Introduction: The Many Perspectives on A Million Pictures

This essay collection documents presentations given at the conference "A Million Pictures. History, Archiving, and Creative Re-Use of Educational Magic Lantern Slides" that took place from 29 August – 1 September 2017 in Utrecht, the Netherlands. This conference was the summit of the collaborative research project *A Million Pictures: Magic Lantern Slide Heritage as Artefacts in the Common European History of Learning* (2015-2018), carried out by researchers from the Universities of Antwerp, Exeter, Girona, Salamanca and Utrecht as well as twenty associated partners from museums, archives, libraries and independent artists and performers.¹

The Million Pictures project set out with the premise that:

The magic lantern was a very relevant, if not the most important, visual entertainment and means of instruction across nineteenth-century Europe. However, despite its pervasiveness across multiple scientific, educational and popular contexts, magic lantern slides, its apparatuses and practices still remain under-researched. Although many libraries and museums across Europe hold tens of thousands of lantern slides in their collections, a lack of standards for documentation and preservation limits the impact of existing initiatives, hinders the recognition of the object's heritage value and potential exploitation. This project addresses the sustainable preservation of this massive, untapped heritage resource.²

A Million Pictures identified two main problems: firstly, a poor understanding of the historical objects, and secondly, a lack of access to relevant source material. If researchers, artists and interested people cannot access the material (or are unaware of its existence), demand for and knowledge about the objects will not increase. And if demand and knowledge stay limited, the documentation of the objects will not advance, which in turn will not improve conditions of access. These entangled problems, we believed, can only be overcome when academic researchers and archival practitioners join forces – which called for a cultural heritage approach to our project.

Related disciplinary histories

While the cultural heritage approach of *A Million Pictures* was new in lantern research, a number of academic research initiatives included the magic lantern in the respective disciplinary histories.

In Film and Media Studies, especially in the subfield of early cinema studies, the metaphor of the "birth" of cinema and teleological ideas of media history for a long time limited the study of magic lantern and other optical media, as they were described in terms of "pre-cinema history", not as media in their own right or with their own history. This has changed over the last two decades: as early cinema studies embraced approaches from media archaeology, concepts such as "birth" and "invention" became less relevant than research along the lines of "continuities and discontinuities" or "intermedial relations". In addition, the field of New Cinema History, focussing on local cinema cultures and audiences, brought a decidedly social-history approach to the field. These approaches have created new interest in what was actually shown, and to whom, sparking new research questions and a turn to material artefacts and archival documentation, but moving beyond an "object fetishism" of "unique" and "first" apparatuses.

Art History has a remarkable body of scholarship reflecting the history of the discipline and the changing didactics in the teaching of art history, including the media and objects that reproduce art works for study and pleasure (e.g. in the form of prints, plaster statues and lantern slides). Now that art history teaching mostly uses digital means to illustrate the subject matter, some attention has turned to the – often very large – image libraries at art history institutes, with examination of their contents and discussion about what to do with them.³

Historians of science, meanwhile, have discussed projected images as part of the study of optics. Work in this field tends to highlight apparatuses, lanterns, and inventors – there has been good work on inventors like Christiaan Huygens (1629-1695), and early instrument makers⁴ – but on the whole the 'magic' lantern, perhaps because of that 'unscientific' adjective in its common name, has not been highly regarded among historians of science and collectors of scientific instruments. Study of the popularisation of science through this medial form is still at an early stage.

A cultural heritage approach to the study of lantern slides

In these and other fields the study of lantern slides has gained academic interest, especially in the last five to ten years. A number of recent edited volumes⁵, monographs⁶ and special journal issues⁷ offer excellent overviews of the state of the research in their introductions. These publications frame lantern slides and objects of magic lantern culture according to their research question: as a medium in the public debate on the social question; as part of national histories; as a performative practice; as technologies in an intermedial media

landscape; or as part of disciplinary histories. The following is therefore not intended as a general introduction to the state of research, but flashes out the specificities of the *Million Pictures* project's cultural heritage approach and its overarching concerns.

The admittedly broad bracket of "cultural heritage" allows bringing together different subfields in which lantern knowledge is held – all on equal terms. By establishing the material heritage object as common point of departure, an interdisciplinary discussion was fostered, in which scholars of different disciplines, archivists, curators, museum education practitioners, private collectors, artists and performers could participate from the onset. This was crucial for connecting the existing expertise(s) on these objects.

The cultural heritage approach also enabled a transnational perspective, as we did not restrict our investigation to a national scope. It brought commonalities to the fore, and allowed us to spot similar objects across collections (that were described and managed by different institutional and national logics) and see a common history of learning, without the need to 'nationalise' the research findings. Our observations support the 'gut feeling' speculation of private collectors: that the distribution networks forming the economic backbone to the lantern's dissemination were organised transnationally – a feature which seems to have been particularly prominently established in the educational slide sector. A systematic investigation of such distribution networks will need further research, but the observation of a significant number of similar objects held in collections throughout Europe is a strong point for explaining lantern slides as a mass medium.⁸

The cultural heritage approach invited fundamental research and deductive research methods. The room for open-result experiments with ways of documenting, digitising and creative re-use of this material provided the conditions for the possibility of new research findings, achieved through various methods applied by the interdisciplinary consortium. Among the discoveries were the analogue lantern slides' potential of explaining digital animation technologies in educational settings, as proved by the exhibition "Light! Magic Lantern and the Digital Image. Affinities between the Nineteenth and Twenty-first Century" of the Museum of Cinema in Girona (2017-2018), a deeper understanding of the 'magic' and poetics inherent to projecting fleeting things, as Sarah Vanagt presented in her film A MICROSCOPIC GESTURE (2016), or the productive dialogue during our workshops on the way in which researchers from different disciplines and archivists in different types of museums conceptualise the analogue and the digital object and use both in their research and teaching.

Approaching the objects from a cultural heritage perspective also foregrounded a shared concern. The discussion of what to do with material that becomes obsolete in its original function, for example the question whether or not it should be preserved, is subject of debate among curators of slide collections and discussed in (academic) heritage associations, ¹² as (even digital) storage

space is limited and costly. Unlike hand-painted slides or slides with complicated moving mechanisms, which are more likely to evoke fascination from their object character, the bulk of educational glass slides were cheap, mass-produced lantern slides in standard format.¹³ The decision to preserve large collections of lantern slides, many of which depict subjects that are also available in better quality in easier accessible media formats, needs other arguments for its justification.

Such an argument, we believe, could be delivered by demonstrating the interest of user groups once material becomes accessible and available for creative re-use. By showing examples of creative re-use of lantern heritage, and by allocating time, space and funds to artistic practice, our project developed new perspectives on and uses of the historical objects and drew connections between the past and the present. These art works and performances also found audiences in communities outside of academic settings, demonstrating the rich potential of the material for connecting people with heritage.

To address our first concern, increasing our understanding of the objects, we worked together to explore what can be learned from the preserved objects about the historical contexts in which they were used. Alongside magic lanterns and lantern slides, archives and private collectors hold lantern-related ephemera such as distribution catalogues, illuminants (light sources), projection manuals, lantern 'readings' offering suggested comments to accompany the slides, newspaper clippings with announcements or reports of lantern performances, the original boxes in which slide sets were sold, engravings documenting lantern events, and more. To address our second main point of concern, ameliorating access to objects of lantern culture, we discussed with collection managers and owners how to best document and digitise the objects online. We explored needs for access and re-use with the various stakeholders of this heritage network, among them Eye Film Institute Netherlands, Museu del Cinema Girona, Museo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología de España, Museum for Contemporary Art Antwerp, Royal Albert Memorial Museum Exeter and Utrecht University Museum; film producers at Staccato Films BV and performers at Promenade Productions; private collectors and researchers across the humanities.¹⁴ Here again, working across disciplinary and institutional boundaries enabled us to combine insights from scholarly research, from artistic research and practice, with expertise from archivists, librarians and information scientists, to ensure that different user needs are considered in sustainable and useable ways of documentation, preservation, digitisation and forms of accessibility.

This approach also bore practical results: over 21,000 new additional images of lantern slides and apparatuses, with accompanying metadata records, were added to the Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource (hereafter Lucerna), more than doubling the freely available material on that resource.

As the infrastructural backbone, Lucerna provided the virtual environment to share our discoveries and connect our findings to the knowledge already

established in that resource. Lucerna established itself as the sustainable reference database, which is found by a wide array various users seeking information on lantern culture;¹⁶ in its improved version, Lucerna is more easily useable as repository for future research.

In addition, we set up a digital collection of magic lantern and slide catalogues in cooperation with Media History Digital Library¹⁷ and a resource list on Wikipedia,¹⁸ along with practical guidelines on digitising objects and for contributing information on Lucerna.¹⁹

An important aspect of the *Million Pictures* project was to share our thoughts and findings with diverse interested publics: through papers at academic conferences, lantern presentations at local history societies and museum events, a series of international workshops, videos documenting art installations. Project events ranged from exhibitions to hands-on workshops in museum pedagogy and university teaching, and from lantern shows with original material, to apps and digital animations, to musical and dramatic performances inspired by the principle of telling stories with light.

Our research team, of course, did not start from scratch. We should explicitly acknowledge the input from members of the The Magic Lantern Society (based in the UK) and the Magic Lantern Society of the US and Canada, ²⁰ feedback on established archival practices shared by our cooperating partners, and curatorial expertise from Screen Archive South East at the University of Brighton, the Museum for Contemporary Art Antwerp (M HKA) and the Museu del Cinema in Girona. We also profited from the invaluable body of knowledge established in various research projects of the (now discontinued) network Screen1900 at the media studies department at Trier University and wish to thank for this collegial exchange. ²¹

Researchers on magic lantern culture have developed a number of concepts, resources, infrastructures and tools. Concepts that help to address the complexity of lantern slides, while remaining open enough to investigate their intermedial relations are, for example "screen culture", 22 "screenology", 23 "screen studies", 24 or "the historical art of projection". 25 Approaches of "media ecology" or medial "dispositifs" are fruitful to investigate relations, and the concepts of "performance" and "performativity" proved suitable to theorise the ephemeral character of a live performance medium. Methods from (experimental) media archaeology and artistic practice, including re-enactments and creative adaptations, elucidate (historical) media practice and audience experience, allowing conceptual or phenomenological questions on media experience to be merged with embodied experiences. Insights from edition theory and online documentation (and the conceptualisation of meaningful units in the online resources eLaterna and Lucerna) offer a shared vocabulary for describing the objects and their relations. 27

Beyond Lucerna and the resources developed in the *Million Pictures* project mentioned above, a number of other online resources provide access to digital images of lantern slides,²⁸ and the Slide Readings Library of the Magic Lantern

Society provides access to historical comments to slide sets.²⁹ Research articles and digitised primary sources are listed in the Zotero Magic Lantern Research Group,³⁰ while the Magic Lantern Society and the Magic Lantern Society of the US and Canada provide a network of expertise beyond the running time of individual projects.³¹ eLaterna offers tools for documentation and analysis as well as a publication platform for new findings.³²

Almost all of these resources are freely available online. Archivists, curators and museum practitioners, artistic and scholarly researchers and teachers in museums and higher education are now more likely than ever before to find (digital) resources they need. In retrospect, it is quite amazing to see how the impulses from both project and conference were, it would appear, just what was needed to bring magic lantern research up to its next level. Researchers who start exploring collections today can access resources to further expand our knowledge, and hopefully contribute to the further development of shared tools and resources to avoid 're-inventing the wheel' in insular research communities.

The conference and articles

The contributions in this edited volume are based on presentations given at the conference "A Million Pictures: History, Archiving and Creative Re-Use of Educational Lantern Slides". This conference was attended by over 100 people from 14 countries and mirrored different disciplines and institutional backgrounds: artists and performers from the domains of film, composition, performance art; researchers from BA students to full professors from film and media studies, art history, applied arts, theatre and performance studies, information science, sociology, communication studies, (comparative) literature studies, social history and history of science; heritage professionals, curators, educational museum staff and archivists; and of course private collectors and lanternists. All these people contributed to deepen our knowledge and broaden our lantern horizon. During the four days of the conference, 30 short and long papers were given as well as two keynotes, ten posters, and several demonstrations of digital tools for lantern research. Nine performances and film screenings, an exhibition and a round table on working with slides at the intersection of research, archive and performance were also part of the programme.³³

This edited volume, by nature of its form as an analogue book, does not reflect all the variants of presentations and the organised sharing mix between participants and their various backgrounds. Due to its restriction to written word and printed images, some contributions could not be included in this format without compromising their nature too much.³⁴ However, the essays assembled here do mirror the variety of genres, including longer research articles, shorter project reports and reflections on ongoing work. The relative length of contributions does not imply a degree of relevance.

Some articles assembled here present research into the historical contexts of use of a slide set – from teaching tools in disciplinary histories, to means of persuasion and propaganda from religious and political actors, to the use in early film screenings (Dupré la Tour, Grasskamp, Lee & Wong, Hayes, Kusahara, Männig, Quillay, Wachelder).

Other articles emphasize collection- and object-based methods and other sources to contextualise and theorise the material (Dellmann, Durrant, Huhtamo, Lenk, Pitarch & Quintana, Stanulevich, Vilarigues & Otero). Two articles focus on methodologies: one presents quantitative methodologies for analysing lantern slides (Frutos Esteban and Lopez San Segundo) and another to analyse the *dispositif* (Kessler). Other articles discuss the performative practices of lecturing, lantern shows and audiences – historically and in contemporary practices (Crangle, Kember, Lorenzo, van Dooren, Vanhoutte, Wynants) and share experience obtained in documentation of exhibitions, museum pedagogy and teaching (Pons i Busquet, Puigdeval Noguer, Willis).

The *Million Pictures* project and conference, at least to some extent, succeeded in bringing together hitherto individually working professionals. It extended a network of researchers across traditional disciplinary boundaries that, maybe more importantly, welcomed the knowledges of – from traditional academic perspectives all too often belittled – artistic research, private collectors, museum educators and heritage professionals as equally valuable to the field of lantern studies.

Outlook

It is, however, still accurate to state that the field remains in its emerging phase (especially when considering the relevance of this medium in 19th- and early 20th-century culture). The explorative nature of this project, the conference and this edited volume necessarily leave ground uncovered. The call for papers was about a medium format and a function – lantern slides for educational purposes – inviting conceptual, disciplinary and methodological variety of contributions. Consequently, this volume cannot claim to offer a comparison of the presented research methods, let alone their systematic evaluation or another form of synthesis. Such a reflection on methodologies, and the development of criteria for their evaluation (that also do justice to the interdisciplinary character of lantern slide research), needs to be left to future research. The articles in this collection are intended to show the variety of lantern research and assembled to foster the dialogue on lantern heritage from various perspectives. It can be expected that case studies and collection-based research methods will remain relevant, if not dominant in the study of lantern slides and lantern culture for the coming years, as more collections, and their makers, users and audiences, still need to be (and are) investigated as case studies before solid conclusions about trends and larger patterns can be drawn.³⁵

Looking back as initiator and coordinator of the research project and as organiser of the conference, I wish you a lecture full of discoveries, embracing the various perspectives that can be taken on a million pictures.

Notes

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Project application to the Call "Heritage Plus - ERA-NET Plus on Cultural Heritage and Global Change Research (618104)" by the European Commission, submitted September 2014.

- Numerous case studies, especially in the history of art history have elucidated aspects that inform a discipline's media history, as brought together at the workshop "Plaques photographiques. Fabrication et diffusion du savoir", organised by art historians and slide collection curators at French universities, Université de Strasbourg, March 2016 and, more recently, the conference "Media in the Teaching of Art History", organised by the German Documentation Center for Art History Bildarchiv Foto Marburg at Philipps-University Marburg, October 2018. Proceedings of the Strasbourg event have been published as Denise Borlée, Hervé Doucet (ed.), La Plaque photographique. Un outil pour la fabrication et la diffusion des savoirs (XIX^e XX^e siècle). Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2019). The question of what to do with material that becomes obsolete in its original teaching function is, of course, not restricted to the field of art history but discussed in all disciplines that apply visual representations and used projected images in teaching such as medical sciences, all subfields of biology, geology, astronomy, archaeology and ethnology, and many more. See the discussion in academic heritage associations (note 12).
- ⁴ See e.g. for the Musschenbroek atelier: Willem Albert Wagenaar, Margreet Wagenaar-Fischer and Annet Duller, "Dutch Lantern Workshops", in Willem Albert Wagenaar, Margreet Wagenaar-Fischer and Annet Duller (ed.), *Dutch Perspectives. 350 Years of Visual Entertainment* (London: Magic Lantern Society, 2014), 27-53.
- Ludwig Vogl-Bienek and Richard Crangle (ed.), Screen Culture and the Social Question, 1880-1914 (New Barnet: John Libbey, 2014).
- Ludwig Vogl-Bienek, Lichtspiele im Schatten der Armut. Historische Projektionskunst und Soziale Frage (Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld, 2016), Caroline Braun, Von Bettlern, Waisenmädchen und Dienstmädchen. Armutsdarstellungen im frühen Film und ihr Anteil an der Etablierung des Kinos in Deutschland (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2019), Karen Eifler, The Great Gun of the Lantern. Lichtbildereinsatz sozialer Organisationen in Großbritannien, 1875-1914 (Marburg: Schuïren, 2017); Elizabeth Hartrick, The Magic Lantern in Colonial Australia and New Zealand (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2017); Erkki Huhtamo, Screenology (forthcoming) and Lydia Jakobs on George Sims (forthcoming).
- Most recently Fonseca Journal of Communication (issue 1, 2018), Early Popular Visual Culture (issues 1 and 3-4, 2019). Some articles in these journals are connected to the Million Pictures project or conference.
- Various case studies on lantern culture in Japan brought to the fore that this media technology was popular for entertainment and education in the Edo and Meiji period. Japanese lanternists combined the imported technology with local genres, image style and presentation formats. For a recent overview in English and Japanese, see Yano Michio (ed.), *The Magic Lantern. A Short History of Light and Shadows* (Tokyo: Tokyo Photographic Art Museum and Seikyusha Co., 2018); Koji Tobas, "On the Relationship between Documentary Films and Magic Lanterns in 1950s Japan", in *MDPI Arts*, vol. 8, issue 2, no. 64, online journal https://doi.org/10.3390/arts8020064 (accessed 18 January 2020).
- Vanagt's film was part of her exhibition "Schijnvis / Showfish / Poisson Brillant" at Museum of Contemporary Art Antwerp (2016). See also the discussion of workshop 3: Sabine Lenk, Kurt Vanhoutte and Nele Wynants, "A Million Pictures: Magic Lantern Slide Heritage as Artefacts in the Common European History of Learning. Notes from Workshop 3: Exploring the needs of

- stakeholders for access, documentation and re-use." [Workshop notes, 2017]. *Zenodo*. http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1284373 (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- Dellmann, Sarah, "A Million Pictures: Magic Lantern Slide Heritage as Artefacts in the Common European History of Learning. Notes from Workshop 2: Defining guidelines for description and cataloguing." [Workshop notes, 2016]. Zenodo. http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1284315 (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- Gillian Moore, "A Million Pictures: Magic Lantern Slide Heritage as Artefacts in the Common European History of Learning. Notes from Workshop 4: Evaluation of the project and setting the agenda for future research and documentation." [Workshop notes, 2018], Zenodo. http://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1284383 (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- E.g. the "werkgroup lichtbeelden" ("working group lantern slides") at Stichting Academisch Erfgoed, Netherlands https://www.academischerfgoed.nl/projecten/lichtbeelden-project/ (accessed on 9 September 2019) held a workshop in April 2019 at University of Groningen; the conservation of lantern slides was also discussed on the 11th Collections Conference / 8th Meeting of the German University Collections Association in June 2019, at the University of Münster.
- But even those cheap standard format slides are, as a colleague rightfully stated, "sometimes quite beautiful and fascinating in themselves, too, even if this is overlooked".
- ¹⁴ The full list of partners is available at https://a-million-pictures.wp.hum.uu.nl/project-partners/ap/ (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- http://lucerna.exeter.ac.uk/ (accessed on 9 September 2019). Access was also ameliorated through additional features, including coding for more security, improved accessibility for visually impaired, implementation of a geographical location system and a multi-language interface. The number of new records related to the project is above 40,000 if cooperation projects initiated during the million pictures project that are still underway are counted, too.
- ¹⁶ Judging from inquiries received over the last three years.
- Magic Lantern and Lantern Slide Catalog collection, published in cooperation with Media History Digital Library at Internet Archive; https://mediahistoryproject.org/magiclantern (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- Wikipedia List of Lantern Slide Collections https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List of lantern slide collections (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- Three guidelines, one each on digitising, cataloguing and preparing image files are available at https://a-million-pictures.wp.hum.uu.nl/category/publications/guidelines/ (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- For a list of titles, see http://magiclantern.org.uk/sales/ (accessed on 9 September 2019) and the bibliography of the Zotero Magic Lantern Research Group (see note 30).
- In addition to published dissertations (see note 6), the DVD compilation *Screening the Poor 1888-1914*. *Lichtspiele und Soziale Frage* (edition filmmuseum, no. 64, 2011) is a rich resource on early screen practices. Work on digital editions on works of the historical art of projections and the platform eLaterna (including the eLaterna companion) are continued at Philipps-Universität Marburg. See https://elaterna.uni-trier.de/ (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- 22 Charles Musser, The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907 (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1990), 17-20.
- ²³ Erkki Huhtamo, *Screenology* (forthcoming).
- ²⁴ Frank Gray, "Engaging with the Magic Lantern's History", in Vogl-Bienek and Crangle (ed.), *Screen Culture*, 173-180.
- ²⁵ Vogl-Bienek, Lichtspiele im Schatten der Armut.
- 26 Especially Vogl-Bienek's adaptation of Erika Fischer-Lichte's conceptualisation of performance, ibid., 98-111.
- Researchers interested in sharing their findings and strive for sustainable documentation are usually better off with contributing to existing resources rather than creating their own databases. In any case, digital infrastructures for documentation should always implement the relevant metadata standards of the domain and choose sustainable file formats.
- Larger online collections include the collection of lantern slides in Australian archives, digitised as part of the project Heritage in the Limelight (2016-2019) https://ehive.com/collections/6553/heri-

tage-in-the-limelight (accessed on 9 September 2019). Digital images of lantern slides held in European heritage institutions are also published on the portal Europeana, www.europeana.eu (accessed on 9 September 2019). The Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español (Collective Catalogue of Spanish Bibliographical Heritage) documents lantern slides that were part of the libraries of Spanish Historical Highschools http://catalogos.mecd.es/ (accessed on 9 September 2019). Henc de Roo's collector's website "De Luikerwaal" also has records on several thousand of lantern slides www.luikerwaal.nl (accessed on 9 September 2019).

- ²⁹ "Readings Library", http://magiclantern.org.uk/readings/ (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- ³⁰ The Zotero Magic Lantern Group compiles a bibliography of primary and secondary literature on all aspects of magic lantern culture: https://www.zotero.org/groups/33135/magic lantern research group (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- The Magic Lantern Society of UK and Continental Europe http://magiclantern.org.uk/ (accessed on 9 September 2019) publishes the journal *The Magic Lantern* (before 2014 *The New Magic Lantern Journal*), back issues are available at http://magiclantern.org.uk/publications/ (accessed on 9 September 2019). Monographs and edited volumes are also available via that website. The Magic Lantern Society of the US and Canada https://www.magiclanternsociety.org/ (accessed on 9 September 2019) issues the journal *Magic Lantern Gazette- A Journal of Research*, with scholarly and collector's research; past issues are digitally available via the Repository of San Diego State University Library, https://library.sdsu.edu/scua/digital/resources/magic-lantern-pubs/gazette (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- See https://elaterna.uni-trier.de/ (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- ³³ The full programme is available at https://a-million-pictures.wp.hum.uu.nl/conference/programme (accessed on 9 September 2019).
- A number of artistic works that were created during the *Million Pictures* project are documented on the DVD "A Million Pictures. Magic Lantern Heritage Today. Examples of Creative Re-Use" (2017).
- 35 But see Eifler, Great Gun of the Lantern for a larger picture.

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