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Harbor, Architecture, Film

Rotterdam, 1925-1935

Floris Paalman

Between 1925 and 1935, there was a great deal of interaction between avant-garde cinema and architecture. This is exemplified by the Dutch cinema club *Filmliga* (1927-1933), founded in Amsterdam by the literary critics Henrik Scholte and Menno ter Braak.

Branches were quickly formed in other cities. The ones in Rotterdam, Utrecht, and The Hague were all initiated by architects.¹ Moreover, a close connection existed between the *Filmliga* and the architecture associations *De 8* and *Opbouw*. Why were these architects so committed to film? Set design might have been a reason,² but the *Filmliga* mainly showed films without spectacular sets. Architects were also interested in designing cinemas, whose numbers were growing exponentially. The architects of the *Filmliga* realized some, but relatively few. It seems more important that many avant-garde films dealt with architecture, like Joris Ivens's *DE BRUG* (*The Bridge*, 1928), which follows the logic of its subject: Trains cross the bridge, a train waits while the bridge is raised, ships pass by, and finally, the train continues on its way. The movements are shown from different angles and broken apart in the editing. There are numerous other examples, such as Ivens's *NIEUWE ARCHITECTUUR* (*New Architecture*, 1930), which was part of *WIJ BOUWEN* (*We Are Building*, 1930) and included images of the Van Nelle factory in Rotterdam, or *MODERNE NEDERLANDSCHE ARCHITECTUUR* (1930) by Mannus Franken. The question then could also be reversed: why were filmmakers interested in architecture? Bert Hogenkamp (1988: 49) remarked that *New Building* lent itself well to experiments in image composition. Tom Gunning³ went a step further by arguing that there were intrinsic relationships between architecture and cinema. Comparing *DE BRUG* with the architectural theories of Siegfried Giedion, Gunning notes that Ivens came close to the architectural ideal of "visual simultaneity."

Using the railway bridge in Rotterdam as a base, Ivens explores the reorganization of space, but he also shows its functioning, its processes and rhythm through cinematic time. Until then, no other avant-garde film had researched the visual characteristics of one location so profoundly.⁴

According to Gunning, both film and architecture framed the world anew. *DE BRUG* is then not so much about architecture as about a changed vision of the

world, made possible by new technological constructions. In this paper, I will examine the broader conditions in which such relations came about, the way that architecture has been studied, explained, exhibited, modeled, and promoted by film. This examination links up with an argument made by Elizabeth Lebas⁵ with respect to municipal filmmaking in Britain between the wars.

Films could show both procedure and progress in ways that were practical, succinct and even entertaining. In turn, by showing the *actual sites and settings* of procedure and progress to inhabitants who were called upon to visit them and in the case of new housing estates, actually occupy them, they played a vital role in assigning and re-designating new spaces for another way of living (italics F.P.).⁶

Lebas makes two main points. Firstly, "these were not films *about* modern living, but *for* modern living" (p. 141). Secondly, they were not part of a regular distribution system, but shown free of charge in town halls, clinics, schools, clubs, etc. (p.140), as well as at large exhibitions and fairs.⁷

Their function can be understood in light of Thomas Elsaesser's three great "A factors": the *Auftraggeber* (commissioning body), the *Anlass* (occasion), and the *Anwendung* (use).⁸ These factors will be examined in the case of Rotterdam to understand film in relation to urban development.

The image of the city

It has been said that, even before World War II, Rotterdam was the most modern city in the Netherlands.⁹ Moreover, its harbor was one of the largest in the world. This affected all businesses in the city and made Rotterdam a city of labor, which also had political consequences. In 1919, after general suffrage was introduced, the socialists won the elections in Rotterdam. The conservative mayor A.R. Zimmerman was compelled to install two socialist aldermen, in social-service positions, such as the Municipal Housing Department, and Education, including the *Gemeentelijke Schoolbioscoop* (Municipal School Cinema).¹⁰ While the department of housing directly improved everyday living conditions, educational films did so by providing the means to understand them. The first achievement of the housing department, directed by August Plate, was the Spangen quarter, the location of the exemplary *Justus van Effencomplex* (1919-1922, Michiel Brinkman). It was followed by the projects of J.J.P. Oud (Witte Dorp, Hoek van Holland, Kiefhoek), which became paradigms of social housing worldwide. The school cinemas, on the other hand, were an institution established in several cities, first in The Hague in 1918 by the socialist David van Staveren,¹¹ and soon after that in Rotterdam by A.M. van der Wel.¹² Unlike the

others, the one in Rotterdam produced its own films – more than 30 in total. Similar to the case referred to by Lebas,¹³ these films were not *about*, but *for* modern living, and they dealt with many subjects: One of the first ones (1920) is about milk products, the subject of the last one (1933) is a "school for women's labor." The latter encouraged working-class girls to continue their education while promoting a modern style of housekeeping; architect Han van Loghem did the same by designing the renewed school building, including a model kitchen and two model dwellings.¹⁴ The school cinema and the housing department fell victim to the economic crisis and to political reforms, but construction of social housing continued; August Plate continued this work with his private firm, Volkswoningbouw Rotterdam, which built the first high-rise housing projects in Rotterdam.¹⁵

Figure 1 Ship in the dock



Photo by Andor von Barsy, 1930

Besides housing projects the most important example of modernist architecture in Rotterdam, and one that resulted from the trade in the harbor, is the Van Nelle factory (1925-1931), which was commissioned by Kees van der Leeuw and built by Jan Brinkman, Leen van der Vlugt, and Mart Stam. With its concrete columns and glass-and-steel façade, it became an icon of the modern movement, which was heralded by Le Corbusier and others. Other functionalist

industrial complexes were built, such as the cooperative HAKA factory (1931-1932, Hermann Mertens). Along with architecture, Rotterdam became a stage for industrial and graphic design and indeed a center for avant-garde cinema. Besides Ivens's *DE BRUG*, other famous examples include the film *HOOGSTRAAT* (*High Street*, 1929), about the main shopping street in Rotterdam, made by the Hungarian filmmaker Andor von Barsy, and *MAASBRUGGEN* (*Maas Bridges*, 1937), by Paul Schuitema.¹⁶

The image of Rotterdam was also shaped by a number of feature films, several of which used Rotterdam as a stage of modern urbanism and industry.¹⁷ One of them is *LENTELIED* (1936, Simon Koster), an early example which was shot on location. Archaic images of the countryside make Rotterdam, in contrast, look even more modern. The film contains a montage sequence with icons of modern Rotterdam that were located in different parts of the city. Although it was still an old city, with alleys, canals, and old warehouses, the sequence suggests that it is utterly modern, which was reinforced by emphasizing the harbor and its industry. *LENTELIED* provided a frame of reference for how to perceive and envision the city. From that perspective we might also consider a particular documentary genre, that of "construction films," which also emphasized the promise of modernity.

Construction film

In the late 1910s, Dutch film pioneer Willy Mullens documented the construction of the garden village Vreewijk. Later on, he also made a film about the construction of the Van Nelle factory. Other filmmakers started making similar films, which are more than simply records of new construction. They are celebrations of progress and urban development, characterized by an optimism that the future can be built. Notwithstanding this common goal, these films were made for different reasons, depending on the factors mentioned above of commission, occasion, and use.

A particular case is that of the department store chain De Bijenkorf. In the late 1920s, it commissioned architect Willem Dudok to build a modern department store with a glass-and-steel façade. In the ten years of its existence – it was destroyed during World War II – it became a symbol for modern Rotterdam, to which many films contributed.¹⁸ One that is particularly worthy of a closer look is the construction film *GROEI* (*Growth*, 1928-1930, J. De Haas), produced by Polygoon. The film makes use of modern aesthetics, mobile framing, superimposition, rhythmic editing, and special compositions. There is, for example, a shot from the roof, showing a construction elevator coming up, while down in

the street a tram comes into the film image from top to bottom. This "three-dimensional graphic" of double movement, seen from an unusual perspective, distorts the viewer's perception by using opposed movements and depth, resulting in "cinematic plasticity." It establishes an analogy between tram and elevator, and at the same time between urbanism and architecture. Other images show ram machines and cement transporters, followed by informal shots of workers having lunch and then workhorses eating and drinking in a similar way – a humorous example of associative filmmaking. At the conclusion, the completed building is shown. The architectural composition, with a tower and a large rectangular building, is transferred into a cinematic composition. The camera frames the tower diagonally, then moves to the right along the building so that the top corner of the rectangular building is shown diagonally. The building has changed into a floating architecture of moving graphics. Finally, the film shows the opening, with about 70,000 people attending. They had been waiting for this moment for two years, and were regularly kept informed by the Polygoon newsreels made from the footage. In this way De Bijenkorf bought itself into the news, or rather, it took advantage of an occasion (*Anlass*), similar to what commercials would later do.¹⁹ Thus, *GROEI* expressed the identity of the store. The construction, as a seemingly functional concern, was above all a way to show modernity, progress, hence "growth," as the title notes. Functionalism dictated style and fashion, and style and fashion were the trade of De Bijenkorf. Trade, architecture, and film reinforced each other.

Whereas *GROEI* was based on modernity as trend, similar films like Ivens's *WIJ BOUWEN* (1930), on building in the Netherlands, and the related film *BETONARBEID* (1930, Ivens),²⁰ on the construction of embankment walls in Rotterdam, had other goals. Since they were commissioned by the Union of Construction Workers (ANBB), they above all promoted the building industry and its workers. Different cases again show different reasons, like the Polygoon film *DE COOPERATIEVE PRODUCTIE GROEIT* (*The Cooperative Production Grows*, 1932), about the new cooperative HAKA factory. The film presents manual labor and mechanical production as extensions of each other, the individual engagement and collective force of the workers, and, as the title also suggests, the very idea of progress and growth. *BOUW MAASTUNNEL* (1937-1941, Dienst Gemeentewerken), a film about the construction of a tunnel under the Maas River, takes the viewer along the design and engineering process in order to gain support for the project from both professionals and citizens.

Industrial film

The construction film is a variant of the industrial film. In total more than 200 industrial films were made in Rotterdam between 1925 and 1935. Willy Mullens

and Polygon were among the first to make such films, which were often related to enterprises in the harbor, like Steenkolen Handels Vereeniging and Holland-Amerika-Lijn. After the mid 1920s, other producers came to the fore, like the Rotterdam-based Transfilma, which made many industrial films, for example about the municipal electricity and gas works, and about food production.²¹ In these films, raw materials (e.g., coal, barley) are brought into the harbor, transported through the city to the plant, processed there, and brought into the city again. The end of the gas film shows how the product is enjoyed by two fashionably dressed women in a kitchen, who move elegantly about the heated room; a man with snow on his coat entering a house, and a young girl playing in a light, spacious bathroom. Other images show a big bakery, a hotel kitchen, and an ironing workshop. They either promote the idea of modern housing or frame the places as extensions of the factory and a continuation of the production process. The flow of energy relates all (modern) environments. Other productions by Transfilma include the feature film *DE MAARSCHALKSTAF* (*The Marshal's Baton*, 1929, Luc Willink), commissioned by the Centrale Bond van Nederlandsche Verbruikerscoöperaties (Central Union of Dutch Consumer Cooperations), which promotes a socialist production model disguised as a love story and, despite its fictional character, exhibits a common agenda with certain industrial films.

Besides films for private firms, we might also consider documentaries about the city in general, and which promoted the urban economy as a whole. In 1926, for example, businessmen collaborated and commissioned *FILM OVER DE ROTTERDAMSCH E HAVEN EN PLAATSELIJKE INDUSTRIE EN HANDEL* (1927, Th. Güsten), produced by Germania-Film. As it only summed up a number of firms, it was generally considered a failure, except for its cinematography,²² which was the work of Andor von Bary. After that he and Transfilma were asked to make eight short films for companies in the harbor. Additionally, the municipality commissioned a feature-length documentary on Rotterdam *DE STAD DIE NOOIT RUST* (*The City that Never Rests*, 1928, Andor von Bary).²³ The film starts with the historical growth of Rotterdam, using maps and animation, followed by an overview of the city and the harbor. The film is a whirlpool of movement, with rushing traffic, including trains, cars, trams, trucks, airplanes, and ships, while the camera itself is mounted on vehicles. The harbor gets special attention and is shown as a highly dynamic city in itself with "moving architecture" – vessels that are state of the art in terms of industrial design and engineering, and barges that turn the harbor into a *Waterstad*. Porters carry heavy loads, while cranes make a veritable choreography out of unloading all kinds of cargo. Besides overviews, including shots taken from an airplane, von Bary also had an eye for detail: a pedlar takes orders on a victualling boat, a man washes his hair over the railing of his fast-moving ship.

Figure 2 At the harbour

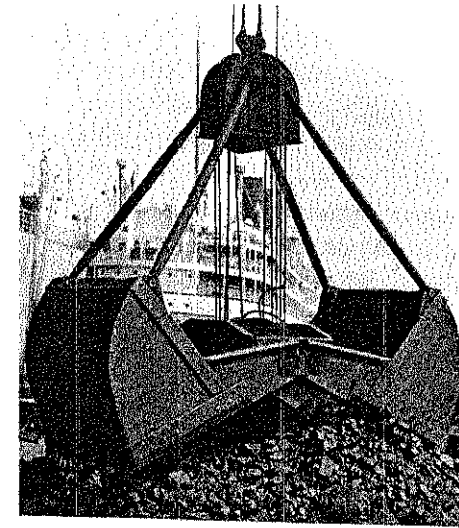


Photo by Andor von Bary, 1930

Nico Brederoo,²⁴ writing on the influence of the *Filmliga*, remarked that the film is less experimental than von Bary's *HOOGSTRAAT*. Nevertheless, it was shown by the *Filmliga Rotterdam*, though under a different name (*VAN VISSCHERSDORP TOT WERELSTAD*²⁵). It is unclear which version Brederoo referred to, since the film was reedited and shortened several times due to ongoing changes in the harbour.²⁶ In Germany, it was even cut into three different films, with titles like *WELTHAFEN* (*World Harbor*), *ROTTERDAM*, and *KANÄLE UND GRACHTEN* (*Canals and Waterways*).²⁷ Moreover, Albrecht Viktor Blum subsequently "recycled" the material into five short educational films, which also included images shot in Rotterdam for his feature film *JENSEITS DER STRASSE* (1929). Thomas Tode²⁸ classifies the recycled work as "a rather conventional cultural film series," while Bert Hogenkamp²⁹ views the original film as a progressive step in the Dutch documentary tradition. Instead of categorizing this and other films as experimental, educational, or documentary, it makes more sense to frame the circumstances and reasons of this film, hence Elsaesser's three A's.

Industrial exhibition

In 1928, when the Olympic Games were held in Amsterdam, Rotterdam sought to profit from it by organizing the *Nenijto* international trade and industrial exhibition (*Nederlandsche Nijverheids Tentoonstelling*). *Nenijto*, with exhibitors from the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Austria, was a heterogeneous combination of product information and entertainment. Its actual purpose was to promote the city and its industry. The event attracted almost 1.5 million visitors in four months.³⁰ During this period *Nenijto* became part of big city life, at the expense of other entertainment in the city, especially the cinemas.³¹

According to Marlite Halbertsma,³² *Nenijto* was the beginning of a city marketing strategy that highlighted modern architecture and the harbor. The exhibition itself was a showcase of contemporary architecture, with pavilions in the modernist style, designed by the young architect C.B. van der Tak. The entrance of *Nenijto* consisted of a large semi-circular building flanked by two monumental towers. This provided access to an avenue with more than twenty kiosks, each six meters tall, in Cubist style, and four large halls made of iron with wooden panels and white plaster. They offered space to all kinds of firms, many of which were related to the harbor. This strategy was most noticeable in the Rotterdam Pavilion by the architect Adrianus van der Steur, which presented a huge scale model of Rotterdam and its harbors, with the Maas River as a walkway.

Halbertsma³³ argues that *Nenijto* made use of tactics from theater and advertising. It even encompassed one of the biggest amusement parks in Europe,³⁴ while across the exhibition a small steam train ran over a 2.5-kilometer railway track. The Oranjeboom brewery set up the Ober-Bayern beer hall, with drinking, singing, and games, next to the attraction of an African village where one could observe the daily life of a hundred Senegalese people. Andor von Barsy wittily referred to both, though implicitly, in his film *ORANJEBOOM, HET BIERBROUWERIJBEDRIJF* (*The Oranjeboom Beer Brewery, 1927*) by showing a Bavarian, an African, a Dutchman, and a Chinese man³⁵ uniting the world at the end by drinking beer together. A variety of media were introduced at the exhibition: design, architecture, performance, print media, photography, film, and sound. This reflects Thomas Elsaesser's notion of the *Medienverbund*, that is, strategies in which different media are used to promote a social, political, or economic agenda.³⁶

Several activities were organized during *Nenijto*. John Logie Baird presented his invention of television,³⁷ and Philips installed loudspeakers all over the exhibition, which surprised journalists with violin music and other sounds.³⁸ The

press was highly involved in the exhibition. *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* published a daily *Nenijto* paper, while *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* published a weekly *Nenijto* edition. In addition, the event was covered by newsreels, in particular those by Polygoon. *Nenijto* also concluded an agreement with the distribution company Haghe-film to arrange ongoing film screenings.³⁹ Some of von Barsy's films were made for this reason, like those commissioned by "harbor baron" Daniël van Beuningen,⁴⁰ the main financial backer of *Nenijto*, as well as the film *ORANJEBOOM*.⁴¹ In view of these and other films, the municipality realized that the city as a whole needed a film too; *DE STAD DIE NOOIT RUST* was commissioned just before the beginning of *Nenijto*, with the requirement that it be ready within only two and a half months, so that it could be shown during the event.⁴²

A promotional booklet designed by Piet Zwart was published for the exhibition under the title "Visiting Rotterdam." It is likely that this booklet and Andor von Barsy's film went together. This idea seems to be confirmed by looking at the world exhibition in Antwerp in 1930, for which von Barsy was commissioned to make both the film *ROTTERDAM* (1930) and a promotional booklet. Its cover was designed by Hendrik Wijdeveld, the architect of the Dutch pavilion. According to Halbertsma, the book was created "in a newly objective language of forms which underscored the modern character of Rotterdam."⁴³ The most appropriate description of von Barsy's films would in fact be that of "functional cinematography," analogous to functionalism in architecture. This is also true of his other films, such as *TUSSCHEN AANKOMST EN VERTREK* (*Between Arrival and Departure, 1938*), that present similar perspectives, possibly in connection to the World's Fairs such as the one in Paris in 1937 and the one in New York in 1939.

Institutions and networks

The cross-disciplinary development of cinema and architecture has been largely directed by three structuring powers: industry and trade, the municipality, and the press. In concordance with the network theory of Ulf Hannerz,⁴⁴ these powers might be embodied in particular organizations, which, moreover, operate in different capacities, as institutions, associations, and individuals. Networks are formed across institutional borders in environments where formal and informal activities take place simultaneously. New organizations can thus emerge.

The first power, industry and trade, played a pivotal role by commissioning films and buildings and by shaping organizations through membership and support. Of special importance were the shipping companies Steenkolen Han-

delsvereniging and Holland-Amerika Lijn, the financial firm of Mees & Zonen, and most importantly, the coffee, tea, and tobacco factory of Van Nelle, directed by Kees van der Leeuw. He and his industrial designer, Willem Gispen, actively supported the *Filmliga*, while the factory's architect Jan Brinkman was a member of the board in Rotterdam.⁴⁵ Van Nelle was already using film for publicity purposes at an early stage, for example, there is the film *DE THEE, VAN PLANTAGE TOT HET PAKJE* (*Tea: From the Plantation to the Package*, 1920) by Willy Mullens, who also filmed the construction of the factory: *BOUW VAN DE VAN NELLE FABRIEK* (*Construction of the Van Nelle Factory*, 1930). Later the factory commissioned Polygoon to make the diptych *ACHTER GLAS* (*Behind Glass*, 1931), a film which celebrated both coffee and tea production as well as the new factory's operation. A more experimental film was made for the *Filmliga*, *DE GEBOUWEN VAN DE ERVEN WED. J. VAN NELLE* (*The Buildings of De Erven Wed. J. Van Nelle*, 1931, Jan Teunissen⁴⁶), showing the factory from different perspectives, shot with a mobile camera, so that it seemed to defy gravity. Van der Leeuw also supported the architectural organization *Opbouw*, while its head of publicity, Jacob Jongert, was active in the *Volkuniversiteit*, which was supported by Van der Leeuw, and organized presentations on architecture, painting, film, theatre, and more.

The second structuring power was the municipality. The Department of Public Works (*Dienst Gemeentewerken*), directed by Willem Witteveen, constructed many public buildings, like those by city architect Adrianus van der Steur.⁴⁷ The Municipal Information Service commissioned films to promote the city and its harbor. The municipality also encompassed the Housing Department, for which J.J.P. Oud worked, who at the same time was active in the *Filmliga*, *Opbouw*, and the *Volkuniversiteit*. In comparison, director A.M. van der Wel of the municipal *Schoolbioscoop*, collaborated with different organizations, such as the production company Polygoon, which resulted in *DE RIJN VAN LOBITH TOT AAN ZEE* (*The Rhine from Lobith to the Sea*, 1922), for example, and, among others, the Municipal Traffic Department, which is reflected by the film *VEILIG VERKEER* (*Safe Traffic*, 1930). Furthermore, Van der Wel was a member of the Association for Educational and Development Films, with *Filmliga* programmer Mannus Franken as its chairman.

The third power was the press, such as the weekly *Groot Rotterdam*,⁴⁸ the newspapers *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* and *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, as well as the publishers Brusse and Nijgh & Van Ditmar, which promoted new forms of design and publicity. *Groot Rotterdam* also commissioned a feature-length documentary, *GROOT ROTTERDAM* (1930, Co van der Wal), about journalists working in the city. The film makes it clear, through a double self-reflective move, that events become important when the media is present.

The newspapers were of general importance, for city reports, for their support of events like *Nenijto*, and for architecture and film criticism. *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* even had its own architecture editor, Han van Loghem, while it had also its own film section. The latter was headed by Coen Graadt van Roggen, who edited a series of ten monographs on film, published by Brusse between 1931 and 1933. Among the journalists contributing to the film section were the foreign correspondent and filmmaker Simon Koster and editor Johan Huijts, who was the chairman of the *Filmliga Rotterdam*. This commitment to film is articulated by a short ironic fiction film, *REDACTEUREN ZIEN U AAN* (*Editors Watch You*, 1933, anonymous), about *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* editors. In this "practical joke" in avant-garde style, an editor (Victor van Vriesland) goes crazy: the atmosphere in the office is too poor, the pressure too great, the pay too low. He tries to commit suicide, but does not succeed. In 1935, *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* opened its own cinema, Cineac, which showed newsreels, documentaries, and cartoons and linked the newspaper directly to the film industry.⁴⁹

Economically and politically, the powers of industry and trade, the municipality, and the press exercised a great deal of influence on organizations and studios involved with film and architecture. A further structuring power can be seen in the socialist movement, including organizations such as Links Richten and IVAO/Ons Huis, but in Rotterdam, it was partly institutionalized by its role in the municipality. Notwithstanding the importance of the three main powers, we can see other forces, of individual and social nature at work as well. We can, for example, note the films that were initiated by filmmakers themselves, like Ivens' *THE BRIDGE* and von Bary's *HOOGSTRAAT*, which at the same time offer possibilities for drawing extensive social networks. In the case of Ivens, we could, first of all, look at the role played by women (such as his wife Germaine Krull). Meanwhile, we can observe the Hungarian connections in the case of von Bary. Professional ties are also important here, which is illustrated by von Bary's industrial film *ORANJEBOOM* (1927), of which parts were used for the avant-garde film and stage play *NUL UUR NUL* (1927, Simon Koster), being an instance of the "functional" meeting the "experimental." Similar arguments could be made for others, in particular, Kees van der Leeuw, not just as a representative of Van Nelle, but as an influential individual.

Whereas the main powers largely directed the cross-disciplinary development of cinema and architecture, a number of individuals certainly offered, in their turn, new (organizational) perspectives. They were supported in these efforts by international organizations and networks such as *C.I.C.I.* (cinema) and *C.I.A.M.* (architecture), whose members also visited Rotterdam.⁵⁰

The intention of this article has been to trace some of the links found between film and architecture. Starting from Thomas Elsaesser's three A factors, I have

come to three C factors, *content*, *conditions*, and *connections*. The creation of industrial film has shown itself to be framed by social-order networks, but also by a cultural and aesthetic order. There are also clusters within the network that, in turn, create networks within the network.⁵¹ The foremost factor here has been how the network relates to its environment, in this case Rotterdam, whose films and buildings can be seen as its "fixation points." This network has determined both the infrastructure through which the buildings and the films are produced, and the frame of reference for what they show. As my case study has demonstrated, the emergence of an image of the city can be described in terms of such communication processes and sociocultural forces that constitute a complex of similarities and differences, of common goals and contrasting movements.

Notes

1. J.J.P. Oud was the founding chairman of *Filmliga Rotterdam*. As such, he also signed its manifesto together with journalist J. Huijts and architect J. Brinkman, etc. The chairman and secretary in Utrecht were S. van Ravesteyn and G. Rietveld, in The Hague architect C. van Eesteren and designer V. Huszár. See T. Gunning, C. Linssen, H. Schoots (eds.), *Het Gaat Om De Film! Een Nieuwe Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche Filmliga, 1927-1933* (Amsterdam: Bas Lubberhuizen / Filmmuseum, 1999), pp. 183-185.
2. Such as for architect H. Wegerif who designed the sets for 19 feature films. Cf. Kathinka Dittrich, *Achter het doek, Duitse Emigranten in de Nederlandse Speelfilm in de Jaren Dertig* (Houten: Het Wereldvenster, 1987).
3. T. Gunning, C. Linssen, H. Schoots, pp. 256-257.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
5. Elizabeth Lebas, "The Clinic, the Street and the Garden Municipal Film-making in Britain Between the Wars," in M. Kostantarakos (ed.), *Spaces in European Cinema* (Exeter: Intellect, 2000), pp. 138-51.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
7. Cf. Thomas Elsaesser, "Die Stadt von Morgen; Filme zum Bauen und Wohnen," in Klaus Kreimeier et al. (eds.), *Geschichte des dokumentarischen Films in Deutschland 1919-1933* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2005), p. 400.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
9. Roman Koot, in Marlite Halbertsma and Patricia van Ulzen (eds.), *Interbellum Rotterdam, kunst en cultuur 1918-1940* (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001).
10. A. Heijkoop, A. De Zeeuw, resp.
11. Bert Hogenkamp, "De Schoolbioscoop," *Skrien 140* (February/March, 1985), pp. 42-45.
12. Cf. Marcel Westhoff, *Levensgangen, biografische data over 30 cineasten* (SFW-werkuitgave, no. 9, Amsterdam: St. Film en Wetenschap, 1995), p. 78.
13. Lebas, *op. cit.*

14. Cf. also W. van Gelderen, "Scholenbouw. School voor Vrouwenarbeid," *De 8 & Opbouw* 6, 9 (1935), pp. 95-97.
15. Bergpolderflat (1932-1934, Van Tijen, Brinkman, Van den Vlugt); Kralingse Plaslaan (1937-1938, Van Tijen, Maaskant).
16. Other examples include NUL UUR NUL (1927, S. Koster), VERKEER (1929, Polygoon), GROEI (1930, J. de Haas), VAN NELLE (1930, J. Teunissen), DE STEEG (1932, J. Koelinga), ROTTERDAM (1935, M. de Haas), TUSSEHEN AANKOMST EN VERTREK (1937, A. von Barys).
17. For example, JENSEITS DER STRASSE (1929, A.V. Blum), EEN LIED VAN DEN ARBEID (1929, W. Jansen), THE MARSHAL'S BATON (1929, L. Willink), BOEFJE (1939, D. Sirk), ERGENS IN NEDERLAND (1940, L. Berger).
18. For example, MODERNE NEDERLANDSCHE ARCHITECTUUR (1930, M. Franken), the Bijenkorf commercial DREAMS (1931, Alsem), DE STEEG (1932, J. Koelinga), LENTELIED (1936, S. Koster).
19. DROOMEN (1931, H. Alsem), HERFSTMODE (1932, A. von Barys), TAFELTJE DEKJE (1933, A. von Barys).
20. Alternative title: CAISSONBOUW.
21. HET GEMEENTE ELECTRICITEITSBEDRIJF, HET GEMEENTE GASBEDRIJF ROTTERDAM, ORANJEBOOM, HYGIËNISCHE MELKSTAL DE VAAN, and MODELBEDRIJVEN DER VOLKSVOEDING (1927-1928); directed by Von Maydell, camera by von Barys, script by von Reitzenstein.
22. E.g., "Een Film van Rotterdam," *NRC*, 1927/01/12.
23. F.C. von Maydell was officially the director, but von Barys was the actual "author" of this and other Transfilma films, cf. also, e.g., "Filmkritiek, Rotterdam als Film-Epos," *Het Vaderland* (August 16, 1928); "Van Visschersdorp tot Wereldhavenstad," *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* (August 16, 1928).
24. Nico Brederoo, "De Invloed van de Filmliga," pp. 183-228; K. Dibbets and F. Van der Maden (eds.), *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche Film en Bioscoop tot 1940* (Houten: Het Wereldvenster, 1986), p. 201.
25. Cf. *Het Gaat Om De Film!*, p. 288.
26. Cf. "Een Nieuwe film over de Rotterdamsche haven," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (May 1, 1938).
27. Cf. Thomas Tode, "Dossieres Muskelspiel," Klaus Kreimeier, et al. (eds.), *Geschichte des dokumentarischen Films in Deutschland 1919-1933* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2005), p. 549.
28. Thomas Tode, "Albrecht Viktor Blum," Hans M. Bock (ed.), *Cinegraph Lexikon*, Lg. 29 (Munich: Text + Kritik, 1997), p. B8.
29. Bert Hogenkamp, *De Nederlandsche documentaire film, 1920-1940* (Amsterdam: St. Film en Wetenschap / Van Gennep, 1988), p. 21.
30. Marlite Halbertsma and Patricia van Ulzen (eds.), *Interbellum Rotterdam, kunst en cultuur 1918-1940* (Rotterdam: NAI, 2001), p. 209.
31. *Interbellum Rotterdam*, p. 209. Cinema revenues that year were 90,000 guilders less than the year before.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
34. Cf. Peter de Winter, *Evenementen in Rotterdam, Ahoy', E55, Floriade, C70* (Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010, 1988), p. 4.
35. Rotterdam at that time had a significant Chinese community.

36. Cf. Elsaesser in Kreimeier, loc.cit., p. 391.
37. Jan Wieten, "Televisie is omroep," *Informatie & Informatiebeleid*, I&I, 3 (1994), <http://www.cram.nl/ieni>, last accessed June, 2006.
38. *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (June 1928) (week after opening), front page of Nenijs-to special edition, GAR XX C48.
39. Ibid.
40. Cf. "Bedrijfsfilm D'Oranjeboom," *De Maasbode* (January 14, 1928).
41. Cf. "De Steenkolen Handelsvereniging," *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (March 2, 1927); *De Maasbode* (January 14, 1928).
42. Cf. "Van Visschersdorp tot Wereldhavenstad," *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* (August 16, 1928).
43. *Interbellum Rotterdam*, p. 215.
44. Ulf Hannerz, *Exploring the City: Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).
45. Johan Huijts, "Filmiga Rotterdam (1927-1933)," in *Rotterdams Jaarboekje 1975* (Rotterdam: W.L. & J. Brusse, 1975), p. 266.
46. Cf. Bert Hogenkamp, *De Nederlandsche documentaire film, 1920-1940* (Amsterdam: St. Film en Wetenschap/Van Gennep, 1988), p. 146.
47. *Interbellum Rotterdam*, p. 233.
48. Ibid., p. 23.
49. Cf. Henk Berg, *Over Stalles en Parket, Rotterdam en het Witte Doek, een populair-historisch overzicht van de Rotterdamsche en Schiedamsche bioscopen (1896-1996)* (Rotterdam: Ad. Donker, 1996); Frans Blok, *Rotterdamse Bioscopen voor 1940*, scriptie architectuurgeschiedenis TH-Delft, afd. Bouwkunde, 1985 (unpublished - library Gemeentearchief Rotterdam no. XVI B41).
50. Bert Hogenkamp, "De Russen komen! Poedowkin, Eisenstein en Wertow in Nederland," *Skrien*, 144 (November/December 1985), pp. 46-49. - *Interbellum Rotterdam*, ibid.
51. Hannerz, p. 201.