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“Mit Herz und Hand fürs Vaterland”: Staging the Fighting Heroes for Propagandistic Purposes

»Mit Herz und Hand fürs Vaterland«:
uprizorjanje vojskujočih se junakov v
propagandne namene

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Gledano nazaj velja prva svetovna vojna za prvi primer sodobnega vojskovanja, za katerega izid je bila odločilna tehnologija. Četudi je morda manj očitno, velja enako tudi na ravni množičnih medijev in propagandnih sredstev.

Prispevek je premislek o posledicah, ki jih je imelo srečanje vojskujočih se čet s snemanjem zvoka (gramofonom) in gibljivih slik (filmi).

In retrospect the First World War is considered the first instance of modern warfare in the sense of technology being decisive for its outcomes. Even if it may be less obvious the same is true on the level of mass media and means of propaganda.

It is therefore the aim of this paper to reflect on the implications of the battling troops being confronted with sound recording (the gramophone) and film (movies).

The First World War is not only considered to have been unprecedented in terms of mass destruction, 20th century's "primal catastrophe,"¹ but it is at the same time the first "War of Media" in history. The inventions of sound recording and of moving images were in Austria welcomed with interest at a rather early stage: In 1899 at the *Austrian Academy of Science and Research* the so-called *Phonogrammarchiv* was founded, dedicated to the collection and storage of sound recordings of linguistic or musicological interest, including "voice portraits" of prominent persons. The policy of supporting research gave it a monopoly status within the country. In 1903 some phrases spoken by the Emperor himself were documented on the gramophone, remarkably the same year also his visit to Braunau am Inn was recorded by film pioneer Johann Bläser.² The rise of music ethnology was largely based on sound recording (e.g. Bartók and Kodály used it from 1905) and this is also documented by a whole section of papers dedicated to such research at the big international musicological conference in Vienna 1909, organized by Guido Adler on the occasion of the *Haydn Centenary Celebrations*.³ In the following year of 1910 Luise Veltée – btw said to have been the second female film director worldwide⁴ – together with Jakob Fleck, with Veltée's then husband Anton Kolm and her brother Claudius Veltée started the first Austrian production company (*Erste österreichische Kinofilms-Industrie*). Its aim was to fight first the French companies which at the time almost exclusively ruled the Austrian Monarchy's market and then also a new competitor, the *Sascha-Film*, which had been relocated to Vienna in 1912 and was – due to its founder, a wealthy bohemian count (Alexander Joseph Graf Kolowrat-Krakowsky) – financially very well off.⁵

Both technologies meant a big change in people's awareness and an improvement in respect to means of propaganda,⁶ which as a matter of fact became especially relevant during the forthcoming period of the First World War. Gramophones were widely used at home, but also "in the field" to provide musical distraction⁷ and Gramophone-Recordings (*Phonogramme*) served also⁸ to convey messages to the front or even

1 Ernst Schulin, "Die Urkatastrophe des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts," in *Der Erste Weltkrieg: Wirkung – Wahrnehmung – Analyse*, ed. Wolfgang Michalka (München: Piper, 1997), 224.

2 Cf. Dietrich Schüller, ed., *Tondokumente aus dem Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Historische Stimmen aus Wien*, vol. 3 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997); Thomas Ballhausen et al., eds., *Krieg der Bilder: Filmdokumente zur Habsburgermonarchie im Ersten Weltkrieg*, DVD 2, *Jubel und Elend: Illustrationen zum Zeitgeschehen* (Wien: Filmarchiv Austria, 2014), track 1.

3 Cf. *Haydn-Zentenarfeier. III. Kongreß der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Wien, 25. bis 29. Mai 1909: Bericht vorgelegt vom Wiener Kongreßausschuß* (Wien: Artaria & Co., Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1909).

4 "Louise Kolm-Fleck," Senses of cinema, accessed 24 August 2017, http://sensesofcinema.com/2004/great-directors/kolm_fleck.

5 Markus Nepf, "Die ersten Filmproduzenten in Österreich: Die Aufbauarbeit von Anton Kolm, Louise Veltée/Kolm/Fleck und Jakob Fleck bis zu Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs," in *Elektrische Schatten: Beiträge zur österreichischen Stummfilmgeschichte*, eds. Francesco Bono et al. (Wien: Filmarchiv Austria, 1999), 11–36.

6 Cf. Dietrich Schüller, "Phonographie, Phonogrammarchiv," in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, accessed 24 August 2017, http://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_P/Phonogrammarchiv.xml; Elisabeth Büttner and Christian Dewald, *Das tägliche Brennen: Eine Geschichte des österreichischen Films von den Anfängen bis 1945* (Salzburg: Residenz, 2002), 138–212.

7 Cf. "Das Grammophon hinter der Front," *Linzer Volksblatt*, 23 November 1915, 1; "Heldentod (Feuilleton)," *Prager Tagblatt*, 12 February 1917, 2; "Das Grammophon," *Österreichische Nähmaschinen- und Fahrradzeitung*, 31 August 1918, 15ff.; *Oesterreichische Landzeitung*, 4 January 1915, 3 has a wanted advertisement for a grammophon for the wounded and sick soldiers, as "this music instrument would be very welcome and contribute to cheer them up". All examples at ANNO: AustriaN Newspapers Online, accessed 28 August 2007, <http://www.anno.onb.ac.at/>.

8 Although not just in the sense familiar to us, as the term obviously meant all kinds of wireless communication.

some encouraging words to those at home by Emperor Franz Joseph himself.⁹ Reports from the *Phonogrammarchiv*'s work were regularly published¹⁰ and in November 1915 the k. u. k. ministry of war turned to the already mentioned *Phonogrammarchiv* asking if a collection of soldiers' songs already existed. As this was answered in the negative, one of its member of staff (Leo Hajek) was exempted from military service and ordered to do the recordings at certain regiments chosen by the ministry under the aspect to include all ethnic and linguistic groups the Monarchy existed of.¹¹ This was not the only project of this kind, but when in 1916 the so-called *Musikhistorische Zentrale* at the k. k. ministry of war started its work¹² basically the same repertoire was collected to form a “complete edition” of soldiers' songs and poetry. This seems to have mainly been done in the traditional manner as well as with the help of the state of the art technology. On the one hand Bernhard Paumgartner, head of the *Salzburg Mozarteum* and music expert (*Musikreferent*) of the war press bureau (*Kriegspressquartier*) writes that although many soldiers come of their own will to sing songs or to bring their songbook, they tend – according to their status in civil life – to mistrust the gramophone at first but become so eager after having heard their voices recorded, that only economic use of wax cylinders and discs puts a limit to them: “The main idea of gramophone recording remains the naturalness of the person doing it and his informal communication with lead singers.”¹³ On the other hand the questionnaire together with other surviving materials document that – probably for matters of expenses involved – this method seems to have indeed been an exception and songs were mostly made available in the form of manuscripts or prints.¹⁴ A first result were four volumes of *100 österreichische Soldatenlieder* arranged and edited by Paumgartner,¹⁵ another one was a so-called *Historical Concert* on 12 January 1918 in the *Wiener Konzerthaus*¹⁶ dedicated to the orphans and widows of Austro-Hungarian soldiers,¹⁷ at the same time a distinguished social event¹⁸ “under the protectorate of the Emperor and the Empress.” The program shows that there must have been hardly any contact with Hajek's

9 Cf. *Illustrierte Kronenzeitung*, 22 December 1915, title illustration and account p. 4; *Illustrierte Kronenzeitung*, 13 November 1916, 2, about getting news at the front. ANNO, accessed 28 August 2017.

10 Cf. *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 4 July 1917, 4–7; *Neues Wiener Journal*, 16 December 1917, 8. ANNO, accessed 28 August 2017.

11 Cf. Gerda Lechleitner, “On the soldier songs,” in *Soldier Songs of the Austro-Hungarian Army*, Sound Documents from the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, The complete historical collections 1899-1950, Series 4 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), liner notes 35.

12 Cf. Eva Maria Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale – ein Kultur- und Zeitdokument ersten Ranges: Die Soldatenliedersammlung beim k. u. k. Kriegsministerium im Ersten Weltkrieg: Geschichte, Dokumente, Lieder* (Wien: Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, 2012); originally Hois, “Ein Kultur- und Zeitdokument ersten Ranges: Die Soldatenliedersammlung der Musikhistorischen Zentrale beim k. u. k. Kriegsministerium im Ersten Weltkrieg: Geschichte – Dokumente – Lieder” (PhD diss., Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Wien, 2007).

13 Bernhard Paumgartner, “Das Soldatenvolkslied,” *Neue Freie Presse*, 9 January 1918, 2, ANNO, accessed 28 August 2017.

14 Cf. Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale*.

15 Bernhard Paumgartner, *100 österreichische Soldatenlieder*, 4 vols. (Wien: Universal Edition, 1916/1917).

16 Cf. Paumgartner, “Das Soldatenvolkslied,” 1–3; Paumgartner, “Das Soldatenvolkslied und seine Aufsammlung in der Musikhistorischen Zentrale des k. u. k. Kriegsministeriums,” in *Historisches Konzert am 12. Jänner 1918 im großen Saal des Wiener Konzerthauses* (Wien: Universal-Edition, 1918); several reports in the press on 13 January 1918; cf. Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale* or ANNO, e.g. *Wiener Zeitung*, 13 January 1918, 8.

17 A kind of spin off is reported to have taken place on 26 January at *Hotel Panhans* on Semmering, when for the benefit of the war-blinded a quartet of the *Wiener Männergesangsverein* performed some of the songs heard at the *Historische Konzert*; cf. *Wiener Zeitung*, 23 January 1918, 1, ANNO, accessed 25 August 2017.

18 A report from the concert which gives considerable space to prominent persons and nobility who were seen in the audience; cf. *Neue Freie Presse*, 13 January 1918, 12–13, ANNO, accessed 25 August 2017.

respective research as not a single song or piece from the *Phonogramm Archive* was performed,¹⁹ but the Hungarian collectors of folk music Zoltán Kodály and Béla Bartók took part with some of their arrangements.²⁰

The dire conditions of warfare were kind of ideal for both undertakings: the hierarchical structure of the army was used to access single soldiers “top down” so to speak, the mix of ethnic groups made all of them easy to find and also experts (teachers, musicians, academics) were there to help collecting.²¹ While Bartók never made sound recordings when collecting songs mainly from garrisons in Slovakia, Transsylvania and Rumania, he frequently mentions obstacles places before him by commanding officers.²² The *Phonogramm Archive*’s project as the more systematic and extensive one in terms of documentation and of variety of ethnic groups and languages covered, was guided by the *Kriegsministerium*’s expectations and regulations, with a rigid system of pre-censorship concerning who was recorded and what. Songs had to glorify the war and its victories, and/or they had to mock the enemy, the main portion of recordings being made up by those in German – which can be understood as a true reflection of the Monarchy’s political hierarchy in terms of languages.²³

Thus both activities can be seen as academic research in the service of the state’s reigning powers – in itself not an unusual thing. Besides the trans-ethnic team spirit within the troops also the patriotic spirit “at home” should be strengthened by it as is documented by the afore-mentioned concert. But the new technology – and this is my main point of reflection here – results also in another level of the state, the official, interfering with the private, the individual, by putting some kind of traditional pastime (singing) to academic as well as patriotic use in a more direct and more lasting way than by just the edition of songbooks for the purpose. The systematic interest for soldiers’ songs and poetry and their recordings for posterity may be seen as something positive in the midst of dirt, bloodshed, hunger and cold. But it also has this aspect of making use not only of a song, a repertory, but of the singers’ own voice and timbre. And as it gives voice to the single person within a mass of “battling troops,” it also marks the control of this very person and his reproducible use as a recorded sound. An even stronger argument in this sense lies in the fact that not only the monarchy’s soldiers, but also the prisoners of war became objects of research interest and were put before a recording machine.²⁴ Robert Lach built his following career in musico-

19 Cf. Lechleitner, “On the soldier songs,” liner notes 36.

20 Cf. program in the database of the Konzerthaus, “Konzerthaus-Archiv-Datenbanksuche,” Wiener Konzerthaus, accessed 25 August 2017, <https://www.konzerthaus.at/datenbanksuche>.

21 Cf. Paumgartner, “Das Soldatenvolkslied,” 2; Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale*, 166ff.

22 Oskár Elsček, “The collecting of soldier songs in the Austro-Hungarian army from the time of World War I,” in *Soldier Songs of the Austro-Hungarian Army*, liner notes 41. Elsček’s notes are also used in the paragraph hereafter.

23 The same hierarchy is also shown in the so-called *Völkerchor*, reproduced at the beginning of the edition of recordings by the *Phonogrammarchiv*, an arrangement of Haydn’s *Emperor Hymn* with a text by Friedrich Kratký, sung in four different languages. The social hierarchy and the languages in the four parts (two tenors, two basses) corresponds, as the first tenor sings in German and is an aristocratic singer of the *Hofoper* (Ernst Edler von Reichelt); for details of this recording cf. Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale*, 161–163.

24 Gerda Lechleitner and Christian Liebl, *Sound Documents from the Phonogrammarchiv of the Austrian Academy of Sciences: The Complete Historical Collections 1899–1950*. Series 17/1, *Recordings from Prisoner-of-War Camps, World War I: Armenian – Jewish – Latvian – Lithuanian Recordings* (1 Audio CD, 1 Data Disc). Series 17/2, *Recordings from Prisoner-of-War Camps, World War I: Finno-Ugric Recordings* (2 Audio CDs, 1 Data Disc). Series 17/3, *Recordings from Prisoner-of-War Camps, World War I: Russian – Ukrainian Recordings* (2 Audio CDs, 1 Data Disc). Series 17/4, *Recordings from Prisoner-of-War Camps, World*

logical academia (including the succession of chair of department after Guido Adler) on such documentation of prisoners' voices (and songs) which he had undertaken to answer in what he thought to be an exact and objective manner questions of musical categories of race corresponding to anthropological ones.²⁵ As a matter of fact, i.e. due to ideological as well as to economical conditions at the time, in the process of such documentation attention of the phonographed voices of both the monarchy's army and its prisoners of war as individuals was neglected or at best scarcely observed.²⁶ From the start military administration had been ambiguous about it and after some time the worsening of conditions led to the use of captive soldiers for forced labour, making research almost impossible.²⁷ And it is also unknown if for instance the contributing groups got copies of their recordings or if they were able to hear their recorded voices once at the actual event. The only testimonial of them as persons besides the recordings themselves can generally be found in the surviving documentation (protocols) kept as part of the *Phonogramarchive's* standard methodology.²⁸ These mention besides date and place of recording in case of solo-voices the singer's name together with an ethnic label and the names of his parents, in case of choirs the only remark relates to the respective unit it belonged to.

Although the materials involved were quite expensive, discs and rolls were as mentioned before important media providing means to escape reality, to relate with nostalgic memories or to experience positive feelings – all of which was of essential importance: In terms of sensations times of war created a public space full of highly pushed emotionality where every individual was exposed to a conflicting mix of emotional borderline experiences such as fear, excitement, patriotic pride, apathy, mourning, shame, fury or helplessness.²⁹ The mental turmoil caused by such state coincided with music's importance for people's sentimental condition codified by the romantic idea of music as the metalanguage of emotions³⁰ which related well to the rising self-description of music as Austria's special tradition and characteristic; a number of

War I: Turk-Tatar Recordings (2 Audio CDs, 1 Data Disc). Series 17/5, *Recordings from Prisoner-of-War Camps, World War I: Georgian – Avar – Jewish – Ossetian – Svan Recordings* (1 Audio CD, 1 Data Disc). Series 17/6, *Recordings from Prisoner-of-War Camps, World War I: Italian Recordings* (1 Audio CD, 1 Data Disc) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, forthcoming); for the context of such research, see Britta Lange, “Tonaufnahmen von Kriegsgefangenen,” in *Die Wiener Forschungen an Kriegsgefangenen 1915–1918: Anthropologische und ethnografische Verfahren im Lager* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2013), 322–430.

- 25 Barbara Boisits, “Musikwissenschaft im Ersten Weltkrieg: Der Fall Guido Adler,” in Christian Glanz and Anita Mayer-Hirzberger (eds): *Musik und Erinnern: Festschrift für Cornelia Szabó-Knotik* (Wien: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2014), 131ff.; Lange, *Die Wiener Forschungen an Kriegsgefangenen 1915–1918*, 145ff.
- 26 It is only recently that several research projects try to trace some of the prisoners' biographies and contextualize the recordings, sometimes even bring those voices back to family members still living; cf. Jasmine Dum-Tragut, “Das Lied eines unglücklichen Gefangenen, es singt Aršak Manukyan: Armenische Kriegsgefangene und Pöchs anthropologische Studien 1915–1917,” in *International Forum on Audio-Visual Research*, Jahrbuch des Phonogrammarchivs 7, ed. Helmut Kowar (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017), 46–63; Ulla Remmer and Lina Bügiené, “Alone among Tsar's servants': autobiographical texts of Lithuanian prisoners of war in the First World War,” in *International Forum on Audio-Visual Research*, 64–83.
- 27 Verena Moritz and Julia Walleczek-Fritz, “Chaos und Improvisation: Zum Umgang mit Kriegsgefangenen in Österreich-Ungarn 1914/15,” in *International Forum on Audio-Visual Research*, 12–29. This text also contains an informative bibliography for recent critical research about World War I.
- 28 *Soldier Songs of the Austro-Hungarian Army*, CD-ROM. The protocols from the prisoners' songs recordings will also be part of the forthcoming edition (see footnote 24).
- 29 Cf. Jan Plamper, *Geschichte und Gefühl. Grundlagen der Emotionsgeschichte* (München: Siedler Verlag, 2012).
- 30 Cf. Rüdiger Safranski, *Romantik: Eine deutsche Affäre* (München: Hanser, 2007).

ego-documents (letters, diaries) but also newspaper reports and literature on the subject can document and confirm this issue.

However the gramophone recordings did not directly take part in this situation, because soldiers' songs were at the time only propagated in their edited and written form, i.e. devoid of individual variants of melody, text, timbre or articulation. But concerning the other modern medium of (moving) image this is slightly different as it was also differently used, namely not for research documentation but as a means of popularized propaganda for a broad public and less for the soldiers who were not just spectators but also made actors in newsreels as well as in fictional movies.³¹ The medium film is brought to the front and enhanced when returning. Soldiers were repeatedly comparing their impressions to cinema's unrealities.³² As mentioned at the beginning, already Veltée-Kolm's company had started to produce a first Austrian newsreel and some respective, i.e. patriotic films.

After the beginning of World War I there was an increasing demand for both³³ not just because of the demands of official propaganda but also because the import of foreign films was restricted and later widely forbidden.³⁴

The range of genres produced during or even for the war is quite remarkable:³⁵ besides regular newsreels reporting from the theatres of war,³⁶ the war also made its way in all kinds of cinematic entertainment as for example in November-December 1914 a certain Robert Müller rental company announces a series of "Austrian war caricatures"³⁷ which seem to have been shown as some movie's by-program, and there are a number of films alluding to it in its plot and/or title. A central part in this respect was played by Alexander Kolowrat-Krakowsky mentioned at the beginning, who established a network of movies in eastern central-europe together with a big number of cinemas in camps before in 1917 the state increasingly made its influence felt on the film industry.³⁸ One example produced with the official goals in mind in close cooperation of the army, film business and film journalism³⁹ and also distributed by one of his companies, the Sascha-Meßter Film,⁴⁰ is *Wien im Krieg*,⁴¹ a document of how propaganda switched to elements of entertainment:

31 Ballhausen, *Krieg der Bilder*, 2.

32 Modis Eksteins, *Tanz über den Gräben* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1990), 215f, quoted in Elisabeth Büttner and Christian Dewald, *Das tägliche Brennen*, 138.

33 Ballhausen, *Krieg der Bilder*, 2.

34 Francesco Bono, "Bemerkungen zur österreichischen Filmwirtschaft und Produktion zur Zeit des Stummfilms," in *Elektrische Schatten*, 47–76.

35 Cf. Anton Thaller, ed., *Österreichische Filmografie*, vol. 1, *Spielfilme 1906–1918* (Wien: Filmarchiv Austria, 2010).

36 Cf. Ballhausen, *Krieg der Bilder*, 2.

37 Cf. Thaller, *Österreichische Filmografie*, 149, 171, 193, where amongst others also the adverts in the *Kinematographische Rundschau* are listed.

38 Cf. Ballhausen, *Krieg der Bilder*, 3: liner notes 7ff; cf. also a documenting film clip produced by his company *Ein k.k. Feldkinozug 1917, First World War and the End of the Habsburg Monarchy: the virtual exhibition on the history of the war from 1914-1918* in Austria, accessed 6 September 2017, <http://ww1.habsburger.net/de/medien/ein-k-k-feldkino-zug-waehrend-des-ersten-weltkrieges-film-1917>.

39 Cf. Sema Sebnem Colpan, "*Geschlechterrollen im Film im Ersten Weltkrieg am Beispiel von 'Wien im Krieg' (1916)*" (dipl. thesis, Universität Wien), 47ff., accessed 6 September 2017, <http://othes.univie.ac.at/3453/>.

40 Cf. Wikipedia, s.v. "Sascha-Filmindustrie," accessed 6 September 2017, <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sascha-Filmindustrie>.

41 *Wien im Krieg*, directed by Fritz Freisler and Ernst Hanus, 1916; cf. *Wien im Krieg*, Filmausschnitt, A 1916, accessed 6 September 2017, <http://ww1.habsburger.net/de/medien/wien-im-krieg-filmausschnitt-1916>; a synopsis on IMDb website, accessed 6 September 2017, <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0131644/>.

“Der Film kombiniert collageartig pseudodokumentarische Frontaufnahmen und nachgestellte Soldatenalltagszenen mit Traumsequenzen und expressionistischen Elementen, zusammengehalten durch eine leichtfüßige Story, erklärt und verstärkt durch Zwischentitel und kombiniert mit Wiener Schmäh. “Wien im Krieg” setzt eine theatrale Charakterstudie mit exhibitionistischem Schauspiel ein und zeichnet ein überaus positives Kriegsbild, indem die Referenzen zur Kriegswirklichkeit nur komödienhaft eingestreut sind. Wegen seiner episodentartigen Machart wird in den Filmkritiken der Revue-Vergleich gezogen.”⁴²

Thus soldiers were visible throughout, be it in documentaries as “background scene” to representative events staging some leading figures, be it as template of local colour for some feature film’s spectacle or even as part of such a film’s extras. This latter was done in a trilogy of patriotic films shot between 1915 and 1917 not by Kolowrat-Krakowsky but by the aforementioned Luise Kolm-Veltée, Anton Kolm and Jakob Fleck, providing a fitting example for the way, battling troops were staged in popular entertainment and for some ideas on how this might have been understood by spectators. The first part of it, released in March 1915, was based on a traditional programmatic piece written by a prominent representative of Austrian military as well as entertainment music, Carl Michael Ziehrer. Due to the political situation of the day the movie version of his *Traum eines österreichischen Reservisten* had to considerably alter the original storyline, as reservist dreams of glorious parades and manoeuvres had become obsolete, the ghastly reality upsetting all parts of daily life. The film is therefore not so much about dreamy nostalgia, but about heroism taken for real: The blacksmith’s love of his country is driven on by his journeyman, proudly showing his induction order. In spite of an idyllic family life the blacksmith’s longing to fulfill his patriotic duty is strongly felt. His dream leads him to real battleground with all the elements of warfare. Cheers are brought to Emperor Franz Joseph as well as to the German Ally Emperor Wilhelm I. And from his heroic death the blacksmith awakes with the firm decision not even to wait for his induction but to voluntarily join the war.⁴³

Such change of objective also resulted in a change of the music involved, the primary concern of which was now to illustrate the noise of warfare and the sounds of machinery. The movie-owners’ trade journal stresses the “70 year old” composer’s achievements in this sense, having “importantly expanded” the score and included “all kinds of war related noise” into his soundtrack:

“The noise of bursting shells, the incessant rattle of machine guns, the whizzing bullets and the infernal noise all those other terrible instruments of death can produce transported the audience into the thick of the turmoil of war.”⁴⁴

42 Colpan, “Geschlechterrollen im Film im Ersten Weltkrieg am Beispiel von ‘Wien im Krieg’ (1916),” 53.

43 “Im Schlußbild, das nach einem Wirklichkeitsbild aufgenommen wurde, sehen wir ihn, von Frau und Kind begleitet, in einer Bahnhofshalle kurz vor der Abfahrt eines mit Soldaten vollgepfropften Zuges. In der Halle eine riesige Menge. Eine Militärmusik spielt den Radetzky marsch. Der Reservist besteigt den Zug, Ein ergreifender Abschied. Der Zug saust davon.” *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 16 March 1915, 14, quoted in Thaller, *Österreichische Filmografie*, 241.

44 “Das Getöse der platzenden Granaten, das unaufhörliche Knattern der Maschinengewehre, das Pfeifen der Kugeln, und was sonst alle die fürchterlichen Mordinstrumente noch für einen Höllenlärm vollziehen können, versetzen den Hörer mitten in das Schlachtgetümmel...” *Lichtbild-Bühne*, 9 May 1915, 16, quoted in Thaller, *Österreichische Filmografie*, 241ff.

In addition to Carl Michael Ziehrer, who also worked for its last part, another prominent figure of Austrian popular music was involved for the sounds of the trilogy's second film, namely Franz Lehár, who had started a music career similar to Ziehrer's as leader of a military band before working as an operetta composer in Vienna. *Mit Herz und Hand fürs Vaterland* was released at the end of 1915. Its plot sets a scenery of war against the happy ending story of a secretly married soldier who also becomes a father for the first time. The title was commonly known as a call to military service and can be found on all kinds of patriotic merchandise, plates, postcards, etc. It was quoted in the chorus of the song *Jetzt gehts ans Abschiednehmen* by a German composer and poet Hugo Zschneid (1861–1932), who wrote of a number of patriotic songs popular from various songbooks, amongst others the widely used one for students' fraternities (Kommersbuch)⁴⁵ and is for example also the title of a German memoir on the first year of World War.⁴⁶ A movie owners' weekly end-of-the-year review for 1915 states that a smaller number of dramas and comedies of war had been produced than the year before but that those were remarkably better made and of higher artistic quality, whereas film-making in general had returned to the preferred subjects of peacetime. While the connection to the trilogy's first film is expressively drawn, the most recent *Mit Herz und Hand fürs Vaterland* is following to a press preview in the *Wiener Konzerthaus* rated as "one of the most outstanding dramas of war to be seen so far" which will deeply impress the public.⁴⁷ Besides the original images of "action on the Italian battlefield" it is again technology which reviews find fascinating,⁴⁸ the absolute highlight in this case being an often mentioned aeroplane flight of the main character which is even documented with some images in the fashionable automobile newspaper (*Autozeitung*).⁴⁹ The film's adverts promise "highly interesting shots from the southern theatre of war" and one review reports that for the action shots the ministry of war had made available no less than 20.000 squads.⁵⁰ On every level big numbers seem to have been essential in the propaganda of these films – the *Bosnian Post* claims that in Sarajevo in both afternoon and evening presentations 13.980 people were present, half of which students and military personnel with the other half of civilian public demonstrating the attraction of "good military-patriotic films." Announcements of performances in the press also document the well-known practice to play the soundtrack in the arrangements available, the instruments mentioned seem to equally hint on the special occasion created by a show of this film: while in Dornbirn piano, harmonium and violin were performing, in Olmütz it was the cinema's resident orchestra and for the celebrations of the emperor's 86th birthday in Marburg even the band of the resident regiment's replacement battalion accompanied the film.⁵¹ The propaganda trilogy's final part, an equally happy ending story of front heroism against warmhearted charity at home was released in March 1916. Its title *Mit Gott für Kaiser und Reich*

45 Goethezeitportal, accessed November 2015, <http://www.goethezeitportal.de/index.php?id=3991>.

46 Otto Thissen, *Mit Herz und Hand fürs Vaterland: Zeitbilder des Weltkrieges 1914* (Köln: Bachem, 1915).

47 *Kinematographische Rundschau*, 2 January 1916, 8, *Rückschau auf Filmproduktion des Jahres*, ANNO, accessed 10 August 2017.

48 *Kinematographische Rundschau*, 26 December 1915, 78.

49 *Allgemeine Automobilzeitung*, 16 January 1916, 31.

50 *Vorarlberger Landzeitung*, 6 May 1916, 3.

51 *Vorarlberger Volksfreund*, 29 April 1916, 7; *Deutsches Nordmährerblatt*, 14 February 1916, 2; *Marburger Zeitung*, 17 August 1916, 2.

is also a traditional, 19th century watchword of German nationalism, (s.a. during the German-French war) and a key slogan for mobilization of World War I in Germany. The music was as mentioned again compiled by Ziehrer, announcements for several releases of this film stress its objective to arouse patriotic enthusiasm while reviews claim its popular success. Ziehrer's music is this time just mentioned in passing – which is a difference from the first of these films – but again particular attention is paid on the overwhelming impression created by “real” soldiers acting in mass scenes of warfare:

*“Recklessly attacking cavalry, flying formations of cyclists, the traversing of a river, machine gun divisions, a mad rush over mountainous ground, riding patrol units, pursuits, bursting shells, encircling a mob of cossacks, light signals from spies, all of this conveys a thrilling, non-theatrical impression of battle which one has the impression to witness first hand.”*⁵²

Such reception corresponds to what reviews of the other two films of the trilogy state: correspondingly the *Grazer Mittagszeitung* sets these same characteristics of modern technology versus familiar old tunes to be alluded, defining – with the repeatedly used attribute of “highly patriotic” being of central relevance – the core of what the trilogy represents as follows:

*“Recklessly assailing columns of troopers, formation of cyclists flying away, transferring a river, machine gun divisions, ferocious pursuits across mountainous landscape, patrol rides, chases, striking grenades, encircling a horde of cossacks, a spy's light signals, all of this conveys a thrilling, utterly non-theatrical effect of battle which one at this films has the impression to experience.”*⁵³

This shows that the most important attraction in this whole series of films were displays of war machinery, of the technical features of so to speak “modern” warfare, combined to mass scenes showing real soldiers and not acting extras. But such staging of the battling troops also meant another level of making use of the soldiers' bodies which film as the newer medium in comparison to sound recording has done to a bigger extent. In this sense the staging on screen forces the individual who is already disempowered as part of a mass of subordinates exposed to all kinds of deprivations, to by its strains and sufferings contribute to propaganda and entertainment, to keep up

52 “Verwegen hinstürmende Reiterkolonnen, dahinfliegende Radfahrerverbände, das Überqueren eines Flusses, Maschinengewehrabteilungen, wilde Jagden über gebirgiges Terrain, Patrouillenritte, Verfolgungen, einschlagende Granaten, das Umzingeln einer Kosakenhorde, Lichtsignale von Spionen, das alles vermittelt einen packenden so ganz untheatralischen Eindruck von dem Kampfe, den man vor diesem Film mitzuerleben vermeint.” *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 22 March 1916, 8, quoted in Thaller, *Osterreichische Filmografie*, 274.

53 “In diesem Film sehen wir unsere tapfere Armee in prachtvollen Kampffesszenen gegen die Russen, Massenreitergefechte und auch die Schar der Radfahrerabteilungen im Kampfe mit dem Feinde. Eine herrlich spannende, hochpatriotische Handlung durchzieht den ganzen Film. Major von Heß und sein zukünftiger Schwiegersohn sind die Helden in diesem prächtigen Film und werden die ersten Rollen von berühmten Wiener Hofschauspielern dargestellt. Alt und Jung wird sich bei diesem hochpatriotischen Werke erfreuen und die stimmungsvolle Musik von Herrn k. u. k. Hofballmusikdirektor C. M. Ziehrer erhöht die ganze Darstellung zu einer wahren patriotischen Begeisterung, so daß des Jubels [sic] bei der Aufführung dieses Films schier kein Ende nehmen möchte.” *Grazer Mittagszeitung*, 1 April 1916, 2–3.

illusions of heroic supremacy. It is thus remarkable, that the fascination with mechanics, technology and masses frequently to be met in movies' reports and reviews is an element reminiscent of the contemporary enthusiasm for the same as displayed by the Italian futurists who expressively supported and applauded Italy's entry into World War I in 1915 but also had to deal with the gap between their artistic visions of it and the dire realities of war.⁵⁴ Which is again on the surface paralleled by the change of mentalities from wide spread enthusiasm for some quick victories to disillusionment, grief and sorrow.

Appendix:

- a) list of programs with cinematic elements in the *Wiener Konzerthaus* 1914–1918 as documented in the archive database:⁵⁵

Kino-Vorstellung

Sonntag 2 Mai 1915

Mozart-Saal

Programm

Das Hydro-Auto / Naturaufnahme

Überraschender Besuch / Humoreske

Hauptfilm:

Vereinte Herzen / Drama

Unser Regisseur / Humoreske

Rapallo / Naturaufnahme

Kriegsbericht

Das Kriegs-ABC / Fünfter Teil

zugunsten der Kriegshilfs-Aktion der Wiener Freiwilligen Rettungs-Gesellschaft;
Veranstalter ?

Kino-Vorstellung

Sonntag 17 Oktober 1915

Mozart-Saal

Programm

Dorf und Stadt / Nach der Novelle von Berthold Auerbach

«Wenn man sich verlobt» / Lustspiel

Neueste Kriegsberichte

zugunsten der Kriegshilfsaktion der Wiener Freiwill. Rettungs-Gesellschaft; Veranstalter ?

54 Cf. Henrike Hans, "Agressive Maschinen – der Futurismus nach 1915", in *"Schönheit gibt es nur im Kampf": Zum Verhältnis von Gewalt und Ästhetik im italienischen Futurismus* (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen: 2015), 273–294, accessed 5 September 2017, http://www.univerlag.uni-goettingen.de/bitstream/handle/3/isbn-978-3-86395-242-6/Hans_diss.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

55 "Konzerthaus-Archiv-Datenbanksuche," accessed 6 September 2017.

Kino-Vorstellung / Der Schienenweg unterm Ocean

Sonntag 24 Oktober 1915

Mozart-Saal

Programm

Der Schienenweg unterm Ocean / Ein Sensations-Schauspiel in fünf Akten

Datum ungewiß; Veranstalter ?

Kino-Vorstellung

Sonntag 31 Oktober 1915

Mozart-Saal

Programm

Die neuesten Kriegsberichte

Das Drama auf der Sternwarte

Uhlanenstreiche

Zugunsten der Kriegshilfsaktion der Wiener Freiwill. Rettungs-Gesellschaft; Veranstalter ?

Kino-Vorstellung

Dienstag 14 März 1916

Mozart-Saal

Programm

Mit Gott für Kaiser und Reich / Patriotisches Tongemälde verfaßt und inszeniert von Louise Kolm und J. Fleck

Carl Michael Ziehrer

Mit Gott für Kaiser und Reich. Begleitende Musik für ein Tongemälde

Datum ungewiß; Veranstalter ?

Erster Wohltätigkeits-Kino Abend

Samstag 20 Oktober 1917

19:00 Uhr

Mozart-Saal

Interpreten

Kapelle des Infanterie-Regiments Hoch- und Deutschmeister Nr. 4, Militärkapelle, Wilhelm Wacek, Dirigent

Programm

William Vincent Wallace

Ouverture zu «Maritana» (1845)

Die große Todespantomime / Zirkustragödie in fünf Akten

Eine lustige Geschichte in zwei Akten

Dominik Ertl

Hoch- und Deutschmeister-Marsch op. 41

Unterstützungsfondes für Witwen und Waisen nach gefallenen Deutschmeistern; Veranstalter ?

Akademie mit Filmvorführung

Montag 11 März 1918

19:00 Uhr

Großer Saal

Interpreten

Orchester des Wiener Konzertvereines, Orchester, Erna Hrubesch, Lesung, Joseph von Manowarda, Bariton, Wilhelm Klitsch, Lesung, Thea Rosenquist, Tanz, Hans Didier, Tanz, Raoul Aslan, Lesung, Martin Spörr, Dirigent

Programm

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart

Ouverture zu «Die Zauberflöte» K 620 (1791)

Josef Kiß

Judith Simon

Richard Dehmel

Vogel Greif

Josef Willomitzer

Seelenbündnis, vorgetragen von Erna Hrubesch

Clemens von Franckenstein

Helle Nacht

Weltgeheimnis

Einer Gefangenen

Stanislaus Neumann

Zirkus

Felix Salten

Musikanten, vorgetragen von Wilhelm Klitsch

Moderne tänze

Theodor Körner

Und Pierrot lachte

A. Tresuhm

Die Prinzessin im Morgenlande, vorgetragen von Raoul Aslan

Luise Kolm / J. Fleck

Die Schlange der Leidenschaft (EA)

Veranstalter Konzertbüro der Wiener Konzerthausgesellschaft

Filmvorführung «Pax aeterna»

Montag 18 März 1918

Großer Saal

Interpreten

Kapelle des Inf.-Reg. Nr. 99, Militärkapelle, Anna Kallina, Lesung, Franz Eber, Dirigent

Programm

Alfred Deutsch-German

Prolog

Franz Eber

Musik zu «Pax Aeterna» (Regie: Ole Olsen) (1918) (UA)

Ole Olsen

Pax aeterna / Drama in fünf Akten (UA)

Festvorstellung zugunsten des Roten Kreuzes;
Veranstalter Rotes Kreuz

b) Synopsis Wien im Krieg:⁵⁶

The inhabitants of Vienna line the streets to salute the soldiers who go to the war. The butcher and widower Franz Xaver Wamperl succeeds to enroll himself in the army, and so does his son Ferdl, who becomes a platoon leader. Ferdl is a womanizer, who at the same time has three fiancées in Vienna: Franzl, Resl and Poldi. All three girls remain faithful to him, when he's away at the front, and all of them send passionate love-letters to him. On May Day both Ferdl and his father Franz are back in Vienna on a short leave. They are sitting in an open-air café with another soldier, when suddenly Poldi and Franzl turn up at the same time. When the two women find out that Ferdl has a romance with both of them, they start to weep and quarrel. Ferdl tries to escape, but land in a fight between Franzl and Resl. Father Franz steps in as a savior, grabs Resl and walks away with her arm-in-arm. In the meantime Ferdl sneaks away from the tumult. He jumps into a tram, where he finds Poldi, who he embraces and kisses. At the same time the deserted Franzl finds a new fiancé in the third soldier at the café.

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⁵⁶ Maths Jespersen, “Wien im Krieg (1916), Plot,” on IMDb website, accessed 6 September 2017, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0131644/plotsummary?ref_=tt_stry_pl. The film-clip corresponds to subheads 16-21 in the film's list of scenes in Colpan, *Geschlechterrollen im Film im Ersten Weltkrieg am Beispiel von “Wien im Krieg” (1916)*, 79–88.

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POVZETEK

Sistematično zanimanje za pesmi in poezijo vojakov ter njihovo snemanje za prihodnje generacije lahko razumemo kot nekaj pozitivnega sredi umazanije, prelivanja krvi, lakote in mraza. A s tem, ko se daje besedo eni sami osebi iz množice »vojskujočih se čet«, se vzpostavlja tudi nadzor nad to osebo in njegovo ponovljivo rabo v obliki zvočnega posnetka. Nova tehnologija se odraža tudi na formalni ravni države, ki posega v zasebnost posameznika tako, da določeno tradicionalno obliko razvedrila (petje) podvrže akademski in patriotski rabi na bolj neposreden in trajen način kot je zgolj izdajanje pesmaric za ta namen.

Filmsko uprizorjanje vojskujočih se čet pomeni tudi novo raven uporabe teles vojakov, saj prisili posameznika, ki je kot del množice podrejenih že tako brezmočen in podvržen raznovrstnim oblikam prikrajšanja, da s svojim naporom in trpljenjem prispeva k propagandi in razvedrilu, ki vzdržujeta utvaro junaške premoči.

Zanimivo je torej, da očaranost nad mehaniko, tehnologijo in množicami v filmskih poročilih in recenzijah spominja na sočasno navdušenje nad njimi, kakršnega najdemo pri italijanskih futuristih, ki so izrecno podpirali in odobraval vstop Italije v prvo svetovno vojno, obenem pa so morali premostiti prepad med svojimi umetniškimi pogledi na vojno in njeno okrutno resničnostjo.