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Folksongs as “Jack of all Trades”: About the Meanings of Singing Folksongs in the First World War in Austria

Ljudske pesmi kot »deklice za vse«: o pomenih petja ljudskih pesmi med prvo svetovno vojno v Avstriji

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IZVLEČEK

Med prvo svetovno vojno je bilo petje in zbiranje ljudskih pesmi zelo pomembno. Projekti njihovega zbiranja so potekali na celotni fronti, v taboriščih za vojne ujetnike in v zaledju. Funkcije te prakse so bile različne. Ljudske pesmi v njihovem tradicionalnem pomenu, kot simbol nedolžne idile, je bilo mogoče uporabiti kot protiutež negotovi resničnosti, kot izraz naroda pa so bile pripravne za oblikovanje raznovrstnih identitet. Obstajajo različne oblike praks in publikacij, ki jih lahko razumemo kot zrcalo želja in utopij takratnih protagonistov.

ABSTRACT

During the First World War the singing and collecting of folksongs obviously had importance. There even were projects of collecting them on the front, in prisoner-of-war camps and in the hinterland. The functions of that practice were different. Folksongs in their traditional interpretation as a symbol of an innocent idyll could be used for producing a counterword to a problematic reality, and as an expression of a nation they were good for creating identities in varying forms. There are different forms of practicing and publications, which can be regarded as a mirror of desires and utopias of the then protagonists.

The ethnologist Konrad Köstlin wrote in 1994 that the German term *Volkslied* is “a new category of song, which had not existed in this sense before.”¹ He described it as a “product of the construction of national identity”: Scientists collected and selected songs, purified, cleaned and nationalized them. Finally, they are to be returned to the people.²

When Köstlin speaks about a “new category”, one must be careful. “New” means the time after the anglophile Johann Gottfried Herder had translated the English term *popular song* into the German *Volkslied*. The category was new at the time and older songs were preferred, the older the better. Old and new ones were assigned to the category if they suited the particular idea of *folksong*, as Köstlin stressed: *Folk music* gets “its meaning by interpretation”.³ Up to the present there have been sometimes harsh discussions about whether a song could be called a *folksong* or not. Its definition is a question of its time and ideology. In this sense Ernst Klusen even spoke in 1969 about the *folksong* as a matter of “Discovery and Invention”.⁴ He stressed that the *folksong* topos has differed from the *reality of singing* ever since its introduction by Herder.⁵ This genre became interesting because Herder interpreted it as a symbol of his idea of *nation*.⁶ In his opinion the educated society could learn more about the “thinking and customs of a nation...the history of their fathers” with the help of their *folksongs* than from the “prattle of travel reports”.⁷ These materials seemed to be perfect sources to identify the roots of a *nation*.⁸ The idea of *nation* was no longer just a matter of a territorial dominion. Gradually it became common sense that the so-called *spirit of the folk* expresses nationality, and therefore the examination of rural folkloristic forms was seen as an opportunity to describe the phenomenon of *nationality* and to create increasingly a feeling of nationality. Herder does not see the songs as an object of singing but as an object of discussion and inspiration for new poetic forms.

One of the earliest and most popular collections during the 19th century was *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano (1805/06–1808), which can give an idea of a different meaning of *folksong*. Brentano saw the *Wunderhorn*-lyrics as an expression of a world alternative to modern urbanity, represented

1 “eine neue Kategorie des Liedes, die es so vorher nicht gegeben hatte.” Konrad Köstlin, “Wissenschaft als Lieferant von Erfahrung,” in *Volkskunde und Brauchtumpflege im Nationalsozialismus in Salzburg, Referate, Diskussionen, Archivmaterial. Bericht zur Tagung am 18. Und 19. November 1994 in der Salzburger Residenz*, ed. Walburga Haas (Salzburg: Salzburger Landesinst. für Volkskunde, 1996), 28.

2 “Produkte der nationalen Identitätsfabrik, in der die von den sammelnden Wissenschaftlern ausgewählten Lieder – veredelt, gereinigt, nationalisiert – dem Volke wiedergeschenkt werden sollten.” Köstlin, “Wissenschaft als Lieferant von Erfahrung,” 29.

3 “die Bedeutung durch Deutung.” Konrad Köstlin, “Der Wandel der Deutung: Von der Modernität der Volksmusik,” in *Volksmusik – Wandel und Deutung: Festschrift Walter Deutsch zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. Gerlinde Haid, Ursula Hemetek and Rudolf Pietsch (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2000), 120.

4 Ernst Klusen, *Volkslied: Fund und Erfindung* (Köln: Gerig, 1969). See also Köstlin, “Wissenschaft als Lieferant von Erfahrung,” 28.

5 Köstlin, “Wissenschaft als Lieferant von Erfahrung,” 137.

6 See Hans Graubner, “Epos, Volksepos, Menschheitsepos: zum Epos-Konzept bei Herder,” in: *Nationalepen zwischen Fakten und Fiktionen*, ed. Heinrich Detering et al., *Humaniora, Germanistica* 5 (Tartu: University Press, 2011), 73–92.

7 “von Denken und Sitten der Nation...der Geschichte ihrer Väter”; “Plappereyen der Reiseberichte.” Johann Gottfried Herder, *Zur schoenen Literatur und Kunst*, vol. 8, J. G. v. Herders sammtliche Werke 24 (Carlsruhe, 1821), 62.

8 See also Stefan Berger and Peter Lambert, “Intellektuelle Transfers und geistige Blockaden: britische-deutsche Historikerdialoge,” in Stefan Berger, Peter Lambert and Peter Schumann, eds., *Historikerdialoge: Geschichte, Mythos und Gedächtnis im deutsch-britischen kulturellen Austausch 1750–2000* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 74–76.

in *urban songs*. He reflected his own experiences in Halle, where he got to know the students' world, which he saw as an immoral one. At that time gallant French literature was in vogue, particularly erotic songs, as Brentano complained.⁹

The confrontation between *folksongs*, representing a rural idyll, which could be a *fountain of youth* for the modern society, and popular *urban songs*, representing this modern society, has accompanied discussions up to the present. Therefore, the *folksong* has to be *true, innocent and simple*, the *popular modern (urban) song* was in this context characterized as *voguish, vicious, stilted and immoral*. The collection of Arnim and Brentano represents a *depot of memories*¹⁰ to give answers to questions of current problems.

When Brentano contrasted the *Wunderhorn*-songs with *gallant French songs*, he didn't just reflect on a *problematic urban modernity*, but also the armed conflicts with Napoleon at that time. The call for cooperation in this collection in 1805 speaks about a patriotic work: “the reflection on the common heritage of earlier times” and that “the Germanic tribes should be aware of their cultural unity...and strengthen the national opposition against Napoleon.”¹¹

Especially in times of change, *tradition*, represented in folkloristic cultural forms, notably in folksongs, seemed to give a feeling of structure and stability. It is no coincidence that the interest in folkloristic art boomed at the turn to the 20th century. As Konrad Köstlin mentions, there is in many respects a need for folklore in modern societies: These cultural manifestations suggest a national identity in the invention of a common past of all social classes: “Folklore arises especially in modern societies with an increasing democratic claim, which makes it attractive, even if their promise is not always kept.”¹²

The collecting and singing of *folksongs* was given new impetus. In Austria Josef Pommer¹³ was the dominant representative of the so-called *Folksong Movement* and the authority on the definition of the *folksong* topos. He was inspired by its philological analyses of people like Herder and Uhland. Pommer was deeply bound to the German national movement in Austria and saw the folksong as an ideal repertoire for building a new (German) society in *modern times of international urbanisation*, but he was not just focused on the education of the bourgeois class as it was in the 19th century. In Pommer's first songbook *Liederbuch für die Deutschen in Österreich* he stressed the actual need for such a collection: It should be a “true songbook of the people”, not just for the bourgeois-educated class.¹⁴

9 Armin Schlechter, “Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Eine Momentaufnahme des populären Liedes,” *Ruperto Carola* 1 (2008), accessed 9 September 2017, <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/presse/ruca/ruca08-1/02.html>.

10 See Konrad Köstlin, “Folklore, Folklorismus und Modernisierung,” in *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 87, no. 1–2 (1991): 61.

11 “Die Besinnung auf das gemeinsame Erbe der Vorzeit sollte den deutschen Stämmen ihre kulturelle Einheit bewusst machen und...die nationale Opposition gegen Napoleon stärken.” “Des Knaben Wunderhorn,” in *Hauptwerke der deutschen Literatur: Einzeldarstellungen und Interpretationen*, vol. 1, *Von den Anfängen bis zur Romantik* (München: Kindler, 1994), 292.

12 “Die Folklore tritt gerade in den modernen Gesellschaften mit einem verstärkten demokratischen Anspruch auf, das macht sie, auch wenn sie ihn nicht immer einlöst, dennoch so attraktiv.” Köstlin, “Folklore, Folklorismus und Modernisierung,” 58.

13 Iris Mochar-Kircher, *Das “echte deutsche Volkslied”: Josef Pommer (1845–1918) – Politik und nationale Kultur*, Musikkontext 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004).

14 Josef Pommer, *Liederbuch für die Deutschen in Österreich* (Wien: Verl. Deutscher Club, 1884), 3.

The focus at the beginning of the 20th century was not just on discussions but also on practicing and *experience*. Of course, the choral practice in the 19th century had folksongs in its repertoire, but at the beginning of the 20th century there was a new impetus. Especially young urban people united in the so-called *Youth Movement* were looking for the romantic symbol of the *blue flower*. Singing and collecting folksongs were more than leisure activities for those adolescents. Like the romantics at the beginning of the 19th century they saw in their activities – *campfire-romantic* hiking without comfort, singing *pure folksongs* – a *counter-world* to a *dangerous modern civilisation*. This way of life should help to shape an idealistic social community in future times and offers a possibility to enforce conceptions of national identity. They rejected singing in choir associations, which was regarded as old fashioned and as a symbol of civic urbanity. The so-called *Youth Movement* – one of the most prominent examples at the time was the *Wandervogel* – constituted a part of the so-called *German Reform Movements* that were carried out by the middle class.¹⁵ Despite of their differences there was one common goal: they wanted to overcome *modern society*, which was perceived as *materialistic*. The reformers of life strongly believed in a refinement and further advancement of the individual, who also made society better by living closer to nature.¹⁶ It was typical of those reformers to be against capitalism and cultural chauvinism. Of course the aversion differed in its strength from group to group.¹⁷ Most of them – especially the adolescents – welcomed the beginning of the First World War,¹⁸ which was also seen as a purging fight between the idealistic values of *German culture* and the *materialistic* values of the *West*.¹⁹ As their joyful reaction to the beginning of the war shows, they saw it as a necessary means to create “new and superior values.”²⁰ Those young people as well as many members of the *Folksong Movement*, however, were interested in the rebuilding of an ideal German nation.

Even those who were at the front tried to keep their attitude of singing folksongs.

In times of the First World War, dealing with folksongs didn't end. Although there might have been choirs like the *Deutsche Volksliedverein* in Vienna, which had to reduce or even stop their activities because of the decrease in their membership, as many of them had to go to the front.²¹ The activities in the project *Das Volkslied in Österreich*, founded by Josef Pommer in 1904 to collect folksongs in the German part of Austria, were also interrupted,²² but the interest in practicing and collecting folksongs was still alive. The Austrian Government had great interest in folksongs, although leading

15 An overview of Reform Movements in Germany in *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen 1880–1933*, eds. Diethart Kerbs and Jürgen Reulecke (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1998).

16 *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen 1880–1933*, 11–13.

17 Martin Vogt, “Illusionen als Tugend und kühle Beurteilung als Laster: Deutschlands ‘gute Gesellschaft’ im Ersten Weltkrieg,” in *Der Erste Weltkrieg: Wirkung, Wahrnehmung, Analyse*, ed. Wolfgang Michalka (Weyarn: Seehamer, 1997), 633.

18 Anita Mayer-Hirzberger, “Die Musik der Jugendbewegungen in Österreich bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg” (PhD diss., University of Graz, 1993), 53–58.

19 Thomas Rohkrämer, “August 1914 – Kriegsmentalität und ihre Voraussetzungen,” in *Der Erste Weltkrieg: Wirkung, Wahrnehmung, Analyse*, ed. Wolfgang Michalka (Weyarn: Seehamer, 1997), 768.

20 John Meier. *Das deutsche Soldatenlied im Felde*, Trübners Bibliothek 4 (Straßburg: Trübner, 1916), 1.

21 Karin Heinisch, “Der ‘Deutsche Volkslied-Verein in Wien’ (1903–1967): Geschichte, Organisation, musikalische Tätigkeiten und Repertoire” (master theses, Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Wien, 1993), 35.

22 Gerlinde Haid, “Volksliedsammlung,” in *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, accessed 31 October 2017, http://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_V/Volksliedsammlung.xml.

persons in this context sometimes preferred other forms and other goals than groups around Pommer or representatives of the *Youth Movement*.

Singing per se was seen as an important part of a soldier's education. A leading guide for that occasion published in 1916 in Vienna²³ states: Singing should reinforce “the patriotic, military and comradely spirit”, and it was also seen as helpful for the aural training and the sense of rhythm.²⁴ A careful selection of songs from “the rich treasury of real folk- and good folkloristic songs of all tongues of the Empire” was regarded as important. *Patriotism* in that case meant to reinforce the idea of a pluralistic Austrian nation, which differed from the Austrian *Youth Movement*²⁵ and *Folksong Movement*. Their desire was to force German culture in Austria.

The officer cadets should learn to sing in choirs with up to four voices. In the situation of marching one should choose songs suitable for masses, therefore they had one or two voices.²⁶ The young students of the military school were supposed to be future role models for the common soldiers in patriotic singing. Here again folksongs were seen as combining the national repertoire of all classes. And again, folksongs were seen as *true* and *innocent*, helpful in a dangerous surrounding. But most of the time one didn't speak about the cruelty of war, of armed battles, death and hunger, but of a moral brutalization, because of the influence of *dirt and trash*. The soldiers should be kept away from *worthless rubbish*. For that reason, in 1914 the k. u. k. War Press Department of the Army Command (*Kriegspressequartier des Armeekommandos*)²⁷ was founded as a central post for press and propaganda. This organisation tried to gather prominent artists to produce different kinds of propaganda material. The people responsible for that section regarded it as important to replace “...worthless trash, which is so commonly published at low prices, by artistic products of noble quality...” The members of the art group should “inform the commando of the war press section (the leader of the artists' section) about materials that are artistically valuable and effective as a means for propaganda.”²⁸ Of course these materials were not just produced for the soldiers' use in the field or in the hinterland but also for those who stayed at home, who needed to get an idealized picture of war.

In 1916 Bernhard Paumgartner was asked to organize collections of soldiers' songs.²⁹ One year later the *Centre for Musical History* was founded as a section of

23 *Anleitung für den Unterricht an k. u. k. Militär-Erziehungs- und Bildungsanstalten: Gesangsunterricht*, ed. by k. u. k. Kriegsministerium (Wien, 1916). See also 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), 48–50.

24 *Anleitung für den Unterricht an k. u. k. Militär-Erziehungs- und Bildungsanstalten*, 2.

25 See Mayer-Hirzberger, “Die Musik der Jugendbewegungen in Österreich bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg.”

26 “dem reichen Schatz an echten Volks- und guten volkstümlichen Liedern aller Zungen der Monarchie,” *Anleitung für den Unterricht an k. u. k. Militär-Erziehungs- und Bildungsanstalten*, 3.

27 See Walter Reichel, “*Pressarbeit ist Propagandaarbeit*” – Medienverwaltung 1914–1918: Das Kriegspressequartier (KPQ), *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs (MÖStA)*, Sonderband 13 (Wien: Studienverlag, 2016); Walter F. Kalina, “Österreichisch-ungarische Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg: Das k. u. k. Kriegspressequartier 1914–1918,” in *Viribus Unitis: Jahresbericht 2015 des Heeresgeschichtlichen Museums* (Wien, Heeresgeschichtl. Museum, 2016), 9–23.

28 “wertlosen Kitsch, der durch die Verlagsstellen zu billigen Preisen so vielfach vertrieben wird künstlerische Erzeugnisse vornehmer Qualität treten (zu lassen)...”; “Material, das künstlerisch wertvoll und für Zwecke der Propaganda von Wirkung ist, dem Kommando des Kriegspressequartiers (Leiter der Kunstgruppe) zur Kenntnis bringen.” Kommando des Kriegspressequartiers to Bernhard Paumgartner, Vienna, 3 May 1917, Musikhistorische Zentrale, AT-OeStA/KA ZST KM Intern 99/97, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien.

29 See Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale*, 62.

the War Press Department under Paumgartner's leadership. The Command Centre informed him that they were "...especially...interested in gaining wide publicity, which would mean mass production to facilitate low prices, so that people with low financial means can be reached,"³⁰ like "a gentleman from the artists" group (who) was drawing a set of Hungarian and tarot cards.³¹

The commander of the section, Wilhelm Eisner-Bubna, pointed out that the emperor was personally interested in this project, and he exhorted the staff members of that section to focus in future "...on protecting and possibly raising the image of the leaders of the army, including the troops – in texts, pictures, films and through any other means."³²

The special task for Paumgartner was to organize the collections of soldiers' songs at the front. A similar project was planned for Hungarian songs at the *hinterland*.³³ The theatre of war became an ideal field for research, producing different forms of materials: traditional handwritten manuscripts, but also up-to-date recordings by phonograph for the archiving of those documents,³⁴ which should also be a reservoir for further publications. Paumgartner wrote in his report to *the commando of the war propaganda*, that those publications should "replace the bad leaflets and songbooks, which are these days thrown onto the market by unscrupulous small publishing companies, by offering cheap, decently made products with good content."³⁵ He insisted on employing a team of "first choice experts...as the danger of introducing songs of bad quality and bad taste was quite considerable."³⁶ He found them in members of the *Folksong Movement* and the *Youth Movement*.

The collections were not only seen as a pool of suitable practical material for the time of war. In those days collections of everyday materials (letters, diaries, postcards, songs and so forth), which served as memories of the war, became a national pastime all over Europe.³⁷ Special journals for amateur and professional collectors of wartime memorabilia were found, like the *Kriegssammler-Zeitung* in Austria. The war was seen as one with a new social dimension and "not just a battle of the armies".³⁸ Those objects should be a source for later times because they represent "the gigantic battle as a great

30 "Insbesondere liegt mir daran, diesfalls den Weg zur breiten Öffentlichkeit zu finden, das heisst, durch Massenerzeugung billige Preise zu ermöglichen, die den Vertrieb auch unter kleine Leute gestatten." Kommando des Kriegspressequartiers to Bernhard Paumgartner.

31 Ibid.

32 "...auf die Wahrung und möglichste Hebung des Ansehens der Wehrmacht-Führer und Truppen inbegriffen – in Wort, Bild Film und allen sonstigen geeigneten Mitteln." Eisner-Bubna, Oberst, Kommandobefehl, 9 May 1917, Musikhistorische Zentrale, AT-OeSTA/KA ZST KM Intern 99/114, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien.

33 Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale*, 62.

34 Compare Cornelia Szabó-Knotik, "Mit Herz und Hand fürs Vaterland" – Staging the Fighting Heroes for Propagandistic Purposes."

35 "...die schlechten Flugblätter und Liederhefte, wie sie jetzt von gewissenlosen, kleinen Verlegern auf den Markt geworfen werden, durch Billigkeit, geschmackvolle Ausstattung und guten Inhalt zu verdrängen." Bernhard Paumgartner to the Kommando des Kriegspressequartiers, report about the publication of a Hungarian soldiers' songbook, July 1917 (concept), Musikhistorische Zentrale, AT-OeSTA/KA ZST KM Intern 99/114, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien.

36 "...die ersten Fachleute..., da die Gefahr des Eindringens schlechter, geschmackloser Lieder besonders jetzt erheblich ist." Bernard Paumgartner to the Kommando des Kriegspressequartiers.

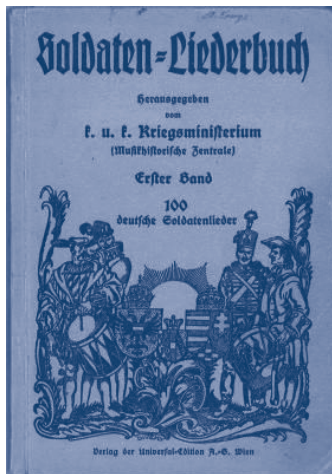
37 Susanne Brandt, *Kriegssammlungen im Ersten Weltkrieg: Denkmäler oder Laboratoires d'histoire?* accessed 19 September 2017, <http://docplayer.org/31516882-Kriegssammlungen-im-ersten-weltkrieg-denkmaeler-oder-laboratoires-d-histoire.html>.

38 "...nicht nur ein Kampf der Heere." Brandt, *Kriegssammlungen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 244.

experience of all social classes of the German people,”³⁹ as a report from a war exhibition 1914 in Weimar explains.

Folksongs were also in the interest of collectors. An article in 1918 in the *Kriegssammler-Zeitung* spoke about 400 prints or more since the beginning of the war and stressed their cultural significance. Folksongs were named “cultural memories for later times”.⁴⁰ The paper gives an example of historic interpretation in comparing Austrian and French folksongs, collected during the war: The French ones were described as “...brutal warmongering, agitation of the national instinct...hate, hate and again hate... How harmless are...Viennese War songs! No hate anywhere, only harmless descriptions of the atmosphere...”⁴¹

The article didn’t describe those alleged 400 prints of folksongs. The large number of publications must have included very different forms of soldier- and folksongs, because there were just a few publications by the *Centre of Music History* or representatives of the *Folkmusic Movement*. A lot of those publications were probably included, and the *k. u. k. War Press Department of the Army Command* and its musical section under Paumgartner wanted to replace them with material that was suitable in their eyes. What certainly fell within that category were folksongs that had been connected to the character of *harmlessness*, *naivety* and *innocence* since the time of Herder. Not only was the Austrian nation seen as *harmless*, but even times of war could be played down.



Picture 1: *Soldaten-Liederbuch*, vol. 1, 100 deutsche Soldatenlieder, ed. by *k. u. k. Kriegsmuseum (Musikhistorische Zentrale)* (Wien: Universal-Edition, 1918).

39 “... die den Riesenkampf ein großes Erlebnis aller Schichten des deutschen Volkes darstellen.” A. T., “Ein Kriegsmuseum in Weimar,” in *Hannoverscher Kurier*, 13. 12. 1914, Unterhaltungsbeilage, 9. See also Brandt, *Kriegssammlungen im Ersten Weltkrieg*, 241.

40 “Kulturdenkzeichen für spätere Zeiten.” G. W., “Das Volkslied als Kriegssammelgegenstand,” in *Kriegssammler-Zeitung*, 8. 3. 1918, 3–4.

41 “... wüste Kriegshetze, Aufpeitschung der nationalen Instinkte ... Haß, Haß und nochmals Haß ... Wie harmlos sind dagegen ... Wiener Kriegslieder! Nirgends Haß, immer nur harmlose Stimmungsschilderei ...” G. W., “Das Volkslied als Kriegssammelgegenstand,” 3–4.

Some illustrations of song booklets for soldiers and future soldiers of the Austrian Army between 1914 and 1918 are far from being bellicose or even patriotic. Some contain the sentiment, even the humour or the historicizing⁴² designs in the style of traditional illustrations of former songbooks or the very popular postcards. All of them are without any hint of irony, but good at belittling the horror of war, especially for those who stay at home.

Others copied the style of publications, which were typical for *Reform Movements*, especially the *Youth Movement*, like the songbook *Jung Österreich Lieder* of 1915 initiated by the *Geschäftsstelle für die militärische Jugendvorbereitung* of the *k. u. k. Statthaltereie in Lower Austria*⁴³ for pre-military education, and also the four booklets *Österreichische Soldatenlieder* published 1916–17 by the *Centre for Musical History*.



Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Picture 2: Franz Windhager, Illustration for *Österreichische Soldatenlieder*, gesammelt von des musikhistorischen Zentrale der k. u. k. Kriegsministeriums und herausgegeben zu Gunsten der Kriegspatenschaft, vol. 1, Steindruck, Albert Berger (Wien, 1917).

The title page of *Jung Österreich Lieder* depicts a casual young man with an open shirt and a guitar decorated with ribbons – a motif that is reminiscent of the cheerful *Wandervogel*. The first inside page is also illustrated in that spirit, with adolescents hiking, singing, and playing the lute. Made in the style of a woodcut, it seems to be borrowed from matching publications of the *Youth* and *Reform Movement*, although it lacks their skills. Even the size and the cheap price (like all the other of those magazines, it cost 40 Hellers) corresponded with their kind of paper. Even the arrangements of the songs are reminiscent of the ideals of the *Youth Movement*. They are for one or two voices with simple guitar accompaniments.

42 Remembering the times of the late Middle ages or the early modern era, in that respect often interpreted as the “Golden Age” of German society.

43 *Jung Österreich Lieder*, ed. Hans Wagner (Wien: Jung-Österreich-Verlag, 1915).



Picture 3: *Jung Österreich Lieder*, ed. Hans Wagner (Wien: Jung-Österreich Verlag, 1915).

Despite all the similarities, the members of the *Youth Movement* ignored it, although they normally were always interested in new and useful collections of songs. There are no references to it in their newspapers. Maybe the gap between them and patriotic ideas of this song collection for pre-military education was too wide and too obvious. Haydn's hymn, with the text by Johann Gabriel Seidl and Hoffmann von Fallersleben stood at the beginning of a series of songs for the *fatherland*, which probably did no longer trigger enthusiasm at that time, at least concerning the decisive leaders. Even folksongs could not compensate for the lack of interest. But all in all, the groups of *Wandervögel* and similar organizations were not impressed by the exhortations to sing songs “...that praise the emperor and empire, the people and the homeland, in true spirit, for the glory of the fatherland, for the honour of the people.”⁴⁴ In principle, people in the *Youth Movement* had no problem with paramilitary training, as Johannes Stauda of the *Bohemian Wandervogel* stressed. Outdoor games had been practiced before the war, when other groups still made fun of them. But he clearly disapproved of interventions by schools and the army and opposed a patriotic attitude.⁴⁵ In confirmation of that, Stauda quotes a letter from the field by Karl Metzner, an influential figure of the *Bohemian Reform* and *Youth Movement* who had strong national convictions: “Despite everything, it will be different here from what we expect. Our state is a state of nations, and the nations will revolt against such a purely Austrian education. Our government will never find enough strength and courage to enforce the Austrian idea.”⁴⁶

Bernhard Paumgartner's efforts for the publications of the *Centre of Music History* were considerably more successful in those circles. Not surprisingly, members of the *Folksong Movement* and the *Youth Movement* were involved in the collection.

⁴⁴ “...von Kaiser und Reich, von Volk und Heimat künden, im richtigen Geiste, dem Vaterlande zum Ruhme, dem Volke zur Ehre.” Preface to *Jung Österreich Lieder*, 1.

⁴⁵ Johannes Stauda, *Der Wandervogel in Böhmen 1911–1920*, vol. 1 (Reutlingen: Harwalik KG, 1975), 46.

⁴⁶ “Es wird bei uns trotz allem anders, als man denkt. Unser Staat ist ein Nationalitätenstaat, und gegen eine solche rein österreichische Erziehung werden sich die Nationen auflehnen und unsere Regierung wird nie die Kraft und den Mut finden, den österreichischen Gedanken durchzusetzen.” Stauda, *Der Wandervogel in Böhmen*, 46.

The title page of the second booklet of the *Österreichische Soldatenlieder* is also reminiscent of the idylls of a youthful life. The Austrian soldiers did not march into war; they seemed to hike with a merry song on their lips.

The folksong researcher and *Wandervogel* Karl Magnus Klier praised the first booklet of soldiers' songs – it should be mentioned that he was part of the staff: "A song-book of the *Wandervogel* could not possibly be better."⁴⁷ Julius Janizcek,⁴⁸ the then leading authority in the field of music for the Austrian *Youth Movement*, wrote about the booklets three and four: "At any rate, there is a fresh breath of air blowing everywhere. One feels how the minds of those courageous singers wander home, to the Blue Mountains."⁴⁹



Picture 4: *Österreichische Soldatenlieder*, vol. 2, *Marsch und Heimatlieder*, ed. Bernhard Paumgartner (Wien: Universal-Edition, 1917).

In the Preface of the *Soldaten Liederbücher* Bernhard Paumgartner spoke in a similar way: "...all our brave soldiers should have a faithful companion at their side in all those songs, true folksongs, which had been created from among them in the old, the modern and the recent times, they are as simple, robust and original, as they are really sung on the march, in the barracks and at the campfires – it should be a booklet of soldiers' songs in the real meaning of the word that excludes all intentional, artificial, strange elements as a matter of principle..."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ "Ein Wandervogelliederbuch könnte unmöglich besser sein." *Wandervogel: Österreichisches Fahrtenblatt* 1, 7 (1917), 122.

⁴⁸ After 1918 he changed his name because of national reasons to Walther Hensel.

⁴⁹ "Jedenfalls weht überall ein frischer Hauch. Man fühlt, wie das Gemüt der wackeren Sänger in der Heimat weilt, in den blauen Bergen." *Wandervogel: Österreichisches Fahrtenblatt* 1, 10 (1917), 217–218.

⁵⁰ "...unseren tapferen Soldaten (sollen) alle jene Lieder, die als echte Volkslieder in alter, neuerer und neuester Zeit in ihrer Mitte entstanden sind, so schlicht, kernig und ursprünglich, wie sie wirklich auf dem Marsche, in den Kasernen und an den Lagerfeuern gesungen werden, als treue Begleiter zur Seite geben und so ein Soldatenliederbuch im wahren Sinne des Wortes sein, das alles Gewollte, Kunstmäßige, Fremde prinzipiell ausschließt und auch die sogenannten „volkstümlichen“ Lieder nur insoweit berücksichtigt, als diese Allgemeingut der Soldaten geworden sind..." Paumgartner, *Österreichische Soldatenlieder*, 2.

The result of the large-scale collection was first presented at a concert on 12th January 1918, namely in a “monumental, generous form.”⁵¹ The wind section of the *k. u. k. Hofoper* and the *Deutschmeisterorchester* participated. The folksongs were not sung in a simple form for two or one voice and guitar, as they were published in the small and practical editions. Here they were performed in arrangements for male choir or solo voice with piano accompaniment by famous singers (Hans Duhan, Maria Jeitza and Ferencz Székelyhidy).⁵² The presentation obviously had to be a representative patriotic event attended by the empress. Similar concerts in other cities (Baden, Brno, Budapest, Linz and Salzburg⁵³) of the monarchy followed.

The booklet for the Viennese concert, 64 pages long, brought papers of Austrian collectors and researchers of German, Hungarian (Bela Bartok) as well as Slavonic (Felix Petric) folksongs, in order to underline the multicultural character of the Austrian monarchy. But as the performance in Budapest shows, the concept of a pluralistic state was not shared by everybody. Bela Bartok, who was then intended for the management, complained that important circles only wanted to include Hungarian folksongs.⁵⁴ But earlier he had also reported that at the Viennese concert, folksongs were only allowed in the German and Hungarian languages, all others were only in German translation. The main problem for Bartok was that Slovakian folksongs were sung in German and not in Hungarian “although the Slovaks live in Hungary and not in Austria.”⁵⁵

The ideal of a multicultural Austrian monarchy was obviously just an illusion in 1918.

Because of their image as a *true* and *innocent* expression of a *nation* in the First World War, folk songs were seen as an ideal repertoire, which could be useful for different goals: for the mental education in pre- and military training, in order to reinforce the sense of community, the patriotic feelings and even ethical behaviour. It was also seen as helpful against being homesick and for the trivialisation of the horrors of war. Folk songs also became objects for amateur and professional collectors, because they were seen as cultural memorabilia for the historical image of a land and its people. Military troops were used as a field for research, because on the battlefield, people of different social classes came into contact: the bourgeois collectors could meet their objects of investigation on-site.

These different interests implied different forms of appearance. There were practical editions in the form of songbooks and leaflets with one or two voices, publications for male quartet, male-, women- or mixed-choirs, commemorative editions, handwritten manuscripts or recordings by phonograph for the archiving of those documents.

In particular, they were supposed to reinforce the patriotic feeling for a *multicultural Austria*, but on the other hand, they were used as an argument for German, Hungarian or other nationalists – a *Jack of all Trades*.

51 Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale*, 184–209.

52 Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale*, 192.

53 Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale*, 203.

54 Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale*, 206–209.

55 Hois, *Die Musikhistorische Zentrale*, 193.

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POVZETEK

Med prvo svetovno vojno so bile ljudske pesmi zaradi njihove podobe *resničnega* in *nedolžnega* izraza *naroda* razumljene kot idealni repertoar, ki ga je mogoče uporabiti za različne namene: za psihične priprave v predvojaškem ter vojaškem usposabljanju, za krepitev občutka skupnosti, domoljubnih čustev in celo etičnega vedenja. Razumljene so bile tudi kot zdravilo za domotožje in kot način trivializacije vojnih grozot. Prav tako so postale predmet ljubiteljskih in poklicnih zbirateljev, ki so v njih videli kulturne spominke zgodovinske podobe dežele in njenih prebivalcev. Vojaške čete

so obravnavali kot raziskovalno polje, saj so se na bojišču srečevali ljudje iz različnih družbenih razredov: meščanski zbiratelji so lahko svoj predmet raziskovanja proučevali na licu mesta. Omenjeni različni interesi so pomenili različne pojavnne oblike. Objavljali so praktične izdaje v obliki pesmaric in letakov za enega ali dva glasova, publikacije za moške kvartete, moške, ženske ali mešane zборе, spominske izdaje, ali zapisovali in snemali za arhiviranje teh dokumentov. Pesmi naj bi še zlasti krepile domoljubna čustva do *večkulturne Avstrije*, vendar so bile na drugi strani uporabljene kot argument nemških, madžarskih in drugih nacionalistov – bile so *deklice za vse*.