TIME AND PLACE DO EXIST
Strindberg and Visual Media

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A ugust Strindberg’s talents as painter and photographer have received broad recognition in recent years. Several major exhibitions held in Sweden and abroad cast new light on these other sides of the famous playwright. What deserves attention in this context is that Strindberg never kept his writing separate from his interest in visual arts but established a symbiotic relationship between the two fields with manifold ramifications. Ideas freely flow back and forth and the visual came to manifest a key aspect in his literary output. As Evert Sprinchorn noted, “No other major dramatist offers such a rich feast for the eye of the spectator. To see his plays is to walk through a gallery of memorable pictures.” 1 Strindberg’s preoccupation with visual means also frequently coincided with his fascination for cutting-edge technologies. The field of photography is perhaps the most prominent example for this overlapping of interests which resulted not only in a number of photographic experiments and snapshots but also in various literary themes and metaphors.

In 1895, a new optical technology emerged with the cinema and Strindberg was quick to incorporate the Lumière brothers’ invention into his fictional writing. Less than three years later, he captured in his autobiographical novel Legends (1898) an episode in which the first-person narrator is gazing at the twirling street life of Paris through the window of a restaurant, comparing it with watching “the liveliest cinematographic image.” 2 Strindberg returned to the medium on two more occasions. By that time, film had undergone some major transformations. Around 1904, for example, the first permanent movie theatres started to be built in Stockholm. When Strindberg sought to renew the stage through the Intimate Theatre, he would mention these “modern institutions” as a model to be emulated. 3 Two ideas in particular he found worth adopting for his own theatre concept: that all seats should be equally good and that the performances ought to be given “at a suitable hour not too close to bed-time” so that even people who needed to get up for work early the next morning would be able to attend. It is in this context that Strindberg also spoke of the cinema as a “democratic” form of entertainment.
In his *A New Blue Book* (1908), another reference may be found, as Strindberg draws a parallel between the poet’s impotence to describe the human soul and the cinema’s insufficient means to depict movement:

> Observe how in cinematography many pictures need to be taken in succession to create movement, and nonetheless does the image proceed unsteadily. In each vibration an intermediary link is missing. While a thousand instantaneous photographs were needed for a movement of the arm, what a countless multitude would not be required to depict a movement of the soul. The poet’s descriptions of humans are therefore only abbreviations, sketchy outlines, all imperfect, all half-false.⁴

Stefan Michael Schröder has pointed out that the analogy in fact builds on a misconception.⁵ It takes no more than around twenty images per second to trick the eye into seeing a smooth motion, so that when films at this stage were experienced as jerky it was not a matter of having recorded too few images. Rather, it was the result of a number of factors such as: the black pauses between the images were slightly too long; a non-transparent shutter was being used; or both camera and projector were operated manually, this creating slight variations in speed.

What the quotation nonetheless illustrates is that the medium still struggled with quite some disturbing technical defects and Strindberg never came to develop his interest further. Considering that the dramatist was known for his ambitions to always be well-informed about everything that was new, several scholars have noted this rather reserved position towards the cinema and sought to explain it through the medium’s “immaturity” during the writer’s life. Recent approaches to the history of film, however, have rejected any models that view early cinema as having been “primitive” or “not fully developed yet.” Such an understanding presupposes that the narrative cinema we know today was *meant* to surface. In other words, a teleological development from “primitive” to “proper” means of expression is suggested. Yet that cinema looks the way it does today was in no way a given when the technology first emerged. So instead of talking about the early years as a primitive stage, film scholars have started to consider this period more in terms of having had a distinct mode of representation with its own set of goals. That the cinema, particularly until about 1907, did not produce coherent narratives in the sense later movies came to employ, ought to be understood not so much as the result of the lack of skills. Rather, the actual attraction was the technology as such, that is, that the images moved; in the beginning there simply was no need for other components such as an intricate story line.⁶

Despite all the centenary celebrations held a few years ago, recent approaches to film history have also come to de-emphasize the year 1896 as the “magic hour zero” or the beginning of a new era. When the moving images came into existence, people did not really view them as this overwhelming or groundbreaking event. The cinema was simply one among the many forms of mass entertainment that turn-of-the-century audiences were able to attend. It was closely tied to the practices and
traditions of the established visual culture and it drew upon one medium in particular, the so-called magic lantern. In the 1880s and 1890s, the glass slide projections that are commonly associated with the concept of the magic lantern had advanced into an industry with a sophisticated production and distribution system. The Swedish Hasselblad Company, for example, issued a yearly catalogue that displayed—on up to 300 pages—the most recent lantern models together with a large variety of slide series that customers could select. In the 1903 catalogue, it was also stated that the lanterns should be considered as belonging to “the most popular of all optical apparatuses with perhaps the only exception being cameras due to the enormous growth of amateur photography in recent years.”

The magic lantern boom around 1900 was closely related to the proliferation of photography. The technique of affixing or fixing a photographic image to a glass dated back to the 1850s but not until the late nineteenth century did the practice become widespread. As Hasselblad indicated, this was due, at least in part, to the rising number of amateur photographers, a trend that had started in the 1880s. Photographically produced slides also opened up entirely new fields; for instance, they enabled the magic lantern to become a prominent visual aid in schools or for travel lectures. One common way to encounter lantern images at the turn-of-the-century was to watch them exhibited in public performances. These were mainly held by itinerant showmen who attracted their audiences with a wide scope of images that were supposed to be both entertaining as well as educational. A typical lantern program of the period was assembled from a diversity of genres organized as self-contained acts. Spectators were subjected to a succession of topics, both fictional and documentary. Lantern shows thus often had short stories narrated by the showman; and at the same time they could function as a visual news medium depicting the most recent developments in contemporary history.

The technical equipment had also reached a sophisticated stage. In the 1870s, a new kind of lantern under the name of “sciopticon” came on the market. Compared to older models, it had a stronger illumination capacity and improved optics which allowed enlargements up to fifty times the original size. In public performances so-called double or triple lanterns were also used making it possible to create smooth transitions between the images and furthermore produce a number of stunning visual effects which went under the name of “dissolving views.”

The broad public’s early encounters with cinematography, particularly in Sweden, often took place within the variety format of the lantern show, and moving images were exhibited as one of the acts. The showman Christian Nielson, for example, toured through Sweden in 1900 with a program that contained, in addition to a number of fictional and geographical series, “nine living images” effected by a “cinematograph.” A great number of early film pioneers had their background in the magic lantern culture. The fields were in fact so intertwined that media historian Deac Rossell proposed that the magic lantern ought to be perceived as
the environment into which cinema was born, the milieu which nursed it through its extended period of invention to about 1903, the institution which provided its early business practices, and the medium with which the cinema coexisted for about two decades, not achieving its “independence” as a separate medium . . . until well after the turn-of-the-century. 10

As a result of all this, early audiences often did not distinguish between the two forms and the “living” images were ranged as a subcategory or an extension of the magic lantern. According to this historical conception, which in Sweden can be found articulated as late as in 1910, it does not really come as a surprise that Strindberg hardly mentions the cinema. As the history of cinema has been subject to major revisions allowing a more nuanced view of the media diversity around 1900, the question should no longer be why Strindberg paid so little attention to the cinema (and thus failed to recognize the medium’s future significance) but whether the author was interested in the magic lantern instead. Stressing the historical specificity of media mentioned in Strindberg’s literature, or, in other words, placing them in the context of their time not only allows a more accurate account of media history but also enables new perspectives on well-known plays like To Damascus or A Dream Play. In the following, I thus seek to map out how the magic lantern was portrayed and incorporated in Strindberg’s writings. In fact, the second most popular optical apparatus at the turn-of-the-century indeed played a central role for the playwright. For not only did he keep on returning to it over a period of nearly two decades but it is possible to find indications that the magic lantern fed into his innovative drama style on the threshold to the theatre of the twentieth century.

Strindberg’s earliest reference to the projection device dates back to his Naturalist phase. In the novel Tschandala (1888), set in the seventeenth century, a battle of the brains is described which is resolved in a climactic lantern performance. Towards the end of the story one of the protagonists is driven into insanity and a cruel death through the technologically-produced images. 11 Shortly after finishing the piece, Strindberg started to explore the lantern’s potential for the theatre. Several letters from the period revolve on plans for a play on the French Revolution which would employ projected images instead of painted scenery. 12 The play was never realized but Strindberg did not drop the idea entirely. He returned to it almost ten years later, that is, after his so-called Inferno crisis, which marked his radical departure from the earlier literary concepts done in the name of Naturalism.

A whole range of Strindberg’s plays written around 1900 prescribe the use of projected images in more or less explicit ways. In The Crown Bride (1901), for example, the following stage directions can be found: “[The main character] Kersti has in the meantime taken the bride-crown and carried it into the shed; when she then extinguishes the fire underneath the pot, smoke climbs through the chimney, on which snakes, dragons, birds, etc. appear, in fantastic shapes and colors.” 13 A footnote is added to explain that the figures are supposed to be “projected onto the smoke with a sciopticon.” The word “sciopticon” at that stage no longer implied a specific brand, as in the original meaning, but was used in Sweden as the general
term for modern projection technologies. Paralleling the expansion of the medium’s influence during the 1890s, it no longer felt appropriate to talk of the high tech device as “magic lantern” with its connotations of the occult or the Middle Ages. The change of name followed a broader trend. In the United States, for example, people had started calling the medium “stereopticon,” whereas in Germany it was referred to under the name of “skioptikon,” just as in Sweden.14 The “sciopticon” is then also mentioned in Strindberg’s play Midsummer (1900), where it is employed in the following scene:

Flashes appear; and with every flash, sciopticon images become visible in the window to the chapel of King Karl XII:

1. A Spanish and an American.
2. A Boer and an Englishman.
5. Karl XII with hat and drawn rapier.15

While the images pass by, a stage character comments on them as being “the magic tricks of the organ grinder.” Since the short scene does not seem to have a narrative function other than to enhance the play’s uncanny atmosphere, one might suspect that the organ grinder’s little performance is mainly included for the sake of creating a daring visual effect. It nonetheless merits a closer look, because what at first resembles a random ethnographic portrait gallery in fact reveals very concrete ties to actual lantern practices of the time. Pictures 4 and 5 with the Cossack and King Karl XII can be explained as alluding to a famous episode from history when the Swedish Empire’s dream of becoming a superpower over the Baltic Sea region was crushed in the Battle of Półtava. The fateful event dates back to the early eighteenth century (1709) but was very present in public debates around 1900, thanks to rising nationalist tendencies in the Nordic country. Other visual media would aim to take advantage of the incident in quite similar terms. The wax museum Svenska Panoptikon in Stockholm, for example, exhibited the historical figures of the Swedish King and the Cossack leader Mazeppa from 1909 onwards.16

Pictures 1 to 3 would also have looked highly familiar to audiences at the turn-of-the-century. Each of them may be linked to a current conflict that had dominated the front pages of the press: the Spanish-American War (1898), the Boer War (1899–1902), and the Boxer Uprising in China (1900–01). Daily newspapers commonly did not contain any image material, and the gap was filled through itinerant lantern shows, where the raging battles were prominently featured. In the western Swedish town of Karlstad, for example, a lanternist named Oscar Wennersten offered “stirring Scenes from the War in South Africa” in his show held on March 25, 1900.17 Only a week later, another showman, A. Schelin, advertised his program in the local newspaper with the words “The Boers are coming!”18 Printed in bold letters, the heading gives an idea of the sensationalistic manner with which these conflicts often came to be presented. With such direct references to contemporaneous media events and lantern practices, Strindberg set the play in a very distinct
Stockholm audiences could recognize not only a specific location they were familiar with from their everyday lives—the church on the island Riddarholmen at the heart of city; they would also have received a great number of clues that linked Midsummer to their present time, 1900, this emphasizing the play’s modernity or up-to-date nature.

In yet another theatrical piece by Strindberg, Advent (1899), the magic lantern is awarded a role with more direct implications for the plot. While the self-righteous judge and his wife are sitting in the waiting room to hell, the wife in her desperation asks that her children be sent over so they could speak in her favor. The guard denies her the request with the following remark: “That won’t happen. Your children have forgotten you and are rejoicing because you are gone!” While this is spoken, an image is projected onto the wall of the cave showing her children at home as they gather around the Christmas tree. It remains unclear whether the inset scene depicts an actual parallel plot or whether it merely illustrates the subjective fears of the wife. It also remains unclear whether one should picture the children around the Christmas tree as a still image or as set in motion. When Strindberg wrote the play in 1899, the scene-within-a-scene arrangement was a common feature in magic lantern shows. The often beautifully-colored slides were usually projected with two lanterns or a double lantern with which the dream bubble would gradually be revealed by slowly superimposing a smaller image onto the scene with the sleeper. The motif was in fact so popular throughout the nineteenth century that it could be encountered in many shapes within popular imagery. The iconographic tradition was, for example, also depicted in many color lithographs. It was taken up in early films such as G. A. Smith’s Santa Claus (1899) and one could even find it in the theatre. A. Nicholas Vardac named a number of nineteenth-century performances that employed two narrative planes that could be either read as parallel events or as subjective visions like dreams. The vision scenes were often enacted on smaller inlet stages with child actors as doubles, though Vardac does not illuminate to what extent lantern slides were used for the purpose.

The use of projections in the theatre has been little explored, but they were used throughout the nineteenth century and, in the form of the eidophusikon, even earlier in some countries. For a long time, however, the use was fairly limited, to be encountered mainly in larger theatres in the bigger cities or in special institutions like the magic or popular theatre. This is significant since the three Strindberg pieces—The Crown Bride, Midsummer, and Advent—borrow elements from fairy-tale plays, including popular or folk art reminiscences and fantastic themes. In other words, each is related to a form in which it had become fairly accepted, by the turn-of-the-century, to work with projected images. So whereas the utilization of slides as described in the plays could not be seen as highly exceptional, Strindberg’s visions concerning the “sciopticon” were more far-reaching than this. In his manuscript archive at the Royal Library in Stockholm are several notes indicating that the dramatist had plans to create a perfect interart fusion between the theatre and magic lantern shows. There are several drafts for plays with titles such as Johan Without A Self or The Sleeping City which were intended for performances in a Sciopticon.
Dream visions were a popular motif in lantern entertainment. This slide with the title “The Holy City” is from the 1880s. Photo: Courtesy of the National Museum of Science and Technology, Stockholm.

Advertisement of the supply company Numa Peterson in 1896. In Sweden, “Skioptikon” was used as the generic term for modern projection apparatuses.

Cover page of L. J. Marcy’s The Sciopticon Manual, Philadelphia: Sherman & Co. 5th ed., 1874. Marcy was the first to develop sciopticon-style lanterns.

Theatre as he had named the project. Some existing plays are also noted as possible options for the lantern stage; Advent, for example, is listed, as well as To Damascus (1898), although it is later crossed out. When To Damascus (part 1) premièred in 1901, Strindberg was actively involved in the preparations and suggested that the painted stage setting ought to be replaced with projected images in a style similar to what he had already conceived in 1889 in connection with the play on the French Revolution. The idea, however, could not be realized since the available light sources were too poor; for the audience to have seen the projections, the stage lighting would have to have been kept so low that the actors would no longer have been visible. The technical problems were still unresolved some six years later; when A Dream Play (1901) had its world première in 1907, Strindberg once again tested the possibility of projected backdrops still without success.

Why Strindberg had insisted on projected stage settings for both To Damascus and A Dream Play had two reasons, he acknowledged. First, transparent slides seemed appropriate to express the plays’ fugitive and dreamlike atmosphere. Yet, also, as a more practical motivation, the projections elegantly accommodated the many scene changes that occurred in both plays. These are what has commonly been highlighted as a novel feature that sets the plays apart from the classical five-act drama. Terms like “station drama” or “dream play technique” have been coined to express this inherent notion—their disconnected and fragmentary style. While this formal trait coincided with an emphasis on visual components, the plays have often been described by scholars in terms of a “picture revue” or even in comparison to film. Birgitta Steene, for example, suggested that A Dream Play and Strindberg’s chamber plays could be seen as “cinematic in their basic concepts, that is, in their associative and visual structure and their shifts of time and space.”

The concept described here can, however, by no means claim to be a cinematic invention. The guidelines had already clearly been established in other forms of representation like the magic lantern show. The possibility of being able more freely to manipulate the dimensions of time and space is exactly what impelled Strindberg to consider the magic lantern in the first place. It is the very premise of the play on the French Revolution Strindberg intended to write in 1889; he sketched an outline for this play in which its basic principle was clearly revealed: “Act I: In the Bastille. A gentleman gets broken on the wheel. The Freemasons free him. He is initiated into their order. The initiation consists of a tour through world history. Hellas; Golgotha; Rome; the Middle Ages; the Gothic Period; the art of printing; Renaissance; the Thirty Years’ War. Act V: In the Bastille again as it gets stormed.”

His citations of existing plays like To Damascus and Advent make it possible to date Strindberg’s plans for a sciopticon theatre to around 1900. In one of the drafts for the project, a direct reference to the piece on the French Revolution is made in the margins, indicating that he indeed was aware of a continuity between his earliest ideas and his turn-of-the-century activities. The question that arises then is whether the role of projection technologies was perhaps not just retrospective in To Damascus or A Dream Play? Could it be that at the bottom of Strindberg’s innovative drama
style there is a magic lantern? As usual with this dramatist, the answer is ambivalent: yes and no, I would say. First, what needs to be acknowledged is that an attempt to find a common denominator between two aesthetic sets of expression are always somewhat problematic since this reduces their complexities and a risk is at hand of oversimplifying things down to a level in which suddenly everything resembles everything else. With this in mind, it is furthermore important to note that the combination of a visual and fragmentary style indeed occurred in a number of other areas during the nineteenth century. Many of the visual media employed similar modes of representation, such as, for example, the panorama, or the stereoscopic peep shows known under the name of Kaiserpanorama. The principle can further be traced in forms like the illustrated press or cartoons and even theatres engaged with something that Ben Brewster and Lea Jacobs have termed “stage pictorialism,” that is, performances characterized by a “situational and pictorialist approach.”

So to claim a special alliance between Strindberg’s plays and the magic lantern demands further proof, which I indeed find in the case of A Dream Play. The dramatic piece not only shares the broad concept of visually oriented episodes, but moreover employs techniques to join the single parts together in a fashion similar to the dissolving view practices of lantern performances. One of the scene changes that occur in the play, for example, is accomplished through “morphing” a giant church organ into the basalt pillars of Fingal’s Cave by means of “lighting.” The same transformations created with a magic lantern Strindberg had already described in detail in Tichandala, where, for example, a gigantic snake with piercing yellow eyes turns into a rat before the terrified spectator. Typical lantern practices become even more apparent at the end of A Dream Play. After the last actor has left the stage, the following is supposed to happen according to Strindberg’s instructions in the text: “Music is heard. The backcloth is illuminated by the burning castle, showing a wall of faces, questioning, sorrowing, despairing . . . As the castle burns, the bud on the roof bursts open into a giant chrysanthemum.”

Assuming that the playwright actually wanted the scenario to be realized on stage, it is difficult to imagine how it could have been achieved by means other than through projections. What is yet more important is the fact that two motifs used here—a castle starting to burn as well as a flower bud bursting into bloom—were very well-established as dissolving view images. Hasselblad offered, for example, a separate section for dissolving view slides in their catalogues; these consisted of sets, usually of two to three, but sometimes even more, images that depicted different phases in a small course of events. With double or triple lanterns the images were fused on the screen creating an effect of gradual transformation. To create the appearances of ghosts, angels, or dreams, in this way, was, as noted earlier, highly popular with audiences. Great fires belonged to the canonical dissolving view repertoire on display in itinerant lantern performances, and the Hasselblad catalogue lists a set of three slides with the title “Magic Bouquet” in which one could observe flower buds starting to blossom. As in the case in Midsummer, Strindberg was making very direct references to lantern traditions of his time and although he does not specifically mention the technical apparatus in A Dream Play, the issue of scale is brought up,
thereby confirming the connection. Being able to show objects much larger than
their original size was a key attraction of lantern performances, and as Strindberg
instructs the chrysanthemum to be “giant” he seems to envision the idea of being
able to show a “close-up” on a large screen.

Dissolving view effects owed their popularity not only to their capacity to stage an
act of metamorphosis in enlargement, but also because they could appear to speed
up a course of events in the fashion of time-lapse photography. Seeing the changes
from day into night or from winter into summer compressed into just a few instants
fascinated nineteenth-century audiences as the experience was first materialized
through visual entertainments like lantern shows or the diorama. Watching flowers
starting to bloom or houses catching on fire incorporated this sense of being able to
speed up time as well. Through combining the two effects at the end of A Dream
Play, Strindberg interestingly provides the event with a natural explanation: it is the
heat of the fire that causes the speedy unfolding of the giant chrysanthemum’s petals.
Yet whereas the acceleration of an action is given a natural cause here, the theme of
manipulating time is repeatedly played upon throughout A Dream Play. In one
scene, for example, instructions are given that the stage lighting is supposed to be
turned off in brief intervals. Agnes, the daughter of the God Indra, declares then
that the rapid changes of light and darkness are day and night, and she goes on to
explain, “A merciful providence wants to shorten your waiting, and so the days take
flight pursuing the nights!” All the while the Officer is waiting (in vain) for his
sweetheart Victoria in front of the Opera House; not only days and nights but also
the seasons pass by in this speeded up fashion.

In contrast to Midsummer, Advent, or The Crown Bride, Strindberg here no longer
seemed to bother about technical practicability; A Dream Play not so much
incorporated the apparatus but embodied the magic lantern’s aesthetic means. While
the dissolve views could manipulate the axis of time, the variety format of lantern
shows or certain popular series such as “Around the World in 50 Images,”
conventionalized a greater freedom in the handling of space. Approaching time and
space in a way Strindberg had already attempted in his play on the French
Revolution does not just borrow an apparatus but seeks to employ the medium’s
established patterns of exhibition practices. However, adopting such an approach for
the theatre meant the end of any Aristotelian ideals that proposed a unity of time,
space, and narrative; the older stage conventions were literally blown into pieces.

“Time and place do not exist” are the terms Strindberg set up in his famous preface
to A Dream Play. The dictum in the Swedish original also invokes this larger
philosophical dimension of “Time and space do not exist.” One might then state
that A Dream Play appropriates a new sense of time and space that had been
instituted in the magic lantern show. Not exclusively there, certainly, but that could
be the very point: the mode of a lantern performance was not so much unique as it
was representative for broader experiences in the late nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. It might be said to have functioned for Strindberg as some kind of catalyst
because it could epitomize spatio-temporal patterns that had surfaced in modernity
through, among other things, new means of transportation and communication as well as through new techniques to store and reproduce data.

When it comes to technical terms such as *sciopticon* that were used almost a hundred years ago, we have at best only a very vague notion about their meaning. Some media no longer exist while others have undergone considerable transformation; it is the nature of technological progress that changes occur at a rapid pace and models soon become outdated. Media, moreover, are not just devices or artifacts but involve a specific set of practices and connotations. The concepts themselves change through time and they can vary from country to country, or from language to language. Putting it differently, they possess distinct parameters that are historically, geographically, and linguistically defined. It is thus important to be precise and to place Strindberg’s references in broader discursive contexts. For time and place do indeed exist for media.

**NOTES**


6. Tom Gunning and André Gaudreault have coined the term “cinema of attractions” to denote the early phase until about 1907. In contrast to the later dominating narrative mode, the cinema of attractions ought to be understood as an “act of showing and exhibition”: “Its unique power was a matter of making images seen.” Tom Gunning, “The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde” in Thomas Elsaesser (ed.), *Early Cinema. Space, Frame, Narrative* (London: BFI Publishing, 1990), 56; see also 4, 101.


8. The sciopticon was originally developed by L. J. Marcy in the United States, but was further refined by other companies when it reached European markets.

9. According to an advertisement in the local newspaper *Landskrona-Posten* (October 27, 1900).


14. See Musser.


16. The wax museum Svenska Panoptikon existed from 1889 until 1922. The museum guide in 1911 lists the wax figures of Karl XII and Mazeppa in a “great historical war panorama!” *Vägvisare genom Svenska Panoptikon* (Stockholm 1911).

17. According to an advertisement in *Karlstad-tidningen* (March 24, 1900).


20. Walter Johnson’s translation “On the mountain wall is seen a tableau” (183) does not really capture the original directions “På bergvägen synes i ljusbild” (SV 40, 115) which make it much more explicit that a projected image (ljusbild) is intended here.


22. At the Deutsches Volkstheater in Vienna, for example, the fairy-tale play *Habsburg* was performed in 1898, which was said to have been the first in Austria to designate the sciopticon “a significant role.” Timm Starl, “Schatten–Sehen” in: Frank Kessler, Sabine Lenk, Martin Loiperdinger (eds.), *KINtop 8. Film und Projektionskunst* (Frankfurt am Main; Basel: Stroemfeld, Roter Stern 1999), 64.

23. Manuscript Archive *Gröna Säcken* at the Royal Library in Stockholm. See for example SgNM 3:1, 19.

24. The unsuccessful attempts are chronicled in Strindberg’s *Letters to the Intimate Theatre*.


29. Ibid, 247.


31. Lanternist Christian Nielson displayed such a series in his earlier mentioned performance in Landskrona, on October 27, 1900.

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