis/traditional vs. mobility/modern binarism is reproduced in the work of directors such as Andrei Tarkovsky, for whom ‘the spirit of modernity’ underwrites not so much a utopianism of progress in which the old home is left behind as an idealised, yet fragile vision of home as a place of authenticity and nostalgic returns. Home, a concept which, for Papastergiadis, haunts modernity (1998: 8), is here envisaged in the form of the Russian dacha, a place where *stasis* represents not static, but rather transcendent time

(replicating the dual meanings ascribed to this term in Chapter 4.5 – the final shots of *Solaris* or *Nostalgia*, for example, both of which are elegies to an idealised homeland symbolised by the dacha, are moments of stasis in the sense that Schrader describes in his transcendentalist theory of film).

In *Solaris*, the stark juxtaposition between the serenity and earthiness of a dacha in the Russian countryside and the abstract spaces of hypermodern mobility is made explicit in an early scene composed entirely of a long, surreal driving sequence through the high-speed road networks of modern Tokyo. The juxtaposition renders the highways and traffic soulless and impersonal; an ugly and brutally efficient materialism in which the human presence is barely felt. The effect of the scene is meditative; no words are spoken, and although the noise of traffic and a strange, other-worldly soundtrack is audible, the landscape appears as if silent. The driver, the ex-astronaut Berton, and his young son are the only humans visible. They appear detached, their thoughts either empty or far away. Humanity is diminished and silent, a faintly hinted-at presence hermetically sealed inside technologically atomistic units. Berton does not appear to be driving the vehicle; the futuristic present depicted is of a society where human agency is surrendered to the autonomy of the machine. The vast expanse of concrete and steel, the long, featureless roads and underpasses, and the silent and relentless flow of motor vehicles – for Tarkovsky, this alienating landscape of hypermodernity becomes a monument to humanity's abandonment of God, nature and the transcendence of art. Absolute space, symbolically centred on the dacha, gives way to the highway's spatial abstraction.

In *The Production of Space* Lefebvre argues that, in the context of its visualisation, space is defined

in terms of the perception of an *abstract subject*, such as the driver of a motor vehicle, equipped with a collective common sense, namely the capacity to read the symbols of the highway code, and with a sole organ – the eye – placed in the service of his movement within the visual field. Thus space appears solely in its reduced forms. *Volume* leaves the field to *surface*... This abstract space eventually becomes the simulacrum of a full space (of that space which was formerly in nature and in history). (1991: 313, emphasis in original; cf. Faulkner 2003: 144)

Cinematically, it is the perception of an abstract subject that defines the spatial representations in the scene described above. The sequence begins with a single point-of-view shot from the front of the moving vehicle as the voyager-voyeur travels through underpasses and across elevated sections of highway, flanked by concrete tower blocks. A steady stream of traffic goes past on the outside lane to be engulfed by the dense landscape ahead. After more than a minute of this we cut to a shot looking back through the

windscreen at Berton, who appears deep in thought. Cut to the forward perspective once more as we enter another tunnel, the lights and the road markings of which appear to radiate from the vanishing point at the end of the tunnel, creating an effect reminiscent (albeit in monochrome) of the star-gate sequence in Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1969).¹¹⁹ This then cuts to a windscreen point-of-view shot from the rear seat of the car, the back of Berton's head partly obscuring the view of the road, which is then completely blocked by the movement of his son into the frame. Cut again to the unremitting space-time of the forward point-of-view shot, now in colour, which is held for almost a minute until once more we return to the interior of the car. Berton and son are now in profile against the blurred abstraction of the landscape rushing by. From this point on the journey into abstract space becomes more pronounced, and the editing more frequent and erratic. Real-time duration gives way to increasingly elliptic fragments of space-time as Tarkovsky's abstract subject becomes more diffuse. The sequence ends with an aerial shot, taken at night, of a dense complex of overlapping roads and flyovers, roar with the incessant, corpuscular flow of traffic, the intensity of which is heightened by the sudden cut to the stillness of the idyllic landscape surrounding the dacha (see Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1: Abstract and absolute space in *Solaris*

The arterial nature of these road networks, pumping a circulatory flow of traffic through the metropolis ascribes to these urban topographies the metaphorical status of a living organism. Indeed, in historical geographies of the Western city the respiratory and circulatory capacities of the human body are shown to have provided much of the inspiration for eighteenth-century urban planners, who, as Richard Sennett observes, modelled city traffic systems on the blood system of the body (1994: 264). These early examples of conceived urban space are given flesh, as it were, in Tarkovsky's cinematic meditation on hypermodern mobility. The anthropomorphous rendering of road space, like that suggested in the opening frames of *The Vanishing*, is of a malevolent, potentially

¹¹⁹ At the time of its release in 1972 *Solaris* was billed in the West as 'Russia's answer to *2001*'.

corrupting entity that entraps the road traveller and which inevitably leads towards stasis and death (of the body and/or human spirit).

A quite different relationship with the abstract spatialities of the highway is expressed in David Cronenberg's adaptation of JG Ballard's cult novel, *Crash*. Here the circulatory flow of automotive travel – multi-lane expressways ferrying commuter traffic through a featureless landscape of industrial parks and airport conurbations (archetypal Ballardian territory transplanted from the author's beloved Heathrow to Cronenberg's Toronto) – represents, on surface appearances, a mundane non-place of stasis whose somnolent masses are on 'roads to nowhere'. Yet despite or because of the de-actualising emptiness of these urban landscapes, 'beneath the asphalt' reservoirs of cumulative entropy transform the highway's Euclidean linearity into circular, psychogeographic – and psychosexual – mobilities of automotive desire. The car becomes less an atomistic unit in an abstract, mechanistic universe than an embodied vector of spatial, sexual and kinaesthetic intentionality, the fullest realisation of which is represented by the car crash, described at one point in the film as 'a fertilising rather than destructive event'. As Brottman and Sharrett point out, the 'delirium of Euclidian eroticism' in Ballard's novel represents the fruit of an imperative or compulsion which is realised in Cronenberg's filmic adaptation 'by configuring the traditional horizon of the classical road movie as circular, leading endlessly back on itself, as empty and as meaningless as a Euclidian dot... Where the traditional road movie follows a linear horizon, Cronenberg's regressive fantasy is vertiginous and entropic' (1999: 284).

The idea that the road represents some form of consciousness or organic presence is again evident in this example. Soon after the near-fatal crash which marks the character James Ballard's induction into the post-humanist world of automotive eroticism, he starts to become more aware of the volume of traffic on the road. An ensemble of shots which best illustrates this starts with a high-angled view of Ballard (played by James Spader) being driven back from the hospital. Cars passing on the outside lane are reflected in the half-open passenger window. Ballard seems preternaturally alert, as if suddenly aware of a hitherto hidden cadence emanating from some transcendent reality. This is followed by an aerial shot looking down on a multi-lane expressway, its dense stream of traffic moving hypnotically in both directions. Soon after this, observing the traffic flows through binoculars from the balcony of his apartment, Ballard asks 'Is the traffic heavier now? There seem to be three times as many cars as there were before the accident'. Catherine, his wife, who does not respond, announces that she has to leave for work. Behind her a rectilinear concurrence of geometric abstraction – the steel balcony rail on which she leans, the lanes of flowing traffic on the expressway, and two bridges at ninety degree angles to the main carriageway, each bearing a heavy load of cars and lorries – reinforces the sense of alienation and stasis yet at

the same time plays host to affective cartographies of vectorial desire and transcendence of which her husband is becoming increasingly aware. Put simply: for Ballard it is as if the road is somehow coming alive.

This ambiguity between notions of abstract and lived space – clearly differentiated in *Solaris*, yet over-layered and conflated in *Crash* – is more recently explored in Chris Petit and Iain Sinclair's *London Orbital* (2002), which revisits ideas developed in Sinclair's book, published the same year, *London Orbital: A Walk around the M25* (2002a). The latest addition to the British psychogeographic canon of road films, structure and content are as one in this idiosyncratic study of London's orbital motorway, the M25. Following parallel tracks, the film consists of Petit's minimally-edited travelling shots taken from the inside of a car driving anti-clockwise around the motorway, and the off-road, peripatetic diversions of Sinclair's 'digital mudlark', which explore the road's history, culture and (psycho)geographical topography. For much of the film these cinematic journeys unfold in twofold filmic space: split-screen representations that ensure that the road's primary ontologies of space and time are never far from consciousness. This is a journey of 'transcendental boredom' from which the relative freedom afforded by digital camera technology, coupled with the open, less circumscribed excursions of the film's narrative discourse, construct a counter vision of the motorway, in which, as Petit's commentary observes, it is no longer merely a road but 'a doorway into another reality'.

Like *Gallivant*, *London Orbital* cuts across a range of filmic mediums, including home movie and CCTV footage, but it is digital video that sustains the bulk of the filmmakers' motorway meditation. The 'flat literalness' of the medium and its anti-auratic negation of memory and nostalgia (in contrast to the Super-8 home movie footage that appears intermittently throughout the film) are qualities well-suited to the subject at hand. Indeed, for Petit, an understanding of the road can only be attained through a meditation on the medium itself, in particular the difficulties posed in editing miles of relentless, repetitive footage (as the world's largest orbital motorway the M25 is perhaps the ultimate 'road to nowhere') in which the gaze of the camera becomes indistinguishable from that of a driver or passenger on the motorway. 'The M25 resists editing', Petit observes, '[...] resists linear interpretation [...] Edited time made no sense in relation to the subject. The M25 only begins to make sense if you don't turn the camera off'.

In his article on 'Cinema and the Autobahn' Dimenberg argues that the motorway represents an example of 'centrifugal space', a determinant feature, alongside suburban settlements, industrial parks and shopping malls, of the post-1930 built environment. 'Historically transitional', Dimenberg suggests, centrifugal space can be distinguished from the

older centripetal metropolis of the street and promenade and the emerging electronic cyberspace of virtual reality and the information superhighway of our present fin-de-siècle moment... Arguably as significant to post-1930s cinema as the street and the railroad were to those earlier films engaged in charting a centralised and navigable centripetal space, cinematic representations of the motorway remain far less studied than filmic treatments of the metropolis. (1998: 56)

Such analysis has direct and immediate bearing on films such as *London Orbital*. Having drifted from the metropolitan centre towards the outermost limits of the city's suburban fringes, Petit and Sinclair's circular, 'centrifugal' odyssey sets its sights on transcendental horizons: journeys into 'outer', or rather inner space; a landscape whose fabric is increasingly contingent on the formal, aesthetic and technological routes taken to get there. In their concluding remarks at the end of the film¹²⁰ (voiced by Petit) the filmmakers attest to the motorway's transcendent zonality of boredom, cinematically conceived as 'embodied affect' (Rutherford 2002). As in *Solaris*, for Petit, 'the car is [now] driving itself. Boredom has become transcendence not catastrophe [...] The road behind co-exists with the road ahead. We are Stoker's undead.¹²¹ See nothing of ourselves in the rear-view mirror, we see the tunnel ahead, we see the vanishing point. We travel on with only the radio for company. We move through space *and* time. Memory recedes, we become cosmonauts,¹²² we become lost'.

For Augé, as we have seen, motorways are conceived in terms of *non-places*, 'inorganic' social environments of transit over dwelling, where the *interchange* (designed so that traffic streams do not intersect) replaces the *crossroads* (where people meet), and the *passenger* (defined in terms of his or her destination) displaces the *traveller* (who moves along a route) (Augé 1995: 107). To access this supermodern landscape is thus to surrender oneself to its de-actualising systems of solitary contractuality. Picking up this theme, Margaret Morse argues that environments such as motorways and shopping complexes – examples of what she prefers to call 'nonspaces' – contribute towards the construction of an 'ontology of everyday distraction' in which practices that can be performed

¹²⁰ Not a 'destination' in any spatial sense, in many ways the film's end represents an arbitrary stop in time. The journey itself continues and, in a gallery context, the film could quite conceivably be exhibited in a continuous, circular form in keeping with its content.

¹²¹ This is a reference to Bram Stoker's fictional location of Carfax Abbey, Count Dracula's London estate, near Purfleet in Essex (off Junction 31 on the M25). With such a literary provenance, Sinclair is quick to draw from its metaphorical associations of blood and circulation which he argues are essential to an understanding of the M25. As discussed previously these blood metaphors have played a crucial role in aesthetic and architectural imaginings of the city.

¹²² The choice of this noun, strongly associated with the Soviet space programme, as opposed to the more commonplace 'astronaut', is doubtless a reference and homage to Tarkovsky's *Solaris*, the road sequence of which must surely rank as the first and greatest of cinematic forays into the abstract space of motorway boredom.

semiautomatically (the ‘zombie effect’), such as driving, shopping or watching television, represent ‘the barely acknowledged ground of everyday experience’ (1990: 196, 203). While it is not difficult to extrapolate from such a scenario the stuff of science fiction or horror movies (George A Romero’s 1979 horror classic *Dawn of the Dead* immediately springs to mind), in the world of JG Ballard, Petit and Sinclair these dystopian landscapes are embraced as the fertile ground from which aesthetic flights from consciousness are potentially harvested. Converging in *nonspace*, televisual, consumer and motorway landscapes become, for Petit at least, a realm of transcendent distraction from which the mundane geographies of everyday experience can be left behind. This hypermodern reverie, while sociologically grounded in the inert abstraction and emptiness of the non-place, in *nonspace* represents a ‘dreamlike *displacement* or separation from its surroundings’ (Morse 1990: 197, emphasis in original). Motorways become temporary zones of transition ‘in that they do not lie earthbound and contiguous to their surroundings so much as float above or below the horizon... disengaged from its immediate context [the motorway] is a “bridge over the barriers of both social and natural geography”’ (ibid).

Yet for all their rhetorical conviction, Petit and Sinclair’s embrace of Ballardian boredom is to fashion a notion of utopic space which, in its disengagement from the social landscape, ultimately represents the *consummation* of entropic affect – entropy as end rather than catalytic means – to the extent that the material groundings of lived space are all but abandoned, jettisoned like the booster rockets of a spacecraft propelling the (motorway) ‘cosmonaut’ into weightless suspension. To the ‘no-bullshit materialist’, to use Sinclair’s own words (from *Lights Out for the Territory*), ‘this sounds suspiciously like *fin-de-siècle* decadence, a poetic of entropy...’ (1997: 4). Sinclair offers this appraisal in anticipation of potential critical responses to his unique mode of literary *dérive*, yet it serves equally well in relation to the author’s filmic psychogeography. In its cultural geographies of travel and mobility, *London Orbital* ostensibly represents a superimposition of ‘free-floating’ cinematic affect onto the broader spatialities of the everyday social domain. On the one hand Sinclair and Petit are dismissive and not a little condescending towards the motorway’s less aesthetically indulgent ‘undead’ in the shape of commuter and other work-based travellers (for whom, by comparison, the M25 represents a decidedly non-transcendent zone of boredom or stasis), and on the other, their lapse into the abstraction – and distraction – of *nonspace* compounds this flight from the real by upholding a spatial ontology little different from the ideational geographies of Baudrillardian simulation. In this respect Lefebvre’s reservations with regard to the dialectical potential of the visual arts in challenging dominant spatial representations have some relevance: film, like photography, becomes an ‘incriminated medium’ whose images are more likely to ‘secrete... and reinforce [spatial contradiction]... than to reveal it’ (1991: 96-97). Fundamentally, like

Crash, London Orbital's 'poetics of entropy' probes post-humanist landscapes scarred by Ballard's 'death of affect'¹²³ (Sinclair 1999: 57), yet, ironically, in its deterritorialised evisceration of place, *affect*, adrift in a depthless plane detached from any social context, is all that remains: the psychic without the geographical – cinematic cartographies of desire and *emotion* uprooted from their material anchorage in lived space and time.

By contrast, in the last film to be discussed in this section, Laurent Cantet's *Time Out*, the relationship between the abstract spaces and non-places of the motorway environment and inner landscapes of utopic displacement¹²⁴ establishes a more 'grounded' *mise en scène* of car parks, service stations and hotel lobbies in which the road topography plays host to social ontologies of everyday distraction – motorway subjectivities drawn from the more mundane worlds of work and family. Mapping *Time Out*'s spaces of transition reveals journeys into nonspace which, while not dispensing with material geographies, represent the temporary transcendence or 'time out' from certain of the societal responsibilities that structure the patterns and mobilities of everyday experience. These journeys are observed in real non-places of transit which function not so much as portals to alternate ontologies of space and time as zones of stasis and transition in which a double subjectivity of the real and the imagined is precariously sustained.

Vincent, the film's central protagonist (played by Aurélien Recoing), is a middle-class executive who conceals from his family and friends the fact that he has been sacked from his consultancy job. Maintaining the illusion that he has secured a prestigious new position in Geneva working for the United Nations, he spends most of the week in his car driving through the French and Swiss countryside, telephoning his wife from car parks or motorway service stations, and pretending that he has just come out of business meetings.

The film draws much of its inspiration from the real-life case of the Frenchman, Jean-Claude Romand, who, like Vincent, was a Mr Ripley character living a life of deception, pretending to his family and friends that he worked as a doctor and researcher at the World Health Organisation, while in reality spending his days driving aimlessly around the Alps. Incredibly, Romand somehow managed to sustain this for 18 years, his otherwise normal middle-class lifestyle financed by money embezzled from friends and relatives. Where Vincent and Romand's tales part, however, is in their denouement: when, in 1993,

¹²³ This term refers to a deadening of the human senses, an emotional sterility brought about by postmodernity's increasingly image-saturated and over-stimulated culture of decadent excess.

¹²⁴ One feature of the cinematic geography of *Time Out* which is not explored here is a materialisation of utopic space in the form of an isolated chalet in the snow-bound Swiss mountains, which the film's main protagonist retreats to on occasion. The icy whiteness of this remote landscape (in contrast to the dark, frequently rainy motorway sequences) becomes geographically symbolic of the emotional coldness and isolation of the character's inner landscape. Comparisons could also be drawn here with the utopic postcard image of the idyllic Swiss landscape in *Journey of Hope* (see Chapter 3).

Romand's double life was finally exposed, he responded by murdering his wife, children and parents, and by attempting to take his own life.

By contrast, Vincent's fate is one in which the more sensational elements of the Romand case have been removed, leaving a character whose very ordinariness and banality are belied only by the surreal nature of his story. When Vincent's world finally collapses around him his instinctive response is to distance himself from his family and the truth of his situation by taking to the road once more. Yet he knows that his time is running out and that he can no longer defer the inevitable confrontation with reality. He stops the car and gets out. The concerned voice of his wife can be heard coming from the mobile phone he leaves in the car. We stay with her as she appeals to her husband. The windscreen frames Vincent, briefly visible in the car headlights, as he disappears into the night. The camera lingers for a moment on the now empty space of illumination. The sound of passing traffic can be heard. Cantet then cuts to the bright, daylight interiors of an office in which Vincent is being interviewed for a new executive position. Although he looks set to be appointed to the post, which has been secured through his father's intervention, it is clear that this is not intended to represent a happy ending, as some reviewers of the film have bizarrely claimed. As the interviewer drones on, describing the job as a 'strategic financial and human adventure', offering 'many challenges', Vincent's mind has already begun to wander. Recomposing himself for a moment, he replies: 'But I'm not scared', an unexpected, somewhat chilling response which adds to an ending that is far more devastating – amounting to what Cantet aptly describes as a 'metaphysical' rather than actual death (Lefort 2002) – than had Vincent been simply left in a dark, suicidal abyss at the roadside.

The dictionary translation of *l'emploi du temps* is 'timetable', but the term more generally refers to the way time is used. This semantic duality of structured and existential time is reflected in the temporal ambiguities that make up Vincent's daily routine. With nothing but time on his hands, he structures his day as if he were in fact a real employee. 'Time Out', the film's international title, is also apt, as it suggestively highlights the extent to which linear, productive time is deferred, and existential time, not transitional in any sense of 'moving on' or projecting one's self and identity towards imaginary horizons, is embraced as a zone of stasis – an ontological domain of suspended distraction which, paradoxically, can only be attained through mobility. This is best illustrated by considering the opening sequence from the film, which charts an average day in Vincent's solitary world of motorways, Novotels, service stations and car parks.

The film opens with Vincent asleep in his car. He is woken by the sound of his mobile phone ringing. It is Muriel, his wife. He tells her he has a meeting that is scheduled to last all morning. As they talk a coach pulls up, half-framed in the car windscreen, and schoolchildren disembark. Cut to the exterior of the car as Vincent gets out and walks with

the children. It appears that he is in a car park or motorway lay-by of some description. This is confirmed by the next scene from inside a service station. As Vincent browses amongst the newspaper and confectionery stands, motorway traffic is visible through the glass entrance doors to his rear. Cut back to the interior of the car, and a rear shot of Vincent driving through a wet and miserable-looking landscape. Through the windscreen we see a train running parallel to the road. Vincent welcomes this distraction, and cutting between a sidelong, seventy five-degree tracking shot of the speeding train, which then pans to the left as the train pulls ahead, and a close up of Vincent taking up the challenge, shot from a similarly oblique angle, the forward momentum and speed of their competing mobilities is accentuated, providing Vincent with a rare moment of engagement with the otherwise featureless landscape. It proves to be a short-lived distraction, however, and he is soon forced to give way to the train at a level crossing (see Figure 5.2). This sudden moment of truncation conveys a sense of impotence and isolation which reflects the crisis of masculinity and middle-class anomie that Vincent's wandering fantasist comes to represent.

We next see Vincent having lunch in the picnic area of a roadside stop from where he rings Muriel. He tells his wife that the morning meeting went well, and that he has another client to see in the afternoon which may go on late. Cut to a close up of Vincent singing along to the car radio, the passing landscape a blur outside. Following this, a rain-swept windscreen point-of-view at dusk which is held for a moment before panning ninety degrees to frame the driver's silhouetted profile. We then observe the motorway through the windows of a service station which spans the carriageways. Vincent is again on the phone to Muriel: the meeting did not go well, an 'emergency unit' has been planned for that evening, so he won't be home until the next day. We watch as he leaves the service station looking impassive and withdrawn. The last shot of this 'day in the life' sequence is of Vincent settling down to sleep in his car, his image doubly framed by the camera and the driver's window, in which the reflected headlights of passing traffic are visible. Vincent is left to his thoughts and dreams. We no longer share this interior, mobile space and have thus become detached observers, reaffirming the sense of isolation which characterises Vincent's outsider status.

What is immediately striking from these scenes is the inert quality of its temporal and spatial mobilities. Time is as dead and empty as the non-places which Vincent frequents. In the absence of any recognisable social framework, 'normality' is rehearsed at scheduled time slots (early morning, lunchtime and evening) and in allotted 'social' arenas, such as motorway dining areas (and, later in the film, hotel lobbies and corporate reception areas). In these structured moments of inorganic sociality Vincent's double life acquires its fullest expression, most notably in the phone conversations he has with his wife, but also in the momentary encounters with other transitory passengers, such as the schoolchildren he walks



Figure 5.2: Mobile distraction: road scene from *Time Out*

with to the service station, whose shared anonymity allow him to temporarily maintain the illusion of a social role and identity. In all other respects, movement ‘fills in the gaps’ of distraction. The abstract spaces of the motorway become a welcome refuge from the responsibility and complexity of his situation. Indeed, as Vincent later confides, it was his increasing reluctance to leave his car which precipitated his eventual dismissal from his consultancy position. Driving hundreds of kilometres to attend pointless meetings was, he confesses, the only thing about the job he enjoyed: ‘Alone in the car... thinking about nothing... smoking and listening to music...’.

Movement in itself – an embodied, kinaesthetic response to the psychogeographical inertia of the surrounding landscape – is thus a key element in these filmic ontologies of

distraction. The oblique-angled tracking shots of the moving train and the blurred abstraction of the motorway embankment recall Deleuze's notion of 'liquid perception', which I discussed in Chapter 4.5 in relation to *Last Resort*, in that the voyager-voyeur, through a doubly-framed space of composition established by the driver point-of-view, engages both haptically and visually with a landscape composed of action in movement and movement in action. Equally, the narrow depth of field of the close up shots of Vincent driving, while emphasising the subject's distraction, also draws attention to the vehicle's movement by throwing a blurred canvas of brown and green onto the mobile, aestheticised space of background abstraction (Figure 5.2).

In *Last Resort* these mobile spaces of transition reflect a sense of agential temporality, whereby the unfolding of space (in the flight scene) is correlative to the negation of stasis: an embodied mobility of linear, progressive time. In *Time Out* the situation is reversed: for Vincent, movement constructs a mobile zone of stasis. Existential time becomes the negation of transition: a desire not to 'move on' but to embrace the evacuated spaces of distraction that bring about the deferral or suspension of (social) time. Linear temporalities of flight – the space-time trajectory of the classical road movie – thus give way to circular, entropic time.

These countervailing affects of the road – i.e. those which are constituted *from* boredom, repetition and stasis – question, or at least provide a corrective to depictions of road space abstraction in which the non-places of the motorway are *only* emblematic of (hypermodern) alienation or anomie. In this respect the 'psychogeographic' road films discussed in this section are part of a wider 'affective turn' in recent social and cultural geographies of the road (Edensor 2003; Sheller 2004). As Edensor suggests, in its capacity to foster inward flights of imagination, nostalgia or reverie, as well as outward journeys towards other spaces and times, 'routine motor travel should be conceptualized as a process of becoming, foregrounding affective and sensual experience of place, and focusing on the flow of experience rather than assuming such experience is desensitized, a stasis of being disconnected' (2003: 166). Yet for Vincent it is this very stasis and desensitivity that allows him to 'escape' from his social responsibilities. It is thus not an either/or realm of affective im/mobility that he inhabits, but a dialectical zone of stasis and transition, place and non-place in which the rhythms and textures of time determine the affective dimensions of (transitory) space. The motorway is neither utopic nor dystopic as a perceived material space (Lefebvre 1991); the distinction is one that is mapped from the lived spaces of representation of which the driver is both architect and voyager-voyeur.

Kinaesthesia – the body's capacity to sense the material affects of these mobile spaces – becomes the 'gateway' by which different temporalities and mobilities are themselves accessed and 'set in motion'. Developing further these dialectics of embodied duration (cf.

Bachelard 2000), in the next section I examine two very different examples where the suspension of the body in ‘travelling time’ establishes a sense of agential mobility linked on the one hand, to linear, progressive time, and on the other, to the circular time of memory and reflection.

5.4 Spaces of Transition

‘Oh, time, suspend your flight!’

‘I’d love to,’ says Time, ‘but for how long?’

(Augé 2004: 76)

In the examples to be discussed in this section, different spatial ‘materialisations of time’ (Game 1999: 49) form the basis of purely cinematic spaces of transition in which the valorisation of movement over stasis constitutes an embodied mode of engagement with topographies of travel that ‘mobilise’ linear or cyclical narratives of space and time.

The first of these consists of a short sequence from Michael Winterbottom’s migrant travelogue, *In This World* (2002). The film follows the plight of two Afghan refugees, Jamal and his cousin Enayat, who embark on a hazardous overland journey from Pakistan to Britain where Jamal eventually claims asylum (Enayat dies *en route*). Shot on digital video, the film is a dramatised documentary whose non-professional actors were cast from the refugee camp in Peshawar, north-west Pakistan, where they both returned after the shoot was over (fifteen-year old Jamal has since undertaken the same journey alone, although the British authorities have refused his application for asylum). Although for practical reasons and for narrative effect many of the human encounters along the way are dramatised, in geographical terms the journey is nevertheless real in that Winterbottom and his production crew travelled with the two refugees for the duration of the eight week shoot. The main difficulties which faced the filmmakers, as the director notes, involved getting the actors from one country to another (Winterbottom 2003: 4), and the moments of tension and suspense in the film are similarly orientated around the traversing of national borders, each of which represents a frontier post on their linear quest for a better life Elsewhere.

The biggest setback Jamal and his cousin face on their journey (with the obvious exception of the latter’s demise on a container ship to Italy)¹²⁵ is in Iran when, bound for Tehran, a checkpoint official boards the bus they are travelling on and, suspecting correctly

¹²⁵ This scenario is directly influenced by the real-life case of the Chinese immigrants who suffocated to death on a Dover-bound ferry in 2000 (see Chapter 1.1). See also the films *Berlêgirtinên Rê* (*Roadblocks*, Stavros Ioannou, 2000), *Clandestins* (*Stowaways*, Denis Chouinard and Nicolas Wadimoff, 1997), and *La nave de los sueños* (*Ship of Dreams*, Ciro Dirán, 1996), all of which feature journeys of hope in which migrants are holed up in the claustrophobic spaces of a freight container on board ships bound for the Promised Lands of Europe or North America (Jordanova 2001b).

that they are Afghans, arranges for their deportation back to Pakistan. When they are able to resume their journey and cross over the border once more into Iran, the sense of movement and transitional mobility is rendered almost tangible in a sequence which marks their now successful passage to the Iranian capital, from where they will travel to the Turkish border and onward into Europe.

The sequence in question commences with a montage of shots, each no longer than two or three seconds, taken in and from a bus crossing the desert: Enayat in profile against the glare of the setting sun; Jamal sleeping; other passengers looking out the windows or talking; views across an empty desert landscape; a windscreen point-of-view shot of the road ahead. This is followed by a series of shots in and from the now stationary bus as they wait to pass through what appears to be a checkpoint. Cutting between Jamal, Enayat and the roadside scenes taking place outside, the rhythm of the editing and the moody score create a sense of muted tension that only starts to dissipate as the bus is set in motion once more. The sequence then changes register as the extra-diegetic music displaces all but the faintest of synchronous sound (the low hum of the bus engine), disappearing completely as the saturated tones of the desert landscape (shot, like most of this sequence, with the low-angled light of the setting or rising sun) dissolve into the computer generated imagery of a map tracking the route of their journey towards Tehran. This then cuts to a montage of shots taken in and from the bus as it drives through the city at night. This beautifully composed sequence, again notable for its prominent hues of gold and yellow and the dominant musical score, cuts between images of the passengers and fragments of the city in movement – medium and long tracking shots from the bus of the throng of city traffic (including one exterior shot of the bus itself) – which builds into a lyrical abstraction of embodied mobility. The use of speeded-up footage and rapid-fire editing constructs an aesthetics of movement in which the voyager-voyeur becomes absorbed into a blurred, hallucinatory mass of light streaks that make up this transitional landscape of ‘haptic visuality’ (Marks 2000: xi). The frenetic bombardment of speed, light and kinaesthesia, which in *Solaris* was framed from the detached perspective of an abstract subject, here engulfs the subject in an ontology of hypermodern mobility (Thrift 1996) which strikes a positive chord with the broader mobilities of Jamal and Enayat’s migrant journey (Figure 5.3).

Time in this sequence is suspended in motion, subject to the whims of a material spatial practice whose temporal trajectories, while linear in orientation, are most palpably felt when wrested back from hegemonic cartographies of stasis or repetition. What is striking about this and the following example is the extent to which these ‘time in motion’ studies bracket themselves off from extraneous noise (both literally and figuratively). As in the flight scene from *Last Resort*, the dominance of extra-diegetic music signals a retreat

from the empirical world and highlights the subjective, embodied perception of the travelling subject.

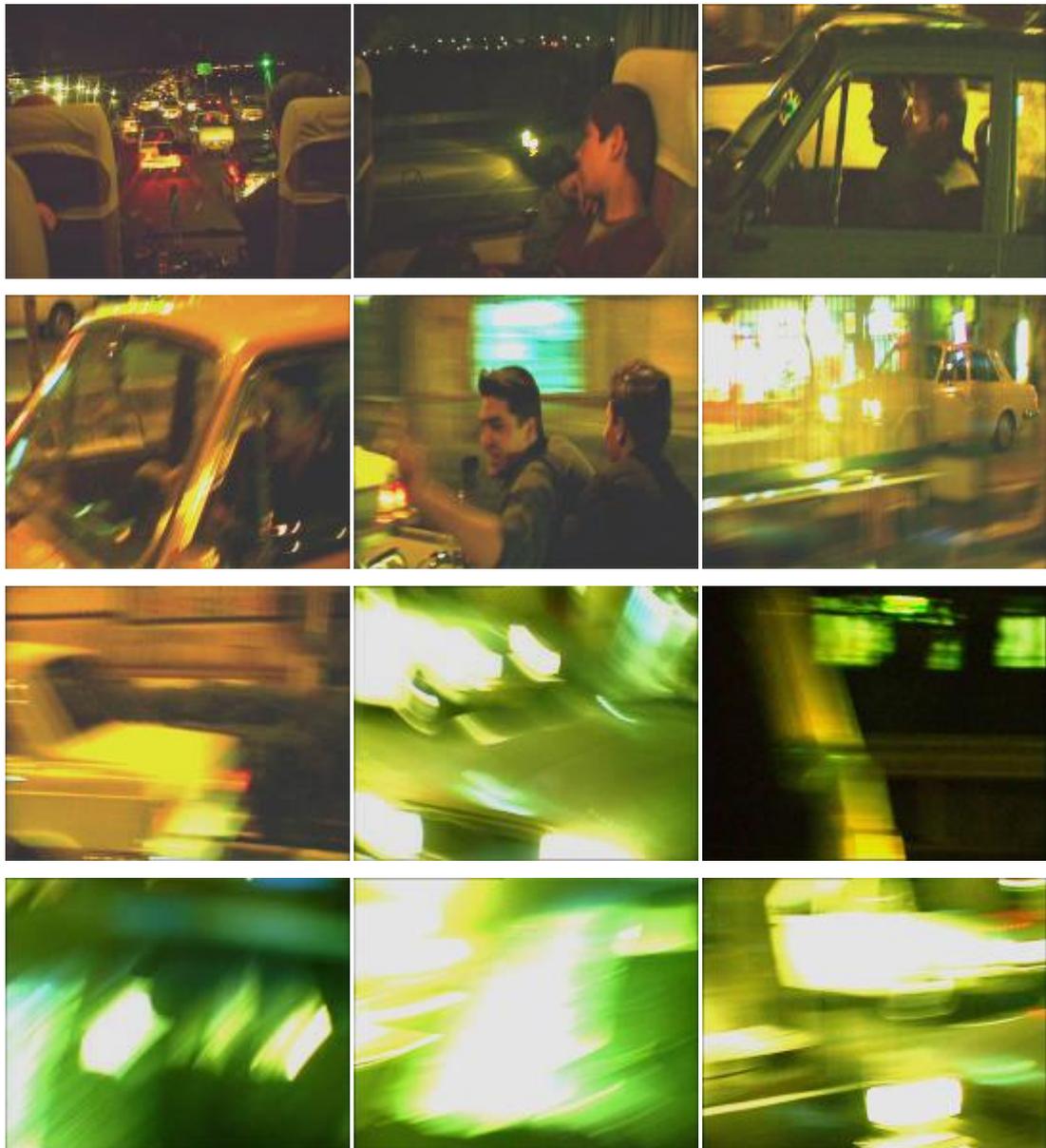


Figure 5.3: Haptic visuality: road scene from *In This World*

While for Jamal and Enayat this evokes the agential mobilities of their linear journey, for Alexander, the main character from *Eternity and a Day*, the journey undertaken traverses an inner landscape of memory and nostalgic reflection. The scene from Angelopoulos' film that provides the basis for our discussion also consists of a bus journey,¹²⁶ but unlike the

¹²⁶ There remain a number of other 'bus films' (or bus sequences within films) that are noteworthy here, but which cannot be accommodated within the present discussion. These include: *Voyages* (Emmanuel Finkiel, 1999), *Otobüs (The Bus)* (Tunç Okan, 1977), *Ko totamo peva (Who's That Singing Over There)* (Slobodan Sijan, 1980), and *Wêne (The Photograph)* (Kazim Öz, 2000). Non-European examples include: *Checkpoint* (Parviz Sayyad, 1987), *Get On the Bus* (Spike Lee, 1996), *Ikinai* (Hiroshi Shimizu, 1998), and *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (Stephan Elliot, 1994). See also Naficy (2001: 257-261).

migrant odyssey it follows a circular route in which time present and future, in the form of a young Albanian boy, runs alongside Alexander's dying reveries of time past. Alexander is a terminally-ill poet looking back on his life. On his last day before retiring to a hospice, he 'takes to the road' (in and around Thessaloniki and the border region with Albania) with the boy, an (unnamed) illegal immigrant he has rescued from the hands of people traffickers (see Chapter 4.2). Their respective 'journeys' – Alexander's to landscapes of memory (seeking reparation for a life spent in emotional 'exile' from those he has loved), and the boy's, like Jamal's and Enayat's, to the hope of a better life Elsewhere – become entwined. As they prepare to part at the day's end, Alexander takes them on one last journey. It is night and, not untypically for an Angelopoulos film, raining. They are standing by the quayside at Thessaloniki harbour. The boy is shortly to illegally board a ferry bound for an unknown destination. As they embrace a bus pulls into frame and stops behind them. They run to get on board, and as the bus pulls away (shortly followed by three cyclists wearing bright yellow waterproofs)¹²⁷ the main theme from Eleni Karaindrou's score starts up: the journey is underway. For the eight-minute duration of the scene we are inside the bus with Alexander and the boy and an assortment of passengers, both 'real' and imaginary, contemporary and historical, who board and disembark this *metaphorai* of travelling time.

In many respects, this sequence finds Angelopoulos resorting to a tried and tested mode of 'time travel', the formal characteristics of which are derived from the director's trademark use of the sequence shot. In films such as *The Travelling Players* (see Chapter 2.4) and *Ulysses' Gaze* (the scene at the Bulgarian border, for example) a single, fluid tracking shot maintains an unbroken unity of space through which different time periods are travelled. Utilising off-screen space, the protracted mobility of the *mise en scène* establishes what most other directors would opt to achieve through editing. In the scene under discussion, however, although the *mise en scène* is similarly 'mobile', the camera is largely fixed, or at least limited to the internal dimensions of the bus. 'Time', in the guise of a variety of different characters, enters and exits the moment through a trope of (dis)embarkation.

At an early point in the journey the camera moves from its fixed position at the centre of the bus to zoom in on the back of the boy's head as he stares out towards the harbour. The view from the window then dominates the frame, and for a few seconds our attention is directed towards a cruise ship or ferry, its lights reflected in the harbour waters. Highlighting the onward, hopeful journey that is to take place beyond the diegesis (marking another transitional space between films as discussed in Chapter 4), Angelopoulos sets this

¹²⁷ A striking visual motif which, in its different manifestations, appears in many of Angelopoulos' later films.

alongside the inner journey of Alexander's imagination, thus establishing a sense of contrapuntal mobility. As such, the trope of the border that is central to this film (as it is to *The Suspended Step of the Stork* and *Ulysses' Gaze*) represents both frontiers to be overcome, in the form of horizons that lie ahead, and those boundaries that mark the extremities of experience: borders between life and death, being and nothingness, where travel takes the form of nostalgia – of horizons 'fast disappearing behind us' (Lefebvre 1991: 51).

Upon arrival at the next bus stop we hear the sound of a demonstration taking place. The camera follows as passengers disembark. The view from the doorway reveals a normal street scene, save for a lone demonstrator carrying a communist flag who boards the bus. He is followed shortly afterwards by two students, a man and a woman. As they take their seats, out of frame, the young man resumes an animated discussion with the woman, whom we assume to be his lover. 'We need new artistic forms, Maria', the man declares earnestly, 'new forms of expression'. This takes place over a shot of the three cyclists from before, their yellow waterproofs clearly visible in the dark. As the argument spills over into the personal, the woman storms off the bus at the next stop, her partner following shortly after. The attention now shifts to the boy, who gets up from his seat, stares for several seconds at the now sleeping communist¹²⁸ and wanders down the aisle, stopping now and again to observe the world beyond the windows. It is clear that he has become a passenger in Alexander's journey of the imagination. The demonstrator and the students, if not materialisations as such of Alexander's younger self, are nevertheless intended to evoke an earlier age of aesthetic and political idealism; nostalgic reminders of a modernist vision which, like the passionate stirrings of youth, is now but a distant memory.

All we can hear at this stage are the sound of Alexander and the boy's footsteps on the floor of the bus and the pared-down, beguiling strains of the main theme. It is as if the bus was floating through space, the absence of sound from its engines creating a dreamlike effect of suspended motion.

Other 'passengers' come and go: a group of young musicians who perform a classical piece, and a nineteenth-century poet whose last, unfinished work Alexander has been endeavouring to complete. 'How long does tomorrow last?' Alexander implores, as the poet disembarks. This cuts to a long shot of the bus as it pulls up at the same point at which the

¹²⁸ It is not clear whether this figure, who stays for the duration of the bus ride, is meant to convey any symbolic meaning. If so, it is unlikely that Angelopoulos is alluding to a dormant spirit of revolution, which at some future point will reawaken with renewed fervour. Aside from its immediate associations with Alexander's youth, this figure is more likely to represent a 'refugee' from Greece's repressed histories of the left, in a similar vein to Spyros' 'ghost' in *Voyage to Cythera*, and the 'still warm' corpse of the partisan soldier, unearthed from the snow after thirty years of silence, in Angelopoulos' *E Kenege* (*The Hunters*, 1977).

journey began. The framing of the shot exactly matches the original. As the bus pulls away it leaves Alexander and the boy standing by the quayside. Shortly after this the three cyclists once again pass through the frame. This repetition of the earlier arrival and departure scene, coupled with the fact that we again see the cyclists midway through the circular bus ride, suggests, perhaps, that no ‘real’ journey has taken place at all. No time has elapsed, or road space unfolded in any empirical sense; the journey has been a projection of what Bruce Kavin describes as a ‘mindscreen’ (2000): a subjective field of vision which, in this case, has played host to the summation of Alexander’s imaginary quest. ‘Eternity and a day’, as we discover in the film’s final moments, is the answer he has been seeking all along: a transcendent, poetic dimension of time in which all moments, as well as all potentialities, are ever-present.

It is difficult to imagine how the film could have arrived at its conclusion – the departure of the boy on the ferry; the return of Alexander to his childhood home – had this pivotal scene been omitted. Like the corresponding scene from *In This World*, this purely cinematic journey through time represents a space of transition both narratively, in that it provides a bridge – a ‘time out’ zone – between moments of stasis and those which work towards their (linear) resolution, and ontologically, in that *movement* – an inherently spatial practice – establishes the conditionality, or embodied subjectivity, of temporal being. For Alexander, this represents, in Heideggerian terms, ‘being-towards-death’, in which one’s authentic confrontation with death ‘forces Dasein [Being] to acknowledge that what matters to it about its existence is not just the specific moments that make it up, but the totality of those moments’ (Mulhall 1996: 119). In *Eternity and a Day* this is achieved through a temporalisation of space in that the mobile *mise en scène* displaces geographical travel in preference to a ‘circular’ or a-spatial locus of temporal mobility. In *In This World*, by comparison, time is mobile only to the extent that it moves in a lineal chronology – a ‘chrono-logic’ narrativity, as Brian Winston puts it (Bruzzi 2000: 100) – correspondent with empirical geographies of utopic travel.

In Deleuzian terms, these cinematic zones of transition constitute a semiotics of travel ascribed, on the one hand, to the virtual deterritorialised spaces of the time-image and, on the other, to the geographically contiguous movement-image. In both instances the process of abstraction from the exterior world beyond the glass represents not the disembodied gaze of landscape visuality, but the haptic (re)appropriation of the psychogeographic ‘flesh of the world’: embodied mobilities through space and time in which kinaesthesia – the sensory capacity to *experience* movement (whether actual or virtual) – remains the central constitutive element.

5.5 Cultivating Labours

He travels and expatiates, as the bee
From flow'r to flow'r, so he from land to land;
The manners, customs, policy of all
Pay contribution to the store he gleans.

(William Cowper, *The Task*, Book IV: The Winter Evening)¹²⁹

That's not wandering, that's withering.

(from *Vagabond*, Agnès Varda, 1985)

In the final section of this chapter I consider examples of 'road films' which represent a more direct engagement with material landscapes of travel, and which, moreover, perhaps best exemplify, in the terms that Wallace (1993) outlines in her study of nineteenth-century walking literature, what I have more broadly designated as a *peripatetic* mode of travel film. Earlier in this chapter it was suggested that, in the dominant genre, conventional geographies of the road movie are driven (sic) by an *a priori* conception of space in which 'the road' plays host to cultural and ideologically-encoded practices that are fashioned in its own iconic image. As with many of the epistemological presuppositions that have, of late, gathered pace around tropes of the nomad in contemporary theoretical discourse (see Chapter 1), filmic chronotopes of the road invariably transcend material territorialisations of place and subjectivity to embrace economies of speed, mobility and 'utopic' freedom (in the sense of 'freedom from place'). While establishing a 'chrono-logic' template of linear narration, the classical road movie can also be said to uphold a broader spatio-temporal logic whereby the nomadic roadster metonymically embodies the rampant individualism of the postmodern 'tourist' travelling the deterritorialised landscapes of global capitalism (Bauman 1997; Hardt and Negri 2000).

Building on the theoretical arguments and case studies I have advanced so far, in this last section I consider two examples – *The Beekeeper* and *Vagabond* – which, in their own ways, pose dialectical challenges to dominant filmic geographies of the road. In these peripatetic road journeys the mediation of the performative body highlights the embodied relations between the travelling subject and the material landscape. Far from representing utopic deterritorialisations of road space abstraction (so effectively exploited in the restless mobilities of postmodern consumer-capitalism), it is the tangible presence of place that is foregrounded in these examples. Unlike distanced practices of 'travelling in comfort' (e.g. the hyper-reality of landscape viewed through a *windscreen*), 'travel' in these road films signifies a practice that is more closely associated with the term's semantic origins: i.e.

¹²⁹ From Cowper: *Poetical Works* (1934: 185).

work or *travail*. I am arguing therefore that the peripatetic can be looked upon as a ‘cultivating labour’ in which embodied practices of travel and movement re-galvanise (or at least endeavour to) a sense of *place*: a lived space of representation that is neither defined in terms of an ontological stasis or fixity, nor those of movement and mobility, but rather as a dialectical spatiality born from the rhythmic conjunction of both.

In Angelopoulos’ *The Beekeeper*, made in 1986, a scene that takes place in a truckers café – a remote, rather incongruous looking building situated in a sparse industrial-rural landscape – features a young vagabond girl dancing to a song by the Greek pop star, Julie Massino, which is playing on the juke-box. Sung in English, the song, a bland Euro-pop number called ‘I’ll hit the road’, is a valorisation of the individual and self-actualised destiny (‘I’ll do it... in my way’) and represents a fitting soundtrack to the neo-liberal hegemony of the Reagan-Thatcher era. Angelopoulos’ direction in this scene highlights the extent to which the homogenous strains of the music have become resonant with the cultural and geographical landscape of contemporary Greece, which for Spyros, the film’s central Ulysses character, has itself become emptied of hermeneutical significance. Walking back from filling up his truck, Spyros hears the music and stops for moment, looking in at the girl dancing. The view is partly distorted by the reflection of the mountainous landscape in the windows of the truck stop. The camera follows Spyros as he enters the café. The room that houses the jukebox is separate from the bar area. The unfinished textures of its bare concrete walls establish a material affect of cold emotional sterility that finds resonance with Spyros’ desolate interior world. With the exception of the jukebox and the girl, who is dancing with her back to the camera, oblivious to Spyros’ presence or the world outside, the space is completely empty. The camera remains on the girl for several seconds until, spotting Spyros, she suddenly stops, momentarily frozen by his impassive gaze.

Spyros, the beekeeper in question (a beautifully melancholic, almost mute performance from Marcello Mastroianni), is travelling across Greece with his hives towards the town where he was born and raised and first learned to tend the bees. Visiting old friends and memories along the way, he represents, like many of Angelopolous’ later characters, a figure for whom past and present are increasingly irreconcilable. Again, as with much of the director’s work, a concern with history, memory and time is explored through a recourse to tropes of travel. Unlike the teenage drifter who joins him intermittently throughout his journey south, Spyros’ odyssey has purpose. Mapped in advance, it traces ‘songlines’ of tradition: a quest for the vanishing routes/roots of personal and collective memory. When asked by the girl-drifter where they are going, Spyros, in one his few utterances in the film, replies, ‘To the other end of the map’. The girl, who is given no name, has no sense of history or memory: ‘Mr “I remember”,’ she retorts at one point, ‘look at me! I don’t remember anything’. A personification of the present, she inhabits the numerous roadside

stops and motels of Angelopoulos' Other Greece, drifting from non-place to non-place, seemingly unaware of their absencing traces of the past.

Contemplating the fate of their respective journeys is to confront questions of historicity and deterritorialisation. Cultivating his beehives – moments in which Spyros appears more engaged and attentive than at any other in the film – becomes a metaphor for the cultivation of a sense of place, culture and history (this is given its fullest poetic expression in a striking shot of the beehives laid out on a hillside overlooking Syros' hometown in which they appear to blend naturally with the rooftops of the houses below –

see Figure 5.4). Yet in the wake of a creeping individualism and globalisation/Americanisation of culture, these roots of identity have been left to wither, the hives overturned (a destructive act of despair which marks the journey's end). Spyros' cultivating labours – in the form of his odyssey – are thus negated by the girl's indifference towards the past (drifting without purpose). The divergent nature of these journeys



Figure 5.4: Cultivating place: homecoming scene from *The Beekeeper*

is in part reflected in Angelopolous' distinction between travelling subjectivities of 'the road' and those he sees as unique to his films:

The concept of the 'road movie' bears no relation to the voyages undertaken by the heroes of my films. A 'road movie' is more something that has to do with persons that wander about without a purpose. The voyages made by the heroes of my films are voyages-quests for some thing or some person that in the long run become the metaphorical element in the quest for a lost thing, a lost paradise, a lost innocence, a lost reference point. (quoted in Petrides et al 1998: 7)

Lacking both a sense of place and of history, the vagabond exemplifies the depthless individualism Angelopoulos appears to attribute to the road movie. In the absence of any form of communion between Spyros and the girl – between past and present – a poetics and politics of wandering sets in motion a dialectic of travel which by the final frames of the film (Spyros' death by bee sting) has foundered and 'gone to earth'. Their interwoven yet divergent paths convey not only the end of history or 'deep memory' (Jameson 1991: 154), but also the incommensurability of American and European cultural geographies of the road:

the former inextricably bound up with capitalist tropes of individuated freedom; the latter shaped by a more historically embedded, collective tradition of poetical ‘wandering with purpose’.¹³⁰

Spyros’ alienation from the contemporary landscapes through which he journeys, a world that has long since ceased to nurture the soul, is only relieved in the ‘cultivating scenes’ which depict Spyros, at one with his environment, tending the beehives laid out amongst the meadows and hillsides of an Other Greece. In one of these scenes Spyros is shown lying sprawled out in the long grass. The physical closeness to nature is accentuated by the sound of the bees, as well as of birds and running water, which appears exaggerated, highlighting the extent to which Spyros is connecting with and becoming more aware of the world around him. The ostensibly haptical nature of this engagement with the land is further conveyed at the end of the scene when Spyros washes his face in water thrown up from a stream. The sensual awakening that is prioritised here denotes a temporary shift away from his solitary introspection towards a focus on the body as the only remaining mode of engagement with the world.¹³¹ A sense of touch, which the girl had earlier initiated when shaving the increasingly desolate Spyros, now begins to bear fruit as he resumes his journey intent on consummating his desire for the girl, thereby forging a corporeal bond with the present. Yet far from assuaging his estrangement from the contemporary world, a fumbling, rejected attempt at sex on a ferry and the joyless coupling of the naked girl and a fully clothed Spyros (in an empty cinema in Spyros’ hometown) only compound his sense of isolation. Retreating to the hives once more he releases the bees in a final act of despair.

It is worth noting at this point that the only two close ups in *The Beekeeper* are of Spyros’ hand. In the first, the camera zooms in as the girl, attempting to extract an emotional response or any other sign of life, bites into his hand, smearing blood across her face as she seductively caresses it with her lips. The other shot is at the end of the film when Spyros is attacked by the bees. As he lies face down on the ground in the last moments of his life (his body once again in full contact with the earth) the camera zooms in on a close up of his outstretched hand ‘tapping the ground as if trying to communicate through a vibrating dance like his bees’ (O’Grady 1997: 55).

As well as recalling an earlier scene, when an old comrade from the civil war, whom Spyros visits in hospital, performs the same tapping gesture (which served as a means of

¹³⁰ This is not to deny permeability between American and European road genres, a dialogue Wim Wenders has productively explored (see section 5.1), but rather to acknowledge a cultural politics of ‘the road’ in which the observation that ‘the Yanks have colonised our subconscious’ (from Wenders’ *Kings of the Road*) is less an exercise in cross-cultural hermeneutics than a rallying call for the construction (or excavation) of ‘alternative routes’.

¹³¹ This echoes sentiments expressed by Voula, Spyros’ daughter in *Voyage to Cythera*, who, having had casual sex with a sailor, tells her brother: ‘I often realise with horror and relief that I no longer believe in anything. So then I revert to my body. It’s the only thing that makes me feel alive’.

communication among partisan prisoners during the war), this ‘vibrating dance’ invokes an altogether more primal authenticity located in the natural, eternal rhythms of cyclical time; everyday rhythms which, as Lefebvre and Régulier point out (2003), have steadily been supplanted by the abstract temporalities – linear, homogenous, quantitative – imposed by a capitalist mode of production (cf. Kofman and Lebas 1996; Lefebvre 2004). The emphasis on tactile modes of communication which these and other scenes convey highlights the embodied interactions that take place between road traveller and road topography. The journey becomes a peripatetic quest in search of the hidden cadences of utopic space and time: sexual, emotional and natural rhythms with which Spyros finds it increasingly difficult to connect.

Clearly then this is no cinematic road journey played out on the flat surface of the *windscreen*, nor, in geographical terms, can it be adequately assessed from the perspective of a road genre, as Angelopoulos has himself indicated. By designating a peripatetic mode of road film I am thus seeking to acknowledge the material and physical specificities that underpin the haptic properties of the road – and off-road – milieu, and which potentially furnish a more grounded sense of lived spatiality that questions dominant modes of cine-spatial analysis. In this regard it is worth considering for a moment Wallace’s discussion of walking in nineteenth-century literature, and of the tendency among readers and critics to collapse these material spatial practices into a broader trope of ‘travel’:

Readers overlook walking in literature for several reasons. The most common difficulty is something I call ‘falling up’, moving immediately from the material terms of the text into the immaterial, the ideological or psychological or whatever, and then staying in abstraction without closely examining the image or plot movement or other material representation which generated the extended meaning... To read walking as travel compounds this tendency by permitting direct access to the extensive life-as-journey motif, which the reader then moves into without considering the implications of any specific mode of travel. (1993: 3)

This analysis proves no less applicable in terms of the cinematic transposition (or ‘falling up’) from peripatetic topographies of the road to those which remain in abstraction: immaterial tropes which, as discussed previously, construct, as much as reflect, travelling subjectivities that conform to a life-as-journey motif, or which uphold hegemonic modes of spatio-temporal ‘travel’.

As a narrative form, the road movie typically follows a linear trajectory, often leading towards a moment of self-discovery or renewal (akin to Van Gennep’s tripartite model of social rights of passage: separation, transition and reincorporation [see Chapter 3.3, footnote no. 10]), in which the journey is framed from the point of view of the (invariably male)

travelling subject(s). A film which runs counter to all of these ‘canonic laws’ (Hayward 1990: 290) of the genre, and which perhaps best exemplifies a peripatetic mode of cine-spatial practice, is Agnès Varda’s seminal ‘road film’ *Sans toit ni loi*, or *Vagabond*.

Released a year before *The Beekeeper*, *Vagabond* shares with Angelopoulos’ film a travelling subject who is essentially a mythic creature. Emerging from the sea like Botticelli’s Venus and returning, in death, to the bosom of the earth, Mona (played by Sandrine Bonnaire), the young drifter to whose last weeks (wandering a harsh rural landscape in Southern France)¹³² the film bears witness, represents a screen presence constructed (almost) entirely from the point of view of those she has encountered on her travels. Eschewing psychological identification (we do not discover who Mona was so much as, through the mirrored gaze of others, who she *wasn’t*), the film not only decentres the point of view of the road traveller, in addition, the retrospective (re)constructions of the film’s ‘informants’ (which succeed the discovery of Mona’s body in the opening scenes) disrupt the linear, canonic conventions of the road genre in that the end (of the road/film) is made explicit at the beginning, thereby establishing a temporal structure in which ‘the narration is a series of flashbacks all interwoven rather than an ordered sequence of events which lead inexorably to a bad end (*Easy Rider*) or a reasonable resolution (*Paris, Texas*)’ (Hayward 1990: 290).¹³³

As in *The Beekeeper*, the relationship between traveller and the material landscape in *Vagabond* draws attention to the sheer physicality of the body as the primary interface through which the film’s discursive expositions are mediated. In effect, Mona becomes *of* the landscape, her fate as much contingent on the natural vagaries of place and season (the barren fields and meagre shelters of an agri-rural winter landscape) as on the attitudes and responses of those she encounters. Her physical proximity to the earth – whether working the land with Assoun, the Moroccan farm labourer, sleeping rough in farm chalets or in her tent (pitched in a graveyard or snow-layered field), wandering across tilled farmland, or lying frozen to death in a ditch – reinforces both a mythic sense of place and a ‘radically

¹³² As in Angelopoulos’ portrayal of an Other Greece, Varda subverts clichéd representations of the region as a perennially sunny and materially bountiful touristic destination.

¹³³ Of the five examples given by Hayward of *Vagabond*’s ‘canonic’ transgressions (four of which I have mentioned here: the flashback narration, the non-roadster point of view, the centrality of a woman traveller, and the lack of discovery or self-knowledge at the ‘road’s end’), it is not clear on what she bases her claim that Varda’s use of tracking shots moving from right to left in some way represents a reversal of the norm. This is certainly not borne out in, say, a film such as *Easy Rider*, where no one direction is prioritised relative to the camera. In a more recent text Smith also makes reference to the direction of tracking in the film, claiming that it was chosen because Western cultures read from left to right, and hence the reverse direction of the camera’s movement comes to symbolise Mona’s own transgressions, moving backward ‘against the tide’ of societal norms (1998: 15). It may well be the case that this idea originated from Varda, but as no such source is cited in either text, and as Hayward is writing specifically in the context of the canonic road movie, it is reasonable to conclude that this argument is at best open to question.

empirical' sensibility in which the material and experiential bases of Mona's everyday existence are foregrounded.¹³⁴ These embodied interactions with the social and natural environment highlight the extent to which Mona is not merely the product of a collective gaze, but a material presence in which olfactory and tactile responses prove no less crucial in determining her existence. This materiality of being is affirmed through smell ('She stank to high heaven [...] pure filth', the arborist, Mme Lantier, remarks at one point); through sexual contact (consensual and rape); through hunger and its satiation (and the sensual gratification of tobacco and marijuana); through her exposure to the raw winter elements; and through the textural fabric of the physical terrain she inhabits (e.g. the frozen, corrugated fields; the stone walls and facades against which Mona's lateral movements are frequently tracked; or, shot in close-up, the furrowed sandscape that opens to reveal a long shot of Mona emerging naked from the sea). As the film progresses, the embodied materiality of the physical terrain is made further explicit through the gradual adornment of found material in place of her worn out shoes and clothes.

The camera's bleak survey of the unforgiving landscape through which Mona trudges (principally in the tracking shot sequences and the slow zoom which opens the film) addresses, as Raynalle Udris notes, one of the primary functions of space in the film: 'to expose bluntly the material conditions of [Mona's] existence... The interaction between character and environment also corresponds to one of Varda's principles of composition, in what she has called her *cinécriture* [cinematic writing]' (2000: 43).¹³⁵ In terms of its discursive foundations, Mona's subjectivity, as already indicated, is constituted by a series of gazes: 'one-way exchanges from different specular positions [in which e]ach contributor fixes their gaze not on Mona but on their perception of Mona as a figure of their desire' (Hayward 1990: 286). Although the film viewer is also co-opted into this process of fictive construction (attempts to *pin her down* – a revealing metaphor in itself – become similarly complicit in denying her radical otherness), in the tracking shot 'interludes', or 'punctuating

¹³⁴ Radical empiricism is a term associated with the pragmatist philosopher, William James (1842-1910). Addressing the subject-object interplay between the field of consciousness and the world of objects, its philosophy departs from traditional empiricist and dualist epistemologies by stressing the primacy of lived experience (cf. James 1971; Jackson 1989). Methodologically James' ideas have recently begun to influence the work of ethnographic filmmakers such as David and Judith MacDougall, who explore the experiential flux of the ethnographic encounter (Barbash and Taylor 2001). In a similar vein, by ascribing a radical empirical sensibility to *Vagabond* I am seeking to emphasise the way Varda draws on sensory and corporeal experience as one of the 'methods' by which Mona's subjectivity is collectively traced.

¹³⁵ The importance of place in Varda's work is noted by Flitterman-Lewis, who argues that 'in her almost sociological cinematic explorations of cultural situations, Varda has consistently emphasised the effects of place on the social relations she analyses' (1996: 237; cf. Smith 1998: 60-91; Udris 2000). Indeed, at times the body itself becomes a landscape in Varda's work (Smith 1998: 40). For example the extreme close-up shots of her husband, the late filmmaker Jacques Demy, in *Jacquot de Nantes* (1990), or of her own hands in *Les Glaneurs et la glaneuse* (*The Gleaners and I*, 2000) survey the body with an almost topographic attention to detail.

shots' (Flitterman-Lewis 1996: 308), we share with Mona moments of (intra-)diegetic ellipsis in which these discursive formations are held in abeyance. Rejecting the reified gaze that is foisted on her by society, Mona's radical negation is given metonymic expression by her peripatetic existence (Hayward 1990: 286). The tracking shot becomes, in effect, 'Mona's sign' (ibid: 288), and it is on this basis that the idea of movement as a cultivating labour begins to plough fertile ground.

Dwelling on the concrete materiality of the landscape-in-movement, the embodied mobility of the tracking shot sequences,¹³⁶ as with other examples discussed throughout this chapter, is distilled in part through the dominance of an extra-diegetic soundtrack (the dissonant tones of Mona's theme). Yet it is the extent to which the material presence of the landscape is foregrounded in these shots that allows the film's dialectical spatialities to fully lay bare the material grounds of Mona's peripatetic existence. As Udris observes, the juxtapositions between stasis and mobility, open and enclosed, and character and setting are at the core of the film's interrogation of space, which itself represents 'an intrinsic part of the film's diegesis' (2000: 46). By way of example: in one of the tracking/sequence shots the camera frames a (static) view of a man closing the shutters of his windows. Mona walks into the frame and, as he pulls the shutters completely shut, the camera picks up Mona's movement and follows her as she walks on. Shortly after this she falls behind and the camera continues on without her, eventually coming to rest on a pile of wooden crates. An old man pushing a bicycle (whom Mona passed at an earlier moment in the shot) walks through the frame. A cut reveals that Mona has stopped to try and fix the zip on her boot.

Not only does this sequence shot attest to Mona's marginality and homelessness (the enclosed areas of villages and towns become synonymous with rejection [Udris 2000: 45]); a complex transference of movement and fixity (between Mona and the community residents) subtly alludes to questions of power and agency. In terms of Bauman's postmodern 'vagabonds' – who, unlike 'tourists', 'move because they find the world unbearably *inhospitable*... [and] because they have *no other choice*' (1997: 92, emphasis in original) – Mona is rendered more ambivalent in that her mobility is 'treated [both] as a symbol of exclusion and of potential revolutionary power, in a society which values fixed settlement and material security' (Udris 2000: 50). 'Freedom' reflects both the nomadic desire to wander and the sedentary desire to not have to wander. This ambivalence is conveyed in the camera's capacity to dialectically shift the relations of movement and fixity extant within the shot. The (fixed) closure of the shutters shuts out Mona's radical contingency, whose sudden arrival provokes the camera into movement as she dominates

¹³⁶ As Laderman notes, unlike the American road movie these non-narrative travelling shots 'link mobility specifically to her body, rather than to the body of a car' (2002: 268).

the unfolding diegetic space of transition. Yet at the same time the camera's movement distances us from Mona's embodied mobility, unsettling the agential rhythms of the *mise en scène* by abandoning her altogether and prioritising instead the fixity of the wooden crates (a link to the subsequent narrative sequence in which the material constraints to her 'freedom' require her to undertake a temporary period of work as a farm labourer). The discomfort caused by her deteriorating footwear poses further constraints, and represents, by comparison, an embodied *immobility* against which the freedom of the townsfolk, in the form of the old man with his bicycle, is subtly juxtaposed.

At other times the tracking shots represent spaces of transition that are less ambivalently Mona's. One such shot opens with the view of a fenced-off, deserted racetrack, littered with car tyres (representing, perhaps, a symbolic castration of the male, automotive-driven road movie); the camera 'waits' for Mona to enter the frame, then follows her for a moment before stopping on a frosted corrugated fence, allowing Mona to exit the frame.

Laderman suggests that *Vagabond* deconstructs American road movie sensibilities (2002: 268), and while I doubt that this necessarily reflects any specific motivation on the part of Varda, the tracking shot sequences nevertheless clearly go against the grain of canonic convention. This is particularly the case in terms of the tracking of, not from, the travelling body-subject, but also in the disregard for the lateral laws of tracking shot mobility (Mona often cuts diagonally across the horizontal camera movement, or, in one instance, 'joins' the shot at right angles), and in the extent to which the camera follows its own directional logic which may or may not correspond with that instigated by the traveller (thereby cementing a distinction between the peripatetic travel film and the unidirectional logic of classical road movie subjectivities).

Playing with these road movie conventions, Varda's 'counter-cinematic practice' links her work to the *Nouvelle Vague* school of which she is the sole female (and arguably most accomplished) alumna (Udris 2000: 42; Hayward 1990: 292). In particular it recalls the eight minute tracking shot from Godard's apocalyptic 'anti-road' film *Weekend* (1967), which, in its depiction of a long line of motionless cars (replete with the relentless sounding of horns), subverts the road's iconic status in the Western capitalist imaginary by reducing the 'absolute freedom' of the open road to the endless gridlock of capitalism's end of days.

Less dystopically, in Varda's hands the tracking shot establishes both the material bases to Mona's vagabondage and the discursive ruptures that are left in her wake. In both instances the central metaphor of cultivation is apposite. For a film shot in an agricultural region of Southern France the prominence of farm-related activity and topography is not altogether surprising. Yet in the same way that, for Wallace, the peripatetic poets represented an extension of Virgilian georgic literature – 'by placing the walker in the

ideological space vacated by the farmer' (1993: 11), in figurative terms Mona's wandering can be seen as a cultivation of an ideological space rendered symbolically redundant by the abandoned agricultural machinery and the barren fields of the winter landscape. In one of the tracking shot interludes the camera follows Mona as she walks across a ploughed field. When she stops to rest the camera continues for a moment without her before itself stopping on the iron blades of a rotary cultivator. In the next tracking sequence which follows shortly after this, the shot begins with a tractor abandoned by the roadside, then tracks (as ever, from right to left) along a dry stone wall, from behind which Mona enters the frame (at 90 degrees – see above), momentarily dashing back for cover as a police car drives by. Her ongoing movement, while ending in tragic, perhaps inevitable circumstances, has a positive effect in so far as her peripatetic existence can be said to cultivate the sociological landscape through which she passes, by retrospectively overturning ('ploughing') societal expectations and normative values.

This is not to suggest that Mona embodies a poetic sensibility in some way analogous to a Wordsworthian notion of the peripatetic, but rather that as a material spatial practice, the peripatetic mode of travel which her radical errancy exemplifies poses dialectical challenges to ideological conventions pertaining to ideas of space, subjectivity and representation. The sense of an embodied engagement with these peripatetic topographies of the road attains its fullest expression in the metaphor of cultivation. On this basis it is surely



Figure 5.5: Re-cultivating the social: opening shots from *Vagabond*

not incidental that the opening shot of the film, consisting of a slow, diagonal zoom across a furrowed, *georgic* landscape, includes a distant object which as it progresses nearer to camera is revealed to be a tractor working the land. The shot ends with a lone figure at work in an adjacent field. The subsequent shot, prior to his discovery of Mona's corpse, reveals a man gathering – or gleaning¹³⁷ – sticks from a vineyard (Figure 5.5). Although these depictions of cultivating labour appear at the start of the film, in chronological terms they take place after Mona's death, and hence connote a temporal continuity which Varda refuses to leave unchallenged, inviting, as it were, our own 'cultivation' of the events that retrospectively unfold (and hence of our own 'fixed' or settled presuppositions). As with the film's (intra-)diegetic witnesses, Mona's uncompromising mobility leaves only those traces and images that confound (or reify) our expectations as to who or what the 'real' Mona was. As Varda herself notes: 'More than just Mona herself who always eludes us, who is too reserved, too closed, the film addresses "the Mona effect" on those she came into contact with and inevitably affected. She is a catalyst, someone who forces others to react and adjust themselves in relation to her' (in Flitterman-Lewis 1996: 314).

Cinematically, as we have seen, Mona's radical errancy is materially laid bare in the tracking shot sequences. Yet while these shots hold the intra-diegetic perspectives of the witnesses at bay, as 'moments of critical distancing, textual spaces that provoke the viewer's analytic reflection' (Flitterman-Lewis 1996: 308), they invite instead the extra-diegetic perspectives of the film viewer, who is able to secure a point of entry into their semantic and affective spaces of transition. Thus 'Mona's sign' functions not only as a material referent to the film's broader politics of gendered and embodied mobility (cf. Cresswell 1999), it also crystallises the 'Mona effect' by extending its scope beyond the immediate space of the diegesis in the laborious cultivation of a broader discursive terrain. Moreover, from a perspective that unites the otherwise episodic encounters, the tracking shot becomes metonymic of Mona's inherent mobility. In other words it is not the tracking shots that link the episodes, but the narrative sequences that break up the mobile diegetic ellipses; an

¹³⁷ Varda had originally intended to make a film charting the plight of the rural poor. Picking up this theme, two of her more recent films, in many ways companion pieces to *Vagabond*, are documentary journeys exploring the practice of 'gleaning' amongst France's rural and urban poor. Ranking amongst her finest work, *The Gleaners and I* and its follow up *Les Glaneurs et la glaneuse: deux ans après (The Gleaners and I: Two Years Later)*, 2002) extend the notion of gleaning (the gathering of discarded crops left in the field after harvest) to also encompass the practices of those who salvage food and other discarded items from the rubbish bins of a consumerist, throwaway society. In addition, Varda adopts the metaphor to describe her role as a filmmaker 'gleaning' images. The 'haptic' qualities of this approach are most memorably illustrated in a driving scene from *The Gleaners and I* where Varda, holding the digital video camera in one hand, 'captures', with her other, the perspectively 'small' lorries that pass by on the motorway. Reaffirming the arguments put forward in this chapter, Varda describes the film thus: 'Rather than a "road movie," I would say it's a "wandering-road-documentary"' (Varda 2002; cf. Wagstaff forthcoming).

observation which Varda confirms when describing the film as ‘a long tracking shot which is cut up into portions where the “adventures” are inserted’ (in Flitterman-Lewis 1996: 308).

To the extent that ideas of the *dérive* and the peripatetic presuppose an essentially purposeful errancy, Mona’s example invites consideration as to whether or not it can possibly constitute ‘wandering with purpose’. Yet when considered on the broader terms outlined in this chapter we can indeed assert that by venturing ‘off-road’ (to invert the dominant spatial metaphor) Mona’s movement presents a dialectical challenge to both the sedentary fixtures of place and society and the ‘mappable’ routes and cine-spatial representations by which such static fixtures are programmatically undone. To this end, Mona and her vagabond counterpart from *The Beekeeper* could be said to part company. Angelopoulos’ aimless female drifter is ostensibly a creature of ‘the road’; it is she, not Mona, who leaves no trace. When she and Spyros go their separate ways (outside the abandoned cinema), the girl vanishes into a vacuous simulacrum, leaving the beekeeper to take stock of a quest that has led him to confront both past and present, place and non-place, and to reassess what, if anything, there is left to cultivate. In the same way that the road in *London Orbital* propels the motorway ‘cosmonaut’ into a hyper-real domain of consumerist distraction, the girl, unlike Mona or Spyros, emerges from and returns to a deterritorialised zone of road space abstraction that pays little heed to the more grounded textures of culture, place and travel. By contrast, for Spyros, as for the psychogeographic drifter, ‘the road’ is more a process of divination than mere topography, abstract or otherwise. As such he shares with Mona a mythic provenance which, in opposing ways, represents a near-autochthonous link with the embedded landscape. For the increasingly nostalgic beekeeper his quest consists of carefully tending the fragile seed-beds of memory, culture and history. For Mona (who came from the sea), her ‘anti-quest’ is no less rooted (or rather routed) in the soil, yet her radical negation represents the ploughing up of the sedentary and *sedimentary* accretions of the social order, thus allowing the prospect of future re-cultivation. At a socio-mythic level, Mona’s cultivating labours can therefore be described as purposeful in that they *leave traces for others to find*; a residual legacy that is otherwise lost in the *espace quelconque* of an ‘empty road’.

To conclude, this chapter has explored a specific variant of ‘utopic’ travel: one in which the non-place of *movement* (kinaesthesia, mobility, dis-placements of time and space) has been prioritised. These cinematic spaces of transition have been shown to be a product of the embodied mobilities of the voyager-voyeur and/or diegetic traveller. Whether established through the haptic visuality of an embodied gaze (*In This World, Time Out*) or the performative body of the actor animating an otherwise static *mise en scène* (*Vagabond*), these mobile non-places can be said to represent a utopic dimension in so far as they are *lived* spaces of deferral (Hetherington 1997: ix) in which the displaced horizons of *eutopia*

(Chapter 3) and the suspended *outopia* of the frontier (Chapter 4) are conflated – or negated – in movement.¹³⁸ In other words, it is through the immanent spaces of embodied mobility that alternate or transcendent geographies (social, cultural, psychogeographical) are sought and potentially ‘mapped’. As I argue in the conclusion to this thesis, this is not to valorise movement over stasis or to endorse some nomadological treatise on deterritorialised flows (cf. Deleuze and Guatarri 1988), but rather to acknowledge the dialectical confrontations and rhythms (Lefebvre 2004) that underpin these cine-spatial practices and which ‘mobilise’ their affective modulations of place and non-place, transition and stasis.

As we have seen, the dialectical correspondence between abstract and absolute spaces of the road problematises the road’s tropic associations of linearity, visual simulacra and ‘pure’ deterritorialised travel by emphasising the specific modes of *engagement* that define the ‘peripatetic’ road film. The embodied interaction between the traveller and the road topography demands greater awareness of the *off-road*, grounded (psycho)geographies that generate contrapuntal rhythms of time and space. Whether these originate from the concrete entropy of road space abstraction (*The Vanishing, Crash, London Orbital, Time Out*), the contingent contours of the natural landscape (*Gallivant*), the kinaesthetic modalities of time and memory (*In This World, Eternity and a Day*), or the ‘cultivating labours’ of the mythic wanderer (*The Beekeeper, Vagabond*), what is central to all the films discussed throughout this chapter is a phenomenological engagement with the architectonics and topographies of travel. The factor that most distinguishes the peripatetic mobility of these examples from the broader corpus of travel films discussed in earlier chapters (constructed around notions of the Ulyssean and utopic gaze), is the extent to which the situated *body*, as opposed to the mere visuality of a (disembodied) gaze, itself becomes a landscape of utopic travel. This then is perhaps where Marin’s frontiers and horizons are more productively united; not in the suspended stasis of non-place abstraction, but in the embodied capacity of the travelling subject to access, through movement, its own itineraries and agential desires.

¹³⁸ In this respect these spaces are not dissimilar to those Hetherington describes in his study of heterotopia: ‘[these] are not quite spaces of transition – the chasm they represent can never be closed up – but they are space of deferral, spaces where ideas and practices that represent the good life can come into being’ (1997: ix).

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION: FROM NON-PLACE TO PLACE

6.1 The Filmmaker-as-traveller

In the final scene of Agnès Varda's *The Gleaners and I* (2000), Varda is shown with two museum staff holding a large painting which they have retrieved from the museum's store and carried into the courtyard outside. The painting is Pierre Edmond Hedouin's *Gleaners Fleeing Before the Storm* (1852). As the museum staff hold the painting up to be filmed, a sudden gust of wind animates the scene depicted on the now-billowing canvas. As if in tribute to the ominous storm clouds gathering in Hedouin's landscape, this meteorological blessing breathes new life into the otherwise static image that had, until only moments earlier, been consigned to the archive. Like an old reel of film, whose embalmed presence is made present once more by the kinetic luminescence of a projector, this 'moving image' becomes *cinematic* by virtue of its re-insertion back into a contingent world of constitutive mobility (cf. Wagstaff forthcoming).

What such an example illustrates is not only the specific choreography of movement and stasis which sets film apart from other visual arts such as painting and photography (a relationship Varda has explored throughout her 50-year career), but also, through her richly evocative metaphor of the cinematic *glaneuse* (or *glaneur*), it highlights the sheer materiality of the image-objects which the filmmaker-traveller sets out to gather. Like the film's more materially-grounded gleaners rummaging through the discarded detritus of contemporary France, Varda too is intuitively aware of the shape, texture and provenance of the objects she gleanes. Armed with a handheld digital camera, Varda moves through the landscape with the embodied vision – or 'vision in the flesh', to use Sobchack's term (2000; 2004) – of a traveller for whom the camera is both a tool of engagement and 'collecting sack' into which to deposit the items gleaned.

The retrieval of Hedouin's painting represents a culmination – a final performative act – of a peripatetic journey in which, in the act of gleaning, the camera, in effect, tries to capture itself. In Varda's hands the image-space of the camera, like that of the painting, is as much a part of the landscape through which she moves as it is a simulacrum of that world. This is no mere tool of mediation and representation, but a machinic component within an evolving ontology of travel. Varda's wandering *glaneuse* is a creature who inhabits these image-spaces as much as those she documents. The presence of the filmmaker, both physically and in the embodied gaze of the camera, becomes emblematic of a wider shift in the cinematics of travel: a journey from distanced 'travels in comfort' to haptic spaces of embodied mobility. The 'liberation' of the painting thus becomes symbolic of a wresting back of *place* and event (as lived spaces of representation) from the virtual abstraction of

landscape (as pictorial or conceived space); a process of reclamation which, as we saw in Chapter 5, is one of the central characteristics of the peripatetic road film (of which *The Gleaners* is a further example).

What this example further attests to are the embedded *practices* of travel and film which come together in lived spaces that have been increasingly transformed by new film technologies. In a hypermodern film culture of low-budget independent production, the inspirational message such films convey is very simple: ‘take up thy DV camera and walk’. Whereas a century ago it was the development in technologies of travel that gave rise to many early and now established film practices (e.g. the ride film, the tracking shot, the ‘mobile virtual gaze’), with the advent of lightweight camera technology in the 1960s, through to the more recent advancements in digital video, it is now the filmic, not least that of the mobile tourist gaze, that is shaping the embodied and experiential practices of travel. While their respective practices have always been inextricably entwined (and here we might recall the ‘mental tracking shot’ of Lévi-Strauss’ traveller-explorer, discussed earlier), the mobilities of film practice are now such that the cinematic and the quotidian are more firmly enmeshed than ever before. In the growing democratisation of film culture that has been spawned by the digital revolution, a peripatetic aesthetic of film transforms the viewer into a potential practitioner: the vicarious traveller in the auditorium becomes a real voyager-voyeur exploring the social, cultural or psycho-geographies of everyday life.

Viewed thus, film can be said to play a crucial role in the production of mobilities on a broader scale. Yet while at times this argument can seem a little overdone (it is anybody’s guess how many peripatetic journeys, filmic or otherwise, have been launched on the back of *The Gleaners*, for example, or how democratising the so-called digital revolution actually is in practice) there are three points that need to be borne in mind. Firstly, in digital video, the immediacy of the mediated vision collapses the temporal gap between filming and viewing – the practices, in effect, become combined. The aesthetic pleasures of filming thus obviate the necessity of producing an actual film (i.e. as a material object to be screened and viewed at a later date). The only empirical evidence available in such a scenario would be the filmmaker in action (i.e. ‘travelling’), or the collection of thumb-nails stored on a computer hard drive. Secondly, the extent to which, more generally, filmic spaces of representation motivate the practices of ‘film tourism’ (i.e. travelling to the actual locations depicted in films) remains a comparatively under-researched area of enquiry.¹³⁹ An over-

¹³⁹ Having said that, a number of empirically-based studies of film tourism have begun to emerge in recent years (see Schofield 1996; Riley et al 1998; Kim and Richardson 2003). A growing interest in this phenomenon is also reflected in travel programmes, such as BBC’s *Big Screen Britain*, which explores a geographical heritage of British film by travelling to key film locations. In the case of Britain, the growth in film tourism has also been influenced by industry initiatives such as the production of an official ‘Movie Map’ in 1999 by the British Tourist Authority (Higson 2001: 255).

emphasis on practices of film viewing has tended to marginalise geographical ethnographies of film whereby, through the tourist or traveller, a hermeneutics of place is re-inscribed back into the landscape. Thirdly, and perhaps most crucially, a greater recognition of the interdependent practices of travel and film allows us to consider the extent to which the filmmaker is also a ‘traveller’ and thus more empirically bound to place and space than might otherwise be accounted for in analyses restricted solely to the film text. Questioning the postmodernist reduction of filmmaker to ‘author’ to ‘text’, Naficy notes that filmmakers are also ‘empirical subjects, situated in the interstices of culture and film practices, who exist outside and prior to their films’ (2001: 4). In a similar vein, it should be noted that filmmakers are also empirical subjects who exist in landscapes outside of and prior to those which are constructed in their films.

With the exception (or rather as a consequence) of themes of travel and migration, the one factor that the films discussed in this thesis have in common is that, as ‘geographical films’, they have all been shot on location. For those ‘travelling light’ – i.e. pared-down productions utilising the bare minimum of resources – the relative freedom afforded by lightweight film technologies (e.g. Super-8 and digital video) enables the filmmaker-traveller to veer ‘off the map’ of a scripted itinerary and to factor into his or her diegetic journey elements of chance and contingency. As we have seen (Chapter 5), this can take the form of ‘off road’ psychogeographies such as *Gallivant* or *London Orbital*, or of uncertain geographies of transnational migration, as depicted in Michael Winterbottom’s semi-documentary travelogue *In This World*, shot exclusively on digital video.

But while these travels are confined to the experiences of the shoot itself, the extent to which a ‘travellers’ gaze’ informs the broader practices of the filmmaker-traveller (e.g. research trips, location hunting, or experiences drawn from tourism, migrancy or exile) should be no less acknowledged. In this respect travelogue documentaries such as Tarkovsky’s *Tempo di Viaggio* (Chapter 3) contribute towards a more comprehensive ‘mapping’ of cinematic geographies of travel, one in which empirical travel practices open up the diegetic spaces of the *mise en scène* (in this case that of Tarkovsky’s *Nostalgia*) to a broader, more diffuse context of discursive practice. Similarly, Theo Angelopoulos, whose work, thematically and conceptually, has proved central to many areas of debate explored throughout this thesis, is a filmmaker who has travelled extensively, indeed almost obsessively, throughout his native Greece, boasting that ‘except perhaps for professional geographers, I am one of the most extremely travelled [of contemporary] Greeks’ (see Chapter 2). Such is the contrast between the masterfully bleak cinematography of his films and the sun-kissed Greece of the colour brochures, it is almost as if he is driven by an ‘anti-

tourist gaze' in his pursuit of a melancholic aesthetic of place and displacement. Whatever the social and empirical foundations upon which these filmic journeys are traced, the point is that in acknowledging Angelopoulos' filmmaker-as-traveller, the purely cinematic geographies and mobilities of his films are opened up to other discourses of travel and to the embodied mobilities of the 'pre-filmic' voyager-voyeur.

As a further case in point, we could cite the example of Michael Powell, whose *A Canterbury Tale* was discussed in Chapter 2. Following the publication of his memoirs, but in particular the release of home movie/travelogue footage shot by Powell in the Scottish Highlands,¹⁴⁰ we gain a valuable insight into the importance of place for a filmmaker whose passion as a traveller and walker throughout his life provided much of the inspiration for 'landscape films' such as *The Edge of the World* (1937), *I Know Where I'm Going* (1945) and *A Canterbury Tale*. In these examples it is the pre-filmic (touristic) gaze of the traveller-filmmaker that underpins the cinematic geographies he so powerfully evokes.¹⁴¹

As I have shown, in 'unpacking' these affective spaces we are able to map the wider discursive patterns of place and nation in which films such as *A Canterbury Tale* or Angelopoulos' *The Travelling Players* are ideologically embedded. As a locus of organic, rooted connection with the landscape, *place* in these examples connotes a sense of home and belonging: an *oikos*, or point of fixity which can only exist at the price of its being lost. Presence is sought and precariously sustained through its constitutive absence. In the modernist travel narrative this relationship is spatialised through a dis/placement of nation which the diegetic traveller 'mobilises' and thus contains. In structuralist terms, the 'myth' of nation that is mediated in this form resolves fundamental social contradictions (self/other, rural/urban, tradition/modernity, presence/absence, place/non-place) which, in the event of their conflation, would (or have in post-structuralist terms) precipitate(d) the inevitable collapse of the nation's imagined community.

As with the prototypical travel myth of Ulysses, it is a reinforcement and valorisation of 'home' (howsoever defined) that motivates these filmic dis/placements: a territorialisation of place already 'rooted' ideologically in the concept of a 'national cinema'. Bounded by its constitutive (yet increasingly porous) frontiers, 'the nation' has emerged as a concept that is fundamentally ill-equipped to withstand the epistemological ruptures of transnational discourse. In their metonymic depiction of an isolated community

¹⁴⁰ Available on the British Film Institute's DVD release of Powell's *The Edge of the World* (1937).

¹⁴¹ In the case of *A Canterbury Tale*, a hermeneutics of place, drawn from Powell's walking the Kentish countryside as a boy, is re-inscribed back into the landscape by devotees of the film who participate in the annual walking tour of the film's locations, which is led by the Powell and Pressburger enthusiast Paul Tritton (see www.powell-pressburger.org). For the more independent-minded pilgrim wishing to visit these sites, Tritton also provides Ordnance Survey grid references in his book of the film, *A Canterbury Tale: Memories of a Classic Wartime Movie* (2000).

suspended in time, the ‘post-national’ spaces of films such as *Last Resort* provide a striking example of this, offering a cultural geography of the nation (and of Kent) that is far removed from that of *A Canterbury Tale*. In the de-essentialised spaces of hybridity that are reshaping the cultural landscapes of (post)modern Europe ‘home’ has overtaken – or displaced – the Ulyssean gaze. The mythic circularity of a journey in which the traveller sets out to ‘return home’ to a fixed identity (a structural logic which also underpinned the more expansive territorialisations of the imperial travel film) represents a totalising structure of discourse that is now increasingly breached by deterritorialised flows of the global cultural economy (Appadurai 1996).

In ‘homecoming films’ such as *The Beekeeper*, Angelopoulos’ latter-day Ulysses wanders through hermeneutical spaces of history and memory that have been all but emptied of cultural significance. A triple-whammy of exile, emigration and globalisation has steadily eroded the ‘interior space’ of the director’s ‘inside Greece’. The home that Spyros/Angelopoulos (the ‘traveller/filmmaker’) returns to is already abandoned: in its creeping obsolescence, place has succumbed to the inert vacuity of the non-place. From a modernist-essentialist perspective (the ‘gaze’ Angelopoulos encourages us to share) this abandonment of roots prefigures the fate of a subject who is destined to wither and die. Yet while a sense of national-cultural authenticity can no longer be retrieved from these places of travel, what becomes apparent is that, in responding to this absence, the site of the ‘authentic’ shifts to that of the body. As the film progresses, the beekeeper’s incipient desire for connection transcends the merely hermeneutic as, spurred on by the immediacy and physicality of the natural environment, and the belated stirrings of his long-dead libido, he attempts to re-establish an affective mode of engagement with the world, and thus secure at least some vestige of authentic being.

This shift towards a more embodied geography of travel is emblematic of the rise of what I have termed the ‘peripatetic’ road or travel film. Although not quite ‘from Ulysses’ gaze to navel gazing’, the focus on the body has nevertheless provided a more nuanced dimension to cultural geographies of travel which challenge epistemological fixtures of place and home. In *Vagabond*, for example, Penelope/Mona rejects the sedentary and gendered spaces of Ithaca, and through her embodied mobility redefines not only the ‘place’ of female subjectivity but also the discursive foundations upon which her social identity is based.

In so far as these peripatetic mobilities challenge dominant representations of place and space they can be said to represent an ‘utopics’ of travel in that they are oriented towards the construction of ‘place’ as a site of constitutive and agential mobility. The growing psychogeographic or corporeal sensitivity which many of these films exhibit has largely arisen in response to (or retreat from) the geographical uncertainties that have been

wrought by a post-national condition of globalisation and transnationalism, and of a ‘supermodern’ proliferation of empty non-places of transit: geographical anxieties that are best encapsulated in the term ‘deterritorialisation’ (cf. Tomlinson 1999). While this dissipation of a hitherto fixed imaginary of place and nation is ontologically destabilising, the mythic structures it calls into question (e.g. the self-reifying circularity of the Ulyssean gaze) prompt the construction of alternate (utopic) imaginings of place and space which potentially unfold, *or are deferred within*, mobile spaces of transition. It is not necessarily mobility *per se* that (re)ontologises these spaces (the desire for fixity is no less ‘utopic’, not least amongst refugees and other displaced persons), but rather their dialectical rhythms of stasis and transition, place and non-place: affective modulations which inform both the aesthetic mobilities of the cinematic form (the ‘billowing canvas’ of Varda’s *glaneuse*) and the lived spaces of representation which ‘ground’ the discursive traveller, filmic or otherwise, in material spatial practice.

6.2 Utopic Space

As I argued in Chapter 1, a grounding of the discursive traveller provides a much needed corrective to some of the more ‘hyper-tropic’ deterritorialisations that have emerged in recent debates. The valorisation of flow and movement in post-structuralist and post-colonial theories of the de-centred subject, while undermining the hegemonic fixities of place and identity, has at times promoted a somewhat romanticised view of ‘travelling cultures’, as if ‘travel’ can in some way exist outside a given geographical context. As a rhetorical zone of hybridity, Bhabha’s ‘third space’ (1990a), for example, represents an abstract space of ideational displacement in which the (de-essentialised) subject’s ‘mobility’ is only sustained through a concomitant essentialisation of space. As with the theoretical nomadism of writers such as Deleuze and Guattari, or Clifford’s epistemological privileging of the *routes* of culture, ‘an absolutist spatial ontology... provides the missing foundation for everything else in flux’ (Smith and Katz 1993: 79). Space and the discursive production of mobility are left out of the equation, and it is only by grounding these discourses in everyday practice – in the lived spaces of globalisation and deterritorialisation (cf. Massey 1991) – that we are able to take stock of the broader mobilities (and immobilities) of those ‘on the move’.¹⁴²

Similar observations can be made in respect of film. The various forms of deterritorialisation that may be ascribed to visual cultures of travel both challenge and

¹⁴² On a similar note, Augé argues that ‘the category of syncretism is running in neutral today because we let it explain anything, especially in highly industrialised countries. It is no longer operative because it depended on an effect of distance whose disappearance is precisely what characterises contemporaneity... it is the relations between space and otherness that should be analyzed today if we are to point up some of the contradictions of our modernity’ (1998: 122, 97).

promote the hypostatisation of space. In transnational and exilic film cultures, the notion of ‘thirdspace chronotopicality’ (Naficy 2001: 212), while, again, a useful critical tool by which to open up and challenge essentialist discourses of place and identity, nullifies, or rather contains, the dialectical contradictions of space, rather than drawing out these tensions and charting the production of the more materially-grounded subjectivities of everyday socio-spatial practice (as well as their concomitant (de)actualising affects of stasis and transition). As a formal property of the filmic narrative, space in such analyses is reduced to little more than a container within which subjectivities are merged and contested. The open and contingent ‘mobility’ of the interstitial subject is secured at the cost of what ultimately amounts to a closed and static idealisation of the spatial.

The contradictory spatialities to which I have drawn most attention throughout this thesis are those which highlight the affective ambiguities of place and non-place. As I explored in Chapter 2, where such ambiguity is notably absent, the Ulyssean gaze of the traveller territorialises the film’s hermeneutical spaces: ‘place’ remains a function of the subject’s fixed and discursive centrality. As I have shown, these more resolute and place-based geographies hold good only in so far as they are able to withstand the displaced gaze of the utopic.

Developed from Marin’s deconstruction of More’s *Utopia* (see Chapter 3), the term ‘utopic’ has acquired a broader meaning as the arguments put forward in this thesis have progressed. At its core lie the ideas advanced by Marin: the spatial play of *eutopia* and *outopia*, of horizons and frontiers. Yet in its more expansive form, the term also refers to a general condition of deterritorialisation in which sedentary cultures of place and identity have steadily succumbed to the flows and rhythms of the non-place. Viewed thus, the utopic encapsulates not only the constitutive *absence* of place in cultures of travel (the ‘good place’, the *oikos* of home, the empty non-places of transit and waiting); it also invites us to consider how, in movement or *displacement*, place is itself reconfigured. Fundamental to this process are the spatial contradictions that emerge in the double-play of *eutopia* and *outopia*, and well as those which are given substantive form in utopic spaces of stasis and transition. Extracting place from the increasingly mobile spaces of the non-place is less a process of mapping that which is empirically given (i.e. deemed lost or hidden amidst the geographical chaos of global movements), it is rather a practice of forging those forms of constitutive mobility by which place is reclaimed as an experiential locus of agentiality: of movement, growth, and socio-psychic well-being.

At its best, film’s utopic potential lies in its capacity for both spatial diagnosis (the opening up of contradiction; the measurement of the gap between horizon and frontier, the ideal and material) and mobile prescription (the capacity for the voyager-voyeur to wrest ‘place’ back from the concrete abstraction of non-place). Where cinematic geographies of

travel fall short of this goal, as demonstrated in my discussion of the abstract spaces of the road movie (see Chapter 5), cinema becomes, in the words of Lefebvre, an ‘incriminated medium’ whose images reinforce rather than reveal the contradictions of space.

At its most elemental, the cinematic ‘non-place’ constitutes a virtual space of representation in which, by negation, the ‘real’ world is temporarily displaced. For the postmodern traveller in hyper-reality (who, ‘travelling in comfort’, sees the world filtered through a *windscreen*) these cinematic geographies, unencumbered by the bothersome materiality of place, play host to a simulacrum of reality in which the ‘authentic’ attributes of place and identity are emptied of their intrinsic meaning. For Augé, as we have seen, this postmodern condition has a flip-side: a supermodern proliferation of empirical non-places that are reshaping the social and cultural landscape of contemporary Europe. ‘Place’, in this analysis, connotes a destination, a site of deferral and displacement, existing only through the words or images that invoke it (Augé 1995: 95). In its (present) absence, the *non-place* is thus ‘not only a [material] space: it is virtually present in the gaze, which, too accustomed as it is to images, cannot see reality any more’ (Augé 1996: 179). This point is well illustrated in Augé’s description of the tourist ‘bateaux-mouches’ (fly-boats) which, every night, light up the banks of the Seine for visual consumption, directing the gaze of the tourists towards the ‘projected’ simulacra of an imagined Paris (*ibid*). For the postmodern traveller, the hyper-reality of the mobile virtual gaze collapses ontologies of the ‘real’ and the ‘reel’ in a depthless zone of visual abstraction (or distraction): a representation of space in which the ‘utopic gaze’ is commodified and made to conform to the utilitarian logic of consumer capital.

In visual cultures of migration the utopic takes on an altogether different form. As an idealised projection of place (*eutopia*) the semiotic plenitude of the utopic gaze inversely maps a constitutive absence (*outopia*) that is spatially and temporally embedded in the materiality of the present. In this context the non-place is virtually present only in so far as it is able to frame on-going itineraries (utopic horizons) which transcend material and discursive frontiers of identity. The examples discussed in Chapter 3 highlight an historical condition in which the utopic gaze opened up modernist spaces of deferral (Hetherington 1997: ix) predicated on a clear demarcation between *frontier* and *horizon*. The epic scale of the journeys undertaken in films such as *The Grapes of Wrath*, *The Emigrants*, *America*, *America* and *La Vallée* attests to the powerful affects of distance and hope in cinematic geographies of classical migration. While this sense of epic journeying in search of a ‘good place’ is still evident in recent migrant films (for example, *Journey of Hope* or *In This World*), the space of the diegetic journey, as I have shown in Chapter 4, has more notably been displaced by the non-places of transit and waiting within which horizon and frontier are increasingly conflated. These spatial ellipses are indicative of a more general condition

of deterritorialisation and space-time compression in which the now more complex flows of transnational migration thwart the cartographic positioning of fixed points of arrival and departure, ‘here’ and ‘there’. Distance – the space-time of the possible that holds horizon and frontier apart – gives way to the spatial simultaneity of the non-place: a space not of ‘arrival’ or utopia, but of transit, deferral and heterotopic inversion.

By grounding utopic geographies of film in a broader context of spatiality, globalisation and deterritorialisation, I have sought to counteract the spatial essentialism of approaches which have tended to elevate critical discourses of ‘travel’ to the realm of pure abstraction. In studies of film, this ‘falling up’ (Wallace 1993: 3) – i.e. moving from lived spaces of travel to the immaterial ‘mobilities’ of ideational displacement – has meant that a broader interrogation of the relationship between film and space which geographers such as Massey have called for (Lury and Massey 1999: 231; cf. Cresswell and Dixon 2002a; Aitken and Zonn 1994; Lukinbeal and Zonn 2004) has gone underdeveloped. In instances where a dialogue between sociological and cinematic conceptualisations of space has been broached, such as Bensaïa’s discussion of Augé’s non-place and Deleuze’s any-space-whatsoever (1997), it is instructive to note how readily the former is subsumed in the latter. The seductive deterritorialisations of Deleuzian aesthetics of film (cf. Kennedy 2002) compound the social deterritorialisations to which they are arguably a response.¹⁴³ The discursive ‘traveller’ is reduced to little more than a machinic assemblage whose ‘mobility’ – the flows and vectors of material affect; the temporal continuities of the cinematic *durée* – is only assured by uncoupling time from the dialectics of space, and by ‘bracketing off’ the social striations it otherwise seeks to ‘smooth’. The actualising any-space-whatsoever becomes, in effect, a virtual portal tied exclusively to a formal aesthetic in which, in the words of Lefebvre, ‘space, social reproduction and society itself [are reduced] to superimposed fluxes’ (1976: 34). Yet, as I have shown in Chapter 4, by repositioning time back in the otherwise *de*-actualising spaces of the non-place we can gain a more productive insight into filmic geographies of travel that question the spatial assumptions underpinning some of the more fervent articulations of cine-spatial (nomadic) mobility that have emerged in recent cultural theory. Through this analysis, developed further in Chapter 5, we start to become aware of the counteracting effects (or affects) of utopic travel in which embodied

¹⁴³ One possible extrapolation here would be to consider the social space of the cinema itself as a ‘non-place’. The seemingly irrepressible spread of the multiplexes – a consumer experience predicated on the (de)territorialisations of a global (yet overwhelmingly American) culture of film –, while offering an antidote to the soporific homogeneity of spaces of which the multiplex is itself a part (retail parks, shopping complexes, multi-storey car parks, dual carriageways, etc.), reinforces that homogeneity the more it counters, albeit temporarily, the spatial entropy it simultaneously promotes. Likewise, the more the affective space of the deterritorialised image is fetishised the more the virtual mobilities of the ‘film event’ displace the social (and hence critical) spaces of (im)mobility that form their dialectical counterpart.

practices of mobility replenish the empty space of non-places by re-cultivating a more authentic sense of *place*.

6.3 Cultivating Labours: Cultivating Place

This thesis has focused on three main subject areas: film, space and travel. A fourth, running through all of these, is the question of place. Like the most seductive of tourist brochures film can often transport us, if only vicariously, to idealised landscapes which we may long to inhabit (or, rather, *do* inhabit for the duration of the feature) yet which are destined to elude us once more as the final credits roll. On those occasions when we are spirited away to a world so absolute and self-contained that we are ‘there’, a return to the real world outside the cinema can often be a somewhat dispiriting experience when measured against that so recently ingrained in our being. Viewed anthropologically, movement from the oneiric dreamscapes of ‘filmic space’ to the hustle and bustle of the social environment can be conceived in terms of a ritualised passage from the sacred back to the world of the mundane. In instances where such an affective, indeed sacred bond is forged between the cinematic subject and the world on-screen it is an *absolute space* to which the cinema-goer pays ritualised homage. Put simply: the screen plays host to an utopic projection of *place*.

Both sociologically and cinematically the utopic non-place represents not so much the negation of place, but rather a measuring rod by which its absence may be gauged. By virtue of its idealised projection (filmic or otherwise), place (*eutopia*) is rendered phenomenologically present, thereby opening up an affective space of deferral between the utopic and quotidian. Placing or grounding our discursive traveller in this contradictory space enables us to pay greater heed to the social and geographical foundations underpinning the production (and curtailment) of mobilities on a more general scale. Mobility, as Cresswell notes, ‘is not a simple function in abstract space but a meaningful and power-laden geographical phenomenon’ (2001: 20). Similar observations could be made in respect of place, and it is the relationship between geographies of place (with their attendant associations of fixity and stasis) and those of mobility or utopic displacement (predicated on the resistance to such fixities) that has formed the core of the arguments put forward in this thesis.

In *Landscape in the Mist* the utopic (‘reel’) world which the children inhabit at the end of the film is an impossible space that is located outside history (in material terms it is just a strip of 35 millimetre celluloid). As such, the film’s epiphanic moment of arrival embraces an idea of place that powerfully evokes a sense of stasis and rooted authenticity. From a critical standpoint this can of course be interpreted as a reactionary flight from reality: the ‘reel world’ becomes little more than an imaginary refuge in which the contradictions of space are artificially resolved. Yet despite its abstraction from the *real*

world (in both diegetic and extra-diegetic terms) Angelopoulos' utopia is nevertheless a part of that world to the extent that it mobilises a space of critical negation which throws our gaze back onto the places and spaces against which it is defined. Viewed thus, the transitional spaces that precede the children's actual arrival in *eutopia* – i.e. the progressive and embodied mobilities experienced as part of the journey (for example the 'transitional' train journey that immediately precedes their arrival at the border) – make present the deferred spaces of the utopic, drawing on its affective, but otherwise dis-placed powers of transition. The utopic, in short, is made present in the non-place of movement.

Applied in more general terms, the rationale underpinning this argument (which forms the basis of the ideas explored in Chapter 5) holds that movement-in-itself represents an actualising force that potentially furnishes a more 'mobile' and agential sense of place (i.e. that which counteracts de-actualising affects of social, political and psychological stasis). As we have seen, the cinematic geographies which fall into this category certainly attest to this. Yet while this may sound dangerously close to endorsing a nomadological aesthetic of radical mobility, it again needs to be stressed that, as abstracted mobility, movement 'is the dynamic equivalent of... abstract space' (Cresswell 2001: 20), the efficacy of which is assured only in so far that it operates in a social vacuum. By grounding mobility in lived spaces of everyday practice, the constraints and urgencies of specific cultures of travel are brought more sharply into focus. Viewed dialectically, movement reflects an embodied and discursive practice whose efficacy lies in the *relative* freedom it affords the travelling subject; i.e. when measured *against the odds* of potentially adverse circumstances, whether politically, socially, economically or spatially determined. Consequently, in epistemological terms, 'place', the geographical product of these determinants, is itself rendered 'mobile' and thus challenges the easy ascription of boundaries and fixities in cultural geographies of travel and migration. Yet, as I have endeavoured to show, place may also be rendered mobile in an ontological sense, and it is the capacity to imagine a good or better place – what I have termed an utopic gaze – that opens up the various forms of emplacement that socially and geographically order everyday life, exposing their otherwise fixed structures to the rhythmic dance of place and non-place, stasis and transition.

From a sedentary perspective, the deterritorialising impacts of globalisation contribute towards a porosity of place that is often experienced as a fundamentally destabilising phenomenon, prompting defensive and exclusionary re-assertions of place and identity. Yet, at the same time, in diasporic cities such as London the open and hybrid nature of localised geographies can invite more progressive articulations of place that stress the connections and routes that situate localities of place within a globalised world (Harvey 1993; Massey 1991; Cresswell 2004: 53-79). In proposing a mobile ontology of place (an

embodiment of place crafted from kinaesthesia and mobile practices) I am in a sense inverting these approaches in that, in terms of an utopic of travel, it is less a question of how place-based geographies respond to the potentially anxiety-inducing effects of global mobility, but rather of how mobility, as a spatial and embodied practice, can be said to represent a ‘mobilised’ response to the uncertainties, anxieties and de-actualising affects of place.

It is therefore not just the case that in-between spaces or non-places of travel such as motorways and airports are inherently empty of the lived, organic and symbolic attributes of place. The non-place can also be conceived of as a process in which, in responding to its own absence, place is re-cultivated and infused with the embodied gaze of the traveller or voyager-voyeur: mobile practitioners whose utopic displacements ‘plough’ the dialectics of space and time. While this argument is certainly borne out in cinematic geographies of peripatetic travel, similar conclusions have been drawn from geographical studies of ‘driving places’, such as England’s M1 motorway, where movement and mobility are not separate from or a function of the landscape, but rather constitute ‘flows and associated frictions and turbulences [that] are integral to the construction and performance of landscapes and places’ (Merriman 2004: 146; cf. Massey 2000).

The metaphor of cultivation provides a rich and effective means of mapping the geographical interface between social, visual and haptic spaces of mobility. In peripatetic geographies of film it is the relationship between the body-subject and the landscape that is prioritised. Embodied practices of the diegetic traveller (*Vagabond*) or voyager-voyeur (*In This World, Time Out*) become intimately embedded in the materiality of the social environment, cultivating or ‘tilling’ its sedimentary spaces. Grounded in sensory experience and ‘mobile affect’, this open and malleable sense of place contributes towards a cinematic geography in which the cultivating labours of the traveller and migrant extract movement from inertia, agency from structure, the lived from the abstract.

Where utopic horizons have receded from view, it is the body that has re-occupied these mobile spaces. In so far as it is an *embodied* practice (in distinction from the visual abstraction of ‘travels in comfort’), the peripatetic reflects an essentially purposeful activity connoting a sense of work, resistance and inspired cultivation. In short: travel as *travail*. As Sennett notes, the ‘body comes to life when coping with difficulty’; moments of resistance, confrontation, and obstruction are ‘part of the very experience of liberty’ (in Edensor 2000: 102). Ultimately, the utopic is a space, or place, which generates that liberty; a space of constitutive contradiction which seeks not to resolve itself but to once again pull apart its dialectical polarities: to re-map spaces of hope and transition.

The utopic projections of film, whether discursive (the hermeneutic ‘mapping’ of these critical geographies) or ontological (their active shaping), allow us to plot these spatial

imaginaries and to situate within them cultures of travel which, taken collectively, map the diverse and uneven mobilities of contemporary Europe.

As a projection and spatialisation of *eutopia*, what arguably unites all of those in search of the utopic is a fundamental desire for growth, mobility and organic sociality. The utopic, in essence, is a spatial affirmation of life. Cultivating the lived spaces of everyday practice is to cultivate a mobile sense of place in which life and art flourish in adversity. After all, at its best moments, life, like film, is a place worth travelling.

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Filmography

Note that the films listed in this filmography represent those viewed as part of the research conducted for this thesis. Films taken from secondary sources (i.e. those not the result of my own viewing) are only included in instances where some degree of independent research has been carried out. For example, *Glimpses of India*, mentioned in Chapter 2, was not available for viewing but is included in the filmography as the BFI archive notes which provide a summary of the film were referred to. Also, note that in the case of non-English language films, their English titles are listed first, except where the film in question is more popularly known by its original title.

Alexander The Great (O Megalexandros). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. Greece/Italy, 1980.

Alice In The Cities (Alice in den Städten). Dir: Wim Wenders. West Germany, 1974.

America, America. Dir: Elia Kazan. US, 1963.

Arrival Of Emigrants [i.e. Immigrants], Ellis Island (Arrival of Immigrants, Ellis Island). America Mutoscope / Biograph Co. US, 1906.

Arrivéé D'un Train En Gare, L'. Dir: Auguste Lumière and Louis Lumière. France, 1895.

Avventura, L' (Adventure, The). Dir: Michelangelo Antonioni. Italy/France, 1960.

Beach, The. Dir: Danny Boyle. US, 2000.

Beekeeper, The (O Melissokomos). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. Greece/France, 1986.

Beyond Our Dreams (Ji Xewnên Me Wêda / Passeurs de Rêves). Dir: Hiner Saleem. France/Armenia/Italy, 2000.

Bhaji On The Beach. Dir: Gurinder Chadha. UK, 1993.

Bus, The (Otobüs). Dir: Tunc Okan. Turkey, 1977.

Butterfly Kiss. Dir: Michael Winterbottom. UK, 1994.

Cannibal Tours. Dir: Dennis O'Rourke. Australia, 1987.

Canterbury Tale, A. Dir: Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger. UK, 1944.

Clandestins. Dir: Denis Chouinard and Nicolas Wadimoff. Switzerland/Canada/France/Belgium, 1997.

Cold Fever (Á Köldum Klaka). Dir: Fridrik Thor Fridiksson. Iceland/Germany/Switzerland, 1994.

Crash. Dir: David Cronenberg. Canada, 1996.

Cruise To St. Kilda And The Western Isles, A. Dir: Unknown. UK, 1929.

Drôle De Félix (Funny Felix). Dir: Olivier Ducastel and Jacques Martineau. France, 2000.

Easy Rider. Dir: Dennis Hopper. US, 1969.

Edge Of The World, The. Dir: Michael Powell. UK, 1937.

El Norte. Dir: Gregory Nava. US, 1983.

Emigrants [i.e. Immigrants] Landing At Ellis Island (Immigrants Landing at Ellis Island). Dir: Thomas A Edison. US, 1903.

Emigrants, The (Utvandrarna). Dir: Jan Troell. Sweden, 1971.

Eternity And A Day (Mia Eoniotita Ke Mia Mera). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. Greece/France/Italy, 1998.

Gadjo Dilo (The Crazy Stranger). Dir: Tony Gatlif. Romania/France, 1997.

Gallivant. Dir: Andrew Kotting. UK, 1996.

Gleaners And I, The (Les Glaneurs et la glaneuse). Dir: Agnès Varda. France, 2000.

Gleaners And I: Two Years Later, The (Les Glaneurs et la glaneuse: deux ans après). Dir: Agnès Varda, France. 2002.

Glimpses Of India. Dir: Unknown. UK, 1929.

Grapes Of Wrath, The. Dir: John Ford. US, 1940.

Grass: A Nation's Battle For Life. Dir: Merian C Cooper and Ernest B Schoedsack. US, 1925.

Great Train Robbery, The. Dir: Edwin S Porter. US, 1903.

Hebrew Fugitive, The (Im Lande der Unterdrückung). Dir: Unknown. US, 1908.

Hunters, The (E Kenege). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. Greece/France, 1977.

I Know Where I'm Going. Dir: Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger. UK, 1945.

Immigrant, The. Dir: Charles Chaplin. US, 1917.

In This World. Dir: Michael Winterbottom. UK, 2002.

Jacquot de Nantes. Dir: Agnès Varda. France, 1990.

Jetée, La. Dir: Chris Marker. France, 1962.

Journey Down Route 66, A. Dir: Christopher Lewis. US, 1994.

Journey Of Hope (Reise der Hoffnung). Dir: Xavier Koller. Switzerland, 1990.

Journey To Kafiristan, The (Die Reise nach Kafiristan). Dir: Fosco Dubini and Donatello Dubini. Germany/Switzerland/Netherlands, 2001.

Journey To The Sun (Giünese Yolculuk). Dir: Yesim Ustaoglu. Turkey/Netherlands/Germany, 2000.

Kings Of The Road (Im Lauf der Zeit). Dir: Wim Wenders. West Germany, 1976.

Lacho Drom (Safe Journey). Dir: Tony Gatlif. France, 1993.

Lad From Old Ireland, The. Dir: Sidney Olcott. US, 1910.

Landscape In The Mist (Topio stin Omichli). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. Greece/France/Italy, 1988.

Last Orders. Dir: Fred Schepisi. UK/Germany, 2001.

Last Resort. Dir: Pawel Pawlikowski. UK, 2000.

Letter From An Unknown Woman. Dir: Max Ophüls. US, 1948.

London. Dir: Patrick Keiller. UK, 1997.

London Orbital. Dir: Chris Petit and Iain Sinclair. UK, 2002.

Lost Horizon. Dir: Frank Capra. US, 1937.

Lumière et compagnie (Lumière and Company). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos et al. France/Denmark/Spain/Sweden, 1995.

Making An American Citizen (L'Américanisé). Dir: Alice Guy Blache. US, 1912.

New Land, The (Nybyggarna). Dir: Jan Troell. Sweden, 1972.

Ninety Degrees South. Dir: Herbert Ponting. UK, 1933.

Nostalgia (Nostalghia). Dir: Andrei Tarkovsky. Italy/France/USSR, 1983.

O Dreamland. Dir: Lindsay Anderson. UK, 1953.

Off To The Revolution By 2CV (Alla Rivoluzione Sulla due Cavalli). Dir: Maurizio Sciarra. Italy, 2001.

Open Road, The. Dir: Claude Friese-Greene. UK, 1924.

Paris, Texas. Dir: Wim Wenders. UK/France/West Germany, 1984.

Photograph, The (Wêne). Dir: Kazim Ox. Turkey, 2000.

Radio On. Dir: Christopher Petit. UK/West Germany, 1979.

Railway Ride Along French Riviera. Dir: Unknown. Country Unknown, 1910.

Reconstruction (Anaparastasi). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. Greece, 1970.

Roadblocks (Berlêgirtinên Rê). Dir: Stavros Ioannou. Greece, 2000.

Robinson In Space. Dir: Patrick Keiller. UK, 1997.

Shawshank Redemption, The. Dir: Frank Darabont. US, 1994.

Solaris. Dir: Andrei Tarkovsky. USSR, 1972.

South. Dir: Frank Hurley. UK, 1919.

Stand-By. Dir: Roch Stephanik. France, 2000.

Suspended Step Of The Stork, The (To Meteoro Vima Tou Pelargou). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. France/Italy/Switzerland/Greece, 1991.

Tempo Di Viaggio (Time of Travel / Travelling Time). Dir: Andrei Tarkovsky. Italy, 1983.

Terminal, The. Dir: Steven Spielberg. US, 2004.

Three Colours: Red (Trois Couleurs: Rouge). Dir: Krzysztof Kieslowski. Poland/France/Switzerland, 1994.

Time Of The Gypsies (Dom Za Vesanje). Dir: Emir Kusturica. UK/Italy/Yugoslavia, 1988.

Time Out (L'Emploi du Temps). Dir: Laurent Cantet. France, 2001.

To The Sunny East. Dir: Unknown. Country Unknown, 1926.

Tokyo Story (Tokyo monogatari). Dir: Yasujiro Ozu. Japan, 1953.

Traffic Jam (Jutai). Dir: Mitsuo Kurotsuchi. Japan, 1991.

Travelling Players, The (O Thiassos). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. Greece, 1975.

Trilogy: The Weeping Meadow (Trilogia I: To Livadi Pou Dakryzei). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. France/Greece/Italy, 2004.

Trip On The Italian Lakes, A. Dir: Unknown. Italy, 1908.

Trip To Brazil, A. Dir: Unknown. UK, 1910.

Tunnel sous La Manche, La. Dir: George Meliés. France, 1906.

Ulysees' Gaze (To Vlemma Tou Odyssea). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. Greece/Italy/France, 1995.

Vagabond (Sans toit ni loi). Dir: Agnès Varda. France/UK, 1985.

Vallée, La (Obscured by Clouds). Dir: Barbet Schroeder. France, 1972.

Vanishing, The (Sporloos). Dir: George Sluizer. Netherlands/France, 1988.

Voyage To Cythera (Taxidi Sta Kithira). Dir: Theo Angelopoulos. Greece/German Federal Republic/Italy/UK, 1983.

Voyages. Dir: Emmanuel Finkiel. France, 2000.

Weekend. Dir: Jean-Luc Godard. Italy/France, 1967.

Wings Of Desire (Der Himmel über Berlin). Dir: Wim Wenders. West Germany/France, 1987.