

7 IMAG(IN)ING THE CITY: SIMONIDES TO THE SIMS

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In her wonderful book *The Art of Memory* (1966), Frances Yates charts the rise and fall of the memory palace, the classical era's architecture of information and the means to its retention and retrieval. Yates' book charts a relationship between certain mental processes – in this case, remembering – and spatial configurations that at once enjoy the flexibility of individual configuration and the taken-for-grantedness of a well-practised spatialised routine. The success of a memory palace turned as much on visual ornament, with interior décor, sculpture and painting as holders of data, as on the configuration of (imaginary) three-dimensional space, with related ideas clustered in particular rooms, as on the movement through space, enabling the user to depart from the linearity of memorised word sequences and to shift quickly from concept to detail or from one unrelated idea room to another [xxx pls revisit this sentence with a view to breaking it up a little]. Particularly with regard to these latter affordances, this virtual architecture for memory resonates with 'As We May Think', Vannevar Bush's 1945 description of Memex [xxx ?] and the notion of hypertext that followed in its wake.

More concept or visual metaphor than medium in the familiar sense, the memory palace nevertheless provided both a technology (even if subjective and non-material) for memory storage, and a social protocol for users' organisation, maintenance and retrieval of those memories. Turning on space (which, while most often limited to a single architectural structure, could be expanded to a city for more ambitious tasks), movement, information and the organisation of perception, the memory palace stands as a constellation of elements and practices not so different from those that concern the contemporary media scene. Along with many other 'old' media, it offers a position from which we can reflect on more recent turns in media technologies and their social protocols, allowing a broader range of trends and implications to stand out in relief. This is the position taken up by this chapter. I would like briefly to consider a series of representational trends in the moving image depiction of the city, of urban space and event. This endeavour should yield insight not just into *what* is stored in the various image systems under consideration, but into *how* that information is structured. It should also demonstrate *how*, just as with the memory palace, cultural trends in urban representation can lead to insights into the broader encounters between historical subjects and their self-fashioned environment, whether constructed as memory, imagination or lived experience. The stylistic affinities of historically coherent groupings of city films (and other time-based media) might allow us to make some claims regarding the framing of the medium, and as with the memory palace, yield some insights into the medium as both metaphor and tool.

In particular, I would like to consider three moments in the relationship between the city and the moving image. Firstly, I would like to look at non-fiction city films and filmed panoramas through the first decade of the twentieth century, moving images that served as the culmination of nineteenth-century representational practices. Secondly, I will consider the so-called city symphonies of the 1920s and 1930s, films that embraced the aesthetic of the 'camera eye' and sought to depict the city in a self-referential manner as an experiential kaleidoscope. And finally, I will discuss time-based city images from the end of the twentieth century and the start of the twenty-first, as manifest in computer-based simulations of urban space and event. Although I will argue for distinct conventions or 'regimes' of representation throughout, I do so fully aware of the coexistence of multiple representational traditions within such a relatively short time period; by underscoring what I see as dominant trends, I do not in any way want to deny the rich complexity that characterises our representational environment [xxx Y: ok with all first-person stuff here? Because of where the book came from I have left most first person stuff throughout but this is probably the biggest sustained use so far].

Memory Palaces

What I have spoken of as being done in a house, can equally well be done in connexion with public buildings, a long journey, the ramparts of city, or even pictures. Or we may even imagine such places to ourselves. We require, therefore, places, real or imaginary, and images or symbols, which we must, of course, invent for ourselves. By images I mean the words by which we distinguish the things which we have to learn by heart; in fact, as Cicero says, we use 'places like wax tablets and symbols in lieu of letters'. (Quintilian 1969: 223)

The memory palace has a long and rich history, rooted in the story of the poet, Simonides, whose memory of the spatial position of guests at an ill-fated party enabled him to name those buried in the subsequently collapsed building. The idea of visually associating both physical details and sequence with a remembered or imagined architectural space found a place in the art of rhetoric, with Cicero in *De Oratore* – among others – drawing upon the classic treatise on the topic, *Ad Herennium*. Still well-trodden by the likes of Aquinas and Augustine, the memory palace fell out of favour by the sixteenth century, effectively replaced by the printed word.

My point is not to offer an exegesis on the memory palace – for that, see Yates – but rather to recover a figure or system that has been marginalised in media-historical discussion, and see how it might resonate with the moving image media. Beyond its utility for parlour tricks and long orations, the memory palace offers three aspects that I would like to position and draw upon.

- (i) It seems to have functioned for the ancients as well as for contemporary writers as a metaphor for memory, a way of giving form to and spatialising a set of processes that are by nature ephemeral. Like any metaphor, this one selectively articulates aspects of the concept it references, shaping our understanding and access in the process.
- (ii) The memory palace is a tool for remembering, a storage system of near infinite capac-

ity and detail. Like any tool, it does some things better than others, holding certain kinds of knowledge and shaping access in particular kinds of ways. In this sense, it is bound by the media that it references – architecture, sculpture and painting. It cannot, by contrast, do things that other media – the printed word, for example – do well, such as accessing information through indexing.

- (iii) Extending from this, the memory palace offers evidence of a particular way of *seeing* or being in the world. In this case, operating with the so-called method of *loci*, of location or placement in space, it is profoundly visual in its reference. Rather than simply being a storage system, the memory palace stands as a visual and perceptual order. One senses a certain media logic evident in the interaction of its virtual technology and strictly defined social protocols, in the process opening the way for certain affordances and relations to the external world.

This chapter considers the city film and other time-based city representations as something of a contemporary memory palace. Far more than a (mere) repository of urban images and thus an unwritten history of the urban encounter, we also have a shifting set of metaphors, visual organising instruments, as well as evidence of a perceptual order based on the logics of spatial articulation. The issue is not so much the documentation of *what* visual data the films hold (although that is certainly both considerable and valuable), but rather evidence of *how* the films' makers and viewers related to the larger world. What might we find if we step back and view the distinctive patterns of moving image representation and use? If we take 'city films' as a coherent body of moving image endeavours charged with representing historically and geographically specific spaces, events and processes, can we gain insight into the various representational turns – and possibly even epistemic contours – of our own recent history? Following in the footsteps of others such as Stephan Kern, Donald Lowe, Jonathan Crary and Wolfgang Schivelbusch, I think the answer is yes, with, of course, the rather large proviso that the period in question – the nineteenth to early twenty-first centuries – includes competing representation systems and modes of deployment. But even here, there is some evidence to suggest that parallels exist in the (written) descriptive work of such diverse representational domains as physics and sociology.

Mapping the City: Spatial and Temporal Continuities

'Panorama' and 'panoramic views' by title constitute the single largest entry among films copyrighted in the United States between 1896 and 1912, with the preponderance of titles referring to films registered before 1906. These films offer boat-mounted views of waterfronts; carriage-drawn shots of passing storefronts, pedestrians and traffic; street-level tilting shots of skyscrapers, emulating a tourist's gaze; and lateral documentation of the city skyline from the tops of those same skyscrapers, as the camera pivots from a single, fixed point, covering up to 360 degrees. For some, these films attest to the 'naïve' fascination with movement of any kind that allegedly graced the film medium's first years. For others, they stand as evidence of the early entrepreneurial organisation of production, with itinerant cameramen trading in views and catering to audiences in search of sensation and an expanded view of the world. And for still others, they suggest continuities

with precedent still photographic practice, replicating the vantage points and even catalogue descriptions of the postcards and views so popular at the end of the nineteenth century. Taking this last position a step further, it can be argued that these films can be seen as the fulfilment of a project mapped out in earlier, mass-deployed, non-moving image systems such as the panorama and the stereoscope. Rather than the naïve first steps of a new medium, these films represent the culmination of a much longer representational tradition, and a translation into coherent slices of time and space of that which could only previously be suggested through static compositional conceits.

Although painted panoramas almost always portrayed horizontal expanses, as just suggested, panoramic films explored space in many different ways – horizontally, vertically and by tracking shots that penetrated the depths of Albertian-perspective. Moreover, they charted the texture of movement itself, in the process offering new pleasures and presences not available to the painted or photographed static panorama. Filmed panoramas – horizontal or vertical or forward tracking – usually maintained time and space relations in a rigorously continuous manner. Where fragmentation exists (it seems to occur more frequently in lateral tracks), it seems additive rather than analytic, as if the camera was turned on and off when passing points of interest entered into the frame. Nevertheless, it suggested a rather important conceptual difference between the continuities of penetration and horizontal and vertical camera swivels, where the issue of fixity and continuity of the viewing position was central.

The use of near-seamless expanses of time and space in forward tracking shots, tilts and lateral panoramas seems to speak to the spirit, although not the letter, of the traditional panorama. The emphasis on the act of seeing, on the unfolding of space in a manner that encourages the viewer to feel really ‘on the spot’ links these films with [xxx first name] Barker’s initial appeal in his 1787 patent for a 360-degree painting, originally entitled ‘la nature à coup d’oeil’ or ‘nature at a glance’ (see Barker 1787 [xxx when put online?]). Despite the name, however, the circular format by definition precluded any all-encompassing glance, requiring instead a series of glances and a mobilised spectator. Perhaps for this reason, the term apparently failed to catch the public’s imagination. By 1791 Barker’s unfinished, large, semi-circular view of London (this time indeed visible at a glance) opened with the new name ‘panorama’.

Rather than simply presenting a wide expanse as had sixteenth- and seventeenth-century city portraitists, Barker’s invention stressed the construction of a particular way of seeing. Said Barker, ‘the idea is entirely new, and the effect, produced by fair perspective, a proper point of view, and unlimiting the bounds of the Art of Painting’ (1787: n. p. [xxx Y ok?]). Like some of today’s amusements in London’s Trocadero or Los Angeles’ Disneyland, or indeed in George Hale’s chain of cinemas in the first decade of the twentieth century (Hale’s Tours of the World), Barker conceived of elaborate strategies to lure the viewer into seeing in a particular way. As Barker put it, the goal was to make the viewer ‘feel as if really on the spot’ (ibid.).

The expiration of Barker’s patent in 1801 opened the way for a host of other entrepreneurs to explore the ‘panopticon of nature’. Although far removed from the original ‘nature at a glance’, the continued deployment of the term ‘panorama’ retained an insistence on the act of seeing linking it to the *quality* and not the *object* of what is seen. Our contemporary usage has tended to dull this connection with the act of seeing, instead shifting attention to the graphic parameters of representation, as the latest panoramic

format snapshots attest. But from a historical perspective, the panorama has an equivalent claim to the act of seeing as that celebrated with Jeremy Bentham's panopticon.¹ One mark of its association with the perceptual act rather than the parameters of representation may be seen in the quick adaptation of the term by other (non-visual) media. Within a decade of Barker's introduction of the term panorama, it was being used in book titles to refer to comprehensive coverage – for example, *The Political Panorama* (1801), *The Panorama of Youth* (1806) and *Literary Panorama* (1806).²

The notion of the panorama as a mode of vision rather than a sight seen can be found in a number of different technological manifestations that immediately preceded and even coincided with the moving picture. Offering a magic-lantern version of Raoul Grimoin-Sanson's Cineorama, Charles A. Close projected images over a 360-degree surface with his Electronic Cyclorama at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. At roughly the same time, Thomas Barber's Electrorama cashed in on the mania for things electric and showed images some forty feet high and 400 feet in circumference; and by 1901, the Lumière brothers were busy with their circular projection system for still images, the Photorama. Film was quick to embrace the panorama. Pathé's 1900 catalogue, covering the period 1896–1900, includes 'vues panoramiques' as one of the nine production categories. Within a year, Pathé's catalogue fine-tuned its categories, maintaining nine of them but distinguishing between 'scènes panoramiques et de plein air' and 'vues panoramiques circulaires', described as utilising optics especially developed to capture the grandeur of the 1900 Exposition Universelle.³

One might wonder why films constituted largely by forward tracking shots were included within the same conceptual realm as traditional panoramas, since one of the fundamental characteristics of the painted panorama (360-degree or moving) regards the image's fixed distance from the spectator. The forward track, moving towards the vanishing point, would seem to shift the *extensive* relations mapped out by the traditional panorama to a set of *intensive* relations – an ever-closer inspection of spaces first seen at a distance. I suggest that such films were consistent with Barker's original use of the term, and that, moreover, this underscores the notion of the continuity of space that underlies the filmed panorama's deployment.

But perhaps more to the point, the films also seem to have served as explorations of the space mapped out by another late nineteenth-century rage – the stereoscope. The illusory third dimension evoked in the stereoscope and responsible for its status as one of the most important elements of pre-cinematic mass visual culture, is entered and probed by these films. Three-dimensional illusionism is supplanted by the illusion of motion, and thus the fourth dimension as a fluid process of movement through space fulfilling the stereoscope's promise (or displacing its visual limits). These films occupy a cross-point between the two very different experiences of spatial continuity mapped out by the panorama and the stereograph; in so doing, they are consistent with a larger understanding of time, space and the world that had not changed much since Newton's pronouncements. The same grand ordering principles served as the point of reference for all of these technologies, so it is not surprising that their projects were fundamentally related. Correlations might even be drawn to the grand narratives so characteristic of nineteenth-century sociological representations of the city: consider the unified explanatory paradigms of Henry Sumner Maine (law); Adna Weber (location); Fustel de Coulanges (religion); and Karl Marx (production). Like the stereograph, panorama or panoramic film,

they privilege particular parameters of representation, charting the world viewed through that lens in a systematic and expansive manner. While the notion that panoramic city films resonate with the city's great structuralist thinkers goes beyond the bounds of this essay, the two domains partake equally in Barker's notion of the importance of the quality of seeing in a particular manner.

City Symphonies: Fragmentation and Evocation

Even as the film medium took form, and throughout the years when the mapping strategies just described dominated film production, change was afoot in the larger world. The scientific domain of physics, and with it the understanding of how the world worked and the inexorably linked project of how the world was represented, was in a growing state of crisis (consider the work of Mach, Heisenberg and Einstein); in sociology, grand narratives gave way to the interaction-based, multi-variable models of Georg Simmel, Max Weber and the Chicago School (Park, McKenzie and Wirth); and in painting, the tradition of realism was under siege by impressionists, cubo-futurists and expressionists, all exploring new ways of giving form to their experience [xxx to be consistent, I think we should have first names for all here, even though some will be well-known by surname].

In sharp contrast to the previous films and their concern with mapping, with tracing spatio-temporal continuities, with their intertwined notions of the city as a space and the medium as a window on the world, a new generation of moving images shattered that window and reassembled the pieces in order to give form to their notion of the city as experience and film as a medium to evoke it. Skewed perspective and violent changes in scale, simultaneous perception of different sites and objects, multiple points of view of surging masses and buildings, the imposition of rhythms and accentuation of formal elements, all served as the vocabulary that artists, photographers and filmmakers drew upon for their evocation of a new experience.

More radical than even the painterly tradition of the Cubists or Italian Futurists, the efforts of Dada *photomonteurs* such as Hanna Höch, John Heartfield, Paul Citroen and Raoul Hausmann literally fragmented the photographic surface, and with it any claims the medium might have had to a coherent epistemology, recomposing the shards into new compositions, and freely mixing scraps of time, space and perspective (Citroen's 1923 montage, *Metropolis I*, is emblematic in this regard). Powerful assumptions regarding the photographic image's indexicality (an assumption apparently taken for granted, given the medium's use for identity purposes and its status as legal evidence) were confronted, subverted and, in the process, newly constructed images foregrounded their own mediality in powerful ways unavailable to painters.

City films begin to pick up on this strategy with Paul Strand and Charles Sheeler's *Manhatta* (1921), a film constructed around radical shifts in angle and perspective, explicitly informed by the compositional conceits of the cubo-futurists, with whom Sheeler shared extensive roots. Strand and Sheeler, like artists of the painting tradition that inspired them, did not fragment and reassemble the photographic image in the manner of the *photomonteurs*. Rather, they worked across time, joining shots together in ways that enhanced the shifts in perspective and contradictions in scale between shots, jolting the viewer and mapping out a very different urban film practice than had the panoramic tradition. While *Manhatta*'s editing could hardly be called radical in the sense of exploiting

tempo and rhythm, it nevertheless offered something of a cinematic nod to photomontage, breaking with the long tradition of coherence and continuity so characteristic of non-fiction urban representation in film.

László Moholy-Nagy's *Dynamik der Gross-stadt* [xxx should this be *Großstadt*?] (*Dynamic of the Metropolis: Sketch for a Film also Typophoto* [xxx not translated as this elsewhere in the book: is this the correct, full title?]), written in 1921–22 and published in 1925 (*Bauhausbücher* 8), served as a manifesto for a more far-reaching vision of the experiential articulation of the city than *Manhatta*. Although never realised as a film, Moholy-Nagy's project envisioned a city film explicitly through the lens of photomontage – sustaining over time the temporal contradictions, compressions and juxtapositions suggested in photomontage. Moholy-Nagy packed his 'sketch' with all the elements that would reappear several years later in the city symphonies: sharply contrasting compositions (of the sort Eisenstein would later systematise into his notion of conflict-based montage), the explicit invocation of musical markings (tempo, fortissimo) and an embrace of the notion of *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Also, since the sketch was never filmed but only appeared in printed form, he also pressed the medium of print into his vision of urban experience through the use of creative typography.

But the *locus classicus* of this new way of representing the city appeared in 1927 with Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin: Die Symphonie der Großstadt* (*Berlin: The Symphony of the Big City*, 1927). With roots in the post-expressionist realist art movement, *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), and informed by the work of *photomonteurs*, Ruttmann's film, like Moholy-Nagy's sketch before it, departed from traditional notions of narrative and instead relied on the structure of a day in the city. It is constructed around the tempos and rhythms that accompany urban life; its hierarchy of characters is reworked to give equivalence to humans, machines and animals; and the logic of its cutting and composition reflects elements such as time of day, or clusters of shots grouped around repeated themes (waking up, cleaning) or common directional movements. Slow, languid and compositionally similar shots of the city awakening give way to a series of increasingly frantic episodes built around contrasting directions and volumes as the day picks up tempo. The film evokes the city as a palimpsest of rhythms, experiences and scales, in the process rigorously excluding the vistas, monuments, skylines and axial perspective characteristic of the urban postcard trade, the stereographs and films that dominated Berlin's earlier representational tradition. One of the striking things that Berlin [xxx do you mean the city or Ruttmann's film?] reveals, and that Dziga Vertov was quick to pick up on in *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929), was a sense of the acoustical. Although these, along with other city films sharing in the same basic project such as Wilfried Basse's *Market on Wittenbergplatz* [xxx orig-lang title?](1928) and Eugen Deslaw's *Electric Night* [xxx] ditto] (1930) were silent films, they evoked sound as much through visual reference to specific sources (telephones, radios, bells, steam whistles, car horns), as through an awareness of the image's potential to engender a sense of synaesthesia in its viewers. Significantly, both Ruttmann and Vertov were early experimenters with radio, with Ruttmann's sound collage, *Weekend* (1930), serving as an acoustical counterpart to *Berlin: The Symphony of the Big City*. From this perspective, the nomenclature of city symphony captures both the reference and technique of the many usually silent films clustered at the end of the 1920s and start of the 1930s that understood the city in terms ranging from musical structure to cacophony. That this historical juncture also witnessed

the introduction of sound into film and the mass acceptance of radio as a medium with its own distinct representational parameters, helps to situate this dramatic shift in the city's cinematic depiction.

The project of these non-fiction films has little to do with recording or documenting urban space, or with creating a sense of being 'on the spot', at least with regard to physical location. Instead, they offer an instrument for evoking the city as dynamic, and, like the modernist project generally, they offer insights into a perceptual order that embraced the materiality of the medium both as means and end. Experience of the city as the ebb and flow of competing forces and perspectives, as complexity and contradiction (to echo Robert Venturi's notion of the modern), emerges as its defining character. The visual landmarks of famous buildings or well-established vistas that distinguished Paris from Berlin from New York for an earlier generation of image-makers are here abandoned, and with them even the stability of orientation and representation provided by simple panoramas, tracking shots and tilts. The camera eye, seeing sights, assembling rhythms and making myriad juxtapositions, constructs a very different subjectivity from that bound up in the stable, single viewing position of the panoramic tradition. Indeed, it is an impossible viewing position, or at least a viewing position that is impossible to humanly embody or literalise as if being 'on the spot'. It evokes the richness of experience and the dynamic of the metropolis in ways that fundamentally redefine the notion of the city to be documented, in the process calling upon distinctively modernist deployments of the medium.

Simulation: The Shape of Things to Come

The digital turn has enabled a litany of well-rehearsed possibilities in the domain of representation, though it continues to surprise with its networked affordances and its blurring of the line between production and consumption. Terms such as 'virtual' and 'interactive' have acquired fresh meanings, and the logics of remediation have resulted in a tension between, on the one hand, a repurposing of the new in the framework of the old, and on the other, the exploration of new and as yet unformulated expressive capacities. If one accepts the repurposing argument, one can certainly find ample evidence of digital technologies being used to support all of the visions discussed in this chapter. The memory palace has become relevant once again as we seek ways to 'spatially' organise data and as we rely on social protocols to develop highly personalised virtual storage systems and data interfaces. The panorama, and with it the notion of a coherent block of time and space accessible from a unified subject position, can be found anywhere from online 360-degree views of existing cities that the viewer can control, to game spaces such as *Grand Theft Auto* where one's character inhabits a seamless imaginary urban environment. The notion of a reflexive and evocative experience representing multiple and conflicting points of view (the city symphony approach) can be found in the rhizomatic structures of the Internet, where hundreds of thousands of competing visual perspectives of a given city link together through social tagging and compete for our attention in domains such as Flickr or Yellow Arrow.

These deployments might be read as retro-fitting new technologies to serve the purposes once provided for by the old, but the fit by no means offers a one-to-one correspondence with earlier textual instantiations. Significant differences in agency, for example, reposition apparent similarities in concept and graphic form; and the weight of history

bears heavily upon the accrued meanings of a particular application or expressive tradition. While the panoramic webcam or tracking shot-structured racing game might seem the formal equivalents of a one hundred year old cinematic practice, such fundamental contextual repositioning renders these examples perhaps referential, but ultimately quite distinct in meaning and implication. The alternative to the repurposing scenario, the exploration of new and as yet unformulated expressive capacities, offers a more promising approach. It seems capable of drawing upon and activating previous representational traditions, rather than simply claiming radical novelty. I would like briefly to exemplify two very different directions that these (moving image) technologies can take, both regarding the city and its (possible) memory. Berlin-based Art + Com's [xxx pls explain: a collective?] *The Invisible Shape of Things Past* offers an exploration of the representation of time in virtual space and the navigation through time in virtual reality (see Art + Com 1995). The project enables users to transform historical film sequences (time-based information) into interactive, seemingly three-dimensional virtual objects. These objects, in turn, are positioned on flat maps representing a particular space and time (say, Berlin, 1920). One can immediately see the various films made of the city over a certain period of time as a set of spatialised objects occupying an otherwise flat map.

The transformation of cinematic images into virtual objects is based on the visual parameters of a particular film sequence (movement, perspective, focal length): the individual frames of the film are lined up along the path of the camera as it is transferred to virtual space. The angle of the individual frames in relation to the virtual camera-path depends on the perspective of the actual camera. The outer pixel rows of the frames define the skin of the film object, thus rendering a simple tracking shot into something like a shoebox with a photographic image (the opening frame) on one end. Navigating into the image, the tracking shot begins, running its course until the viewer is deposited on the other side of the 'box'. A fixed-point 360-degree panoramic film in this system would look more like a wheel of cheese. A mapping protocol is available that permits the user to stack the accumulated images produced year by year over any period of time and chart patterns of interest and intersection. Comparing, say, a map from 1920 with one from 1940 shows the persistence of Unter den Linden as a site of interest, allows users to compare and contrast both physical points of view and the impact of historical developments on the street and its buildings, and serves as a robust tool for assessing cultural trends and archival holdings. Meanwhile, a virtual information architecture is also available that permits us to step inside the image box, and to see inside the walls of filmed objects, experiencing space and representation in heretofore unimaginable ways. The implications of this latter tool for notions of point of view are intriguing.

The meta-view of a city's film history afforded by *The Invisible Shape of Things Past* both draws upon past signifying practices, indeed, literally re-calling them, and at the same time re-casts them and their significance. Like the earlier shift from coherent swaths of panoramic time and space and a fixed notion of the subject, to the symphonic evocation of the city as a fragmented and multiply embodied experience, this latest turn in representational conventions offers a new metaphoric vocabulary through which to order our memories and perceptions, and new tools through which we can variously manipulate and understand an accreted visual history and evolving present. This latest turn attests to a new way of seeing, at once unarticulated by previous deployments of the moving image and consistent with the larger shift in cultural perception, as argued by the likes of Gilles

Deleuze, Paul Virilio and Jean Baudrillard (to mention but one line of assessment).

Of course other approaches abound, each in their own way making use of the new technologies' affordances and charting out new possibilities. *SimCity 3000: World Edition* (xxx date), for example, offers historical moments in four 'real' cities as a simulation laboratory for the user to construct and manipulate conditions, playing God as the crude contours of a historical moment are replayed, this time with new variables. Thus, *SimCity Berlin* puts the viewer in the unenviable position of being a kind of Helmut Kohl: will the wall come down? Will it stay down? Will peace and prosperity reign? The ability to inhabit a city space in the subjunctive, to explore the implications of various choices and interventions, again offers a new tool through which to explore and, in a sense, to test various urban scenarios.

My point is not to outline the myriad new directions that are now emerging, but rather to point to the present as another key moment of change in representational contours and norms. Although the present situation is in part supported by new technologies, we have seen that media technologies are not determining. So, for example, the shift from the panoramic city film to the city symphony was largely based on the same silent 35mm film technology; just as saliently, as the early work of Baudrillard, Deleuze, *et al.* demonstrates, key components of the current representational change were already in play well before the public appearance of digital affordances. Instead, I have tried to point to the distinctive temporalities, spatialities and notions of experience and event that can be found in the last hundred or so years of non-fiction moving image representations of the city. Although the sites seen in New York, Paris or Berlin certainly differ, the accreted modes of seeing, of representing and fixing experience, have much in common within each of these clusters.

Representation offers a way to trace the fundamental concepts underlying and informing a specifically historical manner of being in the world. Donald Lowe's *A History of Bourgeois Perception* (1982) comes to mind, though Lowe's scope is obviously far more ambitious and his insights wider ranging. In each of the cases that I have briefly sketched, we have seen clusters of representational strategies that differ in their notions of viewing position (from unified, to multiple, to a kind of super-agency); their deployments of media (from 'being there,' to experiential evocation, to direct manipulation); their notions of time and space (coherent, fractured and relative, virtual); and even their aesthetic assumptions (from the contemplative and sublime, to the reflexive and modernist, to what for the moment might be summarised as post-structuralist, though this is a contentious stance). This approach admittedly risks missing or over-writing the specificity of individual texts, a task taken up by many other chapters in this book; but it has the advantage of encouraging us to reflect upon a body of representation in terms of its metaphoric capacities. It calls attention to the larger ordering strategies that give public memory its contours. And it offers a way to move beyond what is seen in order to consider a way of seeing or being in the world.

NOTES

- 1 Bentham's use of the term 'panopticon' has been redeployed by critics such as Michel Foucault (1979) and Jonathan Crary (1990) to define the regime of visual control characteristic of the modern era. It was developed at the same moment that Barker's panorama was introduced to London. The panorama and the panopticon shared similar architectural forms and conceptual goals, with the key difference that the former fixed nature within its controlling gaze and the latter fixed human behaviour, a key issue in assessing the continued development of media apparatus (see Foucault 1979: 317).
- 2 This is not to deny that the term panorama also referred to the object seen. In 1842, the *Illustrated London News* began to market in print form the kinds of images of nature, exotic locations and epic events that for the previous fifty years had been institutionalised in the panorama. Shortly after its start, the *Illustrated London News* published an etched, two-page version of Antoine Claudet's 'colosseum view' photograph of London (7 January 1843). But while image was marketed as a collector's item, the metaphoric dimensions of the shift from one site of seeing (the panorama) to another (the illustrated press) remain striking.
- 3 I wish to thank Frank Kessler for bringing this to my attention. The terms translate as 'panoramic and open-air scenes' and 'circular panoramic views'.

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