Irish Cinema and Europe throughout the Twentieth Century: An Overview

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This article intends to undertake an analysis of twentieth-century Irish cinema in order to explore the nature of Ireland's relationships and exchanges with Europe and to appraise how these relationships have impacted upon the way Irish cinema has developed, or at least 'imagined' itself, as a national cinema.[1] This analysis, however, does not intend to rely overly on the concept of the nation, which is not its main topic, but rather proposes to consider Irish cinema primarily as an industry.[2]

From Dublin's first public film screening, held by the Lumière brothers in April 1896, until the turn of the twentieth century, exchanges between Irish cinema and Europe existed in the fields of aesthetics (influences, themes), economics (the production of films), and culture (festivals). It is worth reflecting on this complex relationship, which has, at various times, been characterised by Ireland's isolationism from, influence by, cooperation with, or dependence on, Europe. In spite of the fact that Ireland is a "European country in terms of geography, democracy and ancient and medieval history" (O'Sullivan 42), the relationship between Irish cinema and Europe is best characterised as both binary and paradoxical. Within this binary dimension the Anglo-Irish colonial relationship will be alluded to in so far as it sheds light on the European focus of this article. However, this issue will not be at the centre here, since the particular nature of that relationship goes well beyond the scope of this article's concerns.

The Irish/European relationship can be defined, first and foremost, by the notion of exclusion. Indeed, Irish cinema tried to define its identity by preserving itself from external influences, relying on some of the constituents of the Irish national identity pattern which organised itself along the six elements of "uniqueness, historical nationalism, Gaelic, rural, catholic and self-sufficiency"

1 "My point of departure is that nationality, or […] nation-ness, as well as nationalism are cultural artefacts of a particular kind" (Anderson 4). Such a definition can be used to link cinema with nation and Irish cinema with its national dimension.

2 The theorist Gilbert Cohen-Séat distinguishes between 'cinema' and 'film' – 'cinema' and 'cinema industry' referring to different stages of production and film exploitation (53).

(McLoone, *Irish Film* 12). There is, of course, an inclusive side linked with the dimension of exclusion that was either implicit or explicit, chosen or rejected. Irish cinema defined itself according to the various European exchanges that shaped it over the years, before and after 1973, while the "accelerating pace of European integration within the EEC gave rise to debates about regions, nation and supranational identities" (McLoone, "National Cinema" 148). In the 1980s, Irish directors redefined both their image of Irish society and the specificity of Irish films. Ireland's inclusion in the EEC accompanied that move, highlighting that the "nation-state had become too large and too small as a model of contemporary Irish identity" (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 20).

Irish cinema also developed beyond the Irish/European relationship to position itself within a wider global framework, as various international influences helped shape its definition. The United States played a particularly prominent role in this process, as Ireland's historical links with the U.S. through emigration and the numerous American films made about Ireland established a special relationship between the two countries. In the early 1980s, the increasing interrelationships between Irish directors, actors, producers, and the United States contributed towards the relocation of Irish cinema at the crossroads of new European and international exchanges, which had a share in the transformation of its identity.

Exclusion: A Political Motivation

For a long time Irish cinema was envisioned and modelled according to the nationalist ideology that prevailed before and after the creation of the Irish Free State in 1922. For D.G. Boyce, nationalism in the Irish context is "the assertion by members of a group of autonomy and self government for the group [often, but not invariably in a sovereign state], of its solidarity and fraternity in the homeland, and of its distinctive history and culture" (19). In other words, Irish national identity was being "limited to a people whose distinctive character derived in relation to other, different nationalities" (Pettitt 29). Indeed, after 1922 the attitude of the government consisted of isolating Ireland from the rest of the world (The Editor 424). By then, Europe was not considered a specific cultural or political partner. The main aim at the time was to make and to produce films in Ireland that were different from those made by British and American companies in order to assert Irish cultural independence mainly vis-à-vis Britain. Indeed, the Irish nation was conceived at this time as "a community" that was both "limited" and "sovereign" (Anderson 7). The Film Company of Ireland aimed at building an Irish cinema, but its vindication as an Irish art form

became superseded by more radical and overtly political motives, often relegating art to a position inferior to politics.[3] The American film director James Mark Sullivan, who had settled in Ireland, wanted to fight against the hegemony of the American cinematographic image of Ireland, as he considered that those images, which were screened all over the world, conveyed a distorted view of Ireland.[4]

Under the policy of isolationism from both Britain and the rest of Europe, cinema was used to depict the Gaelic cultural and artistic choices of the new Irish state. Cinema as a popular form of entertainment did not, however, easily fit in with Gaelic culture. This cultural confrontation frequently led to strong censorship measures on the part of the state. If separation and differentiation (Tovey & Share 33) were not the only concepts around which the Irish Free State built itself, they enabled it to erect barriers against what was deemed the modern world (Epinoux, "Le renouveau" 361). Censorship was supported not only by the Irish State, but also by the Catholic Church and nationalists. In 1909, The Cinematograph Bill was enacted under the pressure of several Catholic Irish priests.[5] From that piece of legislation it appears that beyond the regulation of theatres it was also an opportunity to control the films themselves, since "a County Council may grant licences to such persons as they think fit" ("The Cinematograph Bill" 18). In 1923, the Irish Free State implemented The Censorship of Films Act ("The Censorship of Films Act" 651-663), which supported Irish values and protected Gaelic culture.

Despite these strong isolationist tendencies, the Irish cinema industry also modelled itself according to the concepts of insiders/outsiders. This concept played a key role in differentiating Ireland from Britain (on the grounds of their colonial relationship). The dichotomy was also used to conceptualise Ireland's relation with Europe (Hayward 3). Between 1922 and 1955, Irish cinema tried to develop itself within what Brian McIlroy defined as "insular states" (McIlroy, *Irish Cinema* 20). In the definition of an Irish cinema and of a national cinema (a term that barely seems appropriate for describing the way Irish cinema saw itself prior to the 1980s) the insular dimension was recurring, limiting its defini-

3 The Film Company of Ireland was created shortly prior to the Easter Rising, and this context defined the political dimension of its films. In 1915, the Gaelic League also became more overtly political, leading to Douglas Hyde's resignation.

4 The Film Company of Ireland produced the following films, among others: *Willy Reilly and His Colleen Bawn* (1920; dir. John MacDonagh) and *Knocknagow* (1918; dir. Fred O'Donovan).

5 The priests wanted "to make better provision for securing safety at cinematograph and other exhibitions!" ("The Cinematograph Bill" 18-19).

tion to state, territory, and ethnicity (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 213).[6] In the 1960s, the Irish Film Industry Committee repeatedly defined what an Irish film was, or, more precisely, when a film was *not* Irish: namely, when its crew, its technique, its actors, directors, and main actors came from abroad (*The Irish Film Industry Committee Report* 26). By defining its conception of a foreign film thus, the committee provided, in reverse, a definition of what an Irish film could be. Facing the 'insular' conception of Irish cinema in the 1930s, several film enthusiasts created the Irish Film Society in 1936 with the intention of opening Irish people's minds towards foreign cinema and its various artistic aspects.[7]

Even though isolationism from Britain and Europe was mainly politically motivated, it was also due to cultural choices. The Film Company of Ireland, as well as The General Film Supply, wanted to counter British and American films with their own Irish films. *The Irish Limelight* described the Film Company of Ireland's mission as follows:

> Its work is not only to entertain with Irish humour, legend and stories, the purpose of the Company is to make Ireland known to the rest of the world as she has never been known before; to let outside people realise that we have in Ireland other things than the dudeen, buffoon, knee breeches and brass buckles. (qtd. in McIlroy, *Irish Cinema* 12)

By the 1930s, the Irish government had come to understand how useful cinema could be to convey its conception of an Irish identity. In 1935, Robert Flaherty was commissioned by the Ministry of Education to make an Irish language documentary film: *Oidhche Sheanchais* (*Storyteller's Night*).[8] Through that project, De Valera's government wanted to broadcast a rural, Gaelic, and Catholic image of the West of Ireland and to familiarise Irish audiences with the use of the Irish language in films. Yet, the government of the time did not mind asking a 'foreign' director to make such a film.

In order to present itself to the rest of the world, the Irish State financed several films made by bodies such as Gael Linn, Radharc, and the National Film Institute, as they mirrored Catholicism and Gaelic culture in their films.[9] Gael Linn was created in 1953, with the aim of spreading the use of the Irish lan-

6 John Hayes, who was the censor in 1941, declared that he would like to see Irish films made on Irish history (113).

7 The film critic Edward Hogg, who wrote for *The Bell*, mentioned *Birth of a Nation* (320).

8 The Irish government commissioned that film after the success of the previous year's *Man of Aran* (1934).

9 In the 1940s and 1950s, The National Film Institute was the official production agency for the government (Rockett, "Documentaries" 79).

guage in order to promote Irish culture and the Gaelic tradition through documentaries on Irish history for instance.[10] As for the Catholic Church, it did not confine its role to controlling cinema through censorship but also made films that promoted its morals; it wanted to convey its own Gaelic and Catholic image of Ireland in films.

In the 1950s and 1960s, film enthusiasts such as Liam O'Leary, Vincent Corcoran, Patrick Carey, and George Morrison wanted to propose an alternative to the films screened in Ireland and to those made by the National Film Institute. They filmed scenes from everyday life while aiming to present a secularised version of Irish identity. They challenged the Catholic, historical, and nationalist images of Ireland, showing that the national "always creates a spurious image of unity, it tends to deny internal differences" (Declan Kiberd; qtd. in Pettitt 18). These enthusiasts attempted to define an Irish cinematographic image of their country and to include cinema within Irish national culture. This effort had very little impact until 1992, when the first film archives were finally opened in Dublin, acknowledging cinema as a fundamental part of Ireland's cultural heritage.

The work of Irish film directors Bob Quinn and Joe Comerford is exemplary of this choice to keep away from English language films and, more precisely, from big-budget films coming from Hollywood, in the process of defining Irish cinema. In the late 1970s, Quinn developed his concept of an Irish cinema based on a local dimension, shooting films in the Irish language and editing them in the West of Ireland. None of his films were screened outside Ireland except at festivals. Maintaining distance from Europe and the rest of the world was, in this case, motivated by artistic and political choices. This attitude tended to enclose Irish cinema within national and local spheres, cutting it off from the rest of the world. Through this process, Irish directors wanted to propose an alternative to the stereotyped American and British images of Ireland, through a specific technique and through specific means of production. Everything 'national' was put under scrutiny by these directors, who called into question an essentially rural and Catholic image of their country. It should also be noted that Bob Quinn's attempt to offer an alternative cinematic representation of Ireland was not limited to the specific linguistic context in which he worked. Films such as *The Courier* (1988; dir. Frank Deasy and Joe Lee) or *Pigs* (1984; dir. Cathal Black) conveyed new images of Ireland that distanced themselves from the artistic or commercial patterns of Hollywood. Overall, these

10 Between 1956 and 1964, Gael Linn was the body to produce the highest number of films in Irish.

films represented "a practice of cultural self-reflection where the whole concept of a homogeneous identity national or linguistic came into question" (Brown 82).

Irish Cinema within a European Dimension

To limit Irish cinema to its natural geographic borders is to ignore the fact that as "waterways connecting us [Ireland] with others," the seas surrounding Ireland *de facto* join the island to mainland Europe (Kearney, *Navigations* 323). Bob Quinn himself also explored this dimension of water as a shared border in his documentary series *Atlantean* (1981), in which he demonstrated that the Irish have cultural and historical links with North Africa through the Atlantic sea lanes.

Indeed, exchanges between Ireland and Europe have existed since the Middle Ages; the intellectual 'exodus' mentioned by Kearney has prevailed for years and is still valid today for many Irish directors and actors (*Navigations* 24). Throughout the twentieth century, this link was always either cultural or artistic, and it led to recurring exchanges between Ireland and Europe. These links and exchanges also developed along the specific relationship between Ireland and Britain, creating different passage ways between Ireland, the British Isles, and the Continent.

From its very beginning, Irish cinema was dependent on European, American, or British money to finance its films (Epinoux, *Le cinéma en Irlande* 350). Such dependence was criticised by some directors and rejected by others, as it was considered an obstacle to the development of an indigenous Irish cinema. In the 1980s, the word 'europudding' referred to those films financed by different European countries. Often, directors had to comply with the specific demands on the part of the producers concerning target audiences, for instance.[11] The money coming from abroad was at least an opportunity to make films. Indeed, the Irish state often relied on foreign money to finance cinema in its country. Ardmore (which opened in 1958) and, later, the Irish Film Board (which opened in 1981) were considered cornerstones for developing Irish cinema. Indeed, they laid the foundations for relationships between Ireland, Europe, and the rest of the world, but they were not first and foremost intended to foster Irish cinema, but a film industry in Ireland. Those two institutions pinpointed how vital the links with foreign countries were. The first Irish Film Board was

11 *Spaghetti Slow* (1997; dir. Valerio Jalongo), not highly praised by critics, is one of those films often referred to as examples of europudding films.

primarily set up for foreign companies.[12] Exclusion was simply impossible if the Irish state wanted to develop cinema in its country. The state set up several means of attracting foreign money through Section 35 of the Finance Act (1993).[13] Europe also played an important role in financing Irish cinema through different grants.[14]

The choice of a policy of exclusion also had its limits concerning the way cinema was organised. Irish cinema has always belonged to the British/English distribution network. Ireland and Great Britain are considered one and the same territory for distribution – while a few major studios have their offices in Dublin, decisions concerning release dates for titles are generally taken in London (at least this was the case until the beginning of the 1990s) (Rockett, "Culture" 138). The same is true for censorship, which was dealt with by Britain and to a lesser extent, until the 1950s, by Rome (namely Pope Pius XI in 1936 and Pope Pius XII in 1957).[15] Censorship, which was supposed to protect Ireland from foreign influences, also showed its limits, since cinema has always been a popular form of entertainment in Ireland, where mainly American movies have been screened.[16] These examples highlight how developing an Irish cinema based on a confined national area was difficult, even impossible, to sustain.

The link between Irish cinema and Europe was developed in a progressive way, but it was more obvious once Ireland became integrated within the European political framework. In 1973, Ireland became a full member of the EEC, which offered a new means of reaffirming Irish identity at large (Hayward 123). A clear cultural framework was finally instigated through the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.[17] The new concept of a cultural identity in Europe was to be: "diverse but harmonious" (Peten, Sojcher & Thiec 116). Ireland's membership in an

12 "An important role in ensuring that the influx of off-shore production taking place here is properly balanced by the priorities of Irish film-making" (Bord Scannán na hÉireann 3).

13 *Widow's Peak* (1993; dir. John Irvin) was one of the first films to have benefited from Section 35 of the Finance Act (Epinoux, *Le cinéma en Irlande* 350).

14 Viz. *European Script Fund* (1989), *Eurimages* (1992), and *Media* (1995), which helped with distribution and training.

15 Films were first examined by the British Board of Film Censors, then by Ireland's Film Censors Office. Irish authorities were also highly influenced by the declarations coming from Rome. In 1936, Pope Pius XI demanded that censorship be strengthened, and in 1957 Pope Pius XII wanted films to have a spiritual and moral aim and asked for more control on the part of the priests (Epinoux, *Le cinéma en Irlande* 348).

16 In 1991, Irish cinemas made 91.5% of their benefits thanks to American films (Riché 4).

17 For an analysis concerning the development of the cultural dimension among different member states, see Peten, Sojcher & Thiec.

economic and political European union meant that Irish identity could be considered beyond the binary relations of exclusion and inclusion. Even before joining the EEC, Ireland's inclusion within a European cinema was implicit through its similarity with other peripheral national cinemas, such as Welsh and Scottish cinemas, also known as the "Celtic periphery" (McIntyre 90). Within the European framework there was recognition of "multidimensional identities including regional, national and European" (Hayward 29).

Despite the intention of the Irish state to develop an indigenous culture within its borders, various influences and exchanges took place between Ireland, Britain, and the Continent. National borders could not guarantee the development of a cinema in total isolation from abroad. For instance, Ireland was a recurring theme in numerous European films, such as *Odd Man Out* (1947; dir. Carol Reed), *La jeune folle* (1952; dir. Yves Allégret), and *Ryan's Daughter* (1970; dir. David Lean). With Ireland joining Europe, the question of a national cinema divided between core and periphery, indigenous and cultural influences from outside, was also raised (McLoone, "National Cinema" 146).

> A national cinema used to be based on the idea of homogeneity, representing a common, unitary and distinct identity to the exclusion of other national cinemas and also to the exclusion of those *within* who did not conform to this identity. (Pettitt 29)

As formulated by the cinema historian Michèle Lagny, "if a national art exists it exists within a frame where culture goes beyond a geopolitical stratification."[18] The geographical limits of the national are unstable, and one could add that they may have always been thus (Lagny 102). Ireland's accession to Europe only made clear what had already been present in Irish cinema history, namely the divergences in the ways in which Irish cinema was to be conceived and developed in front of the rest of the world.

To establish its national limits, Irish cinema was shaped through a process of "sifting, including and excluding" (McLoone, "National Cinema" 146), but to limit Irish cinema to its geographical and European borders would ignore its relationships with the rest of the world. Such a specificity can be considered an opportunity for Irish cinema, which had access to another layer of relationships to enter a more "abstract and complex space" (Considère-Charon 198).

18 "Un art national existe, il existe dans un cadre où la culture dépasse la stratification géopolitique" (Lagny 98).

Beyond Europe

The inclusion of Irish cinema within an international framework moves it beyond a binary dimension of 'them' vs. 'us,' Ireland vs. Britain, Ireland vs. the United States. Yet, Ireland is often described as a "'new' European country and not as an 'old one'" (O'Sullivan 49). This sentiment emphasises the special, if at times awkward, position of Irish cinema within the European dimension. It also stresses Ireland's membership of the English-speaking world, which has contributed to creating strong links with Britain and the United States. However, while this linguistic dimension could have been an opportunity, it has not made the international screening of Irish films any easier. In the 1990s, 80% of European films were not distributed beyond the borders of their country of production (Hill 57).

Politically, throughout the twentieth century, Ireland also strengthened several important links with the rest of the world, starting with its Proclamation of Independence, which made it a part of Europe but also of the world at large (Hayward 79). In 1923, Ireland joined the League of Nations, and in 1936 it passed the External Relations Act, which had a national dimension since it severed the links with Britain but also confirmed Ireland's international position. In 1922, De Valera clearly referred to the specific position of Ireland, which was "situated at the very focus of trade routes between Europe and America" (Hayward 168). This international dimension can also be found in Irish cinema, as mentioned previously, in its dependence on foreign money and in its aesthetic influences from both the United States and Europe.[19] The development of an Irish cinema also happened for cultural reasons. Michael D. Higgins, the Irish Minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht from 1993 to 1997, who was opposed to the GATT, vindicated the 'exception culturelle,' mainly concerning cinema (M.B. 16). In the 1990s, several Irish film festivals took place both in the United States and in Europe under the auspices of President Mary Robinson, who wanted Irish culture to be discovered abroad.[20] The Irish film festival which took place at New York's Lincoln Centre in 1994 is said to have been the most important ever to take place outside Ireland (Mulkerns 8).[21]

19 *Ailsa* (1994; dir. Paddy Breatneach) is often referred to as an example of an Irish film influenced by *Three Colours* (1993/1994; dir. Krzyzsztof Kieslowski).

20 "Cette idée de projeter l'image d'une culture moderne est très importante pour nous aujourd'hui, alors que nous avons une perception plus positive et plus large de notre identité" (Bédarida 24).

21 In 1996, during the French *Imaginaire irlandais*, numerous Irish films were screened and meetings with Irish directors organised. Clermont-Ferrand also devoted a great part of its festival to Irish films.

This particular relationship with the United States and Britain has been a specificity of Irish cinema and, as mentioned in *Across the Frontiers*, Ireland can be considered "a province of the London region of the New York empire, and is dependent also on the Brussels confederacy which a group of major west European power-centres dominate" (qtd. in Fennell 104). The American directors James Mark Sullivan, Sydney Olcott, as well as the English director Norman Whitten, contributed to that 'international' dimension of Irish cinema, creating a cinematographic image of Ireland in the early twentieth century. From the very beginning of Irish cinema, most images of Ireland were projected by foreign directors, and that trend has largely remained unchanged until now.

The peculiar in-between position of Irish cinema with regard to the United States and Britain can be considered a positive element that nourished its identity without losing its specificity in this "leap over national borders" (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 59). In the 1990s, Irish cinema developed a web of relationships which were anchored in Europe but which also reached far beyond.

In his book *Irish Cinema: An Illustrated History*, Brian McIlroy refers to the global evolution that took place throughout the 1950s as 'Internationalism.' From the 1990s onwards, that process was referred to as 'globalisation.' It appears that Irish cinema has been included in this process of globalisation, which can be defined as

> a process of economic restructuring that has diverse cultural impacts: it fragments social groupings and identities, constructs new ones without local or territorial references. The identities associated with the nation and hence the nation state collapse in the face of new collective identities. (Tovey & Share 530)

That such new collective identities have no "local or territorial references" undermines, or excludes altogether, the role of the local in their definitions. Yet, Irish cinema has been able to develop through the global web of exchanges and cross-currents which take their roots in the specificity of Irish culture and history. Moreover, such a definition does not take into account the contribution of the Irish diaspora, which has established connections between the Irish and other nations (Hayward 122-123). The understanding of the Irish nation today comes under the rubric of "the migrant nation as an extended family" and as an inclusive process embracing "all those emigrants and exiles who live beyond the territory of the nation-state *per se*" (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 5).

Thus, the dialectic between exclusion and inclusion which used to characterise Irish cinema has now been replaced by hybridity,[22] which can be defined as appearing "at the junction, as the contact zone between two cultures which represent the space for the quest of identity."[23] Accordingly, the identity of Irish cinema has evolved and can now be understood as "a dynamic process, not as a fixed point, and part of the process is the assimilation of, and thus change of, outside influences" (McLoone, "National Cinema" 153). In its 1987 white paper on cultural policy, the coalition government of Fine Gael-Labour referred to a move towards a "third space" for Irish cinema that should be "responsive to fresh directions […] challenging social norms, complacencies of taste, extending the boundaries of the possible" (*Access and Opportunity* 24).[24]

To come back to Europe and to its second motto of 'unity in diversity,' it becomes all the more vibrant and meaningful for Irish cinema, travelling in the so called Fifth Province, which "can be imagined and re-imagined" and where "it is always a question of thinking *otherwise*" (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 100). According to Brian McIlroy, globalising processes have had an impact on films and on the conception of the identity of Irish cinema if analysed through the "cultural transnational flows and gentrification" (*Genre and Cinema* 4).[25]

In the process of globalisation, Irish cinema appears to be well-anchored in the local – especially when one thinks of such recent films as *Garage* (2007; dir. Lenny Abrahamson) or *Once* (2007; dir. John Carney) – as opposed to a definition of globalisation which claims that the world has become "relativised" to the point that "all perspectives and cultural meanings are equally valid and all have become interchangeable" (Tovey & Share 349). Such a stance, however, does not take into account the way the global and the local seem to merge without annihilating the local. Relying on Kearney's metaphor of the seas linking Ireland to the Continent and to the rest of the world, "that journey to the

22 It should be stressed that this study employs the term *hybridity* with reference to the definition provided by the postcolonial theorist Robert Young, denoting "a third space […] where elements are *neither the one nor the other but something else* which contests the terms and territories of both" (23).

23 "L'hybridité apparaît à cette jonction, cette zone de contact de deux cultures qui forme l'espace d'une recherche d'identité (…)" (Hanquart 9).

24 "A vibrant Irish film industry reflecting Irish values could influence the perception of Ireland overseas as well as reaffirming Irish national identity" (*Access and Opportunity* 24).

25 The same can be said about distribution: "Two-thirds of UK distribution is accounted for by just two companies – UIP and Warner Brothers – which are in turn controlled by five of the seven top US studios" (McIntyre 95).

other place harbours the truth of homecoming to our own place" (Kearney, *Navigations* 323).

Ireland's relationship with Europe appears to be part of that journey but not the only port of call. The identity of Irish cinema thus seems to have been nourished by the 'particular' and the 'universal,' which intermingle "as an interpenetrating discourse" (McLoone, "National Cinema" 153). The globalising process has had an impact on the identity of an Irish cinema which defines itself within, but also beyond its borders, as explained by Lance Pettitt:

> Rather than being fixated in a singular identity (Irish), a discrete territory (the whole island of Ireland) whose origins lie in history (past-orientated), post-nationalism foregrounds the potentially liberating ideas of multiple identities (regional, federal, communal), the concept of dispersed geo-affiliations (including Ireland's diaspora) […]. (17-18)

An analysis of the relation between Irish cinema and Europe reveals that there have always been political, economic, and cultural exchanges. That relation was based on the notions of exclusion and inclusion, but also on those of exchanges and influences that have not been limited to a unilateral process or to a confined relation. To the contrary, an analysis of Irish cinema throughout the twentieth century has shown how the Irish-European relationship also inserted itself within a wider international framework, highlighting the "international, cosmopolitan, universalist dimension of Irish art" (Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 227). Twentieth- as well as early-twenty-first-century Irish cinema has been operating in between those multi-layered relationships that nourished its identity through its local, regional, national, and international influences. What remains now to be studied is the impact of Irish cinema on European cinema. To quote Joyce, one may wonder to what extent Irish cinema has managed to "hibernicise Europe and to Europeanise Ireland" (qtd. in Kearney, *Postnationalist Ireland* 23).

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