

# Reading Berlin 1909. "Medienöffentlichkeit", Daily Press and Mediated Events

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During the first week of February 1909 the high class vaudeville theatre, Berliner Wintergarten, seems to have attracted more public attention than usual. According to press reports the highlight of the February program was not the dozen artistic numbers, but the latest moving pictures. What triggered the heightened, yet elusive interest was a short actuality film of a current event. In the regular ads for the Wintergarten in the major Berlin newspapers, the "Biograph, neueste Aufnahmen" was accordingly printed in bold, black letters. In a longer review, the conservative newspaper *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* reported how towards the end of the Wintergarten show, the Biograph displayed successful moving images, "wohlgelungene lebende Bilder", from no less than the recent aviation attempts at the Tempelhof airfield.<sup>1</sup>

Just a few days before the aviation film premiere at the Wintergarten, the "Flug-Versuche" at Tempelhof – by then, still, a Prussian drill yard – had been successfully completed. Hence, in a peculiar way a substantial part of the Wintergarten audience knew the screened event well; not just from other media reports but, presumably, also from personal knowledge. Prior to seeing the event in filmic form most of them had definitively read about it in the daily press, and a few had probably even witnessed Armand Zipfel's attempt to fly, personally, at Tempelhof.

During a weeks time in January and February 1909 Zipfel's aviation attempts had gathered spectatorial crowds of Berliners eager to watch and participate in this modern form of visual spectacle. Gawking at Zipfel's marvel machine, the aviation attempts were a real "Schausport" event. The massive interest had been sparked by numerous media reports, articles and illustrations. In particular the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* granted the "Flug-Versuche" an intense coverage<sup>2</sup> [*Illustration 1.*]. This is not surprising given the fact that the aviation event was organised and financed by the same paper. Naturally, the Wintergarten reviewer hardly forgot to mention that the aviation attempts

were prearranged by his (or her) paper. The event had, in fact, begun to be promoted by the paper already in the mid of January, with the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* featuring various articles and graphics, as well as full page advertisement: "Flug-Versuche mit der Voisinschen Flugmaschine auf dem Tempelhofer Felde. Veranstattet vom *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*."<sup>3</sup> Airplanes were at the time a novelty – perhaps the most modern of all modernity's phenomena<sup>4</sup> – and the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* used their popularity to create a smart media event, designed to be mass mediated and disseminated within the public sphere in various ways.<sup>5</sup>

Interestingly, the aviation attempts were to a substantial degree a visually mediated event. Thus, as an early media happening, the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* staged a popular event with an assured visual appeal within the public sphere. Since the attempts went on for a week, however, after a while it no longer became possible to discern the real event from the different media representations surrounding it. To really get the picture of the "Flug-Versuche", audiences had to actively participate within the public media sphere by collecting information, keeping themselves up-to-date – there were three daily editions of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* – as well as trying to orient themselves among the increasing visual imagery being produced. The filmic attraction at the Wintergarten, thus, both displayed a media event, and participated in visually disseminating it further within the public sphere. Besides being talked about, filmed and discussed in the daily press, the aviation event was, for example, also the main pictorial attraction in the first February edition of the illustrated weekly, *Die Woche*.<sup>6</sup> Like the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, it was published by the Scherl Verlag. Thus, Scherl also profited from this staged media event in his other publications.

Indeed, one might argue that the real purpose behind the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* organising such a happening, was the flying attempts potential of exceedingly blurring the boundary between a real and a mediated current event. This is also apparent in the Wintergarten review. The unknown reviewer, watching the scenes from Tempelhof, was exceedingly fascinated by the way the aviation event seemed to become more visible in mediated form. In detail, the reviewer noted how the Biograph first presented celebrities entering the airfield, then how the airplane was pulled out and started – and finally, how it took off, flew around and landed.

There were, however, no textual indications of the reviewer having witnessed the real event at Tempelhof. Yet, the screened film images' superior quality and mediated closeness in the twilight at the vaudeville theatre, seems to suggest a kind of contrasted prior experience of already having watched the same event from afar in real-time. In any case, the real and the mediated events were rhetorically contrasted. The *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* had, in fact, printed articles preceding the aviation attempts with directions, maps and suggestions to presumed audiences where to stand at Tempelhof to get the best view.<sup>7</sup> Certainly the film camera was most likely put up on a visually privileged spot. Hence, in conclusion the reviewer stated that the Biograph displayed the precise phases of the aviation event in an exact and accurate way – "in dieser Weise führte der Biograph die einzelnen Phasen des Aufstiegs und der Flugmanöver anschaulich vor."<sup>8</sup>

### "Medienöffentlichkeiten"

The film screened at the Wintergarten was almost certainly, DIE FLUGVERSUCHE DES AERONAUTEN ARMAND ZIPFEL, produced by Messters Projektion. In an ad in *Der Kinematograph* from the third of February 1909, this short, approximately five minute film was described as, "höchst intressant und spannend, zumal durch die Neue Konstruktion der Flugmaschine neue Effekte aufgenommen sind."<sup>9</sup> The reviewer's appraisal of the film's ability to actually show the event as a modern spectacle, thus, seems to have been a cinematographic quality equally stressed by the film company. In particular the reviewer's final use of the term "anschaulich" is significant, since it hints at the way media was understood to portray and represent reality, not only in an indexical and documentary way, but also as a representative form of mimetic depiction with media technologies as sometimes superior to the human eye (and ear).

In 1909 film reviews as the article on the Wintergarten show – and it can be regarded as a sort of film review, since more than a third of the article was devoted to the displayed moving pictures – were, however, rare in the Berlin daily press. Sometimes similar text items featuring moving pictures, were ads in the form of prepaid reviews. Yet, even if the piece on DIE FLUGVERSUCHE DES AERONAUTEN ARMAND ZIPFEL was almost as affirmative as Messters' own description of the film, it seems to have been a

regular newspaper review. However, since the review also had a meta reference to the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* as the organiser of the aviation event, one cannot be sure.

In any way, the mediations surrounding the aviation attempts at Tempelhof is an illustrative example of the, by then, decisively established "Medienmoderne"<sup>10</sup> – an epoch certainly stretching back in time, perhaps to the beginning of the 19th century, yet by 1900 a characteristic term hinting at the way media had begun to influence and affect, penetrate and regulate experiences in everyday life on a scale hitherto unseen. Moving pictures and the gradual establishment of a metropolitan film culture did play an important role in this transformation. Yet, the aviation attempts also demonstrates how film was but one of many mass medial attractions in the Berlin contemporary "Medienöffentlichkeit". Thus, the emergence of cinema's public sphere, "Kinoöffentlichkeit" during the first decade of the 20th century, is undoubtedly still part of a shifting, altering and heterogeneous media landscape, which cinema had not yet begun to dominate. To single out a concept as "Kinoöffentlichkeit" during the period of early cinema prior to, say, the First World War, might even be considered teleological. It means asserting that cinema's public sphere exerted an influence on other cultural media spheres in the sense of a new leading medium, when this was, arguably, not yet the case. Thus, the settlement, transformation and differentiation of early cinema's public sphere prior to the mid-teens, is probably better understood as a part of the "Medienmoderne".

However, a "Massenmedialisierung des zweiten Strukturwandels der Öffentlichkeit", as the media historical transition around 1900 is sometimes characterised as, did occur at the time. The gradual mass medial transformation of the public sphere has, for instance, been aptly commented on by Karl Führer, Knut Hicketier and Axel Schildt in their essay, "Öffentlichkeit – Medien – Geschichte". Today, it seems inevitable that various mass media beside the printed press, around 1900 did transform the contemporary public discourses in a number of ways. But as Führer *et al.* write, if there was a mass media alteration, it was sternly regarded in a monolithic way as a levelling of cultural decline.

Der Zusammenhang zwischen der Ausbreitung der Massenmedien Presse, Film, Radio, sowie Fernsehen und der Entstehung einer sozial unspezifischen

massenkulturellen Öffentlichkeit scheint auf den ersten Blick unmittelbar evident zu sein. Schon den Zeitgenossen des frühen 20. Jahrhundert war diese Verbindung mit Blick auf das seinerzeit existierende massenmediale Ensemble (in dem das Fernsehen noch vollständig, der Hörfunk bis 1923 fehlte) derart einleuchtend, dass die Fülle der damaligen Literatur zu diesem Thema die Empirie fast vollständig durch Glaubenssätze über die von den Medien verursachten sozialen und kulturellen Nivellierungstendenzen ersetzte.<sup>11</sup>

The contemporary reformist discourse on vice, "Schund", did dominate the response to audiovisual mass media prior to the First World War – especially in the printed press. Yet, as the aviation media event in 1909 demonstrates, the previous turn-of-the-century saw an almost "post-modern" media landscape emerging, indeed pluralistic in terms of both production and reception. In short, "die Medienmoderne" fashioned a number of "Medienöffentlichkeiten" – a variety of public spheres defined and saturated by various public and private mass media, as well as different responses to these. Newspapers and film, cinemas and mass cultural venues, illustrated weeklies and photographs, slides, gramophones and phonographs, created a media network, primarily content driven rather than media specific, where a range of informational and imagistic interaction took place – both at the production level, as well as among the recipient audiences. Hence, to understand the settlement and transformation of a contemporary "Kinoöffentlichkeit", one first need to address the rampant and diverse "Medienöffentlichkeiten", and then study "Mediengeschichte als Geschichte von Teilöffentlichkeiten."<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless, mass media and especially the high circulation daily and illustrated press, were an essential part of the gradual alteration – a sort of medial *longue durée* – from a habermasian "bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit", to a public sphere defined by modern media.<sup>13</sup> This transformation, starting during the "Mediengründerzeit" in the late 19th century, was literally taking place within an urban setting. The urban daily press was, hence, still the contemporary "Leitmedium", not the least because it promoted, mediated, and, thus, represented the current transformation. As to the urban communicative network around 1900, Führer *et al.* state: "Um die Jahrhundertwende hatten die Prozesse, die während des 19. Jahrhundert zur Ausbreitung und Verdichtung kommunikativer Netze führten (Alphabetisierung, Urbanisierung, Beschleunigung der

Nachrichtenwege, publizistische Professionalisierung, technische Neuerungen, politische und wirtschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen) die Stufe einer von Massenmedien überwölbten und geprägten Öffentlichkeit ausgebildet, und zwar am deutlichsten und mit einem zeitlichen Vorsprung vor der 'Provinz' in den großen Städten."<sup>14</sup>

The metropolitan quality of the "second transformation" of the public sphere should not be missed taken into account, let alone be underestimated. A range of American film historical publications have during the last decade, for instance, argued for a more rural understanding of cinema history.<sup>15</sup> Within a German film historical context, there are also a number of local, non-metropolitan film histories.<sup>16</sup> Yet, local film or media history often becomes provincial in more than a spatial way. "Lokale Kinogeschichten" are important<sup>17</sup>, but to understand and grasp the relation between, say, media and modernity, true metropolitan places have to be examined. In a German context Berlin is, arguably, the urban place where the "Medienöffentlichkeit" originally appears. Especially, the *Reichshauptstadt's* daily press, seems to be crucial for understanding how other media began to shape people's views and experiences of both the world and everyday life. Thus, the purpose of this article is to make a few remarks about the emerging transformation of the public media sphere, by way of focusing on early media and film reports in four of the major Berlin newspapers in 1909. As part of an ongoing project<sup>18</sup>, the year is chosen somewhat arbitrarily, with empirical information gleaned from primarily the first half year of 1909.<sup>19</sup>

Within film and media history, journalism is still an underused, albeit productive resource to add to the repertoire of document bearing on for example the public sphere and historical spectatorship, exhibition and regulation, as well as on film and media culture. In addition, newspapers as the examined, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, *Berliner Morgenpost*, *Berliner Tageblatt* and *BZ am Mittag* were mass oriented media at the time – in contrast to the limited editions of national German film trade journals as for example *Der Kinematograph* and *Lichtbildbühne*. The total circulation of the analysed four major dailies, in fact, add up to almost a million copies on a daily basis, with the *Berliner Morgenpost* as the largest paper with a circulation of around 300.000. The major illustrated weeklies had an even higher circulation, with the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* and the Berlin based *Die Woche* dominating the market. Thus, the city's mass printed press firmly establishing Berlin as the "Medienhauptstadt" of Wilhelmine

Germany. [*Illustration 2.*] The city of Berlin "was still in the stages of rapid growth, and [its] newspapers established themselves as metropolitan institutions, fashioning new, more assertive journalistic practices."<sup>20</sup>

Yet, as Detlef Briesen has noted in his book, *Berlin – die überschätzte Metropole*, "Medienrealität und die empirisch festgestellten Fakten stimmen bei der Stadt Berlin ... nicht [immer]."<sup>21</sup> What a city really is, in comparison to what the public opinion mediated through the press, thinks it is, or imagines it to be, does not always correspond. The Berlin daily press was a frequent producer of staged urban imagery.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the empirical evidence gleaned from the Berlin daily press, does not automatically lead to media historical assumptions suitable for the whole of Wilhelmine Germany. Moreover, even if the four analysed newspapers belonged to the most important contemporary German mass media at the time, as modern consumer items their popular appeal were far from, say, the Anglo-American "yellow press". The *Berliner Tageblatt*, for instance, never featured any images whatsoever. In an international perspective all of the analysed publications were traditional, text oriented nationalistic newspapers, with the *Berliner Morgenpost* and the *BZ* being slightly more liberal. They, as well as a number of other Berlin newspapers – and there were around fifty of them in the city at the time – formed the basis of the city's public spheres, shaping notions and ideas of society, culture and economics.

Yet, if following Habermas, the 18th and 19th century public spheres were defined, constructed and to a large extent centred around printed media, by approximately 1900 other, predominantly visual media, began to challenge the press as the dominant public agenda setter.<sup>23</sup> In urban settings other modern types of public media spheres, "medialen Teilöffentlichkeiten"<sup>24</sup>, were formed and promoted. The publics' reception of these were different and often in contrast to the public opinions expressed through printed media. Public experiences of various media entertainment, cannot, of course, be fully compared to editorial statements mediated through the press. Yet, cinema audiences, for instance, were not so different from newspapers readers. They were sometimes constituted by the same people, and active recipients that after, for example, watching the latest Asta Nielsen film and the subsequent newsreel, drew their own conclusions of, say, changing gender roles and current events.

Thus, in a complementary way the new modern media spheres, enjoyed and consumed both privately and publicly, were foremost oriented towards peoples experiences of everyday life in an cultural, social and emotional sense.<sup>25</sup> Although sometimes blatantly apolitical in content, mass culture as a performed practice had an apparent socio-political side. It is, indeed, hard to empirically locate and identify, yet undoubtedly around 1900 it began to influence peoples opinions on life, society and culture, as well as regarding what was important and noteworthy – in short, what attracted attention. Analysed from this perspective, different public venues formed a range of various "Unterhaltungsöffentlichkeiten"<sup>26</sup> – mass venues eloquently chronicled by Kaspar Maase in his *Grenzenloses Vergnügen. Der Aufstieg der Massenkultur 1850-1970*.<sup>27</sup>

The public venues of entertainment, the "Unterhaltungsöffentlichkeiten" – made up of both "Veranstaltungsöffentlichkeiten" and "Massenmedienöffentlichkeiten" – were, however, not always seen nor regarded as pure entertainment. Yet, neither did they belong to a discourse of sobriety defined by informational or political content. Instead, they were often commercially oriented and audience driven, a fact, however, that did not exclude some of them trying to attract people by offering mediated information and (visual) education. In the 1909 daily press, this is perhaps most apparent within the popular lecture business, "Lichtbildervorträge", with slides being promoted as a both visual and knowledgable attraction in newspaper advertisement. Thus, the relation between, say, the public spheres defined by the daily press and the various public venues of media entertainment, were not strictly separated. A persistent interaction took place, out of which, approximately half a century later, television would emerge as the leading audiovisual "Leitmedium", defining a public media sphere of both political information and entertainment. The (tele)visual way of mediating events and entertainment, actualities and experiences, however, naturally has a audiovisual history preceding the medium of television that can be traced back to the decades around 1900. This is a media history that has hitherto not gained the scholarly attention it deserves.

Nevertheless, even though mediated imagery has become increasingly important during the 20th century, in a paradoxical way the text bound medium of press is, still, the pre-eminent historical source for examining mass medial emergences of different "Veranstaltungsöffentlichkeiten" after 1900, as for example the cinema, the vaudeville



and various "Schausport" events. The fact that the aviation attempts at Tempelhof in 1909 was a public event turned into a media event, in turn organised by a major newspaper, that, in succession, featured both advertisement and reviews of the same event represented in a number of other media as film, photographs and vaudeville, suggest a truly complex media landscape already a hundred years ago. It seems that especially current events were appropriated in different, often visual media formats, appearing in the daily press, illustrated weeklies, lantern slide lectures, wax figure exhibitions and, of course, film programs. Indeed, in the same ad for the Messter aviation film in *Der Kinematograph* in February 1909, Messters Projektion also stated that the upcoming English Royal visit to Berlin would be filmed, "der Einzug des englischen Königspaares in Berlin am 10. Februar wird ebenfalls von uns aufgenommen", thus, making this occurrence a media event prior to it taking place.<sup>28</sup>

### Media reports in the Berlin Daily Press

In the beginning of January 1909, the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* published an interesting comment on what was, in fact, shown at Berlin cinemas. The comment, written by Walther Soehring, appeared in the newspaper's section of public opinion, "Oeffentliche Meinung".<sup>29</sup> At the time, approximately 3.5 million Berliners could attend between 200 and 300 "Kinematographentheater" in the city. Statistical confusion reigns since there exists both contradictory reports, as the fact that not until 1920 were all Berlin districts part of the actual city. According to Alexander Jason's *Der Film in Ziffern und Zahlen* published in 1925, during the period 1905 to 1907, the number of Berlin cinemas went from 21 to 132 permanent kintops.<sup>30</sup> Yet, in 1909 only 26 cinemas were listed in the *Berliner Adreßbuch*.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, in its first issue in January 1907, *Der Kinematograph* reported that Berlin had at least 260 cinemas, thus, suggesting that the "Berlin nickelodeon boom" occurred during late 1906. "In den ersten Monaten des Jahres 1906 kamen nur ... wenige [Kinematographen-Theaters] hinzu. Dann aber nahm diese Branche in Berlin einen kolossalen Umfang an. In jedem Monat [1906] kamen bis 20 neue Theater hinzu und heute beträgt ihre Zahl mindestens 260. ... Ihr Publikum setzt sich zum grösseren Teil aus jugendlichen Personen zusammen, die für die instruktiven, anregenden und fesselnden Darbietungen sehr empfänglich und dankbar sind."<sup>32</sup>

For Walther Soehring, commenting on the contemporary film programs in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, these programs were, however, hardly as instructional as *Der Kinematograph* wanted them to be. Soehring's comment was entitled "Reform der Kinematographendarbietungen – Zur Eröffnung der Kino-Ausstellung." Thus, it was impelled by the major "Kinematographen-Ausstellung" that took place in Berlin around New Year 1908-09. Reporting on the exhibition already in December 1908, the *Berliner Morgenpost* had claimed it gave an interesting impression of the new media industry of moving pictures and talking machines, "Kinematographen und Sprechmaschinen", as well as offering great entertainment in the form of a giant cinema, "Riesen-Kino-Theater" and regular phonographic, "Auretophon-Konzerte".<sup>33</sup> Ads for the "Riesen-Kino-Theater" at the exhibition were, in fact, the only explicit film advertisement published in all the four analysed newspapers during the first half of 1909.<sup>34</sup>

In the introduction to his article, Soehring commented on the overtly attractional nature that Berlin cinemas had come to relish and occupy within the public sphere. To him, the "Kinematographen-Theater" was a "Veranstaltungsöffentlichkeit" that sought to attract the public's attention by any means. "An den Kinematographentheatern hochtönende Inschriften: '!Das Neueste!', '!Letzte Sensation!', '!Großartige Attraktion!'". Without going into detail, the sensational film offerings were a menace to Soehring, "weil das, was geboten wird, nicht immer ganz einwandfrei ist." Yet, the situation could have been different, especially if the film programs would not have been dictated by suspicious foreigners. "Die Herkunft der Aunahmen, die fast ausschliesslich Erzeugnisse großer Pariser Filmfabriken sind, erklärt es, daß eine ganz fremde Geschmacksrichtung sich breitmacht." Thus, in short, Soehring linked himself to the agenda of the German film reform movement: that is, less foreign fictional, sensational attractions in the film programs, and more didactic, German nonfiction film, or has he put it: "Statt der Unterhaltung mehr Belehrung!" Estimations state that Pathé in 1909 had a market share around 30 to 35 per cent in Germany.<sup>35</sup> Hence, what ought to be done, Soehring claimed, was to try to get rid of the patronage of French film distributors and instead try to persuade the German film interests, to help make the cinema a well seen and respectable educational tool – "den Kinematographen zu einem gern gesehenen anerkannten Bildungs- und Belehrungsmittel zu machen."<sup>36</sup>

When moving pictures were reported on, addressed or discussed in the Berlin daily press during the first half of 1909, it was, accordingly, often in connection with a reformist discourse on vice, "Schund".<sup>37</sup> Numerous articles were devoted to the question on "Schundliteratur", often with a reference to cinema, and in quantity these film related pieces in the daily press, were only matched by articles on cinematic, technological improvements. An illustrative example of the latter were the reports on the distribution of colour cinematography. When Urban-Smith in the beginning of March 1909 showed their new colour films in London, this was immediately picked up by the *BZ am Mittag*: "Kinemacolor. Das Palace Theatre in London lud vor einigen Tagen die gesamte Presse Londons ein, der allerersten Vorführung lebender Bilder in natürlichen Farben beizuwohnen."<sup>38</sup> Two weeks later, the Berliner Wintergarten had included these colour films in their program, whereby articles in both *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* and *Berliner Morgenpost*, gave an account on the new filmic attraction.<sup>39</sup> As these Wintergarten reviews testify – as well as the one on the aviation event – film was occasionally mentioned in vaudeville reviews. In addition, film was referred to in news reports when something extraordinary had occurred, such as a fire at a cinema.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, there were no film reviews, and the contemporary Berlin *kintop* culture was, still, by and large absent in the city's daily press.

Only on an infrequent basis did the daily press publish anything explicit on moving pictures. One of the rare exceptions was, for example, a long article in *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* on a Vitagraph actress, "Der 'Star' des Kinematographen", also reporting on how movies were made.<sup>41</sup> There were also a few inserts on film audiences. What is especially interesting, is that they tended to project the naïve and inexperienced film viewer on other, non-German film topographies. In a report from Russia entitled "Petersburger Nachtleben", an old Russian man was, for instance, epitomized as a "childish" typical "eastern" cinema goer.<sup>42</sup> In yet another article on "Kinematographenrecht", it was African-Americans who were singled out as a particular immature audience. "Vorführungen von Bildern mit pikanten oder auf die Sensationslust berechneten Szenen finden gerade im Kinematographentheater, dessen Publikum sich, bei billigem Eintrittsgeld, zumeist aus weniger gebildeten und daher leichter zu beeinflussenden Personen zusammensetzt, einen geeigneten Resonanzboden. So mußten ... in Youngstone in Ohio, Darstellungen von Kindesentführungen verboten

werden, da dort die Neger, die das Stammpublikum dieser Theater bilden, sich allzu willig durch den Anblick anregen lassen."<sup>43</sup>

In fact, media reports in the Berlin daily press in 1909 tended to focus other media than film. In the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, for instance, more articles were devoted to mediated sound, gramophones and phonographs than moving pictures. In February, for example, the newspaper featured both an insert on "Der Phonograph unter Anklage" and a longer article on "Einen phonographischen Wettstreit", referring to a sound competition between Edison's phonograph and various new gramophone technologies.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, in March the paper reported that, "bemerkenswerte phonographische Neuerungen führte die Edison-Gesellschaft gestern einem geladenen Publikum vor. [...] Die Vorführung zeigte ... daß die Phonographentechnik in ihren besten Erzeugnissen heute auf einer recht hohen Stufe steht, und daß ihre Darbietungen längst nicht mehr nur physikalischen, sondern auch künstlerischen Wert haben."<sup>45</sup> One reason why mediated sound was stressed, seems to have been its apparent artistic potential. In addition, phonographs and gramophones were promoted as private rather than public media. The private aspect of mediated sound was also apparent in the many ads for music companies, as Phonographen-Katz, Grammophon-Zentrale, Deutsche Grammophon, Schallplatten Fabrik Favorite, and of course Edison. In one of the latter's frequent ads, "Der Edison Phonograph" promised private leisure, illustrated by an image of a family with friends at home, at ease listening to the phonograph:

Wollen Sie ihren Gästen eine Unterhaltung bieten, die ihnen keinerlei Mühe macht, die andere Unterhaltungen nicht stört, sondern sie fördert, die ohne Ihr Zutun alle erfreut? Wohl, ein solcher Gesellschafter ist der Edison-Phonograph. Er bringt die berühmtesten Künstler und die ersten Orchester aller Zeiten und Zonen in ihr Heim. Er bietet klassische und moderne Stücke dar. Er spielt zum Tanz auf und amüsiert durch humoristische Vorträge. – Er ist Universal – Lernen Sie ihn kennen, und Sie werden ihn bewundern ... Sie können [auch] Ihre und Ihrer Lieben Stimmen selbst aufnehmen.<sup>46</sup>

In June 1909 the phonograph was even treated in an editorial in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, a comment motivated by a number of previous reports on a Berlin priest who

used the technology as a "Hilfsprediger für Straßengottesdienste".<sup>47</sup> Reports on mediated sound, thus, seems to have been aligned with the kind of high brow discourse that Berlin newspapers often wanted to associated themselves with. In comparison, the contemporary visual culture was seen as culturally trivial and unimportant, often being way to spectacular – sometimes even distasteful and offensive. Still, there are exceptions, and visual media was sometimes considered newsworthy. A number of newspapers, for instance, tried to attract attention by using various imagistic strategies. If the journalistic discourse promoted informative and instructive texts, the graphic images occasionally reprinted in the major papers, (except the *Berliner Tageblatt*,) were on the contrary, blatantly sensational in content. On the 20th of May 1909, for example, the *Berliner Morgenpost* reported on a local gas explosion, illustrated by a thrilling image depicting the devastation in detail: "Nach der Explosionskatastrophe: Die alte Charlottenburger Gasanstalt in Trümmern."<sup>48</sup> The few images that did appear in the daily press – perhaps two or three a week per paper – regularly depicted gruesome accidents and horrible disasters. In style they harshly deviated from the way these events were described in text. The subtitles of the graphics, however, often bore a reference to a photographic original, thus, assuring the reader, or viewer, that the images were not faked, but authentic and real.

One might argue that the "documentary quality" of visual media was the most important reason for it being addressed in the daily press. This was, for instance, the case with lantern slides. The projected photographic realism of slides in illustrated lectures had a pedagogic purpose, functioning both as illustration and visual evidence. Hence, slides were often reported on as well as advertised in the Berlin daily press. Advertisement as "Grosser Wissenschaftlicher Lichtbilder-Vortrag" and "Vorträge mit Lichtbildern" were printed on a nearly daily basis, sometimes with extraordinary attractions, as "Sven Hedin – Vortrag mit Lichtbildern."<sup>49</sup> The "Urania Wissenschaftliches Theater" was the principal venue for illustrated lectures in Berlin, regularly advertised as well as reported on in the press. The Urania sometimes organised intriguing lectures as, for example, "Das Sehen und der Ersatz der Außenwelt durch photographische Bilder."<sup>50</sup>

In contrast to moving pictures, slides were, thus, a visual media that within the public sphere defined by the daily press, seems to have been associated with knowledge and

artistic high culture. In March 1909 the *BZ am Mittag* for example, reported on an upcoming illustrated lecture on Austria: "In der Bilderserie ... sind 40 Naturfarbenbilder, hergestellt nach dem neuen Lumière-verfahren, aufgenommen. Hierdurch erhalten die Vorträge den Charakter einer künstlerischen Veranstaltung, wie sie bei Lichtbilder-Abenden bisher wohl selten geboten wurde."<sup>51</sup> Yet, even slides were at times projected to regulation and censorship. In March 1909, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, for instance, reported on a medical illustrated lecture, that just prior to its start, was suddenly interrupted by the police:

In Ulm wollte dieser Tage der frühere Stabs- und Marinearzt Dr. Hans Fischer aus Berlin einen Lichtbildervortrag über "Das Liebes- und Geschlechtsleben des modernen Kulturmenschen" halten. Das Ulmer Polizeiamt verbot den Vortrag kurz vor dessen Beginn. Auf eine Interpellation hin erklärte in der Gemeinderatssitzung der Vertreter der Polizeibehörde, die ihm vorgelegten Lichtbilder seien derart gewesen, daß er sich darüber geschämt und in Zweifel gezogen habe, ob es sich bei dem Vortrag um ein höheres wissenschaftliches Interesse handele. In dem Gutachten des Oberamtsarztes wurde dem Vortrage ein wissenschaftlicher Wert überhaupt abgesprochen und der Ueberzeugung Ausdruck gegeben, daß die Mehrzahl der Besucher nicht durch wissenschaftlichen Bildungsdrang zum Besuche veranlaßt würde, sondern durch ganz andere Triebe, die mit dem Liebes- und Geschlechtsleben mehr zusammenhängen als mit der Wissenschaft.<sup>52</sup>

Thus, even if slides were regularly associated with visual knowledge, the popular attraction of the projected images – evident in the way presumed audiences were lured in the daily press by the usage of the ad word "Lichtbilder" – at times also aligned them with an "Unterhaltungsöffentlichkeit" of vice, "Schund", and consequently cinema. After all, even though slides prevailed within the public sphere, they were soon regarded as a "pre-filmic" media. Yet, media reports on slides in 1909 also suggest that they can be regarded differently. Clearly, slides were, for example, the primary visual media to promote and stress the documentary qualities of moving pictures.

## Mediated events – the Messina earthquake

The frequent reports on both film, mediated sound and slides in the 1909 Berlin daily press, seems to suggest a truly diversified contemporary public media sphere. There were, of course, numerous other articles on media in the dailies, as for example debates around vaudeville and "Nacktkultur", articles on photo exhibitions and early radio attempts, "Tönende Funken", as well as more technical discussions on telephony, telegraphy and "Phototelegraphie". Indeed, moving pictures was but one of many new media technologies being considered in the press. Thus, the "Kinoöffentlichkeit" mediated through the press, was still part of a number of different and extensive "Medienöffentlichkeiten".

As the aviation event in the introduction to this article testifies, a prolific way of historically situating and understanding the different public media spheres, is to analyse how events were mediated at the time. When reports on media were published or advertised in Berlin newspapers, they were often linked to events that had already been reported on before. Since radio was not yet invented in 1909, mediated sound of events can be overlooked, even though non-musical phonographic recordings were sometimes given attention. Nevertheless, one of the more striking aspects of the Berlin newspapers in 1909 is how visual media were referred to as, so-called "optische Berichterstattung" – a kind of visual reporting. Joseph Garnarcz has dealt extensively with this concept within the earliest phase of German film history. Though variety programs around 1900, did present fictional films, Garnarcz has argued that visual reports became the staple of the variety and vaudeville show at the time. According to Garnarcz, visual reports, "did not provide new information, but visualised events that were already known."<sup>53</sup> It seems, however, that vaudeville shows, as for example Berliner Wintergarten, held on to this tradition. Moreover, if there was a form of visual media that was present in the daily press, it was nonfiction visual media depicting current events. Certainly, this lay in accordance with a film reformist agenda, but there is also an interesting kind of appropriation of mediated illustrations.

During spring 1909, there is in fact one single event, rapidly turned into a global media event, that in an extraordinarily way, exemplifies the press discourse on "optische Berichterstattung" – the Messina earthquake. On the 28th of December 1908 an earthquake hit southern Italy. A number of cities, especially Messina on Sicily but

also Reggio on the mainland, were almost completely put into rubble. Berlin newspapers immediately reported on the event, which initially believed to have claimed up to 200.000 casualties. During the first week of 1909, the front pages of *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, *Berliner Morgenpost* and *BZ am Mittag* were all filled with articles on the Messina catastrophe. The *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* even sent a special reporter to the area, to get an eyewitness account and a plastic image of the miserable devastation, "ein plastisches Bild von den schaurigen Verwüstungen."<sup>54</sup>

Besides textual reports, the daily press were also filled with illustrations. Since the Messina earthquake was a paradigmatic example of the typical catastrophe, usually determining the graphic output in newspapers, numerous illustrations appeared – again with the *Berliner Tageblatt* as the exception. Illustrations as: "Ansichten aus dem Erdbebengebiet in Kalabrien", "Messina nach der Katastrophe", and "Bilder aus dem zerstörten Messina nach den neuesten Aufnahmen" [*Illustration 3.*], were published.<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, moving pictures from the Messina catastrophe appeared in Berlin even before these illustrations were printed in the daily press. As a matter of fact, already on the first of January 1909, the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that the giant cinema at the "Kintematographen-Austellung" – the exhibition that triggered Soehring's critical comment on film programs – were the next day to visually report on the earthquake: "die Kino-Austellung am Zoo wird schon morgen (Sonnabend) über die entsezliche Erdbebenkatastrophe in Calabrien kinematographisch berichten."<sup>56</sup> Two days later the same newspaper featured an advertisement for the film exhibition, informing the public it had been prolonged, and that telegraphically ordered films from Messina were projected as soon as they arrived: "die telegraphisch bestellten Films über die Erdbebenkatastrophe werden stets nach Eintreffen sofort vorgeführt."<sup>57</sup>

It comes as no surprise that the film trade press in January 1909 were filled with ads for films from Messina. In the first 1909 issue of *Der Kinematograph*, for example, Raleigh & Robert advertised their film, DAS ERDBEBEN UND DIE SPRINGFLUT AUF SIZILIEN, and in the second issue, Eclipse featured a graphically amazing ad for the film, MESSINA NACH DER KATASTROPHE [*Illustration 4.*].<sup>58</sup> Indeed, the Messina earthquake became an almost televisual media event *avant la lettre*. Before television, moving images of such an event, could, of course, never be transmitted as fast as printed news – internationally regularly provided by telegraph at the time. Yet, nonfiction films from



the Messina catastrophe were actually the first media to visually report in Berlin on this event. Not even the illustrated press were faster. The same Saturday, the second of January as films from Messina were shown at the film exhibition, the first 1909 issue of the illustrated weekly, *Die Woche* was published. As mentioned, it was owned by the Scherl Verlag, who also published the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*. Yet, although part of a major media corporation the issue of *Die Woche* did not feature any illustrations from the earthquake, apart from a small map indicating where the catastrophe had taken place. Only a week later did *Die Woche* carry reproduced photographs from the event.<sup>59</sup>

The same holds true for the most important illustrated weekly in Germany at the time, *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*. Only its second issue of 1909 featured visual reports from the Messina catastrophe [*Illustration 5*].<sup>60</sup> Both *Die Woche* and *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* were high-circulation illustrated weeklies. Each issue of the former was by 1909 printed in approximately 400.000 issues, and the latter in an astonishing 800.000 issues.<sup>61</sup> They were, perhaps, the most important mass media in Germany at the time to visually shape and influence people's views of both national and international actualities and events. In a reminiscent article on the development of the illustrated weekly, the later editor Kurt Korff, stated: "erst in einer Zeit, in der das Leben 'durch das Auge' eine stärkere Rolle zu spielen begann, war das Bedürfniss nach visueller Erfassung so stark geworden, daß man dazu übergehen konnte, das Bild selbst als Nachricht zu verwenden."<sup>62</sup> Nonetheless, it is worth remembering that the "optische berichterstattung" within the contemporary visual culture, still to a large extent continued to be dependent on text. Film always had intertitles and photographs in the illustrated weeklies regularly bore textual captions. Thus, contemporary reformist ideas around "der Verführbarkeit der Masse durch das Bild" were sometimes obviously exaggerated.

Needless to say, images often requires a textual description to become understandable, and in fact, the visual reports of the Messina earthquake also drew attention to various nuisances in the mediation process. Two days before the publication of the Messina-issue of the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, for example, the newspaper *BZ am Mittag* – both of them owned by the Ullstein Verlag – featured an article about the photographers depicting Messina. The *BZ* reported that just after the earthquake, a number of Italian photographers had hastily travelled to Sicily, but only a few of them

had, actually, managed to reach parts shattered by the earthquake. Thus, according to the *BZ*, a number of the illustrations from the earthquake, that had by then, been published, were fake – ”von den Bildern, die bisher erschienen sind, waren die meisten falsch.” The *BZ* stated that some of the published photographs that had appeared in the Berlin daily press did not at all depict the Messina catastrophe, but instead earlier earthquakes. Old photographs had been manipulated; ”es wurde mit alten Bildern Schwindel getrieben”. The *BZ*, however, asserted that the photographs that were to appear in the new Messina-issue of *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* were real and authentic ones.<sup>63</sup>

Visual reports from Messina were, however, not only presented at the cinema or in the daily and illustrated press. According to advertisement and short reviews in Berlin daily press, the Messina event was visually mediated in at least three more important ways during spring 1909: in a staged reconstruction, in stereoscopic images and in illustrated lectures. By mid January 1909, the Berlin wax museum, Passage-Panoptikum, had, for example, put together new visual tableaux’ displaying the earthquake. According to advertisement in *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, the tableaux featured a round trip through the earthquake areas of Messina, reconstructed from authentic images, ”nach authentischen Aufnahmen rekonstruiert” [*Illustration 6.*].<sup>64</sup> At the same time, the peep show Kaiserpanorama, displayed stereoscopic images from the event. The Kaiserpanorama had already in the beginning of January 1909, tried to attract audiences by showing series of images from Messina before the earthquake – ”Messina bevor dem Erdbeben”.<sup>65</sup> During spring 1909 the Kaiserpanorama, a distinguished attraction within the city’s ”Medienöffentlichkeit” with three branches in Berlin, displayed no less than ten series of images from the earthquake, each one of them containing fifty stereoscopic photographs.

A final visual category of ”optische Berichterstattung” on the Messina event, were illustrated lectures. Slides from the catastrophe were soon out on the market and could easily be bought. In March, *Der Kinematograph* featured an ad for Edward Liesegang with, ”Lichtbilder über Messina. Neueste Aufnahmen! ... Die Serie wird einschliesslich Vortragstext geliefert.”<sup>66</sup> Moreover, the *BZ am Mittag* reported in the first week of February 1909, that a Dr. P. Schwahn, who had travelled in the Messina area, were in the next days to arrive in Berlin, to hold a number of lectures based on his experiences

with numerous slides, "seine Erlebnisse schildern und die Resultate seiner Studien durch zahlreiche Lichtbilder veranschaulichen."<sup>67</sup> Schwahn was, in fact, the head of the Urania, yet he did not perform there until a month later. According to a review in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, Schwahn presented excellent slides, "ausgezeichnete Lichtbilder"<sup>68</sup>, and the *Berliner Tageblatt* stated:

Unter den Titel, 'Auf den Trümmern Messinas' faßt Dr. Schwahn ... seine Erlebnisse und Eindrücke aus der Ruinenstadt zu einem Vortrage zusammen, der zum ersten Male im wissenschaftlichen Theater der Urania gehalten wurde. Trotzdem die Berichte der Tageszeitungen des Jammers und des Grausigen genug aus Messina gemeldet haben, ertönten doch, als die farbigen Lichtbilder, die der Vortragende vorführte, vor den Augen der Zuschauer vorüberzogen, unterdrückte Ausrufe des Erstaunens über den Umfang der Zerstörung, über die Größe des Jammers, die diese Bilder mitleidslos enthüllten. Die vorzüglichen Lichtbilder veranschaulichen dem Zuschauer den Verlauf des Erdbebens, und führen ihn das Leben in der Ruinenstadt mit erschreckender Deutlichkeit vor Augen.<sup>69</sup>

Regular advertisement in the *Berliner Morgenpost*, proves that Schwahn held his illustrated lecture on an almost daily basis from the beginning of March until the end of April 1909, thus, appearing in more than fifty performances.<sup>70</sup> Yet, Schwahn was not the only one to lecture about, and project slides from the Messina catastrophe. During March 1909 another lecturer, a Dr. Wilhelm Meyer, also held a "Lichtbilder-Vortrag", entitled "Das zerstörte Messina".<sup>71</sup> As one of the founders of the Urania, Meyer was a skilled lecturer and even the "Kronprinzenpaares" were present at his first appearance – most likely the reason for the extensive review in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*. However, the review also praised the lecture's imagery and its "anschaulicher Weise", thus again, similar to the Wintergarten review, suggesting how media represented reality, not only as an index, but also as a representative form of mimetic depiction.<sup>72</sup>

## Conclusion

Articles and news items on media in the Berlin daily press during the first half of 1909 were, indeed, rare. Yet, there exists various kinds of media historical information to be

gleaned from newspapers. Since Berlin newspapers were printed in hundreds of thousands of copies, they were the major media defining the contemporary "Öffentlichkeit". To a large extent, the Berlin public got its updated information on media culture and technology through articles and advertisement in the daily press. As a mass distributed media itself, newspapers were, thus, of vital importance for the way the public sphere dealt with media issues.

Yet, if there was one type of media that were present in the daily press in 1909, it was reports on and advertisement for, mediated sound as well as various nonfictive representations in visual media. In accordance with a reformist press agenda, newspapers tried to avoid reporting on mass media as entertainment, and instead wanted to associate it with information and education. But as the visual mediation of the Messina catastrophe indicates, the Berlin daily press, perhaps, most evidently dealt with media in terms of current events. Still, the visual mediation of the Messina catastrophe, also points towards the need for a broad media historical understanding of how events were (visually) mediated at the time. The empirical information presented in this article suggest, for instance, that the cinematic concept of "optische Berichterstattung" needs to be widened, to include other forms of media besides moving pictures. Garnarcz emphasis on nonfiction film alone is in this sense too limited. Already by 1909 the contemporary public sphere was saturated by mass media, forming a range of "Medienöffentlichkeiten" produced and received in various ways. The diverse "Medienöffentlichkeiten" were made up of different public venues, as well as a variety of publications and media offerings for the domestic market. Admittedly, further research needs to be done, to specify in detail how Berlin daily press can shed new light on early public and private media cultures. Still, there can be no doubt that the contemporary "Kinoöffentlichkeit", was but one of many "mediale Teilöffentlichkeiten" in Wilhelmine Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> "Wintergarten", unsigned, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 4 February 1909. (Acknowledgments to Vreni Hockenjos and Patrick Vonderau for helpful comments on this article.)

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance illustrations in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* on 24 January, 28 January, and 3 February 1909.

<sup>3</sup> Advertisement in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 17 January 1909.

<sup>4</sup> "Was charakterisierte nach ihrer Meinung, Herr [August] Nitschke, die Jahrhundertwende [1900]? – Das Flugzeug. Das Flugzeug vermittelte andere Möglichkeiten als [z.B.] Automobil und Radio. Die Schnelligkeit des Flugzeugs erlaubte es [später], Personen rasch von einem Erdteil in den anderen zu befördern." Cited from the introductory discussion in *Jahrhundertwende* eds. August Nitschke *et al.* Hamburg, 1990, S. 15 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The public sphere, "Öffentlichkeit", is a notorious difficult concept to translate into English. In the following, the public sphere is understood as a forum of public discourses. Indeed, the concept is better used in plural, "Öffentlichkeiten", especially in terms of different public spheres of media. In a German context, the concept has been further disseminated, postulating various "Teilöffentlichkeiten", with a difference between "Veranstaltungsöffentlichkeiten" and "Massenmedienöffentlichkeiten". For a discussion on the concept and its history, see Karl Führer, Knut Hicketier and Axel Schildt: "Öffentlichkeit – Medien – Geschichte. Konzepte der modernen Öffentlichkeit und Zugänge zu ihrer Erforschung". In: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 41. Jg, 2001, S. 2 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Woche* no. 6, 5 February 1909.

<sup>7</sup> "Zipfels Flugversuche und die Zuschauer", unsigned, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 24 January 1909.

<sup>8</sup> "Wintergarten", 1909.

<sup>9</sup> Advertisement in *Der Kinematograph* no. 109, 3 February 1909.

<sup>10</sup> For an introduction to the concept, see Kerlen, Dietrich: *Einführung in die Medienkunde*, Stuttgart, 2003, S. 129 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Führer *et al.*, S. 27-28.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 31.

<sup>13</sup> Kehlen, S. 148.

<sup>14</sup> Führer *et al.*, S. 21.

<sup>15</sup> The two paradigmatic publications are, Waller, Gregory A.: *Main Street amusement: movies and commercial entertainment in a Southern city, 1896-1930*, London, 1995 and Fuller, Kathryn H.: *At the Picture Show. Small-Town Audiences and the Creation of Movie Fan Culture*, Washington, D.C., 1996.

<sup>16</sup> See for example, Paech, Anne: *Kino zwischen Stadt und Land: Geschichte des Kinos in der Provinz: Osnabrück*, Marburg, 1985 and Bechtold, Gerhard: *Kino, Schauplätze in der Stadt. Eine Kulturgeschichte des Kinos in Karlsruhe*, Karlsruhe, 1985, as well as *Lichtbilder, Lichtspiele: Anfänge der Fotografie und des Kinos in Ostfriesland*, eds. Detlef Hoffmann and Jens Thiele, Marburg, 1989.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion, see *KINtop – Jahrbuch zur Erforschung des frühen Kino*, no. 9, 2000 –"Lokale Kinogeschichten".

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<sup>18</sup> The project is entitled "Cinema and Cultural Globalization 1905-14: Markets, Audiences and the Public Sphere", financed by the Swedish Research Council. The purpose, in short, is to study various early urban topographies – Stockholm, New York, Los Angeles and Berlin – and examine the role of film and visual media within the public sphere, empirically using daily press as a film and media historical source.

<sup>19</sup> The main reason focusing the first half year of 1909 is the limited space offered this article. During the latter half of 1909, there are of course a number of other mediated events in the daily press that would have been interesting to analyse, for example, the Zeppelin flying over the city, or the opening of the first cinema palace in Berlin, the U.T am Alexanderplatz.

<sup>20</sup> Fritzsche, Peter: *Reading Berlin 1900*, Cambridge Mass., 1996, S. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Briesen, Detlef: *Berlin – die überschätzte Metropole*, Berlin, 1992, S. 148.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion on the early 20th century "image" of Berlin, see Kiecol, Daniel: *Selbstbild und Image zweier europäischer Metropolen. Paris und Berlin zwischen 1900 und 1930*, Frankfurt am Main, 2001.

<sup>23</sup> Even Habermas himself has hinted, in a new foreword from 1990 to his classic study *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, that too little emphasis was put on other media than press in his decisive book. In fact, the decline of the "bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit" (which Habermas lamented), was caused by the expansion of the new "massenmediale Öffentlichkeit." Habermas, Jürgen: *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, Frankfurt am Main, 1990, S. 48 ff. Thus, one of the questions facing media historians today is to analyse, not so much the rise of the public sphere, but the prolongation and continuance of it, in and through other media than the printed press. In a German context this media historical process is sometimes described as, "die Massenmedialisierung des zweiten Strukturwandels der Öffentlichkeit". Research attempts in this direction have been undertaken, focusing especially on the late 20th century and the medium of television. Yet, between 1850 and 1950 there, still, exists a substantial historical gap, essentially unanalysed in terms of understanding the rise of a mass mediated public sphere outside, or in relation, to the domain of the press. John B. Thompson in his *The Media and Modernity. A Social Theory of the Media*, for example, devotes a number of pages to Habermas and the printed press' importance for establishing an historically situated public sphere. But as he moves on to discuss other forms of mediated public spheres, he completely ignores all the various established mass media around 1900, including film, and quickly moves on to television, thus, completely failing to make a case in point. Thompson, John B: *The Media and Modernity. A Social Theory of the Media*, Cambridge, 1995.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the concept, see Karl Führer *et al*, S. 11ff.

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion on active audiences and early cinema as a place of experience, see for example, *The Place of the Audience. Cultural Geographies of Film Consumption* eds. Mark Jancowich, Lucy Faire and Sarah Stubbings, London, 2003, *Moviegoing in America: a sourcebook in the history of film exhibition*, ed. Gregory A. Waller, Malden, 2002, or *American movie audiences: from the turn of the century to the early sound era*, eds. Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby, London, 1999. For a German discussion, see *Erlebnisort Kino*, ed. Irmbert Schenk, Marburg 2000.

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the concept, see Hicketier, Knut: *Einführung in die Medienwissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 2003, S. 214 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Maase, Kaspar: *Grenzenloses Vergnügen. Der Aufstieg der Massenkultur 1850-1970*, Frankfurt am Main, 1997.

<sup>28</sup> Advertisement in *Der Kinematograph* no. 109, 3 February 1909.

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<sup>29</sup> Soehring, Walter: "Reform der Kinematographendarbietungen – Zur Eröffnung der Kino-Ausstellung", *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 10 January 1909.

<sup>30</sup> Jason, Alexander: *Der Film in Ziffern und Zahlen. Die Statistik der Lichtspielhäuser in Deutschland 1895-1925*, Berlin, 1925, S. 21ff. For a detailed discussion of the early cinema landscape in Berlin, see Kilchenstein: Gabriele: *Frühe Filmzensur in Deutschland. Eine vergleichende Studie zur Prüfungspraxis in Berlin und München (1906-1914)*, München, 1997, S. 46-57.

<sup>31</sup> See the heading "Kinematographen-Theater" in the *Berliner Adreßbuch IV. Handel und Gewerbebetriebe* (Berlin, 1909). In 1909 some fifty companies dealing with moving pictures were listed in the *Berliner Adreßbuch*, advertisement for them occupied nearly two pages. Four years earlier in 1906, there had only been ten listed. In fact, the *Berliner Adreßbuch*, although likely financed by small fees, is a fascinating historical source on the gradual development of an urban media sphere. The directory, for example, situates early Berlin cinema within a larger media historical framework, where phonographic companies, not to mention photographic ones, heavily outnumbered companies dealing with moving pictures. Actual film theatres were not included until the 1909 edition, but (as mentioned) only 25 *kintop*'s found it necessary, then, to be part.

<sup>32</sup> "Zur Geschichte des Kinematographen-Theaters", unsigned, *Der Kinematograph* no. 1, 6 January 1907.

<sup>33</sup> "Kino-Ausstellung", unsigned, *Berliner Morgenpost* 22 December 1908.

<sup>34</sup> Regular film advertisement does not seem to have been published in the major Berlin newspapers on a daily basis until late 1910 or early 1911. On the 15 January 1911, for example, the *Berliner Tageblatt* featured large ads – similar to the ones that had been published by vaudeville venues as Wintergarten and Apollo-Theater for years – for both the five U.T Uniontheater cinemas, as well as the Mozart-saal Lichtspiele. The latter, perhaps the most prestigious cinema of Berlin at the time, had opened in September 1910. It seemed to have had enough cultural and medial prestige as to be "accepted" among the "Vergnügungs-Anzeigen", thus, functioning as a pioneer in terms of film advertisement. For a discussion on the Mozart-saal, see Hanisch, Michael: *Auf den Spuren der Filmgeschichte. Berliner Schauplätze*, Berlin, 1991, S. 217-226.

<sup>35</sup> For various economic aspects of early German film history, see Müller, Corinna: *Frühe deutsche Kinematographie: Formale, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklungen 1907-1912*, Stuttgart, 1994.

<sup>36</sup> Soehring, 1909.

<sup>37</sup> There are numerous publications on "Schund". For a film historical account, see for example, Maase, Kaspar: "Massenkunst und Volkserziehung. Die Regulierung von Film und Kino im deutschen Kaiserreich". In: *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 41. Jg, 2001.

<sup>38</sup> "Kinemacolor", unsigned, *BZ am Mittag* 5 March 1909.

<sup>39</sup> "Lebende photographien in natürlichen Farben", unsigned, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 23 March 1909, and "Kinemacolor", unsigned, *Berliner Morgenpost* 23 March 1909.

<sup>40</sup> See for example, "Der Theaterbrand in Mexico", unsigned, *Berliner Tageblatt* 17 February 1909.

<sup>41</sup> M. R. – O: "Der 'Star' des Kinematographen", *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 22 June (Abendausgabe) 1909.

<sup>42</sup> Melnik, Josef: "Petersburger Nachtleben", *Berliner Tageblatt* 10 March (Abendblatt) 1909.

<sup>43</sup> "Kinematographenrecht", unsigned, *Berliner Tageblatt* 18 June (Abendblatt) 1909.

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- <sup>44</sup> "Der Phonograph unter Anklage", unsigned, 9 February 1909, and, "Einen phonographischen Wettstreit", unsigned, 25 February 1909.
- <sup>45</sup> "Bemerkenswerte phonographische Neuerungen", unsigned, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 13 March 1909.
- <sup>46</sup> Advertisement for "Der Edison Phonograph", *Berliner Tageblatt* 17 January 1909.
- <sup>47</sup> The first article on the matter in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* appeared on 14 June 1909, "Eine eigenartige Verwendung des Phonographen". The issue was picked up the day after on 15 June in the first edition of the paper, "Die Predigten mit dem Phonographen", and was later during the day, in the second edition, commented upon in the editorial, "Wovon man spricht".
- <sup>48</sup> "Explosionsunglück in der Charlottenburger Gasanstalt", unsigned, *Berliner Morgenpost* 20 May 1909.
- <sup>49</sup> Advertisement for the illustrated lecture of Sven Hedin in *Berliner Tageblatt* 4 February 1909.
- <sup>50</sup> Advertisement for "Urania" in *Berliner Tageblatt* 7 January 1909.
- <sup>51</sup> "Vorträge über Tirol", unsigned, *BZ am Mittag* 13 March 1909.
- <sup>52</sup> "Verbotener Vortrag eines Berliner Arztes", unsigned, *Berliner Tageblatt* 6 March 1909.
- <sup>53</sup> Garncarz, Joseph: "The Origins of Film Exhibition in Germany". In: Tim Bergfelder, Erica Carter and Deniz Göktürk (eds.), *The German Cinema Book*, London, 2002. See also, Garncarz, Joseph: "Die Entstehung des Kino aus dem Varieté: ein Plädoyer für ein erweitertes Konzept der intermedialität". In: Jörg Helbig (ed.) *Intermedialität: Theorie und Praxis eines interdisziplinären Forschungsgebiets*, Berlin, 1998.
- <sup>54</sup> von Gottberg, Otto: "Eine Wanderung durch das zerstörte Messina", *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 5 January 1909.
- <sup>55</sup> Illustrations in *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 3 January 1909, *Berliner Morgenpost* 6 January 1909, and *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 10 January 1909.
- <sup>56</sup> "Kino-Austellung am Zoo", unsigned, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 1 January 1909.
- <sup>57</sup> Advertisement for the "Kinematographen-Austellung", *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 3 January 1909.
- <sup>58</sup> Advertisement in *Der Kinematograph* no. 106, 6 January 1909, and no. 107, 13 January 1909. It is worth mentioning, that *Der Kinematograph* in May published an article where the graphic details (of reoccurring images of corpses) in the films from Messina, made some of them inappropriate to show in cinemas. "Aus der Hauptstadt des Reichslandes", *Der Kinematograph*, no. 126, 26 May 1909. (Acknowledgments to Martin Loiperdinger for directing my attention to this article.)
- <sup>59</sup> Illustrations in *Die Woche* no. 1, 2 January 1909, and no. 2, 9 January 1909.
- <sup>60</sup> Illustrations in *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* no. 2, 10 January 1909.
- <sup>61</sup> The circulation figures are approximate, taken from *Fotografie in deutschen Zeitschriften 1883-1923*, ed. Bernd Weise, Stuttgart, 1991, and Mendelssohn, Peter: *Zeitungsstadt Berlin*, Berlin, 1982, S. 150.
- <sup>62</sup> Korff, Kurt: "Die 'Berliner Illustrierte'". In: *50 Jahre Ullstein, 1877-1927*, Berlin, 1927, S. 290.



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<sup>63</sup> "Die Photographen in Messina", unsigned, *BZ am Mittag* 8 January 1909.

<sup>64</sup> Advertisement for "Passage-Panoptikum" in *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 15 January 1909.

<sup>65</sup> Advertisement for "Kaiser-Panorama" in *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 3 January 1909.

<sup>66</sup> Advertisement in *Der Kinematograph* no. 117, 24 March 1909.

<sup>67</sup> "Erdbebenkatastrophe in Messina", unsigned, *BZ am Mittag* 5 February 1909.

<sup>68</sup> "Im Theater der Urania", unsigned, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 9 March 1909.

<sup>69</sup> "Erdbebenbilder in der Urania", unsigned, *Berliner Tageblatt* 10 March 1909.

<sup>70</sup> See for example the advertisement for "Urania" in *Berliner Morgenpost* 9 March 1909.

<sup>71</sup> Advertisement in *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 7 March 1909.

<sup>72</sup> "Ein Vortrag über das Erdbeben von Messina", unsigned, *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 11 March 1909.