

# Notes

## Notes to Introduction

- 1 Eric John Leed, *No Man's Land. Combat and identity in World War I* (Cambridge, etc. 1981, orig. 1979) x.
- 2 Please note, the object of study is films that were made after the First World War. For German films made during the First World War, see, among others: Karel Dibbets & Bert Hogenkamp (ed.), *Film and the First World War* (Amsterdam 1995); Hans Barkhausen, *Filmpropaganda für Deutschland im Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York 1982); however, this is mainly an institutional history and analysis.
- 3 Michael Salewski, 'Das Weimarer Revisionssyndrom', in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* B2/80 12 January 1980, 14-25. See also: Peter Krüger, *Versailles, Deutsche Aussenpolitik zwischen Revisionismus und Friedenssicherung* (Munich 1986); Ulrich Heinemann, *Die verdrängte Niederlage, Politische Öffentlichkeit und Kriegsschuldfrage in der Weimarer Republik* (Göttingen 1983); Wolfgang Jäger, *Historische Forschung und politische Kultur in Deutschland: Die Debatte 1914-1980 über den Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Göttingen 1984).
- 4 Jost Hermand & Frank Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt am Main 1989; orig. Munich 1978); Walter Lacqueur, *Weimar. A Cultural history 1918-1933* (New York 1980); John Willett, *The new sobriety. Art and politics in the Weimar period 1917-1933* (London 1970); Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture. The outsider as insider* (New York, London, etc. 1970; orig. 1968).
- 5 Modris Eksteins, *Rites of spring. The Great War and the birth of modern age* (New York, London, Toronto, etc. 1989) 256-258.
- 6 Hans Binneveld, *From shell shock to combat stress* (Amsterdam, 1997). This theme was recently used in the trilogy by the British novelist Pat Barker, in *Regeneration; The eye in the door, The ghost road*.
- 7 '... behavioral expectations such as "courage" or "manliness" resulted simply in getting maimed or killed to no military effect.' Leonard V. Smith, 'Masculinity, memory, and the French First World War Novel. Henri Barbusse and Roland Dorgelès', in Franz Coetzee & Maralin Shevin-Coetzee (ed.), *Authority, identity, and the social history of the Great War* (Providence, Oxford 1995) 251-52.
- 8 Walter Flex, *Der Wanderer zwischen beiden Welten. Ein Kriegserlebnis* (Munich 1916). Ernst Jünger, *In Stahlgewittern* (Berlin 1922; private edition 1920). The body of thought in which the inspiring and regenerative powers of war are defended has existed for a long time. In connection with the First World War, it also played a role in France. See: H.L. Wesseling, *Soldaat en krijger. Franse opvattingen over leger en oorlog aan de vooravond van de eerste wereldoorlog* (Amsterdam 1988) 219-225.
- 9 Frits Boterman, *Moderne geschiedenis van Duitsland 1800-1990* (Amsterdam, Antwerpen 1996) 191.
- 10 This term refers both to 'an ideological position and mentality within German conservatism' as 'the variety of organisations, clubs and publications that had been

- established as an act of resistance against the Weimar Republic.' (transl.) Frits Boterman, *Oswald Spengler. 'Der Untergang des Abendlandes'. Cultuurpessimist en politiek activist* (Assen, Maastricht 1992) 187. Also see, among others: Stefan Breuer *Anatomie der konservativen Revolution* (Darmstadt 1993) and Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary modernism. Technology, culture, and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge, London, New York, etc. 1984).
- 11 Eelco Runia, 'De emotie van het congruente', *Feit & Fictie* 2 (Summer 1993) 81-85. See also the introduction to his dissertation: *De pathologie van de veldslag. Geschiedenis en geschiedschrijving in Tolstoj's 'Oorlog en vrede'* (Amsterdam 1995) 11-25, especially p. 19; see also Gottfried Niedhart & Dieter Riseberger (ed.), *Lernen aus dem Krieg? Deutsche Nachkriegszeiten 1918-1945* (Munich 1992) 12-13. Niedhart distinguishes two levels of coming to terms in a post-war period: one on the 'Wahrnehmungsebene' and the other on the 'Handlungsebene'. The first level refers to a process in which 'dem Krieg in unterschiedlicher Weise verarbeitet (oder auch nicht verarbeitet) und dargestellt wurde.' The second level is connected with 'gesellschaftliches Handeln (...) das durch den Krieg und Kriegsfolgen beeinflusst und – in welcher Form auch immer – auf Überwindung der Nachkriegszeit und auf Rückkehr zu einem Zustand der Normalität – alter oder neuer Prägung – gerichtet ist.'
  - 12 Abram de Swaan, 'De maatschappelijke verwerking van oorlogsverledens', in J. Dane (ed.), *Keerzijde van de bevrijding. Opstellen over de maatschappelijke, psycho-sociale en medische aspecten van de problematiek van oorlogsgetroffenen* (Deventer 1984) 54. He also writes: 'To go even further, some of these ideas are forced upon someone by others, he must cope with them in his version of his fate, however painful or unwelcome they may be for him.' (transl.) See also: B.P.R. Gersons, "Post-traumatische stress-stoornis: de geschiedenis van een recent begrip" *Maandblad geestelijke volksgezondheid* 9 (1990) (sixth and seventh page of the article).
  - 13 Idem. De Swaan.
  - 14 Cf. Frank van Vree, *In de schaduw van Auschwitz. Herinneringen, beelden, geschiedenis* (Groningen 1995) 57-88.
  - 15 See also: Thomas Elsaesser, 'Subject positions, speaking positions: from Holocaust, Our Hitler, and Heimat to Shoah and Schindler's List', in Vivian Sobchack (ed.), *The persistence of history. Cinema and television and the modern event* (New York, London 1996) 145-183; Saul Friedländer (ed.), *Probing the limits of representation. Nazism and the "final solution"* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London 1992); Eric L. Santner, *Stranded Objects. Mourning, memory and film in postwar Germany* (Ithaca 1990). And: G. Goossens and H.J. Pott, 'Syberbergs oorlog. Cinema als geschiedsschrijving,' in F.R. Ankersmit, M. van Nierop. H.J. Pott (ed.), *Hermeneutiek en cultuur. Interpretatie in de kunst- en cultuurwetenschappen* (Amsterdam, Meppel 1995) 157-179.
  - 16 Hayden White, 'The modernist event' in Sobchack (ed.), *The persistence of history*, 20.
  - 17 Modris Eksteins, *Rites of spring. The Great War and the birth of modern age* (New York, London, Toronto etc. 1989) 218. See also: Samuel Hynes, *A war imagined. The Great War and English Culture* (London 1991) 108.
  - 18 See the collection of annotated letters from the front collected by Bernd Ulrich & Benjamin Ziemann, in *Frontalltag im Ersten Weltkrieg. Wahn in Wirklichkeit* (Frankfurt am Main 1994); Idem., *Krieg im Frieden. Die umkämpfte Erinnerung an den Ersten*

- Weltkrieg. Quellen und Dokumente (Frankfurt am Main 1997); and Klaus Theweleit, *Männerphantasien* (2 vol., Frankfurt am Main 1977).
- 19 Robert Weldon Whalen, *Bitter Wounds. German victims of the Great War, 1914-1939* (London 1984) 31.
  - 20 Ibidem, 32.
  - 21 Two recent studies are: Hugh Cecil & Peter Liddle (ed.), *Facing Armageddon: The First World War experienced* (London 1996); Rainer Rother (ed.), *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit. Bilder des Ersten Weltkrieges* (cat. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin 1994).
  - 22 A selection: Thomas Elsaesser, 'Germany the Weimar years', in Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (ed.), *The Oxford history of world cinema* (Oxford 1996) 136-151; Thomas Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin. American Cinema and Weimar Germany* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1994); Anton Kaes & Wolfgang Jacobsen & Hans Helmut Prinzler (ed.), *Geschichte des deutschen Films* (Stuttgart 1993) 39-100; Holger Schettler, *Arbeiter und Angestellte im Film. Die Darstellung der sozialen Lage von Arbeitern und Angestellten im deutschen Spielfilm 1919-1939* (Bielefeld 1992); Uli Jung & Werner Schatzberg (ed.), *Filmkultur zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik* (Munich 1992); Thomas Saunders, 'History in the making. Weimar cinema and national identity', in Bruce Murray & Ch. Wickham (ed.), *Framing the past. The historiography of German cinema and television* (Carbondale/Illinois 1992) 42-67; Wolfgang Jacobsen, Karl Prümm und Benno Wenz (ed.), *Willy Haas als Mitproduzent. Texte zum Film 1920-1933* (Berlin 1991); Bruce Murray, *Film and the German left in the Weimar Republic. From Caligari to Kuhle Wampe* (Austin, Texas 1990); Patrice Petro, *Joyless Streets. Women and melodramatic representation in Weimar Germany* (Princeton/New Jersey 1989); Knut Hickethier (ed.), *Grenzgänger zwischen Theater und Kino. Schauspielerporträts aus dem Berlin der zwanziger Jahre* (Berlin 1996); Thomas Elsaesser, 'Film history and visual pleasure: Weimar cinema', in Patricia Mellencamp & Philip Rosen (ed.), *Cinema histories/cinema practices* (Los Angeles 1984) 47-84; Rainer Berg, *Zur Geschichte der realistischen Stummfilmkunst in Deutschland - 1919 bis 1929. Ein Beitrag zur historischen und systematischen Filmforschung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Problemen der öffentlichen Meinung* (diss. Berlin 1982); Thomas Plummer, Bruce Murray et al (ed.), *Film and politics in the Weimar Republic* (New York, London 1982); Helmut Korte (ed.), *Film und Realität in der Weimarer Republik. Mit Analysen von "Kuhle Wampe" und "Mutter Krausens Fahrt ins Glück"* (Munich, Vienna 1978; Frankfurt am Main 1980); Paul Monaco, *Cinema & Society. France and Germany during the twenties* (New York, Oxford, Amsterdam 1976); Lotte Eisner, *Die dämonische Leinwand* (Frankfurt am Main 1980; orig. *L'écran démoniaque*, 1952); Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler. A psychological history of the German film* (Princeton 1974, 5<sup>th</sup> edition; orig. 1947).
  - 23 I mean studies by: Garth Montgomery, *Learning from war films: the German viewer as historical subject in theories of Bildung, mass communications, and propaganda, 1918-1945* (diss. Ann Arbor/Michigan, Buffalo/Texas 1992); see also his article: "'Realistic' war films in Weimar Germany; entertainment as education", *Historical journal of film, radio and television* 2 1989, 115-133; Wolfgang Mühl-Benninghaus, 'Der erste Weltkrieg in den Medien zur Zeit der Weltwirtschaftskrise', in Ursula Heukenkamp (ed.), *Militärische und zivile Mentalität. Ein literaturkritischer Report* (Berlin 1991) 120-133; Thomas Saunders, 'Politics, the cinema, and early revisita-

- tions of the war in Weimar Germany', *Canadian Journal of History* XXIII, April 1988, 25-48.
- 24 Bärbel Schrader (ed.), *Der Fall Remarque*. Im Westen nichts Neues. Eine Dokumentation (Leipzig 1992). See also: Andrew Kelly, *Cinema and the Great War* (London, New York 1997) 43-57; John W. Chambers II, 'All quiet on the Western Front (1930): The antiwar film and the image of the First World War', *Historical journal of film, radio and television* 4 1994, 377-411; Modris Eksteins, 'The fate of the film *All quiet on the Western Front*'. *Central European History* vol. 13 1980, 345-366.
  - 25 Mike Budd (ed.), *The cabinet of Dr. Caligari*. Texts, contexts, histories (New Brunswick, London 1990).
  - 26 R. Berg, *Zur Geschichte der realistischen Stummfilmkunst* (1982).
  - 27 'Chronik 1895-1930', in Ilona Brennicke & Joe Hembus, *Klassiker des deutschen Stummfilms 1910-1930* (Munich 1983) 236-258.
  - 28 This 'complaint' can also be found in the introduction to the book by Axel Marquardt & Heinz Rathsack (ed.), *Preussen im Film* (part 5 of the catalogue *Preussen Versuch einer Bilanz*. Eine Ausstellung der Berliner Festspiele GmbH) (Hamburg, Berlin 1981) 7. The films that belonged to the canon were probably the most interesting, but the public turned out to be more interested in films about, for example, figures from Prussia's past, such as Frederick II and Queen Luise.
  - 29 Robert Sklar, *Movie-made America. A social history of American movies* (New York 1975). Sklar was one of the first to concentrate on the 'interaction' between matters such as film technology, audiences, cinema architecture, cinema management, organisation of the film industry, the social and professional life of people who work in the film industry, governmental policy in connection with films, censorship strategies and the cultural influence of film in America and elsewhere; Douglas Gomery, *Movie history: A survey* (Belmont/California 1991); Garth Jowett, *Film: the democratic art* (Boston 1976).
  - 30 David Bordwell, Kristin Thompson & Janet Staiger, *The classical Hollywood cinema. Film style & mode of production to 1960* (London 1985).
  - 31 Thomas Elsaesser (ed.), *Early cinema*. Space, frame, narrative (London 1990). Cf. Anton Kaes, *Filmkultur der Weimarer Republik* (Munich 1992) 62. 'Die Rekonstruktion der historischen diskursiven Zusammenhänge, in denen sich auch die grossen kanonisierten Filme (...) befunden haben, macht es möglich diese klassischen Filme mit gleichzeitigen, heute meist unbekannten (...) Texten zu "vernetzen", um sie wieder mit jenen Bedeutungen aufzuladen, die durch den Kanonisierungsprozess, d.h. durch die unvermeidliche selektive Überlieferung, verlorengegangen sind.' See the same passage quoted and commented upon in an article by Ulrich Kriest: "Gespenstergeschichten" von Texten, die Texten umstellen. "New historicism" und Filmgeschichtsschreibung', *Montage/AV* 5.1 (1996) 105.
  - 32 A recent result of this is David Bordwell, *On the history of film style* (Cambridge/Massachusetts, etc. 1997).
  - 33 Examples of this method can be found in Robert Rosenstone (ed.), *Revisioning history. Film and the construction of a new past* (Princeton/New Jersey 1995).
  - 34 Eberhard Baier, *Der Kriegsfilm*. Eine Dokumentation (Aachen 1980). Baier's list of German (Weimar) films about the First World War contains only five films (DIE ANDERE SEITE, BERGE IN FLAMMEN, DOUAUMONT, NIEMANDSLAND, WESTFRONT

- 1918 and *Die SOMME*) and concludes: 'Es gibt eigentlich nur wenige Filme über den 1. Weltkrieg, wenn man das Angebot der in Deutschland gezeigten Filme betrachtet. Ausserdem fällt auf, dass (...) vor allem kritische Filme gedreht wurden.' (27-28). To be absolutely clear on this: more than thirty German First World War films were made, among them no more than three convincing anti-war movies. See also: Ivan Butler, *The war film* (South Brunswick/New York, London 1974).
- 35 Andrew Kelly, *Cinema and the Great War* (London, New York 1997); Michael T. Isenberg, *War on film. The American cinema and World War I, 1914-1941* (London, Toronto 1981). Jack Spears, *Hollywood: The golden era* (London 1971) 11-76.
- 36 To name two standard works: Jerzy Toeplitz, *Geschichte des Films 1895-1928* (transl. from Polish; Berlin 1972); *Geschichte des Films 1928-1933* (Berlin 1976). Toeplitz remarks in the first five lines that navy films about the First World War were popular around 1926. He mentions *Emden* (1926) (the correct title is *UNSERE EMDEN*) and *U9 Weddigen* (1927) (the correct title is *U9 WEDDIGEN*) (423). In the second part, he devotes some attention to two German anti-war films *WESTFRONT 1918* (208-9) and *NIEMANDSLAND* (219-220). The same is true for the films, *1914* (full title: *1914. DIE LETZTEN TAGE VOR DEM WELTBRAND*) (220) and *MORGENROT* (202), which is mentioned under the heading of the so-called national films, and also includes the films about Frederick II's Prussia; Ulrich Gregor & Enno Patalas, *Geschichte des Films 1895-1939* (Munich, etc. 1984, orig. 1973): besides *WESTFRONT 1918*, these authors only mention *BERGE IN FLAMMEN* and *MORGENROT* (143).
- 37 To give some examples: *DIE FREUDLOSE GASSE* (1925); *GEHEIMNISSE EINER SEELE* (1926); *DIE LIEBE DER JEANNE NEY* (1927); *DIE BÜCHSE DER PANDORA* (1929); *DAS TAGEBUCH EINER VERLORENEN* (1929); *DIE WEISSE HÖLLE VOM PIZ PALU* (1929); *WESTFRONT 1918* (1930); *DIE DREIGROSCHENOPER* (1931); *KAMERADSCHAF* (1931).
- 38 Siegfried Kracauer, *From Hitler to Caligari. A psychological history of the German film* (Princeton/New Jersey 1974, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, orig. 1947) v.
- 39 Ibidem, 11-12.
- 40 Siegfried Kracauer, 'Die kleinen Ladenmädchen gehen ins Kino', *Das Ornament der Masse, Essays* (Frankfurt am Main 1977; orig. 1963) 279-280. (italics by Kracauer).
- 41 Kracauer concludes his consideration as follows: 'Irretrievably sunk into retrogression, the bulk of the German people could not help submitting to Hitler. Since Germany thus carried out what had been anticipated by her cinema from its very beginning, conspicuous screen characters now came true in life itself (...) many motifs known from the screen turned into actual events.' in *From Caligari to Hitler* (1974) 272.
- 42 *DER WELTKRIEG* (1927), *Der Emden* (1926; correct title: *UNSERE EMDEN*), *KREUZER EMDEN* (1932), *U9 WEDDIGEN* (1927), *HEIMKEHR* (1928), *1914* (1931), *WESTFRONT 1918* (1930), *NIEMANDSLAND* 1931), *BERGE IN FLAMMEN* (1931), *MORGENROT* (1933), in Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler* (1974). Incidentally, Toeplitz's wrong or incomplete reproduction of titles shows that he probably used Kracauer's work, as would many after him.
- 43 Ibidem, 137.
- 44 Idem.

- 45 According to Kracauer, these very popular films were an expression of escapism, and too short-lived to be considered typical of its time.
- 46 Ibidem, 156. In this, they were similar to the many (popular) films about Frederick II's Prussia. Kracauer also included the films *HEIMKEHR* (1928), a film about two German soldiers coming home after years in Russian captivity, and the film *1914* in the category of 'paralysis' films. (p. 191, 207). In 1927, Kracauer only wrote: 'Die geschätzten Szenen aus dem Weltkrieg sind keine Flucht ins Jenseits der Geschichte, sondern die unmittelbare Willenskundgabe der Gesellschaft.' From: 'Die Ladenmädchen gehen ins Kino' (1927), in *Das Ornament der Masse, Essays* (Frankfurt am Main 1977/1963) 281, see also 286-87.
- 47 Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, 232-236.
- 48 Ibidem, 269 (*BERGE IN FLAMMEN*); 269-70 (*MORGENROT*). Kracauer also includes films about the Napoleonic wars in this category, such as *DIE LETZTE KOMPAGNIE* (Kurt Bernhardt, 1930), *YORK* (Gustav Ucicky, 1931) and *DER REBELL* (Luis Trenker, 1933) (261-265). For an account of the representation of Prussia in film, see: Marquardt & Rath sack (ed.), *Preussen im Film* (1981).
- 49 Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, 271.
- 50 The following studies, among others, appeared on German film criticism in the Weimar Republic: Sabine Hake, 'Filmpublizistik der Weimarer Jahre', Hans-Michael Bock & Wolfgang Jacobsen (ed.), *Recherche: Film. Quellen und Methoden der Filmforschung* (Hamburg 1997) 25-36; Sabine Hake, *The cinema's third machine: writing on film in Germany, 1907-1933* (Lincoln, London 1993); Heinz-B. Heller, *Literarische Intelligenz und Film. Zu Veränderungen der ästhetischen Theorie und Praxis unter dem Eindruck des Films 1910-1930 in Deutschland* (Tübingen 1985); Linda Schulte-Sasse, 'Film criticism in the Weimar Press', Thomas G. Plummer, Bruce A. Murray et al (ed.), *Film politics in the Weimar Republic* (New York, London 1982) 47-59; Anton Kaes (ed.), *Kino-Debatte. Texte zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Film 1909-1929* (Tübingen 1978).
- 51 Jay Winter, *Sites of memory sites of mourning. The Great War in European cultural history* (Cambridge 1995); George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the memory of the world wars* (Oxford etc. 1990); Modris Eksteins, *Rites of spring. The Great War and the birth of modern age* (New York etc. 1989).
- 52 See for example: Gerhard Hirschfeld & Gerd Krumeich & Irina Renz (ed.), 'Keiner fühlt sich hier mehr als Mensch...'. Erlebnis und Wirkung des Ersten Weltkrieges (Essen 1993); Klaus Vondung (ed.), *Kriegserlebnis. Der Erste Weltkrieg in der literarischen Gestaltung und symbolischen Deutung der Nationen* (Göttingen 1980).
- 53 Eksteins, *Rites of spring*, xvi. In Germany, according to Eksteins, the war was considered 'as the supreme test of spirit, and as such, a test of vitality, culture, and life.' (90); 'For the Germans this was a war to change the world; for the British this was a war to preserve the world.' (119). Cf. Hynes, *A war imagined* (1991) ix-xi.
- 54 Ibidem, (Eksteins) 258-9.
- 55 Two publications appeared of the latter two films which analyse them within the context of Weimar's modernist culture: Sabine Hake, 'Urban spectacle in Walter Rutmann's *Berlin, Symphony of the big city*' (127-137) and Dietrich Neumann, 'The urbanistic vision in Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*' (143-154), both in Thomas W. Kniessche

- & Stephen Brockmann (ed.), *Dancing on the Volcano. Essays on the culture of the Weimar Republic* (Columbia 1994).
- 56 Eksteins, *Rites of spring*, 223.
- 57 Eksteins, 'All quiet on the Western Front and the fate of a war', *Journal of contemporary history*, XV 2 (april 1980) 345-366.
- 58 Ibidem, 277.
- 59 Ibidem, 282. Eksteins bases his conclusion on statements Remarque made in several interviews, including the one with Axel Eggebrecht for *Die literarische Welt* (14 June 1929). See also: Thomas E. Schneider, *Erich Maria Remarque. Ein militanter Pazifist. Texte und Interviews 1929-1966* (Cologne 1994).
- 60 Ibidem, 290.
- 61 After all, Eksteins writes at the beginning of his argument: 'What provoked the sudden revival of interest in the war at the end of the twenties? And what did the war boom reveal? A look at the motivations of Remarque in writing his novel may yield some clues.' Ibidem, 277.
- 62 'Der Kultursektor der Weimarer Zeit darf nicht reduziert werden auf die künstlerische Avantgarde und das Aufkommen einer Massenkultur. (...) Die "Moderne" beherrschte nicht unangefochten die Kulturszene, die neue Kunst war keineswegs populär und allgemein akzeptiert: traditionelle Kunstrichtungen und die hergebrachte Formensprache blieben weiterhin einflussreich, und eine mächtige kulturpessimistische und zivilisationskritische Strömung setzte dem Vordringen der Moderne entschiedenen Widerstand entgegen.' Eberhard Kolb, *Die Weimarer Republik* (3<sup>rd</sup> revised (ed.), Munich 1993).
- 63 Eksteins, *Rites of spring*, 215. Hynes, in his study *A war imagined* (1990) agreed: 'They [writers, BK] saw that the war was not an adventure or a crusade, but a valueless, formless experience that could not be rendered in the language, the images, and the conventions that existed. To represent the war in the traditional ways was necessarily to mis-represent it, to give it meaning, dignity, order, greatness – an essential and inevitable place in the human soul. But there was as yet no other way to represent it.' (108).
- 64 Winter, *Sites of memory*, 3. In the next paragraph, he writes: 'What is at issue is both whether such a distinction is accurate and whether it contributes to an understanding of the cultural consequences of the Great War. On both counts, I dissent from the "modernist" school.'
- 65 Ibidem, 227. 'What we have called traditional language of loss, in the visual arts, in prose and poetry, and inscribed in social forms of mourning, thereby contributed to the process of healing (...)' According to Winter, a true break with this tradition did not occur until after the Second World War (228).
- 66 Ibidem, 132.
- 67 Ibidem, 132-133. J'ACCUSE was made in 1919 by Abel Gance; *Verdun* in 1928. For the last film, however, Winter gives the year 1932. The original silent version of the film is from 1928, the 1932 version was re-edited and provided with new sound. See Richard Abel, *French cinema. The first wave, 1915-1929* (Princeton/New Jersey, 1987, orig. 1984) 204. Together with LA GRANDE ILLUSION (1937) by Jean Renoir, these were the most important films made in France about the First World War.

- 68 Ibidem, 15-18, 133-144, 139-149. Winter gives an extensive analysis of *J'accuse* and briefly discusses the American war film *THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF THE APOCALYPSE* (Rex Ingram, 1920).
- 69 In the light of Mosse's earlier work on nationalism, it is not so strange that he chose this perspective (see his *Nationalization of the masses* [New York 1981]). The theme of the relationship between nationalism and the experience of war was earlier discussed in a chapter called: 'Das Kriegserlebnis des Ersten Weltkrieges' in Kurt Sontheimer's *Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik. Die politische Ideen des deutschen Nationalismus zwischen 1918 und 1933* (1992 3rd edition, abridged textbook edition 1968; orig. 1962) 93-111.
- 70 Mosse, *Fallen soldiers*, 7.
- 71 Ibidem, 8, 10. See also Bernd Hüppauf, 'Schlachtenmythen und die Konstruktion des "Neuen Menschen"', Hirschfeld et al (ed.), *Keiner fühlt sich hier mehr als Mensch...* (1983) 43-79.
- 72 Mosse, *Fallen soldiers*, 7-9.
- 73 Ibidem, 107-125. Mosse has devoted a separate chapter to nature symbolism. An important role was played by the book by Walter Flex, *Der Wanderer zwischen beiden Welten* (Munich 1916).
- 74 Ibidem, 152-5.
- 75 Ibidem, 247 note 16. The quotation that follows can be found on page 59 of Buchner's book.
- 76 Ibidem, 187. For a critical discussion of this genre, see: Eric Rentschler, 'Mountains and modernity: Relocating the *Bergfilm*', *New German Critique* 51 (1990) 137-161.
- 77 Mosse, *Fallen soldiers*, 201-225.
- 78 They are the following films: *BERGE IN FLAMMEN*, *IN DER HEIMAT DA GIBT'S EIN WIEDERSEH'N*, *DIE UNSICHTBARE FRONT* and *IM GEHEIMDIENST*. All these films, except for the first one, have been lost.
- 79 Hans-Harald Müller, *Der Krieg und die Schriftsteller. Der Kriegsroman der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart 1986); Margrit Stickelberger-Eder, *Aufbruch 1914. Kriegsromane der späten Weimarer Republik* (Zürich, Munich 1983); Martin Patrick & Anthony Travers, *German novels on the First World War and their ideological implications* (Stuttgart 1982); Michael Gollbach, *Die Wiederkehr des Weltkrieges in der Literatur. Zu den Frontromanen der späten Zwanziger Jahre* (Kronberg/Ts. 1978); Karl Prümm, *Die Literatur des soldatischen Nationalismus der 20er Jahre (1918-1933)* (Kronberg 1974).
- 80 See for example in Irmgard Wilharm, 'Krieg in deutschen Nachkriegsspielfilmen', Niedhart & Riesenberger (ed.), *Lernen aus dem Krieg?* (1992) 281-299 (especially p.284); P. Monaco, *Cinema & Society* (1976). Both use a psychological 'method' to derive latent meanings from films.
- 81 This term derives from Stanley Fish. See William Uricchio & Roberta Pearson, *Reframing culture. The case of quality films* (Princeton, New Jersey 1993) 207 n.15.
- 82 Egon Larsen, 'Die Dreckschleuder gegen die Wahrheit', Bärbel Schrader (ed.), *Der Fall Remarque. Im Westen nichts Neues. Eine Dokumentation* (Leipzig 1992) 125.
- 83 About both newspapers see: Walther G. Oschilewski, *Zeitungen in Berlin. Im Spiegel der Jahrhunderte* (Berlin 1975) 148-153; Heinz-Dietrich Fischer, *Handbuch der politischen Presse in Deutschland 1480-1980* (Düsseldorf 1981) 237, 464. The circu-

- lation of both newspapers in 1932 was: 180,000 (WaA) and 130,000 (RF), see Fischer, *idem*.
- 84 Edwin Hoernle, 'So sehen die deutschen Parteien den Film. KPD. Kampf – nicht gegen den Film', *Film-Kurier* 1/2 1 January 1929.
  - 85 Linda Schulte-Sasse remarks: 'Generally speaking (...) the attitude toward film in the socialist press was relatively uniform: it judged films according to the degree to which they demonstrated the principles of Marxism.' (p.47) 'The nonsocialist press displayed the exact opposite of this emphasis on the "general" and intellectual. (...) These more conservative critics parished "pure" formal qualities of film and simultaneously disparaged politically oriented works as "less artistic". (p.51). See her: 'Film criticism in the Weimar press', in Th. G. Plummer, Murray et al (ed.), *Film politics in the Weimar Republic* (1982).
  - 86 Dr Julius Moses, 'So sehen die deutschen Parteien den Film. SPD. Wir bekämpfen daher (...)', *Film-Kurier* 1/2 1 January 1929.
  - 87 Oschilewski writes that this newspaper converted to right-wing liberalism in the period after 1918, that is the right wing of the Deutsche Demokratische Partei, but that it adopted an explicitly progressive attitude in cultural and social matters. Important critics were Herbert Ihering and Alfred Kerr: *Zeitungen in Berlin* (1975) 81.
  - 88 Dieter Fricke (ed.), *Die bürgerlichen Parteien in Deutschland. Handbuch der Geschichte der bürgerlichen Parteien und anderer bürgerlicher Interessenorganisationen vom Vormärz bis zum Jahre 1945* (Bd.1) (Leipzig 1968) 303.
  - 89 Circulation figures: *Berliner Morgenpost*: 492,000 in 1925 and 607,000 in 1928; *Berliner Tageblatt*, 25,000 in 1923. The circulation of the *Vossische Zeitung* was 36,000 in 1925 and 57,000 in 1933. See: *idem*.
  - 90 This was the headline of a contribution by a DDP representative 'So sehen die deutschen Parteien den Film. DDP. Demokratisches Bildungsmittel', *Film-Kurier* 1/2 1 January 1929.
  - 91 About these specialist publications see a.o.: Fritz Olinisky, *Tendenzen der Filmwirtschaft und deren Auswirkung auf die Filmpresse* (inaugural diss., Berlin 1931) 40-42.
  - 92 Fricke (ed.), *Die bürgerlichen Parteien in Deutschland* (Bd.1) (1968). On page 657, Fricke writes: 'Die Partei erklärte, das Schicksal der Nation werde durch die Aussenpolitik bestimmt.'
  - 93 Admiral Brüninghaus, in 'So sehen die deutschen Parteien den Film. DVP. Die ungeheure Suggestivkraft', *Film-Kurier* 1/2 1 January 1929.
  - 94 ('Universitätsprofessor') Dr. Georg Schreiber, in 'So sehen die deutschen Parteien den Film. Zentrum. Auf Kulturpolitik kommt es an', *Film-Kurier* 1/2 I January 1929.
  - 95 Oschilewski, *Zeitungen in Berlin* (1975) 163.
  - 96 Circulation figures: *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*: 25,000 in 1928 (Oschilewski, 216).
  - 97 G.R. Treviranus, in 'So sehen die deutschen Parteien den Film. DNVP. Ausdruck des nationalen Willens', *Film-Kurier* 1/2 1 January 1929.
  - 98 Other publications will occasionally be referred to in this study. These are *Tempo* (1928-1933), a neutral illustrated magazine that appeared in the afternoon, published by Ullstein, circulation 145,000, (Oschilewski, 171); *Der Abend* (1928-1933), an evening supplement with *Vorwärts* sold only in the street, (Oschilewski, 136); *Die literarische Welt*, a left-liberal literary magazine published by Ernst Rowohlt;

*Deutsche Filmzeitung*, a specialist film publication oriented towards southern Germany. For surveys of newspapers, periodicals and political parties see, besides the above mentioned Hans-Dietrich Fischer (ed.), *Deutsche Zeitungen des 17. bis 20. Jahrhunderts* (Pullach bei München 1972); K. Koszyk, *Deutsche Presse 1914-1945. Geschichte der deutschen Presse Teil III* (Berlin 1972); Sigmund Neumann, *Die Parteien der Weimarer Republik* (1965, orig. 1932); John Hiden, *Republican and fascist Germany. Themes and variations in the history of Weimar and the Third Reich*, (London, New York 1995) 47-80.

## Notes to Chapter I

- 1 Quoted in Fritz Olinsky, *Tendenzen der Filmwissenschaft und deren Auswirkung auf die Filmpresse* (inaugural diss., Berlin 1931) 20. The quote is the title of an article about the first German film screening, in the *Berliner Lokalanzeiger* of 5 November 1895.
- 2 Thomas Elsaesser, (ed. with Michael Wedel), *A second life. German cinema's first decades* (Amsterdam 1996); Corinna Müller, *Frühe deutsche Kinematographie. Formale, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklungen 1907-1912* (Stuttgart, Weimar 1994); Uli Jung (ed.), *Der deutsche Film. Aspekte seiner Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Trier 1993); Michael Hanisch, *Auf den Spuren der Filmgeschichte. Berliner Schauplätze* (Berlin 1991); Heide Schlüppmann, *Unheimlichkeit des Blicks. Das Drama des frühen deutschen Kinos* (Basel, Frankfurt am Main 1990). The yearbook: Kintop. Jahrbuch zur Erforschung des frühen Films, (ed.): Frank Kessler, Sabine Lenk, Martin Loiperdinger (Basel, Frankfurt am Main). Although this yearbook has an international orientation, much attention is of course given to early German film history, see especially nrs 1 (1992) and 3 (1994).
- 3 C. Müller, *Frühe deutsche Kinematographie* (1994) 11. In this respect, developments in Germany did not differ from those in other countries. In other words, there was an 'exhibition-led industry' (see: Thomas Elsaesser 'Early German cinema: a second life?', in Elsaesser and Wedel (ed.), *A second life* (1996) 15.
- 4 Quoted in F. Olinsky, *Tendenzen der Filmwissenschaft* (Berlin 1931) 20. This was the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* of 5 November 1895. Another newspaper, the *Berliner Tageblatt* of 3 November 1895, said it was '(...) ein höchst amüsantest Schattenspiel (...)'. The *Vossische Zeitung* reporter did not write anything about the new phenomenon, probably because, as Olinsky writes, he left the venue early and missed the last part of the programme, the 'Bioskop'. For an extensive description of the Skladanowsky brothers, their invention and their first screening, see: Michael Hanisch, *Auf den Spuren der Filmgeschichte*. 14-59.
- 5 Müller, *Frühe deutsche Kinematographie*, 23-27; Schlüppmann, *Unheimlichkeit des Blicks* 13. Emilie Altenloh, *Zur Soziologie des Kino. Die Kino-Unternehmung und die sozialen Schichten ihrer Besucher* (diss. Jena 1914).
- 6 Martin Loiperdinger, 'Kaiser Wilhelm II. Der erste deutsche Filmstar', in Thomas Koebner (ed.), *Idole des deutschen Film* (Munich 1997) 41-53.

- 7 Müller, *Frühe deutsche Kinematographie*, 31 April, 44. Müller disposes of the myth that says that the changing taste and expectations on the part of the audience should be seen as the central motor of early German cinema and film history. According to Müller, the increase in number and size of cinemas is in the first place the result of aggressive competition. The number of seats exceeded demand in such numbers that managers sought other ways of luring spectators into their cinemas: bigger and cleaner venues, richer decoration, lower admission fees and quick changes in the selections of films on offer. For this initial period, also see: Gary D. Stark, 'Cinema, society and the state: policing the film industry in imperial Germany', in G. Stark & B.K. Lackner (ed.), *Essays on Culture and society in modern Germany* (Arlington/Texas 1982).
- 8 Tom Gunning calls this phase 'the cinema of attractions', which slowly changes into 'the cinema of narrative integration'. See his: 'The cinema of attractions: Early film, its spectator and the avant-garde', in Elsaesser & Barker (ed.), *Early cinema. Space, frame, narrative* (1990) 56-62. Gunning does not pay any attention to the first period but focuses on the American context.
- 9 Schlüppmann, *Unheimlichkeit des Blicks*, 247-249.
- 10 Gertraude Bub says 88% were foreign films in *Der deutsche Film im Weltkrieg und seine publizistischer Einsatz* (diss. Berlin 1938) 10.
- 11 Frank Kessler & Sabine Lenk, 'The French connection: Franco-German film relations before World War I', in Elsaesser (ed.), *A second life*, 63. See for American expansion: Kristin Thompson, *Exporting entertainment: America in the world film market, 1907-1934* (London 1985).
- 12 Evelyn Hampicke, 'The Danish influence: David Oliver and Nordisk in Germany', in Elsaesser & Wedel (ed.), *A second life*, 72-78.
- 13 Müller, *Frühe deutsche Kinematographie*, 77-79.
- 14 G. Bub, *Der deutsche Film im Weltkrieg* (1938) 6: Messter Projektion, Deutsche Bioscop, Deutsche Mutoskop und Biograph-Gesellschaft, Vitascope, Duskes Kinematograph und Filmfabrik, Continental Kunstfilm, Eiko, Komet-Film (the last three from 1912). An important producer who also focused on the distribution and screening sectors was Paul Davidson's Projektions-AG Union (PAGU). This firm joined Nordisk and Messter in Ufa which was established in 1917. For a concise overview of the main economic and organisational developments in German film industry during and after the war, see: Thomas Elsaesser, 'Kunst und Krise. Die Ufa in den 20er Jahre', in Hans-Michael Bock & Michael Töteberg (ed.), *Das Ufa-Buch. Kunst und Krisen. Stars und Regisseure. Wirtschaft und Politik* (Frankfurt am Main 1992) 96-105.
- 15 Kintop 'Oskar Messter, Erfinder und Geschäftsmann' 3 (1994) including among others: Wolfgang Mühl-Benninghaus, 'Oskar Messters Beitrag zum Ersten Weltkrieg', 103-115.
- 16 Peter Bächlin, *Ekonomiese geschiedenis van de film* (Nijmegen 1977) 21-22 (transl. Of: *Der Film als Ware* [diss. Basel, 1945]); Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, 20, 22; Altenloh, *Zur Soziologie des Kino* (1914) 10. George Sadoul, *Histoire générale du cinéma. Le cinéma devient un art 1909-1920* (Paris 1952/1974) 456.
- 17 This figure derives from Helmut H. Diederichs, *Anfänge deutscher Filmkritik* (Stuttgart 1986) 37.

- 18 Ibidem 36-8. According to Diederichs, the first serious film review was written in the autumn of 1909 by Paul Lenz-Levy in *Lichtbildbühne*. He edited this magazine, which did not stop him from writing for *Kinematograph* as well. The editors-in-chief of these three magazines were, respectively, Emil Perlmann, Willi Böcker and Arthur Mellini. People were also more and more writing serious considerations about the medium of film in a more general sense. See: Jörg Schweinitz (ed.), *Prolog vor dem Film. Nachdenken über ein neues Medium 1909-1914* (Leipzig 1992).
- 19 The first 'Autorenfilm' was *DER ANDERE*, starring the celebrated stage actor Albert Bassermann (in 1931, Bassermann would play the role of Bethman-Holweg in 1914. *Die letzten Tage vor dem Weltkrieg*, see chapter 3). It opened on 21 January in Berlin. It was directed by Max Mack and was based on a play by Paul Lindau. See: Diederichs, *Anfänge deutscher Filmkritik*, 55-63.
- 20 Sabine Hake, *The third machine. Writing on film in Germany 1907-1933* (Lincoln, London 1993) 7. The source used by Hake – Ewald Sattig, *Die deutsche Filmpresse* (diss. Leipzig 1937) – should be approached with some caution where the facts are concerned. The same is true for a dissertation written during the Nazi era by Gertraude Bub, which I used earlier as a source.
- 21 Lotte H. Eisner, *Die dämonische Leinwand* (Frankfurt am Main) 1980 (originally: *L'écran démoniaque*, 1952); Siegfried Kracauer, *Kino. Essays, Studien, Glossen zum Film* (Frankfurt am Main 1979/2nd); Kracauer, *Der verbotene Blick. Beobachtungen, Analysen, Kritiken* (Leipzig 1992); Helmut H. Diederichs (ed.), *Rudolf Arnheim. Kritiken und Aufsätze zum Film* (Munich, Vienna 1977); Johan Zonneveld, *Erich Kästner als Rezensent* (1991); Wolfgang Jacobson, Karl Prümm und Benno Wenz (ed.), *Willy Haas als Mitproduzent. Texte zum Film 1920-1930* (Berlin 1991); Hans Sahl, *Memoiren eines Moralisten* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990). This autobiography does not contain any reviews. Studies about the development of film criticism in the Weimar period are: Sabine Hake, 'Filmpublizistik der Weimarer Jahre', in Hans-Michael Bock & Wolfgang Jacobson, *Recherche: Film. Quellen und Methoden der Filmforschung* (Hamburg, 1997) 25-36; S. Hake, *The third machine* (1993); Gero Gandert (ed.), 1929. *Der Film der Weimarer Republik. Ein Handbuch der zeitgenössischen Kritik* (Berlin/New York, 1993). Heinz-B Heller, *Literarische Intelligenz und Film. Zu Veränderungen der ästhetischen Theorie und Praxis unter dem Eindruck des Films 1910-1930 in Deutschland* (Tübingen 1985); Linda Schulte-Sasse, 'Film criticism in the Weimar press', in Thomas G. Plummer, Bruce A. Murray. (ed.), *Film Politics in the Weimar Republic* (New York, London 1982) 47-59; Fritz Olinsky, *Tendenzen der Filmwirtschaft und deren Auswirkung auf die Filmpresse* (diss. Berlin 1931).
- 22 Heide Schlüpmann, 'Die Erziehung des Publikums – auch eine Vorgeschichte des Weimarer Kinos', in *Kintop 'Aufführungsgeschichten'*, 5 (1996), p.133-134.
- 23 Foreign films that were allowed to be screened until the end of 1915 were films made before 1914 which had already been bought by German distributors, or films which had been made during the war but did not have any political or military content. See: Rainer Rother, 'Vom Kriegssofa zum Flug an die Front', in Rother (ed.), *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit. Bilder des Ersten Weltkrieges* (cat. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin 1994) 197.
- 24 'Mars regiert die Stunde', *Kinematograph* 397 5 August 1914:. The article had been written on August 2.

- 25 M. Hanisch, *Auf den Spuren der Filmgeschichte*. (1991) 98. Auch 'Der Verband zur Wahrung gemeinsamer Interessen der Kinematographie' in 1914 issued a call not to screen films any more from countries hostile to Germany. Bub, *Der deutsche Film*, 48.
- 26 Bub, *Der deutsche Film*, 47-48. The Zentralverband der Filmverleiher Deutschlands also issued a statement warning against films smuggled into Germany.
- 27 Ibidem, 48.
- 28 *Kinematograph* 399 19 August 1914 (letter to the editor entitled 'Fort mit fremdländischem Tand'). The next issue published a reaction written by a certain F.P. on behalf of the editors, saying he disagreed with the negative tone used by the writer of the letter. The author said one should not complain about foreign films, Germany should learn to prove itself in the field of cinematography under the slogan 'Deutschland alle voran!' (*Kinematograph* 400 26 August 1914. See also: Horst Emscher, 'Der Krieg und die deutsche Filmindustrie', *Kinematograph* 404 23 September 1914.
- 29 For other national film industries' reactions to the war, see: William Uricchio, 'The First World War and the crisis in Europe', in Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (ed.), *The Oxford history of world cinema* (Oxford 1996) 62-70.
- 30 It is hard to establish the exact figures, since different authors give different figures. The source material used by Gertraude Bub appears to be the most reliable (including police records, dissertations from the 1920s and address books): Bub, *Der deutsche Film*, 53; Olinsky (*Tendenzen der Filmwirtschaft*, 24): 1913-28; 1919-245. Olinsky took the data concerning 1913 from the *Jahrbuch der Filmindustrie* (1923); Hans Wollenberg (*Fifty years of German film*, 16): 1911-11; 1918-131; 1920-230.
- 31 'Bilanz und Ausblick', *Kinematograph* 627 8 January 1919.
- 32 Ramona Curry, 'How early German film stars helped sell the war(es)', in Karel Dibbets & Bert Hogenkamp (ed.), *Film and the First World War* (Amsterdam 1995) 143-144.
- 33 Wilfried von Bredow & R. Zurek (ed.), *Film und Gesellschaft in Deutschland* (Hamburg 1975) 74.
- 34 One month after DLG had been established, the Balkan-Orient-Filmgesellschaft was set up to bring German films to the Balkan and Eastern European markets dominated by France. H. Barkhausen, *Filmpropaganda* 60, 79. See also: Manfred Behn, 'Krieg der Propagandisten. Die Deutsche Lichtspiel-Gesellschaft', in Bock & Töteberg (ed.), *Das Ufa-Buch* (1992) 28-29. In October 1920, DLG changed its name to Deulig-Film GmbH.
- 35 It was Hugenberg who offered Klitsch a job at DLG, and he did the same when he gained control of Ufa. The fact that Hugenberg was a powerful man is clear from the posts that he occupied: Chairman of the Board of Commissioners at Friedrich Krupp A.G.; from 1911 onwards, member of the Board of Directors at the Zentralverband der Industriellen (CDI); he wielded great influence in extremely nationalist organisations such as the Deutsche Ueberseedienst Transocean GmbH, the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland and the Alldeutsche Verband. From March 1916 onwards, he also controlled the August Scherl newspaper concern, which published the film periodical *Kinematograph*. Barkhausen, *Filmpropaganda*, 79, 82.

- 36 In 1917, DLG produced 21 films in commission, in 1918 the number was 129, see: Ibidem 3.
- 37 Quoted in Manfred Behn, 'Krieg der Propagandisten' in Bock & Töteberg, *Das Ufa-Buch* (1992) 29.
- 38 Quoted in Barkhausen, *Filmpropaganda*, 1.
- 39 Bock & Töteberg, *Das Ufa-Buch*, 31. Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler* (Princeton 1974) 36.
- 40 'Bild- und Filmamt: Der Propagandafilm und seine Bedingungen, Ziele und Wege', in Bredow & Zurek (ed.), *Film und Gesellschaft in Deutschland* (1975) 75.
- 41 Bock & Töteberg, *Das Ufa-Buch*, 32-3.
- 42 Bub, *Der deutsche Film*, 85.
- 43 Quoted in ibidem, 64, 85-6.
- 44 Ibidem, 66.
- 45 Klaus Kreimeier, *Die Ufa-Story. Geschichten eines Filmkonzerns* (Munich, Vienna 1992) 41.
- 46 Leslie Midkiff DeBauche, *Reel patriotism: the movies and World War I* (Madison, Wisconsin, London 1997); Spears, *The golden era* (1971) 11-23.
- 47 Lewis Jacobs, *The rise of the American film. A critical history* (New York 1968, 4th edition, originally 1939) 257-8. Spears, *Hollywood: The golden era*, 23 ff.
- 48 Bock & Töteberg, *Das Ufa-Buch*, 32.
- 49 Ibidem, 34.
- 50 He later directed and produced HEIMKEHR (see chapter 6).
- 51 He later composed the soundtrack for BERGE IN FLAMMEN (1931), see Appendix.
- 52 In 1931, Schünzel played the Russian czar in 1914. DIE LETZTEN TAGE VOR DEM WELTBRAND (see chapter 2).
- 53 She later played a leading part in DAS DEUTSCHE MUTTERHERZ (1926), see chapter 6.
- 54 She later acted in DIE VERSUNKENE FLOTTE (1926) (see chapter 5) and in TANNENBERG (1932) (see chapter 3).
- 55 This brief slump, which forced a number of important theatres to close their doors, was the result of stricter censorship and an increase in entertainment tax. This meant that the number of visits by the general public decreased temporarily. However, it also meant an impulse for people within the film sector to focus more on the new situation and what the general public wanted. Friedrich Zglinicki, *Der Weg des Films: Die Geschichte der Kinematographie und ihrer Vorläufer* (Berlin 1956) 327. See also: *Kinematograph* 29 July 1914.
- 56 This is shown for example by the text which appeared for several weeks on the frontpage of the *Kinematograph* from 5 August onwards. The editors indicate that the periodical will continue to appear regularly in spite of heavy pressures, not only in order to function as a labour mediator for the film sector, but also '(...) weil zweifellos die furchtbaren Ereignisse, deren Zeugen wir sind, auch im Film ihren historischen Schilderer finden werden.'
- 57 'Krieg und Kino', *Kinematograph* 5 August 1914. The *Berliner Tageblatt* of 8 August 1914 also carries an article which reports the increased business at the box office. People are said to lack the patience to sit through a theatrical performance due to all the excitement, which is why they opt for the cinema instead. See: Hanisch, *Auf den Spuren der Filmgeschichte* (Berlin 1991) 97-98.

- 58 Josef Aubinger, 'Die Kinematographie in Kriegszeiten', *Kinematograph* 12 August 1914. These tactics were applied more often, as for example in the composition of the Pathé Journal.
- 59 *Kinematograph* 22 April 1914 (advertisement); 397 5 August 1914 (advertisement); Aubinger, 'Die Kinematographie in Kriegszeiten', 12 August 1914. According to the advertisement in nr 397, the film had been made by the US Express-Films Compaign commissioned by the king of Greece. It was first shown in the cinemas late July 1914.
- 60 *Kinematograph* 2 September 1914; 391 24 June 1914. Bub, *Der deutsche Film*, 60-61.
- 61 Bub, *Der deutsche Film*, 59.
- 62 Idem. Because of their work in the war industry, women had more money to spend. In addition, leisure time had increased since the men had left for the front. See also: Schlüpmann, 'Die Erziehung des Publikums...' *Kintop* 5 1996, 139.
- 63 Ibidem, 74.
- 64 Idem.
- 65 Barkhausen, *Filmpropaganda*, 12.
- 66 Hanisch, *Auf den Spuren der Filmgeschichte* (1991) 97. In the *Kinematograph* (26 August 1914) the film was recommended with the words: 'In den ersten Kriegstagen ist der geeignetste und erfolgreichste Film nur Bismarck'. Other film titles with their respective slogans were: DAS VOLK STEHT AUF! (Episoden aus der Zeit der Freiheitskriege 1806-1813) (*Kinematograph* 29 July 1914); DAS TREUE DEUTSCHE HERZ (Patriotistisches Drama aus Preussens schwerer Zeit) (*Kinematograph*, 2 September 1914); DER UEBERFALL AUF SCHLOSS BONCOURT (Heldentaten eines deutschen Garde-Offizier 1870/71) (*Kinematograph* 19 August 1914).
- 67 Hanisch, *Auf den Spuren der Filmgeschichte*, 97. Production company: Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph GmbH. Theodor Körner was directed by Franz Porten.
- 68 *Kinematograph* 29 July 1914.
- 69 Oskar Kalbus, *Vom Werden deutscher Filmkunst. Teil I: Der Stumme Film* (Altona-Bahrenfeld 1935) 18.
- 70 Ibidem, 18-19.
- 71 *Kinematograph* 14 October 1914.
- 72 Barkhausen, 22.
- 73 Quoted in Barkhausen, 22; statement by cameraman Martin Kopp.
- 74 Ibidem, 22, 24.
- 75 Ibidem, 22.
- 76 Kalbus, *Vom Werden*, 23.
- 77 Knut Hickethier, 'Schauspieler zwischen Theater und Kino in der Stummfilmzeit', in K. Hickethier (ed.), *Grenzgänger zwischen Theater und Kino. Schauspielerporträts aus dem Berlin der Zwanziger Jahre* (Berlin 1986) 11-42.
- 78 Curry, 'How early German film stars...' in Dibbets & Hogenkamp, *Film and the First World War*, 143; Felix Bucher, *Germany* (Screen series; London, New York 1970) 119, 166.
- 79 Ibidem, 145. Porten would be the symbol of ideal German womanhood after the war as well. See: Hickethier, *Grenzgänger zwischen Theater und Kino*, 33, 55-72.
- 80 Many studies have appeared on the relationship between film and Weimar culture (for an overview see note 23 of the Introduction). In this paragraph, I will focus on *historical* representations in Weimar films.

- 81 One indication of the popularity of the film medium is the increase of the number of cinemas in Germany from 2,836 in 1,919 to 5,267 in 1,929. See: Zglinicki, *Der Weg des Films* (1956) 328.
- 82 Paul Monaco, *Cinema & society. France and Germany during the twenties* (New York etc. 1976) 17, 34.
- 83 Ibidem, 18.
- 84 Peter Boeger, *Architektur der Lichtspieltheater in Berlin*. Bauten und Projekte 1919-1930 (Berlin 1993). Among other things, Boeger gives an overview of cinemas with a capacity of more than 1,000 seats. (27-28).
- 85 Monaco, *Cinema & Society*. 20.
- 86 *Reichsfilmbblatt* 1925, 16. There were 328 cinemas in Berlin, which had 3,804,048 inhabitants. Hamburg, with 985,093 inhabitants, had 54 cinemas. To compare, London had 7,419,704 inhabitants and 360 cinemas.
- 87 Joseph Garnarcz, 'Hollywood in Germany. The Role of American Films in Germany 1925-1990', in D.W. Ellwood & R. Kroes (ed.), *Hollywood in Europe. Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony* (Amsterdam 1994) 122-23. On the basis of questionnaires which the *Film-Kurier* sent to cinema managers, Garnarcz has made Top Ten lists of the most popular films per season. Popular films which had meanwhile made it into the canon were: *Die Frau im Mond* (Fritz Lang, 1929), *Die weiße Hölle von Pitz Palü* (Georg Wilhelm Pabst, 1929), *Die drei von der Tankstelle* (Wilhelm Thiele, 1930), *Der Kongress tanzt* (Eric Charell, 1931).
- 88 Idem.
- 89 The influence of enormously popular American films should not be underestimated. See: Thomas J. Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin. American Cinema and Weimar Germany* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1994).
- 90 FRIDERICUS REX resp.: STURM UND DRANG; VATER UND SOHN, SANSSOUCI and SCHICKSALSWENDE. The first two parts are two films, as are the last two parts. The first was premiered on 31 January 1922 (Berlin, Ufa-Palast am Zoo), the second in March 1923 in the same cinema. Both films were directed by Arzen von Cserepy. He based his work on Walter von Molo's fiction trilogy. In January 1928, two film parts followed, directed by Gerhard Lamprecht, about the last phase of Frederick the Second's life, respectively: DER ALTE FRITZ pt.1 'Friede' and DER ALTE FRITZ, pt.2 'Ausklang'. These were also premiered in Berlin's Ufa-Palast. The figure of Frederick the Great was a popular character in films of the Nazi period as well. See: Axel Marquardt & Heinz Rathsack (ed.), *Preussen im Film* (pt. 5 of the catalogue *Preussen Versuch einer Bilanz. Eine Ausstellung der Berliner Festspiele GmbH* (Hamburg/Berlin 1981) 237-244; Klaus Kreimeier, 'Fridericus Rex', *Ufa Magazin* nr 3 *Fridericus Rex* (part of the catalogue for the exhibition 'Die Ufa 1917-1945. Das deutsche Bilderimperium', Berlin 1992/93) 1; Michael Töteberg, 'Preussen als Filmthema – Eine Uebersicht', ibidem, 2-11; Gerhard Schoenberger, 'Ein Herrenvolk aus Untertanen'. 50 Jahre Preussen im Film – Geschichte und Ideologie', *Film und Fernsehen* 8 1987 41-44.
- 91 Marquardt & Rathsack, *Preussen im Film* (1981), 237-255. Kreimeier mentions 27 Prussia films during the Weimar period (in *Die Ufa-Story*, 111).
- 92 *Vorwärts* 15 July 1922; *Der Film* 33 13 August 1922 (DrFdm.); 'Hohe Politik und Oberprüfstelle', *Der Film* 35 27 August 1922.

- 93 *Der Film*, ibidem; Vera Bern, 'Parteipolitik im Film', *Kinematograph* 824 3 December 1922.
- 94 Ibidem (Bern).
- 95 Inspection of theatre practice was carried out via the so-called 'Schund- und Schmutzgesetz' which took effect in 1926. Veiled censorship was also applied via the playing licenses issued by the police.
- 96 After the war, there was a short period without (film) censorship. This led to a boom in so-called educational films ('Aufklärungsfilme') which were sometimes serious, but sometimes also deliberately daring in sexual matters. Richard Oswald was one of these 'Aufklärungs-directors'. (In 1931, he would make 1914. *DIE LETZTEN TAGE VOR DEM WELTBRAND*.) New legislation against these semi-pornographical films was inevitable. Without much ado, the film bill, with article 17 providing for censorship, was passed by a parliament dominated by social democrats and liberals. For an extensive description of the voting and the way the bill came about, see: Th. Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin* 27-31; See also: Jan-Pieter Barbian, 'Filme mit Lücken. Die Lichtspielzensur in der Weimarer Republik: von den sozialetischen Schutzmassnahmen zum politischen Instrument', in Uli Jung (ed.), *Der deutsche Film. Aspekte seiner geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Trier 1993) 51-78. For the film bill itself, see: Ulrich J. Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme 1931* (Appendix: 'Das Lichtspielgesetz vom 12.05.1920 in der Fassung vom 06.10.1931') (1989) 288-91.
- 97 Klaus, ibid. 289; Barbian, ibid. 59; Saunders, ibid. 29.
- 98 Idem (Barbian).
- 99 Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin*, 29.
- 100 Ibidem 55-57.
- 101 One example of such a film that was banned because of the displeasure it might cause abroad was: *LEIDENDES LAND* (see: 'Ein neues Verbot' *Kinematograph* 825 10 December 1922 [W. St.: correspondent from Leipzig]).
- 102 The *Reichsfilmblatt* (34 21 August 1926) ran an article by Dr Sievers (probably employed by the Foreign Ministry) entitled 'Film und Aussenpolitik'. A quote: 'Deutschland kann es sich unter dem Drucke der Kriegsfolgen einfach nicht leisten, tiefgehende Verstimmungen fremder Völker durch Bildstreifen oder Szenen hervorzurufen, die in irgendeiner Form das Nationalgefühl anderer Volksgemeinschaften antasten. Man kann wohl ruhig behaupten, dass den Verfassern solche Absichten in den allermeisten Fällen fernliegen – massgebend ist einzig der Effekt und diesen gilt es auszuschalten.'
- 103 *THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF THE APOCALYPSE* appeared in Germany as *DIE VIER APOKALYPTISCHEN REITER* or *WELTENWAHN*. Jay Winter, *Sites of memory sites of mourning. The Great War in European cultural History* (Cambridge 1995) 138-40. *THE FOUR HORSEMEN* and *MARE NOSTRUM* and their reception in Germany have been dealt with by Thomas Saunders in 'German diplomacy and the war film in the 1920s', in Dibbets & Hogenkamp (ed.), *Film and the First World War* (1995) 213-222.
- 104 Examples: 'In Sachen der "Vier apokalyptischen Reiter"', *Der Film* 28 15 October 1926; 'Die "Vier apokalyptischen Reiter" in Berlin', *Lichtbildbühne* 266 8 November 1926; 'Gerichtstag über die "Apokalyptischen Reiter"', *Lichtbildbühne* 10 November 1926; 'Aktion des Reichsverbandes gegen die "Apokalyptischen Reiter"',

- Lichtbildbühne* 29 November 1926 (about a screening in London); 'Die vier Reiter in Konstantinopel', *Lichtbildbühne* 21 April 1927; 'Hetzfilm in Rom', *Berliner Tageblatt* 2 March 1930 (H.K.); 'Spitzenorganisation gegen Hetzfilme. Der Fall "Mare Nostrum"', *Lichtbildbühne* 10 March 1927; 'In New York läuft ein Film...', *Vossische Zeitung* 28 February 1926 (about *Mare Nostrum*).
- 105 A plea for exporting NIBELUNGEN (Fritz Lang, 1924) in the interest of reconciliation between the nations: 'Der Ausenminister über den deutschen Film', *Kinematograph* 17 February 1924; Dr Paul Fleischer, 'Film und politische Propaganda' *Kinematograph* 6 May 1923; 'Deutsche Filmpropaganda im Ausland', *Kinematograph* 29 July 1923 (letter to the editor from a German living in South Africa).
  - 106 It should be stressed that these were feature films, because it was said that archival footage about the war was already circulating among private gatherings. 'Wir verlangen Aufklärung', *Lichtbildbühne* 30 October 1926. See also further on in this chapter.
  - 107 Ilse Zerbe, 'Deutschland marschiert', *Der Film* 12 1925.
  - 108 Adriaan et al., 'Die nationalistische Kinoparade', *Berliner Tageblatt* 12 September 1926.
  - 109 Ibidem. It was also clear from which direction the wind was blowing at the *Berliner Tageblatt*. The closing sentence reads: 'Auch Filmgesellschaften sollten wissen, dass es seit acht Jahren eine deutsche Republik gibt.' Military advisors at the films will be dealt with in other chapters.
  - 110 Aros, 'Politisches Kino', *Kinematograph* 10 May 1925.
  - 111 Ilse Zerbe, 'Deutschland marschiert', *Der Film* 12 1925.
  - 112 'Schluss mit den Militärfilme!', *Kinematograph* 3 May 1925. This contained a quoted call from the Zentralverband der Filmverleiher Deutschlands.
  - 113 'Die Politisierung im Film', *Der Film* 18 (May) 1925. In the same period, the *Reichsfilmblatt* wrote in an article entitled 'Film und Politik': 'Die deutsche Filmindustrie hat mit Recht bisher jede Politisierung des Films abgelehnt, und auch den Militärfilmen liegt eine politische Tendenz durchaus fern.'
  - 114 Aros, 'Politisches Kino', *Kinematograph* 10 May 1925. It was especially members of the Zentralverband der Filmverleiher who issued this call. See also: Rainer Berg, *Zur Geschichte der realistischen Stummfilmkunst in Deutschland – 1919 bis 1929. Ein Beitrag zur historischen und systematischen Filmforschung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Problemen der öffentlichen Meinung* (diss. Berlin 1982) 156. ADGB is short for Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund.
  - 115 'Die Politisierung im Film', *Der Film* 18 (May) 1925.
  - 116 The guideline read as follows: films could not be banned 'wegen einer politischen, sozialen, religiösen, ethischen oder Weltanschauungstendenz als solcher'. This paragraph had been included in the bill after pressure from SPD and DDP. See Jan-Pieter Barbian, 'Filme mit Lücken', 54-55; see for the original: Ulrich J. Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme 1931; Filmlexikon der abendfüllenden deutschen und deutschsprachigen Tonfilme nach ihren deutschen Uraufführungen*. Vol. 2 Jahrgang 1931 (Berlin, 1989) 288.
  - 117 'Die Politisierung im Film', *Der Film* 18 (May) 1925; 'Film und Politik', *Reichsfilmblatt* 20 1925.

- 118 The issue with this so-called Fürstenenteignung was whether or not, and if so, to what degree the former ruling monarchies had a right to compensation for the sums they had lost during the revolution of 1918-1919. The bourgeois parties that comprised the third Marx cabinet failed to reach agreement about the issue. The KPD then invoked a constitutional provision in order to settle the issue via a popular initiative or 'Volksbegehren'. This also failed, but the KPD managed to gain much sympathy among traditional SPD voters. For political reasons, the SPD had advised its voters not to vote.
- 119 'In den Tagen des Volksentscheid', *Film-Kurier* 17 June 1926.
- 120 See for an overview of the reactions to both (no longer existing) films: Gerd Meier, 'Ein unbekannter regisseur: Martin Berger', in Uli Jung & Werner Schatzberg (ed.), *Filmkultur zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik* (München 1992) 97-105; Bruce Murray, *Film and the German left in the Weimarer Republic from Caligari to Kuhle Wampe* (Austin, Texas 1990) 98-101. Berg, *Zur Geschichte der realistischen Stummfilmkunst in Deutschland – 1919 bis 1929*, 111-113. The authors differ in the information they provide about the films' financiers. Without naming a source, Meier writes that Schmiede was supported financially by the ADGB. Murray writes that the production of both films was financed by both the ADGB trade union and the SPD. He bases this claim on a secondary source from 1977 (Peter Schumann in *Erobert den Film! Proletariat und Film in der Weimarer Republik*). Berg, however, bases his claim on contemporary sources, that is, the then professional periodicals, and describes a reaction by the SPD in the *Film-Kurier* (4 November 1926) in which the socialist party emphatically denies giving financial support.
- 121 As a matter of fact, *Freies Volk* lets the war end because of a massive strike!
- 122 'Politik im Film', *Lichtbildbühne* 29 June 1926. The film will be dealt with more extensively in chapter six.
- 123 'Politisiertes Kino', *Kinematograph* 16 January 1931.
- 124 *Lichtbildbühne* 259 30 October 1926. Several months earlier, the *Film-Kurier* (15 July) had published a small article under the telling heading 'Der Film in Dienste der Friedenspropaganda' which announced that 'Der Stahlhelm' organised a private screening of 'die zweite Folge der Weltkriegsfilme' (the report cannot have meant the second part of DER WELTKRIEG: the first part did not appear before 1927, the second was released in 1928). The author claimed in fierce language that this was not political propaganda but that the images served the cause of peace. This may possibly have been one of the reports which prompted the *Lichtbildbühne* to carry out further investigations.
- 125 Rainer Rother wrote an article about this film: 'Bei unsere Helden an der SOMME (1917); the creation of a 'social event', *Historical journal of film, radio and television* 4 (1995) 525-542.
- 126 *Lichtbildbühne* 30 October 1926.
- 127 Kreimeier, *Die Ufa-Story* (1992).
- 128 Kurt Sontheimer distinguishes old and new nationalists, where the Vereinigung der Vaterländischen Verbände Deutschlands comprised organisations of which most belonged to the old nationalists, that is, having been founded in the period before 1918. The head of these conservative (Wilhelminisch) and anti-democratic association was Rüdiger von der Goltz. Politically, the various organisations supported the DNVP and DVP. (*Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik*.

- Die politischen Ideen des deutschen Nationalismus zwischen 1918 und 1933, [Munich 1992; originally 1962]) 27-8.
- 129 'Missbrauch mit Kriegsfilmen', *Lichtbildbühne* 7 November 1926 (authors: S-é and Foreign Minister dr Külz respectively). This contribution shows that the films were banned by a state commission after Walther Rathenau had fallen victim to a political assassination.
- 130 'Protest von Kriegsteilnehmer', *Lichtbildbühne* 2 November 1926.
- 131 'Missbrauch mit Kriegsfilmen', *Vossische Zeitung* 7 November 1926. Besides the letter from Külz that has been quoted, the report contained information based entirely on the cited article in *Lichtbildbühne*. This seemed to end the matter. In *Lichtbildbühne* (8 december 1926; Ueberall Heeresfilme') someone from Pommeren reported that the screenings continued to take place in his region.
- 132 See for the German reception of POTEKIN: Berg, Zur Geschichte der realistischen Stummfilmkunst in Deutschland, 159-66
- 133 If one includes the espionage film IM GEHEIMDIENST, which is not discussed here, and the film IN DER HEIMAT DA GIBT'S EIN WIEDERSEH'N (see appendix: credits), the number of war films directly produced by Ufa is six. It should be said, however, that the increasing concentration in the film industry meant that some smaller production firms (such as Gloria-Film, which released the film FELDGRAU) merged with the larger firms. In 1941, Ufa would release another film entitled HEIMKEHR. This film by director Gustav Ucicky (the director of MORGENROT) had nothing to do with the First World War.
- 134 *Die literarische Welt* 16 March 1928 ('Film und Politik'). '... militaristische und reaktionär-sentimentale Kitschfilme nicht schweigend herunterzuschlucken, sondern durch Boykott des Theaters und deutlichen Protest abzulehnen.' (ibidem.) The name would later be changed into Volksfilmverband. Bruce Murray, *Film and the German left in the Weimar Republic*, 139-142. A magazine linked to the organisation was *Film und Volk*. A less recent but concise overview of leftist activities in film can be found in Lauri Loomis Perry, 'A survey of leftist film activity in the Weimar Republic', in Thomas G. Plummer (ed.), *Film and Politics in the Weimar Republic* (New York 1982) 35-45.
- 135 Brandman & Hembus, *Klassiker des deutschen Tonfilms 1930-1960* (1980) 250.
- 136 Kreimeier, *Die Ufa-Story* (1992) 228.
- 137 The Tonbild-Syndikat AG (Tobis) was established on 30 August 1928. Its competitor is established on 8 October 1928, Klang-Film GmbH. The ensuing war of patents leads to a merger between the two firms on 13 March 1929, Tobis-Klangfilm. See: Hans-Michael Bock, 'Keine dramatischen Maggiwürfel. Die Entführung des Tonfilms', in Bock & Töteberg, *Das Ufa-Buch*, 256-57; Karel Dibbets, *Sprekende films. De komst van de geluidsfilm in Nederland 1928-1933* (Amsterdam 1993) 141.
- 138 For reactions to both the novel by Erich Maria Remarque (*Im Westen nichts Neues*, 1929) and the American film version (which in Germany appeared with a German title and in a dubbed version): Bärbel Schrader (ed.), *Der Fall Remarque. Im Westen nichts Neues. Eine Dokumentation* (Leipzig 1992).
- 139 Günther Rühle, *Theater für die Republik 1917-1933 im Spiegel der Kritik* (Frankfurt am Main 1967) 951.
- 140 Hans-Harald Müller, *Der Krieg und die Schriftsteller. Der Kriegsroman der Weimarer Republik* (Stuttgart 1986) 2.

- 141 Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring. The Great War and the birth of modern age* (New York, etc. 1989) among others 290; Wolfgang Mühl-Benninghaus, 'Der erste Weltkrieg in den Medien zur Zeit der Weltwirtschaftskrise', in Ursula Heukenkamp (ed.), *Militärische und Zivile Mentalität. Ein literaturkritischer Report* (Berlin 1991) 128. Müller, *Der Krieg und die Schriftsteller*, 2.

## Notes to Chapter 2

- 1 Part of the subtitle over the review of 1914. DIE LETZTEN TAGE VOR DEM WELTBRAND, in *Welt am Abend* 21 January 1931.
- 2 The only earlier publications devoted to this film are: Bernadette Kester, 'Context en betekenisgeving: Duitse oorlogsfilms in de periode 1926-1933', *Opossum. Tijdschrift voor historische en kunstwetenschappen*, 16 (1995) 42-48; Wolfgang Mühl-Benninghaus, '1914. Die letzten Tage vor dem Weltbrand', in Helga Belach & Wolfgang Jacobsen (ed.), *Richard Oswald. Regisseur und Produzent* (Munich 1990) 107-112.
- 3 Simultaneously and also later on, the film premiered in a number of other large cities, including Leipzig, Frankfurt am Main, Cologne and Stuttgart (*Kinematograph* 20 January 1931; 31 January 1931; *Lichtbildbühne* 3 February 1931). The film was a success wherever it was screened, according to the *Kinematograph* (29 January 1931). The film was said to have been shown in Berlin for sixteen days (*Lichtbildbühne* 14 February 1931).
- 4 After the First World War, Richard Oswald had produced and directed numerous talked-about films which were very diverse in character. He was one of the first to have broken through various sexual taboos with his ('Aufklärungs'-)films during the brief censorless period (1918 until May 1920): *Es werde Licht* (1918 about venereal diseases); *DIDA IBSENS GESCHICHTE* (1918, sadomasochism); *ANDERS ALS DIE ANDERN* (1918/19, about homosexuality). Just before making *1914*, he had produced and directed the film *DREYFUS* (1930), which brought him favourable reviews. See among others: Klaus Kreimeier, 'Aufklärung, Kommerzialisismus und Demokratie oder: der Bankrott des deutschen Mannes', in Belach & Jacobsen (ed.), *Richard Oswald* (1990) 9-18.
- 5 *Film-Kurier* 21 January 1931. This 'report' concerned a special preview.
- 6 Idem.
- 7 *Der Vertrag von Versailles* (including contributions from Sebastian Haffner, Gregory Bateson and others) (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin 1988) 238.
- 8 This department also included two 'Frontorganisationen': the Arbeitsausschuss Deutscher Verbände (1921-1937) led by Hans Draeger, an umbrella organisation of hundreds of smaller propaganda groups; and the Zentralstelle für Erforschung der Kriegsursachen (1921-1937) which was responsible for the scholarly basis of the campaign (officially led by Alfred von Wegerer from 1923); Eugen Fischer, secretary of the Parlamentarischer Untersuchungsausschuss für die Schuldfragen des Weltkrieges, was also a member of the board of directors. Ulrich Heinemann, *Die verdrängte Niederlage. Politische Öffentlichkeit und Kriegsschuldfrage in der*

- Weimarer Republik* (Göttingen 1983), 16, 120, 96, respectively. In 1937, both organisations were disbanded after Hitler proclaimed the end of the 'Kriegsschuldlüge' in a Reichstag address on 30 January 1937. (Ibidem, 301 note 141).
- 9 This monthly publication, established in 1923, served as a publicity medium for the Zentralstelle für Erforschung der Kriegsschuldfrage. In 1929, it was renamed *Berliner Monatshefte für internationale Aufklärung* (Heinemann, *Die verdrängte Niederlage*, 98).
  - 10 This periodical, which was established in 1921 and initially appeared only irregularly, was originally the newsletter of the *Arbeitsausschuss Deutscher Verbände*. It appeared bimonthly from 1926 onwards, and only once a month after 1931 until it was discontinued in 1937 (idem.).
  - 11 This publication reached its completion in 1927. The editors responsible for the periodical were Friedrich Thimme, Johannes Lepsius and Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. According to Heinemann, this was the most important 'weapon' that Germany deployed against the war guilt (ibidem, 16).
  - 12 Ernst Schraepler, 'Die Forschung über den Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges im Wandel des Geschichtsbildes 1919-1969', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, Bd. 23 1972, 327; Wolfgang Jäger, *Historische Forschung und politische Kultur in Deutschland: Die Debatte 1914-1980 über den Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Göttingen 1984) 52-3.
  - 13 Michael Salewski, 'Das Weimarer Revisionssyndrom', *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* B2/80 12 January 1980, 14-25.
  - 14 Eberhard Kolb, *Die Weimarer Republik* (3<sup>rd</sup> rev. (ed.) Munich 1993) 93; Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture. The outsider as insider* (New York, London, etc. 1970; orig. 1968).
  - 15 Jäger, *Historische Forschung*, 45.
  - 16 Ibidem, 46. The most recent survey of studies of the guilt debate can be found in Holger H. Herwig, 'Clio deceived: patriotic self-censorship in Germany after the Great War', in Keith Wilson (ed.), *Forging the collective memory. Government and international historians through two World Wars* (Providence, Oxford 1996) 87-127.
  - 17 Viewed in the Bundesarchiv/Filmarchiv Berlin. Length of the registered film: 2,733 meters. According to the censor (9 January 1931), the film originally had a length of 3,057 meters. (Censorship report "1914". *Die Letzten Tage vor dem Weltbrand*, Filmprüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 27853, 9 January 1931). See also: U.J. Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme 1931, (1990)* 222.
  - 18 The aspect of sound is presented in a number of advertisements. (*Lichtbildbühne* 215 8 September 1930; other advertisements, without acknowledgement of the source, in Bundesarchiv/Filmarchiv Berlin).
  - 19 'Querstreife durchs Atelier', *Film-Kurier* 1 November 1930.
  - 20 Karel Dibbets indicates that, although film historians have often said that sound technology limits the actors' freedom to move on the set, the opposite turns out to be true: 'Reframings, pannings, trackings, and a quicker succession of scenes compensated for a slackening of the tempo caused by the spoken word.' See: Dibbets, 'The introduction of sound' in Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (ed.), *The Oxford history of world cinema* (Oxford 1996) 218. Nothing much of these dynamics could be discerned in 1914.
  - 21 These lines have been quoted from the film. The speech, including some irrelevant deviations, was printed in its entirety in *Film-Kurier* 7 January 1931.

- 22 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 21 January 1931.
- 23 He should not be confused with the national-socialist racial theorist Eugen Fischer. In order to avoid confusion, Fischer added the name of his birthplace to his name after 1945. See: Heinemann, *Die verdrängte Niederlage* (1983) 276 note 50. Besides his function at the Untersuchungsausschuss des deutschen Reichstags für die Kriegsschuldfrage, he was also the director of the Reichstag library. At the time of the outbreak of the First World War, he was a lecturer in history at the University of Berlin. See also: *Film-Kurier* 7 January 1931.
- 24 Eugen Fischer, *Die kritischen 39 Tage. Von Sarajewo bis zum Weltbrand* (Berlin 1928). In the *Vossische Zeitung* (30 November 1929), he had disclosed his views on the causes of the war in a more concise form. Fischer found that both Germany and the Entente countries were engaging in 'Demaskierung' of 'Der wirkliche Kriegsgrund' (as was the title of the article concerned). Instead of blaming Germany (as did the Entente) or blaming the Entente (as did Germany) Fischer proposed to consider another causal factor, such as the international organisational situation before 1914, with its treaties and interests ensuring that the enemy of one also became the enemy of another in case of a conflict.
- 25 *Film-Kurier*, 21 January 1931.
- 26 The term diegesis derives from Etienne Souriau (*L'univers filmique*, Paris 1952) and signifies the universe or the world within the film, or: 'Everything that belongs to the narrated history, to the world that is presupposed or represented by the fiction of the film (...).' See Paul Verstraeten, 'Diëgese', *Versus. Tijdschrift voor film en opvoeringskunsten*, 1 1989, p. 59, 61.
- 27 In November 1927, Wilhelm II managed to arrange, from his residence in the Dutch village of Doorn, his place of exile, a ban on the use of his effigy and statements he had made which Erwin Piscator had meant to use in a play. With this action, he may also have prevented further use of his effigy. See: Manfred Overesch & Friedrich Wilhelm Saal, *Die Weimarer Republik. Eine Tageschronik der Politik, Wirtschaft. Kultur* (Augsburg 1992; orig. Düsseldorf 1982) 353-354.
- 28 Advertisements of unknown origin (yet from the time of the film) proclaimed in bold headlines: 'Ein flammendes Fanal gegen die Kriegsschuldlüge' and 'Die Wahrheit über de Kriegsschuld!' (Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv, Berlin).
- 29 In both cases, there are one or two minutes of film. Even Serbia receives more screening time in the film, namely three minutes. Incidentally, France, like Germany and Austria-Hungary, got ten minutes in the film. Bosnia was also allotted ten minutes, though all of the time was taken up with the the first scenes showing Franz Ferdinand's assassination.
- 30 The film DREYFUS premiered on 16 August 1930 and was quite successful. (*Lichtbildbühne* 18 August 1930). Screenplay writers Wendhausen and Goldberg also participated in this film, as did the actors Basserman, Homolka and Kampers.
- 31 A report about the film that appeared in 1961 said the Soviet Union had protested against the film in 1931, forcing the censors to take action. However, this was after the premiere of the film (*Der Kurier* [Berlin] 22 June 1961).
- 32 This was the title of an article in the *Film-Kurier* (24 December 1930) about the ban on 1914.
- 33 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 21 January 1931. Quotation: '(...) denn als sich die Filmleute ans Auswärtige Amt wandten (...) war der einzige Erfolg, dass monatelang ein

blutjunger Attaché die Rolle eines aussenpolitischen und historischen Beraters übernahm.'

- 34 According to reports in the *Kinematograph*, the shooting of 1914 must have been finished around 7 December (*Kinematograph* 8 December 1930).
- 35 Representing the Foreign Ministry were Geheimrat Sievers, consul Hoffman-Völkeram, envoy Meyer, Dr Schwindemann, Dr von Wegerer and Dr Katzenberger. The meeting was chaired by the senior civil servant Zimmermann. Other participants were the cinema-owner Siegfried, the lawyer Freyhan, W. Barfaut, Dresden and Mrs Badick. Representing the production firm were the retired magistrate Dr Ludwig Hertz, Dr Friedmann and the lawyer Dr Wenzel Goldbaum (*Film-Kurier* 23 December 1931). See also: *Lichtbildbühne* 24 December 1930.
- 36 *Film-Kurier* 23 December 1930. *Lichtbildbühne* (27 December 1930) wrote that it was the first time the press had not been allowed to attend the proceedings. 'Die neuerliche Übung der Filmoberprüfstelle und der Filmprüfstelle, die *Presse* von ihren Sitzungen *auszuschliessen*, rächt sich (von anderen Bedenken abgesehen) in diesem Falle bereits durch widersprechende Meldungen.' This measure, which was apparently new, may have been decided by the Brüning cabinet, inaugurated in March 1930, which did not excel at governing according to the principles of democracy. The report in the specialist publications that the press was not allowed to attend the meeting this one time is in contrast with what Jan-Pieter Barbian writes in his article, namely that the meetings were never open to the public and that those present were sworn to secrecy concerning the outcome of the proceedings (Barbian, 'Filme mit Lücken. Die Lichtspielzensur in der Weimarer Republik: von der soziaethischen Schutzmassname zum politischen Instrument', in Jung [ed.], *Der deutsche Film* [1993] 60). Incidentally, a number of reviews written after the premiere show that the critics had actually had the opportunity to see the film in an uncensored version. (*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 21 January 1931; Dr R. D.; *Vossische Zeitung* 22 January 1931; Heinz Pol). The American film *All quiet on the Western Front* (1930, Lewis Milestone) went into circulation in Germany in December 1930 under the German (book) title *Im Westen nichts neues*.
- 37 *Lichtbildbühne* 24 December 1930; 308 27 December 1930.
- 38 *Lichtbildbühne* 27 December 1930.
- 39 Idem.
- 40 *Lichtbildbühne* 29 December 1930.
- 41 *Lichtbildbühne* 24 December 1930. The lawyer was Freiban, the other Wilhelm Siegfried.
- 42 *Film-Kurier* 7 January 1931.
- 43 Censorship report "1914". *Die letzten Tage vor dem Weltbrand*, Filmprüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 27853, 9 January 1931; Film length 3057 meters.
- 44 *Reichsfilmblatt* 2 10 January 1931; *Lichtbildbühne* 10 January 1930. Those present were Zimmermann (chairman), L.H. Döschner, Martin Borchardt, Ignaz Jezewer and Toepper (chaplain). Representing the Foreign Ministry: Prof. Sievers (Geheimrat), König (Geheimrat), Dr von Wegener, Schwendemann (Legationsrat) and Hoffmann-Völkersam (consul). (cf. U.J. Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme* 1931 [1989] 223). The production company was represented by Dr Eugen Fischer, Dr Wenzel Goldbaum and Dr Walther Friedmann; a certain student Amrehn was also present, strongly advocating the admission of the young, which was granted.

- 45 *Film-Kurier* 10 January 1931.
- 46 *Lichtbildbühne* 10 January 1931; *Reichsfilmblatt* 2 10 January 1931.
- 47 *Reichsfilmblatt* 10 January 1931; *Kinematograph* 8 10 January 1931.
- 48 Eugen Fischer, *Die kritischen 39 Tage. Von Sarajewo bis zum Weltbrand* (Berlin 1928). Reports which refer to one or both books: *Deutsche Filmzeitung* 25 July 1930 (Dr R.V. or B.); *Tempo* 21 January 1931 (Manfred Georg); *Vossische Zeitung* 22 January 1931 (Heinz Pol); *Germania* 22 January 1931 (gr.); *Lichtbildbühne* 21 January 1931 (Hans Wollenberg); *8 Uhr Abendblatt* (Kurt Pinthus).
- 49 Besides Oswald's production company, Nero-Film was also interested in producing the film version of the book, according to the same report. In advertisements, Nero announced a film called *Europa 1914* (*Lichtbildbühne* 1 and 27 September 1930, respectively). This film was to be directed by Georg Wilhelm Pabst. This project was cancelled, but Ernst Johannsen's novel *Vier von der Infanterie* (1928) was filmed by Pabst under the title *WESTFRONT 1918* (1930).
- 50 Christoph Gradmann, *Historische Belletristik, Populäre historische Biographien in der Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt New York) 137.
- 51 It has been established that Ludwig wrote his text in 1921; whether he had finished a complete version or only part of the manuscript remains open to debate. When interviewed, Ludwig himself provided different answers on two occasions (see: Gradmann, *Historische Belletristik*, 141 note 242). In his preface, Ludwig wrote that while some changes had been made in the later version of the book, the basic premise had remained the same. Emil Ludwig, *Juli 14* (Berlin 1929) 10.
- 52 Following Germany's example of publishing *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914*, other countries, including Great Britain, France and Austria, also began collecting and publishing national documents pertaining to the period immediately preceding the First World War.
- 53 In the second edition of the authorised Dutch translation, a list has been included of '...documents, from which the quotations in the text have been taken'. Editions that appeared after 1921, on which Ludwig based his book, are: *Britische Dokumente über den Ursprung des Weltkrieges* (Berlin 1926); M. Paléologue (French ambassador to Russia), *Am Zarenhof während des Weltkrieges* (1925); Pourtalès (German ambassador to Russia), *Meine letzten Verhandlungen in Petersburg* (Berlin 1927) and *Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette* (not all editions give dates). Emil Ludwig, *Juli 1914* (Arnhem 1929, Dutch translation Titia Jelgersma). This list was not included in the first edition of the German publication.
- 54 Gradmann, *Historische Belletristik*, 15 and note 25. Ludwig did so in the *Neue Rundschau* 40/1 1929 358-81.
- 55 Wilhelm Mommsen, 'Legitime' und 'illegitime' Geschichtsschreibung. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Emil Ludwig (Munich, Berlin 1930; orig. *Zeitwende* 5/2 1929, 302-14). As a member of the DDP, Mommsen belonged to the left-liberals. Other opponents of Ludwig were historians like Wilhelm Schüssler, Oskar von Wertheimer, Alfred von Wegerer and Friedrich Thimme. The latter two were intensively involved in research of the Kriegsschuldfrage.
- 56 Ludwig, *Juli 1914*, 9. The preface is lacking from the 1929 Dutch translation.
- 57 Idem.
- 58 Gradmann, *Historische Belletristik*, 140. Other historians in this camp were Ludwig Quidde and Walter Schücking. Gradmann: 'Bei diesen, wie bei Ludwig, verband

sich eine Schuldanklage gegen das politische System der Vorkriegszeit mit einer ebenso dezidierten Ablehnung der Schuldthesen des Versailler Vertrages.'

59 Ibidem, 9.

60 Ibidem, 11.

61 Cited ibidem, 147 (orig. 'Juli 1914', *Die Weltbühne* 25 February 1929).

62 Gradmann mentions two reviews in particular, one by Wilhelm Schüssler in the *Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten* (28 July 1929) and one by Oskar von Wertheimer in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (13 July 1929). Ibidem, 145. For other reviews see Gradmann's note 261 p.146.

63 See for example Erich Eyck's essay in the *Vossische Zeitung* ('Wie es kam...', 161 7 July 1919) and Rudolf Olden in the *Berliner Tageblatt* ('Emil Ludwig: "Juli 14."', 3 July 1929). Idem.

64 Ibidem, 143. Tucholsky's (writing as Ignaz Wrobel) review in *Die Weltbühne* 25 February 1929.

65 Ibidem, 147.

66 Ibidem, 223.

67 *Vorwärts* 20 September 1930 (Dgr.); 'Geschichtliches Panoptikum', *Der Abend* 2 September 1930 (Dgr.); *Berliner Tageblatt* 2 September 1930 (Fritz Engel); *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 2 September 1930 (Herbert Ihering); *Vossische Zeitung* 3 September 1930 (Monty Jacobs); *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 2 September 1930 (Fechter); Junghans, 'Theatralischer Geschichtsunterricht' *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 3 September 1930; *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 2 September 1930 (F.S.s.).

68 It is not known whether this is the *Illustrierter Film-Kurier*. I was able to find the year of the film's premiere from the biographical data of one of the actors, Paul Graetz. Hans-Michael Bock (ed.), *Cinegraph. Reclams deutsches Filmlexikon* (Munich 1984), lemma: Paul Graetz.

69 It is remarkable that it says here that the film offers a contribution to the lie, while the film was of course meant to offer a contribution against the 'Kriegschuldlüge'.

70 The original subtitle was 'Die Schüsse von Sarajewo', according to a report in *Kinematograph* 18-9-30. This subtitle was changed later on. On 15 November, an advertisement containing the new abovementioned title appeared in the same issue (268) of the magazine.

71 Both the 'trailer' ('Vorspannfilm') and the film itself were banned for people under eighteen. See *Lichtbildbühne* 4 August 1926 and 205 28 August 1926, respectively.

72 Barbian, 'Filme mit Lücken' in Jung (ed.), *Der deutsche Film* (1993) 58. It was absolutely nothing special when a film was banned for people under eighteen.

73 *Lichtbildbühne* 10 August 1926; *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1926.

74 *Lichtbildbühne* 8 September 1930; 15 November 1930.

75 Gravilo Princip, who carried out the assassination, was a member of Young Bosnia, a secret nationalist organisation. The weapons for the assassination were provided by the Black Hand, a terrorist organisation in Serbia. A film was made in 1990 about the preparations, the assassination and Princip's time in prison, under the title GRAVE PRINCIP, HIMMEL UNTER STEINEN (OR: DEATH OF A SCHOOLBOY). It was made by Peter Patzak in a co-production by Austria, Germany and Yugoslavia. The film mainly offers a contribution to the mythologising around Princip.

76 The subtitle of the film, as described on the credit sheet, was: 'Die Schuld am Weltkrieg in 5 Kapiteln'. The various 'chapters' have the following titles:

1. Kapitel: Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand d'Este
  2. Kapitel: Gräfin Sophie Chotek
  3. Kapitel: Die Narodna Odbrana
  4. Kapitel: Gravilo Princip
  5. Kapitel: Die Verschwörung
  6. Kapitel: Das Attentat
- Programme brochure DER DOPPELMORD VON SARAJEWO, date unknown (Bundesarchiv/Filmarchiv Berlin).
- 77 Ibidem, fifth page.
- 78 Idem.
- 79 Ibidem, sixth and seventh page.
- 80 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1926, fourth page.
- 81 This information does not derive from the *Illustrierter Film-Kurier*, but from the review in the *Kinematograph* 19 September 1926.
- 82 *Kinematograph* 19 September 1926.
- 83 *Reichsfilmblatt* 18 September 1926.
- 84 Idem.
- 85 Idem.
- 86 *Film-Kurier* 18 September 1926.
- 87 *Germania* 18 September 1926.
- 88 *Vorwärts* 19 September 1926.
- 89 *Der Montag* 20 September 1926.
- 90 *Der Deutsche* 22 January 1931 (Erwin Gephard); *Germania* 22 January 1931 (gr.).
- 91 *Lichtbildbühne* 21 January 1931.
- 92 Idem.
- 93 Idem.
- 94 *Der Film* 24 January 1931 (Betz).
- 95 *Reichsfilmblatt* 24 January 1931 (-i-).
- 96 *Film-Kurier* 21 January 1931 (Hans Feld).
- 97 The *Kinematograph* (17 21 January 1931) paid more attention to the historical content, however, without explaining how 1914 differed from other films.
- 98 *8-Uhr Abendblatt* (January 1931; Kurt Pinthus). The brackets are mine. The complete quotation reads as follows: 'Ist dieser Film als dokumentarischer-historische, wahrheitenthüllende Arbeit zu werten? Ist er ein Filmwerk, das, abgesehen von seinen aktuellen und erregenden Momenten, ein Filmkunstwerk ist?' He thought the film failed to live up to both (and simply could not live up to them). As far as the historical aspect is concerned, he thought that the film had already been surrounded by all kinds of political and social restrictions during the production process, that there could hardly be any completeness and objectivity.
- 99 *Die Rote Fahne* (Berlin) 27 January 1931 (D.).
- 100 *Welt am Abend* 17 21 January 1931 (Ku.).
- 101 *Vorwärts* 21 January 1931 (Erich Kuttner).
- 102 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 21 January 1931 [R or BK].
- 103 *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 21 January 1931 (-le.).
- 104 *Der Angriff* 21 January 1931 (Flimmermann).
- 105 U.J. Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme 1931* (1989) 288-91; Barbian, 'Filme mit Lücken', 60.
- 106 *Der Angriff* 20 January 1931; *12-Uhr Zeitung* 19 January 1931.

- 107 *Welt am Abend* (17 21 January 1931; K.) found it impossible to understand that the film was banned because 'nicht alles bis aufs I-Tipfelchen mit der kindischen Kriegsschuldlegende übereinstimmte'. Kurt Pinthus of the *8-Uhr-Abendblatt* (January 1931) wrote: 'Erst das Verbot, dann die Bedingungen für die Freigabe erwiesen Unmöglichkeit und Lächerlichkeit heutiger Filmzensur'; *Frankfurter Zeitung* [21 January 1931; R or BK] failed to appreciate the ministry's actions and said that chaos reigned. Heinz Pol of the *Vossische Zeitung* (22 January 1931) opposed censorship in general and more or less accused the ministry of cowardice. Erich Kuttner of *Vorwärts* (21 January 1931) agreed: 'Als dann die Rechtspresse behauptete, der Film verfälsche die historischen Tatsachen, in dem er Deutschland ein grosses Mass an Schuld zuweise, die anderen Nationen aber entlaste, fiel das Auswärtige Amt um, ähnlich wie kurz vorher im Falle des Kriegsfilms "Im Westen nichts Neues".'
- 108 *Vorwärts* 21 January 1931.
- 109 *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 21 January 1931 (-le.).
- 110 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 24 January 1931.
- 111 *Lichtbildbühne* 10 January 1931; *Reichsfilmblatt* 10 January 1931.
- 112 *Vossische Zeitung* 19 January 1931; *Die Weltbühne* 27 January 1931.
- 113 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 21 January 1931.
- 114 *Die Rote Fahne* 27 January 1931 (D.); *Welt am Abend* 21 January 1931 (K.).
- 115 *Der Film* 24 January 1931 (Betz); *Film-Kurier* 21 January 1931 (Hans Feld).
- 116 Except for the catholic *Germania* (22 January 1931; gr.) which in general terms agreed with the film. The other review from the confessional press derived from the protestant *Der Deutsche* (22 January 1931; Erwin Gephard).
- 117 *Vorwärts* 21 January 1931; *Berliner Tageblatt* 25 January 1931 (Hermann Sinsheimer); *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 21 January 1931 (Herbert Ihering); *8-Uhr-Abendblatt* January 1931 (Kurt Pinthus); *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin) 22 January 1931 (Heinz Pol); *Frankfurter Zeitung* 21 January 1931 [R or BK]; *Tempo* 21 January 1931 (Manfred Georg).
- 118 *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 21 January 1931 (-le.); *Der Montag* 26 January 1931; *Der Tag* 22 January 1931 (-n.); *Der Angriff* 21 January 1931 (Flimmermann).
- 119 Von Wegerer had been head of the Zentralstelle für Erforschung der Kriegsursachen since 1921.
- 120 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 21 January 1931 (Dr R.D.); *Kinematograph* 21 January 1931.

## Notes to Chapter 3

- 1 Part of a quotation from Herbert Ihering on the occasion of the film *SOMME* (*Berliner Börsen-Courier* 200 30 April 1930).
- 2 A film such as *UNSERE EMDEN* could also be put into the category of the 'documentary'. It is a mixture of archival footage and constructed scenes. Some of the non-professional actors playing an important part in the film are people who themselves fought on the Emden. Since this film was the first navy film to become very

- popular, I have included it in the fifth chapter, which deals with navy films. The film *NAMENLOSE HELDEN* also appeared to consist mainly of archival footage. The film has probably been lost. I have included it in the next chapter because of its clear anti-war character. I have left *BLOCKADE UND U-BOOTKRIEG* out of consideration. This film, originally English (by George Barkas and Karl Halden), was actually released in Germany – the Berlin premiere took place on 14 April 1930 – but it was not adapted for German audiences except for the translation of intervening titles. *SOMME*, in contrast, containing a lot of British material, was adapted for German audiences by a German director.
- 3 These films can be compared to the present compilation films, especially those that fit the description by Hans Beller, which he based on the film-historical compilation film. Beller distinguishes the following aspects: fragments of films, interviews with eyewitnesses, contemporary footage of, for example, historical sites and buildings; inserts of letters, diagrams and so on; reproductions such as posters, photographs and drawings, image manipulations such as dissolves and frozen frames; archival footage. See Beller, 'Filmgeschichte im Fernsehen – Erzählen und Zeichen', in Knut Hickethier (ed.), *Filmgeschichte schreiben. Ansätze, Entwürfe und Methoden* (Berlin 1989) 182.
  - 4 Brian Winston, *Claiming the real. The documentary film revisited* (London 1995) 8-9. Winston indicates that the term itself was already used in 1914 by the photographer and filmer of ethnographical subjects, Edward Sheriff Curtis.
  - 5 The intervening titles in silent films can also be interpreted as a form of written voice-over. The interview used in many modern documentaries did not become common until the nineteen fifties. The eyewitnesses that are now asked to tell their stories may be compared to the people that were given a role in the 'documentaries' because of their first-hand experience.
  - 6 I will limit myself to the long 'documentary' film. In his article 'The *Kulturfilm*: a brief history of an early discursive practice', William Uricchio writes: 'Thus, terms such as Unterrichtsfilm, Lehrfilm, Industriefilm, Forschungsfilm, Populärwissenschaftlicher Film, Dokumentarfilm, and even Werbefilm and Propagandafilm, all make historical claim to inclusion within the overarching *Kulturfilm*', in Paolo Cherchi Usai & Lorenz Codelli (ed.), *Before Caligari. German cinema 1895-1920 / Prima di Caligari. Cinema tedesco, 1895-1920* (Pordenone 1990) 356. I believe, however, that the term *Kulturfilm* is mostly associated with the non-feature shorter film, although there are of course clear exceptions. I only came across the term 'Kulturfilm' once in connection with war 'documentaries'. See also: Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*. 1974, 142; E. Beyfuss & A. Kossowsky, *Das Kulturfilmbuch* (Berlin 1924).
  - 7 Michael Geisler, 'The battleground of modernity *WESTFRONT 1918* (1930)', in Erich Rentschler (ed.), *The films of G.W. Pabst. An extraterritorial cinema* (New Brunswick, London 1990) 97. Geisler indicates that in later reviews and accounts of the film, one could always read the term 'documentary'. The examples he gives all come from contemporary literature. According to my sources (see chapter 4), critics in the thirties hardly used this term: they did however, use the term 'realistic'.
  - 8 'Die Neue Sachlichkeit' wurde trotz ihres Eindringens in weite Bereiche der künstlerischen Wirklichkeitserfassung (...) und Formgestaltung doch kein wirklich durchgreifender Stil, ja nicht einmal die absolut dominierende Strömung

- innerhalb der Stabilisierungsperiode zwischen 1923 und 1929.' Jost Hermand & Frank Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik*, (Frankfurt am Main 1989) 119.
- 9 Jost Hermand, 'Unity within diversity? The history of the concept "Neue Sachlichkeit"', in Keith Bullivant (ed.), *Culture and society in the Weimar Republic* (Manchester 1977) 166. The translated quotation is from a newsletter of 18 May 1923 written by Hartlaub. The exhibition itself took place in the summer of 1925. The concept was associated with work by, among others, Otto Dix.
  - 10 Art historian Wieland Schmied distinguishes five different movements in pictorial art, which are also different per location: Berlin realism could be defined as socially critical verism; Cologne realism consisted of a formal constructivist style; Munich realism was oriented towards classicism; and Hannover realism was naive and poetic. See: Brigid S. Barton, *Otto Dix and "Die Neue Sachlichkeit", 1918-1925* (diss. London 1976) 125.
  - 11 Hermand & Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik* (1989) 116-120.
  - 12 Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, 165; Gay, *Weimar culture* (1970) 120.
  - 13 Thomas J. Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin. American Cinema and Weimar Germany* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1994) 117-118.
  - 14 'Sie ist lediglich der ästhetische und ideologische Ausdruck jener im liberalen Sinne republikbezogenen Kreise, die sich von der fortschreitenden Rationalisierung der Industrie und ihrem eigenen künstlerischen Einsatz eine Stärkung der Republik versprochen.' From: Hermand & Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik*, 119.
  - 15 Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, 166. Helmut Korte also distinguishes two direction (in film, among other things): 'einerseits eine objektivistische, rational-sachliche, "unsentimentale" und andererseits eine die Oberfläche tendenziell durchbrechende Strömung mit sozialkritischem Engagement und (...) realistischer Zielsetzung.' in Helmut Korte (ed.), *Film und Realität in der Weimarer Republik*. Mit Analysen der Filme "Kuhle Wampe" und "Mutter Krausens Fahrt ins Glück" (Frankfurt am Main 1980; orig. Munich, Vienna 1978) 86.
  - 16 'Die Neue Sachlichkeit blieb daher trotz ihres guten Willens nicht nur widersprüchlich, sondern auch isoliert.' in Hermand & Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik*, 120.
  - 17 Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler*, 166.
  - 18 Helmut Lethen, *Neue Sachlichkeit 1924-1932*. Studien zur Literatur des "Weissen Sozialismus" (Stuttgart 1970); Peter Sloterdijk, *Kritik der zynischen Vernunft* (1983).
  - 19 Andrew Kelly's contention that a third part was screened in America must be based on a misunderstanding. His source is a *Variety* reviewer. See: Kelly, *Cinema and the Great War* (London, New York 1997) 87.
  - 20 Ernst Krieger, 'Wozu ein Weltkriegsfilm?', *Ufa-Magazin* (Sondernummer. 'Der Weltkrieg. Ein historischer Film') 1927, page thirteen. 'Es war um die Jahreswende 1923/24, als wir die Absicht äussersten, unser sorgfältig sortiertes, registriertes und katalogisiertes Archivmaterial, durch bewegliche Zeichenbilder und einige Nachaufnahmen ergänzt, zu einem historischen Film über den Weltkrieg zusammenzustellen.'
  - 21 Michael Töteberg 'Vermintes Gelände. Geschäft und Politik: Der Weltkrieg', in Hans-Michael Bock & M. Töteberg (ed.), *Das Ufa-Buch*. Kunst und Krisen. Stars und Regisseure. Wirtschaft und Politik (Frankfurt am Main 1992) 204. In the *Ufa-*

- Magazin (Sondernummer: Der Weltkrieg. Ein historischer Film) 1927, the first sentence of director Leo Lasko's contribution ('Meine Mitarbeit') reads: "Wollen Sie unseren Heeresfilm inszenieren?!". The fact that the whole period was spent on making the film is also shown by a statement by Svend Noldan in an article in the *Kreuz-Zeitung* (187a 22 April 1927) about his animation technique. He writes that he began recording these animations in 1925. (This article was published the day before *WELTKRIEG I* premiered.)
- 22 It seems that Stresemann only wanted to have a scene cut in which President Wilson appeared. Idem.
  - 23 This was especially true for the first part. *Vorwärts* 98a 24 April 1927 (D.); *Welt am Abend* 94 23 April 1927 (Kurt Agberg); *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 188 23 April 1927 (Herbert Ihering); *Vossische Zeitung* 98 24 April 1927 (Heinz Pol).
  - 24 *Welt am Abend* 94 23 April 1927; *Vorwärts* 98a 24 April 1927.
  - 25 Such as the images of bare trees while it was summer at the relevant historical moment. This was also noticed by a critic writing for *Der Bildwart* 6 June 1927 (H.P.).
  - 26 Leo Lasko, 'Meine Mitarbeit', *Ufa-Magazin* 1927 (tenth page).
  - 27 George Soldan, 'Wie der Weltkriegs-film entstand', *Ufa-Magazin* 1927 (fifth page).
  - 28 Idem.
  - 29 In classic film theory, realistic and 'formalistic' cinematography are represented by the ideas of André Bazin and Sergei Eisenstein, respectively. In a film the realistic representation is characterized by long takes and deep focus. The director has, as it were, interfered as little as possible in representing reality, offering the viewers the space to explore the images for themselves. In formalism, on the other hand, the cinematographical means are used in a more self-conscious way and put in the foreground, for example by emphatic editing and use of the camera.
  - 30 In principle, this seemed to be the ambition of every director who wanted to be taken seriously in filming the war. I will nevertheless mention such statements explicitly because, as we saw in the previous chapter, Eugen Fischer saw the feature film as a medium in which one could be liberal with the 'truth'.
  - 31 Ernst Krieger, 'Wozu ein Weltkriegs-film?', *Ufa-Magazin* 1927 (thirteenth page). Earlier in the article, he writes: 'Wir wollten ohne jede Tendenz nach irgendeiner Richtung hin eine einwandfreie, sachliche Darstellung der historischen Tatsachen geben.'
  - 32 This was the last paragraph of Soldan's contribution: 'Man möge das Streben nach geschichtlicher Wahrheit in unserer Arbeit erkennen. Ein historischer Film- und als solcher stehe er über allen Niederungen kleiner Parteisucht und ausserhalb von Weltanschauungen!', *Ufa-Magazin* 1927 (fifth page).
  - 33 The use of the word 'animation' is an anachronism. The term used at the time was 'Trickfilme'.
  - 34 An article appeared in the *Neue Preussische (Kreuz-)Zeitung* (187a 22 April 1927) one day before the premiere, written by Svend Noldan himself to explain his methods. He said the film contained 600 meters of drawn material, consisting of 31,200 frames. Since most frames had been exposed five or six times on top of each other, the total number was 150 thousand frames.
  - 35 'During the Weimar period, teachers and academic administrators working in its Film Office were charged, by the republican government, with the task of selecting films which were of particular 'educational' or 'artistic' value'. In Garth Mont-

- gomery, “‘Realistic’ war films in Weimar Germany: entertainment as education’, *Historical journal for film, radio and television*, 2 1989, 119. (Orig. Source: *Ufa-Magazin* (Sondernummer. ‘Der Weltkrieg’) 1927. The ZEU had been established during the First World War by the Prussian Ministry of Culture.
- 36 The fact that there were reduced prices for the young can also be seen from an advertisement: ‘*Die Jugend hat nachmittags Zutritt zu halben Preisen.*’ (advertisement from Braunberg’s publication, name and date unknown; Bundesarchiv/Filmarchiv). In other advertisements, it only said: ‘*Jugendliche haben Zutritt!*’ (*Lichtbildbühne* 109 7-5-1927; *Kinematograph* 1055 8-5-1927.
- 37 *Deutsche Zeitung* 95a 24 April 1927 (Hans Grudzinski). And the *Kinematograph* (1052 17 April 1927) wrote, before the film had opened: ‘Es wird hier zum erstenmal für viele Deutsche die Möglichkeit geboten, sich einen wirklichen Begriff von dem ungeheuren grossen Völkerringen zu verschaffen, und es wird sich auch bei vielen zum erstenmal ein klares Bild entwickeln von dem, was damals war und was sich damals entwickelte.’
- 38 *Kreuz-Zeitung* 189 23 April 1927 (Klaus-Ulrich Henning).
- 39 *Germania* 271 29 September 1932 (H. Ba.)
- 40 A report in the *Berliner Zeitung* (7 October 1933) opens as follows: ‘Schon vor einigen Jahren wurde dieser von der Ufa hergestellte Film “Der Weltkrieg” gezeigt. Aber nun ist er umgebaut, seine Wirkung verstärkt durch eine Anzahl lebenswahrer Originalaufnahmen und durch Untermahlung mit Musik und Geräusch.’ The *Film-Kurier* (236 7 October 1933) writes that in the compilation film, the three original parts have been put together. However, it is probable that a third part was never made. Yet the compilation film contains footage and scenes that are lacking in *WELTKRIEG II* and which are not derived from part I for reasons of chronology. To further complicate matters, Michael Töteberg writes that the compilation film is based exclusively on the first part. This is unlikely, since the archive compilation is 1400 meters longer than part I (see below) (M. Töteberg, ‘Vermintes Gelände’, in Bock & Töteberg, (1992) 205. The uncertainty surrounding the origin of the compilation film in the Berlin archive is also connected with the presence of sound and music in the original (compiled) version, while this is lacking in the archive compilation. See: *Film-Kurier* 236 7 October 1933 (Be.We.): ‘Die Tonuntermalung beschränkt sich im wesentlichen auf die realistische Darstellung des Geschützfeuers, der wahren Kriegsmusik. Daneben Beethovensche, Wagnersche und – wenn möglich – auch Mozartsche Motive. Verschiedentlich erreicht der Film durch den unterlegten Ton eine dramatische Höhe.’ Töteberg also confirms this (*Ufa-Buch* 205). As far as the length of the film is concerned, it almost goes without saying that the compiled version is shorter than the original *WELTKRIEG I* and *WELTKRIEG II* together. These were 2,346 and 2,637 meters in length, respectively, while the compiled version in the archives is 3,779 meters. According to the data in the *Reichsfilmblatt* (17 30 April 1927; c-c.) *WELTKRIEG I* was 2,346 meters in length (appr. 1.5 hrs.). The censorship report of *DER WELTKRIEG II* says the film was 2,637 meters (appr. 100 minutes): (Film-prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 18052, 30 January 1928 (issued on 1 May 1928). The Filmarchiv/Bundesarchiv Berlin possesses a compilation copy of 3,779 meters (appr. 135 minutes); the film copies are 35 mm.
- 41 The film order described in the programme for *WELTKRIEG II* and the texts in the censorship report are identical. I will use the order as described in the programme

- brochure for WELTKRIEG I as a starting point for a comparison with the compilation film, since it is likely no censorship report has been preserved for this film. The programme brochure is from the *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* (1927, number unknown). The description of the contents is the same as the one in the *Ufa-Magazin* (1927).
- 42 This is shown by a comparison between the censorship report of Weltkrieg II and the compilation film. Some intervening titles have been added or deleted in the compilation version.
- 43 M. Töteberg, 'Vermintes Gelände', 205.
- 44 *Berliner Morgenpost* 36 11 February 1928 (Walter Redmann).
- 45 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1927 (number unknown).
- 46 Idem.
- 47 *Vorwärts* 192 24 April 1927; *Berliner Morgenpost* 98 24 April 1927 (Walter Redmann).
- 48 *Vossische Zeitung* 98 24 April 1927 (Heinz Pol); *Berliner Morgenpost* 98 24 April 1927 (Walter Redmann).
- 49 Robert Asprey, *The German High Command at war. Hindenburg and Ludendorff conduct World War I* (New York 1991) 99-106.
- 50 *Vorwärts* 192 24 April 1927 (D.).
- 51 *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 188 23 April 1927 (Herbert Ihering).
- 52 *Berliner Morgenpost* (98 24 April 1927).
- 53 *Vossische Zeitung* (98 24 April 1927; Carl Misch); see also: *Neue Preussische (Kreuz-) Zeitung* 189 23 April 1927 Klaus-Ulrich Henning); *Der Bildwart* 6 June 1927 (H.P.).
- 54 Robert Asprey, *The German High Command at war* (1991) 104-106.
- 55 *Lichtbildbühne* 98 25 April 1927. The critic at the *Neue Preussische (Kreuz-)Zeitung* (189 23 April 1927;s) also voiced his admiration for the scene.
- 56 Bernd Hüppauf, 'Schlachtenmythen und die Konstruktion des "Neuen Menschen"', in Gerhard Hirschfeld, Gerd Krumeich & Irina Renz (ed.), 'Keiner fühlt sich heir mehr als Mensch ...' Erlebnis und Wirkung des Ersten Weltkriegs (Essen 1993) 45.
- 57 It is possible that this symbol was inspired by the American war film *THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF THE APOCALYPSE* (1921, Rex Ingram).
- 58 *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 188 23 April 1927 (Herbert Ihering). These lines directly followed the lines mentioned in an earlier note concerning the Marne Battle.
- 59 *Berliner Morgenpost* 98 24 April 1927 (Walter Redmann).
- 60 *Vossische Zeitung* 98 24 April 1927 (Heinz Pol and Carl Misch).
- 61 *Der Bildwart* 6 June 1927 (H.P.) Other reviews that differed with this method of representation can be found in *Germania* 188 a 23 April 1927 (s.).
- 62 *Lichtbildbühne* 98 25 April 1927. The *Neue Preussische (Kreuz-)Zeitung* (189 23 April 1927; s.) concurred.
- 63 B. Hüppauf, 'Schlachtenmythen und die Konstruktion des "Neuen Menschen"' in Hirschfeld etc., (1993) 47.
- 64 Asprey, *The German High Command at war* (1991) 124. The British lost around 50,000 soldiers, while French losses were probably even higher.
- 65 Ibidem.
- 66 Idem, 43.
- 67 George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the memory of the world wars* (Oxford, New York, Toronto et al 1990) 71.
- 68 Hüppauf, 'Schlachtenmythen' 47.

- 69 About the music, Hans-Walter Betz of *Der Film* (8 1 May 1927) writes the following: 'Zuvor Oratoriummusik von Hugo Kaun. Der Berliner Beethoven-Chor sang das "Heimatgebet" (Text Ernst Krengel). Dann die ersten, leisen Takte der Originalmusik von Marc Roland. Alte Schule, die moderne Kontrapunktführung scheu verriet und mählich ins Geleise einer gewaltigen Fuge kam. Im führenden Bass wechselnd Soldatenlieder, Schlachtgesang, einzelne, *fanfarenartig herausgearbeitete Takte des Deutschlandliedes.*' [italics BK].
- 70 Hüppauf, *Schlachtenmythen*, 60-61.
- 71 Asprey, *The German High Command at war* (1991) 220-225.
- 72 Ibidem. 243-246.
- 73 Censorship report DER WELTKRIEG II, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 18052, 30 January 1928 (issued 1 May 1928); Act 4, text 12.
- 74 This image was the starting point of my article: 'Het ongewapende oog. Modernisme en realisme in DER WELTKRIEG en WESTFRONT 1918, in *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis* nr.0 1998, p.5-25.
- 75 This shown by the positive reactions to DER WELTKRIEG II, which contained considerably more archival footage than the first part. See among others: *Vorwärts* 371 12 February 1928 (H.Sch.); *Frankfurter Zeitung* 112 11 February 1928 (B.Rg.).
- 76 *Neue Preussische (Kreuz-)Zeitung* 189 23 April 1927 (Klaus Ulrich-Henning); *Der Tag* 98 24 April 1927 (Medem.); *Der Montag* 7 13 February 1928; *Preussische Zeitung* 70 10 February 1928.
- 77 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 112 11 February 1928 (B.Rg.).
- 78 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 69 10 February 1928 (-ma); *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 188 23 April 1927 (Herebert Ihering).
- 79 *Die Rote Fahne* 96 24 April 1927 (Otto Steinicke).
- 80 *Vossische Zeitung* 98 24 April 1927 (Heinz Pol) and *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 188 23 April 1927 (Herbert Ihering) respectively. Incidentally, the texts in the compilation film have also been written in gothic typeface.
- 81 *Reichsfilmblatt* 7 18 February 1928 (Hans Erdmann). In an article about the music score, Erdmann writes: (nach)'Meinem Empfinden dauerte diese Filmszene nahezu zehn Minuten: immerfort Schlacht.' The *Berliner Morgenpost* (36 11 February 1928; Erwin Gepard spoke of 'eine Viertelminute'. For some, this proved too long; Hans Wollenberg of the *Lichtbildbühne* (36 10 February 1928) wrote: '... das siebentägige Trommelfeuer wird allzu ausführlich gezeigt und dabei vergessen, dass es rein als Bildeindruck zu monoton wirkt ...' In the compilation film, this sequence opens with the text: 'Nach einem gross angelegten Plan begann Anfang Juni 1916 von allen Seiten der Ansturm gegen die Festung Mittelmächte.'
- 82 *Film-Kurier* 36 10 February 1928 (Ernst Jäger).
- 83 *Vorwärts* 37a 12 February 1928 (H.Sch.).
- 84 *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 72 11 February 1928 (Herbert Ihering).
- 85 *Lichtbildbühne* 36 10 February 1928 (Hans Wollenberg).
- 86 *Berliner Morgenpost* 36 11 February 1928. (Walter Redmann). *Der Deutsche* 36 11 February 1928 (Erwin Gepard).
- 87 *Vorwärts* 37a 12 February 1928; *Preussische Zeitung* 70 10 February 1928: 'Auch tritt allmählich eine gewisse Verwirrung ein, die noch gesteigert wird durch eine übertriebene Schnelligkeit der Bildvorführung und durch ein oft phantastisches Durcheinanderwerfen der einzelnen Aufnahmen.'

- 88 *Reichsfilmblatt* 7 18 February 1928 (Hans Erdmann). Incidentally, Erdmann did not think the modernist approach was entirely successful. 'Nun eine solche moderne Materialschlacht musikalisch zu erfassen, ist ein Problem, lösbar natürlich nur dann, wenn hier der Film auf *sich selbst* und damit die *Musik Rücksicht* nimmt. Eine solche Szene kann nur unter Gesichtspunkten künstlerischer Wirkung szenisch und musikalisch, also musik-dramaturgisch, komponiert werden; das wurde versäumt ... Roland half sich mit atonalen Mitteln, die ihm wohl nicht ganz kongenial sind.' The article from which this quotation is derived, was devoted entirely to the music score and appeared on its own. A critic of the film journal *Deutsche Filmzeitung* (27 4 July 1930), published in Munich, opined that the music was very modest in relation to the film. The film was said to have been introduced with Massenet's *Phèdre* overture, and once during the film, the melody of 'Ich hatt' einen Kameraden' could be heard. There was no mention of any atonal music. The orchestra may have used a different score for the Munich premiere.
- 89 *Glenzdorfs Internationales Film-Lexikon. Biographisches Handbuch für das gesamte Filmwesen* (Bad Münden [Deister], 1961) 1263.
- 90 The firm Cando Film – the name had been derived from director Joseph Candolini – was responsible for the production. One year later, Candolini and Paul would again cooperate in the production of the war film *DIE ANDERE SEITE*.
- 91 Since *SOMME* apparently premiered two months later in Munich, the critic for the southern German *Deutsche Filmzeitung* was able to compare the two films, which was favorable for *SOMME*: 'Man kann sagen, dass dieser stumme Film die Realistik von "Westfront 1918" in vielem übertrifft.'
- 92 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1392 1930; *Film-Kurier* 105 30 April 1930 (Georg Herzberg); *Lichtbildbühne* 103 30 April 1930 (n.); *Der Deutsche* 101 1 May 1930 (T.C.).
- 93 Both George Mosse and Jay Winter have pointed out the use of Christian symbols in the process of coming to terms with the war.
- 94 *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 200 30 April (A. Kesser).
- 95 For an extensive analysis of the film (with the primary aim of finding out which scenes are real and which are constructed) see Roger Smither, "'A wonderful idea of the fighting": the question of fakes in "The battle of the Somme"', *Historical journal of film, radio and television* 2 1993, 149-168.
- 96 *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 200 30 April 1930. (A. Kesser).
- 97 *Germania* 202 2 May 1930 (D.).
- 98 *Film-Kurier* 105 30 April 1930 (Georg Herzberg).
- 99 *Die Rote Fahne* 103 4 May 1930 (Ka.).
- 100 *Berliner Morgenpost* 104 1 May 1930 (Walter Redmann); *Germania* 202 2 May 1930 (D.); *Lichtbildbühne* 103 20 April 1930 (n); *Film-Kurier* 105 30 April 1930 (Georg Herzberg). In general, *VERDUN* was reviewed favourably in the German press. It seems the French version of *VERDUN* was slightly adapted for the German audiences; the tendency of the film is said to be less pacifistic and a series of symbolic scenes disappeared from the German version (*Der Film* 24 15 June 1929; Dr F Kaul); besides that, a German actor is said to have been included in the German version (Hans Brausewetter) (*Der Film* idem; *Germania* 275 16 June 1929; H. Behm).
- 101 Karl Günther Panter was responsible for production. He ran a small production firm in Görlitz near Dresden.

- 102 Ulrich J. Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme: Filmlexikon der abendfüllenden und deutschsprachigen Tonfilme nach ihren deutschen Uraufführungen*. Vol. 2 Jahrgang 1931 (Berlin, 1990) 49. Directed by Charles der Rochefort.
- 103 *Der Film* 33 15 August 1931. Ernst Erich Buder was in charge of the music; the choir was called Chorgruppe der Berliner Liedertafel (see: *Der Tag* 196 august 1931).
- 104 Other parts came from the German archives. See: Werberatschlag Douaumont. *Die Hölle vor Verdun*, 1931 (Bundesarchiv/Filmarchiv Berlin) and *Lichtbildbühne* 194 14 August 1931 (Wbg.).
- 105 Werberatschlag DOUAUMONT. *Die Hölle vor Verdun*, 1931 (Bundesarchiv/Filmarchiv, Berlin).
- 106 Chrisje and Kees Brants, *Velden van Weleer. Reisgids naar de Eerste Wereldoorlog* (Amsterdam, Antwerpen 1993) 217. Fort Douaumont was taken on two separate occasions, in quick succession, by two different German commanders, without them being aware of each other. The first was sergeant Kunze, the second lieutenant Radtke. Several hours later, they were followed by Hauptmann Haupt and Oberleutnant Von Brandis. Von Brandis relayed the report to German headquarters, which made him the bringer of glad tidings as well as the hero of Douaumont. Only Haupt and Von Brandis received decorations (Pour le Mérite), Kunze and Radtke received nothing at all. Protests against this unjust treatment, from Haupt, among others, failed to achieve anything. Radtke's contribution may perhaps be seen as a kind of rehabilitation arranged by Heinz Paul. The following text was presented in a separate box in the *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* (1618): 'Dieser Film ist eine Rekonstruktion des wechsellvollen Kampfes um das Fort Douaumont vom Februar bis Oktober 1916 im Rahmen des Angriffes auf Verdun. In diesem Sinne will er kein Spielfilm sein. Er wurde ohne jede Tendenz geschaffen unter Verwendung authentischer Aufnahmen und unter persönlicher Mitwirkung ehemaliger Mitkämpfer, unter ihnen die Erstürmer Haupt und Leutnant d. Res. Radtke.'
- 107 *Germania* 189a 15 August 1931 (D.): 'Zweifellos wird ihrem Mittun der Film wertvolle Anregungen und eine bestmögliche Annäherung an die Wirklichkeit verdanken. Trotzdem wird man den Eindruck nicht los, dass Hauptmann Haupt doch den versteifenden Einflüssen der Filmkamera nicht entgangen ist.' And the *Neue Preussische (Kreuz-)Zeitung* (226a 14 August 1931; D.) wrote: '15 Jahre sind zu lang, um den Hauptmann Haupt heute noch einmal das tun zu lassen (im Schauspiel!), was er damals tat ...'. And finally, *Vorwärts* (190A 14 August 1931; E.K-r = Erich Kästner): 'Über die Mitwirkung gewonnener "Original" Erstürmer des Douaumont lasst mich schweigen. Sie waren sicher seinerzeit viel zu tüchtige Offiziere, um jetzt gute Filmdarsteller zu sein.'
- 108 *Deutsche Zeitung* 189a 14 August 1931 (C.C.). And in an article that appeared later, the paper wrote: 'Die Objektivität wird verstärkt durch Verwendung authentischer Aufnahmen und die persönliche Mitwirkung ehemaliger Mitkämpfer, unter ihnen Hauptmann Haupt.' (*Deutsche Zeitung* 21 23 August 1931).
- 109 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 371 15 August 1931 (Dr.E.).
- 110 *Vorwärts* 190a 14 Augst 1931 (E.K-r): 'dass hier ein militaristisch-patriotisches Gegengift gegen die Filme "Im Westen nichts Neues" und "Vier von der Infanterie" [WESTFRONT 1918, BK] verabfolgt werden soll. (...) Aber dann kommt die Wirklichkeit des Krieges und – ist alles fortgeblasen.' The same opinion was put

- forward by the *Vossische Zeitung* 194 15 August 1931 (Heinz Pol): 'zweifelloos hergestellt als eine Art Anti-Remarque.'
- 111 *Vorwärts* 190a 14 August 1931 (E.K-r.); *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 226a 14 August 1931 (D.).
- 112 *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 583 13 December 1925 (w.h.).
- 113 'T.-Wirtschaftsfilm GmbH Berlin – 7 Akte – 2626 mtr. 19-10-27 G.-B.169632 (Rein belehrend) (*Lichtbildbühne* 265 5 November 1927); 'Filme mit ermässiger Lustbarkeitssteuer: Tannenberg. Ein Kriegsgeschichtlicher Lehrfilm. ... 2626 mtr.' (*Lichtbildbühne* 301 17 December 1927).
- 114 For history and 'use' of the monument, see: G. Mosse, *The nationalization of the masses* (Ithaca, London 1975), 69-71.
- 115 'Drehzeit: 17.06.-Juli 1932.' The film was produced by the Swiss-German film company Heinz-Paul-Film der Praesens (or Praesens-Film GmbH). See: Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme. Vol.3 Jahrgang 1932* (Berlin 1990) 225.
- 116 On 26 August 1932, a report appeared on the front page of the *Lichtbildbühne* (200) under the title: 'Tannenberg-Tag ohne Tannenbergfilm'. The report announced that the film could not open due to unknown reasons ('... durch Umstände für die uns das Verständnis fehlt.').
- 117 Censorship report: '29.08.1932 – B.31997 – 2891 m.; nach Kürzung 2761,72 m – 12 Akte – Jf.' The second assessment: '08.09.1932 – B.32090 – 2806 m – 12 Akte – Jf. (Doppelprüfung).' in Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme 1932* (1990) 225.
- 118 In the 1927 Tannenberg film, there is only archival footage of Von Hindenburg, which was no problem.
- 119 *Lichtbildbühne* 202 29 August 1932. The next day, the magazine announced that the film had only been banned because of German prestige and national interest, not because the film would be a danger to public order. See also: *Lichtbildbühne* 203 30 August 1932.
- 120 In the *Kinematograph* (169 30 August 1932) a report appeared about the issue which quoted a letter by Dr Friedmann, who had appealed against the decision with the Oberprüfstelle as a representative of the Praesens production company. He invoked the 'Kunstschutzgesetz' of 9 January 1907, which said that it was impossible to ban a picture with historical persons, except if the relevant person was damaged by it. In addition, delegates of the Interior Ministry and the Reichswehr Ministry were said to have stated that the acted Von Hindenburg did not in any way detract from the real Von Hindenburg. According to a follow-up report in the *Lichtbildbühne* (204 31 August 1932), the shots concerned were in the sixth and seventh acts.
- 121 *Vossische Zeitung* 465 28 September 1932 (Wyr.): 'die Szenen in den Hauptquartieren (blieben) ... matte Schablone, so dass man den nachträglichen Einspruch der Filmprüfstelle gegen diese Darstellung Hindenburgs durchaus verstehen kann.'
- 122 When news of the German censorship vicissitudes reached Austria, cinema-owners rebelled against the distributor and refused to show a censored version of the film. Besides, there was no censorship legislation in Austria (*Lichtbildbühne* 204 31 August 1932 [front page]; *Kreuz-Zeitung* 271 29 September 1932; -th.). The fact that there were indeed political ways of getting a film banned, is shown by the ban on ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT, on the grounds of disturbing the peace (espe-

- cially by National Socialists), see: B. Schrader (ed.), *Der Fall Remarque*. Im Westen nichts Neues. Eine Dokumentation (Leipzig 1992) 253.
- 123 *Lichtbildbühne* 212 9 September 1932. As late as 22 September, the film had been submitted to the Film-Oberprüfstelle for approval. Censorship report Film-Obersprüfstelle Nr. 5318 (Deutsches Institut für Filmkunde, Frankfurt am Main).
- 124 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1806 1932.
- 125 Idem.
- 126 Idem.
- 127 In its list of actors and characters, respectively, the *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* (idem) also makes a distinction between 'I. Historische Handlung' (in which a further subdivision is made into 'Die Deutschen' and 'Die Russen') and 'II. Spielhandlung'.
- 128 A classic narrative structure has the following pattern: 1. introduction of main characters; 2. Exposition of the conflict; 3. conflict situation intensifies; 4. turning point; 5. reversal of conflict situation/resolution of the conflict.
- 129 They are the same kind of maps that could be seen in the *Weltkrieg* films, without there being any involvement, incidentally, from Svend Noldan, who had put together the maps for this series of films. They are the same maps that could be seen in the 1927 TANNENBERG version.
- 130 *Germania* 271 29 September 1932 (H.Ba.): 'Ein kleiner Junge ... wird dafür sorgen, dass auch die Schuljugend sich an dem Stoff begeistert.'
- 131 The last scenes take stock: the number of Russian dead and prisoners of war is 142,000, while there were said to be 'only' 12,000 wounded and dead on the German side.
- 132 The duration of the story lines is 52 and 40 minutes.
- 133 The fact that the mansion itself is quite modest in size can be seen from the scene in which Samsonov is followed by his staff, rides off alone, after which a gunshot is heard, upon which we see his horse return without its rider.
- 134 Concurring, *Der Tag* remarks: 'Der russische Gegner wird so ohne jeden Hass, so ritterlich gezeichnet, wie es wohl, leider, nur in einem deutschen Filmwerk möglich ist.' The scene which I believe portrayed the Russians in a slightly mocking way is not mentioned anywhere in the reviews.
- 135 Quoted from the censorship report TANNENBERG, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 41900, 3 April 1936, '1. Rolle. 3. Teil' text 22-24. ('jemand den Garaus machen' = to kill someone, to give someone the coup de grace).
- 136 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 155 28 September 1932 (-ma).
- 137 Ibidem.
- 138 Idem.
- 139 Idem. 'Wollte er [the film, BK] den innersten menschlichen und geistigen Kern dieses Geschehens erfassen, so müsste der Versuch gewagt werden, die Doppelpersönlichkeit der sieggestaltenden Feldherren hier darzustellen und gegenüber der Niederlagedrohung durch Rennenkampfs Nordarmee [a Russian army, BK] menschlich in der Grösse ihres Entschlusses und ihres Wagnisses begreiflich zu machen.'
- 140 Idem.

- 141 Idem. 'Wir haben zwar ein Gesetz "zum Schutze landschaftlich hervorragender Gegenden", aber leider noch keines zum Schutze des Mythos eines Volkes. Es wird sich demnächst herausstellen, dass dies bitter nötig ist.'
- 142 This explanation is based on the explanation Ben Hunningher gives of Wagner's views on art and music, as worded in *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (1850) and *Oper und Drama* (1851). (See Hunningher, *De opkomst van modern theater*, Amsterdam 1983, 18).

## Notes to Chapter 4

- 1 High German translation of a remark made in dialect by 'the Bavarian', a character in *WESTFRONT* 1918.
- 2 This statement was not made by Kracauer himself, but by the London Film Society. In an interview, Kracauer quotes the statement to support his own views. He goes on to say: 'This remark points at one of Pabst's basic intentions: in his new war picture, as well as in his previous films he endeavors to render the commonplace in real life with photographic veracity' in Gideon Bachmann, 'Six talks on G.W. Pabst. The man – the director – the artist', *Cinemages* 3 (New York 1955) 87. In *From Caligari to Hitler* (234) Kracauer wrote that the film was 'beyond the scope of New Objectivity' because of its direct pacifism.
- 3 This term derives from Amos Funkenstein, who describes it as follows: 'Their function is polemical. Their method consists of the systematic exploitation of the adversary's most trusted sources against their grain', from: 'History, counterhistory, and narrative', in Saul Friedlander (ed.), *Probing the limits of representation. Nazism and the "final solution"* (Cambridge/Massachusetts, London 1992) 69. The term is also mentioned by Michael Geisler in connection with anti-war literature (Geisler, 'The battleground of modernity' in Rentschler (ed.), *The films of G.W. Pabst*, 98).
- 4 This opinion is represented in three publications on the Weimar period which have long been considered authoritative: Jost Hermand & Frank Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt am Main 1989) 119; Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture. The outsider as insider* (New York, London, etc. 1970) 120; John Willet, *The new sobriety. Art and politics in the Weimar period 1917-1933* (London 1982) 95-176. In contrast to those: Helmuth Lethen, *Neue Sachlichkeit 1924-1932. Studien zur Literatur des 'Weissen Socialismus'* (Stuttgart 1970) and Helmut Gruber, 'Neue Sachlichkeit and the World War', in *German life and letters* 20 (1966-67) 138 believed that the Neue Sachlichkeit was at its high point in 1929 and '... of continuing importance until the end of the Weimar Republic.' Detlev Peukert also has a more subtle view on the period of the Neue Sachlichkeit: 'Hier ist nur festzuhalten, dass sich in der Krise Anfang der dreissiger Jahre die optimistischen Impulse der "Neuen Sachlichkeit" durch Kulturpessimismus und politische Radikalisierung verdrängt sahen.' (Peukert, *Die Weimarer Republik. Krisenjahre der klassischen Moderne*, [Frankfurt am Main 1987] 167-168).

- 5 'Offensichtlich bewirkte die politische, ökonomische und gesellschaftliche Krise in den späten 20er Jahren die Disposition der breiten Öffentlichkeit für die bisher ausgebliebene oder vernachlässigte Auseinandersetzung und Beschäftigung mit dem Ersten Weltkrieg, eine Situation, die sich besonders die nationalistische Rechte, aber auch die linke Kritik dadurch zunutze machte, dass sie die weitverbreitete Irritation über die Krise an dem "unbewältigten" Krieg als deren eigentliche Grundlage verwies.' Incidentally, Gollbach does not mean to suggest that there is a monocausal connection between social crisis and literature, in which politics or the socio-economic situation are determining factors. Michael Gollbach, *Die Wiederkehr des Weltkrieges in der Literatur* (1978) 203. Eksteins more or less agrees with this position (Modris Eksteins, *Rites of spring* [1989] 290).
- 6 'Unbestritten ist jedoch, dass die Kriegsromane, (...) durch ihre massenhafte Produktion und die hohen Auflagen eine enorme Wirkung auf die Kriegsdiskussion und die damit verbundene allgemeine politische Polarisierung und Radikalisierung ausübten.' Ibidem.
- 7 *Im Westen nichts Neues* was published by the Berlin Propyläen-Verlag owned by Ullstein. 30,000 copies of the book were printed. After about eighteen months, more than one million copies had been sold in Germany alone. The book was translated into twelve foreign languages in the year of its publication. (Gollbach, [1978] 42). About the critical reception of the book and the film in Germany (and Austria), see: Bärbel Schrader, *Der Fall Remarque*; and Eksteins, 282-289.
- 8 H.H. Müller, *Der Krieg und die Schriftsteller* (1986) 2.
- 9 During the Weimar period, the following books by Ernst Jünger were published: *In Stahlgewittern* (1920/22); *Der Kampf als inneres Erlebnis* (1922); *Das Wäldchen* 125 (1925); *Der Arbeiter* (1932).
- 10 Pro-war authors who enjoyed fame in their own time were: Werner Beumelberg with *Sperrfeuer um Deutschland* (1929) and *Die Gruppe Bosemüller* (1930), Franz Schauwecker with *Aufbruch der Nation* (1929) and Josef Magnus Wehner with *Sieben vor Verdun* (1930). Incidentally, Wehner wrote his book as a 'corrective' to Remarque's book. Other authors: Hans Zöberlein with *Der Glaube an Deutschland. Ein Kriegserleben von Verdun bis zum Umsturz* (1931). Zöberlein was also responsible for two war films: *STOSSTRUPP* 1917 (1934) – which Kracauer considered a National Socialist answer to *WESTFRONT 1918* (*From Caligari to Hitler*, 235) – and *UM DAS MENSCHENRECHT* (1935), a film about the direct consequences of the war: the revolution of 1919. For an extensive bibliography of both anti-war and pro-war books, see, a.o.: Margrit Stickelberger-Eder, *Aufbruch 1914. Kriegsromane der späten Weimarer Republik* (Zürich, Munich 1983) 189-193.
- 11 Gollbach, *Die Wiederkehr* (1978) 245-46. I have only mentioned the most obvious differences. Gollbach also distinguishes (the first to be mentioned are the anti-war characteristics): reflection versus action; killing is self-defence or murder versus the lust to kill ('Tötungslust'); the leader is superior versus the leader has been chosen by nature; time is limited by the war versus the war as a mythical continuum of past and future.
- 12 Idem.
- 13 'Schreiben der Zensurbehörde', in Gertrandel Kühn, Karl Trümmel, Walter Wimmer (ed.), *Film und revolutionäre Arbeiterbewegung* (2 vol.) (Berlin/GDR 1978) 473.

- 14 Idem. This directive had been included in the law following pressure from SPD delegate Krüger, with the help of the DDP. See Jan-Pieter Barbian, 'Filme mit Lücken'. Jung (ed.), *Der deutsche Film* (1993) 54-55.
- 15 Ibidem, 474. The protest was mainly directed at the representation of the Kappputsch. The signatory (on behalf of the Interior Minister) assures the Reichswehrminister that 'die schiessende Truppe keine Formation der Reichswehr darstellt'.
- 16 This is a summary of the contents description in the programme for Alhambra-Film-Verleih GmbH in Berlin. (Bundesarchiv / Filmarchiv Berlin). Printed in its entirety in Kühn (ed.), *Film und revolutionäre Arbeiterbewegung* (1978) 468-470.
- 17 Ibidem, 469. See also a reference to a wealth of archive material in a letter to the editor by Szekely titled: 'Um ein guter Sänger zu werden', *Film-Kurier* 3 February 1927.
- 18 *Die Rote Fahne* 24 October 1925 (A.K.).
- 19 The first Balkan war took place in 1912-1913 between Turkey on one side, and Montenegro, Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece on the other. Austria-Hungary and Russia were involved only indirectly.
- 20 *Die Rote Fahne* 24 October 1925 (A.K.).
- 21 *Film-Kurier* 22 October 1925 (-g.). *Die Rote Fahne* (idem) wrote: 'So sah es an der Front aus, so beim Generalstab, in der Etappe, so zu Hause bei den Proleten und so bei den Munitionsfabrikanten und Kriegsschiebern. Das müsst ihr Arbeiter alle wieder wissen...' (some months earlier, Georg Wilhelm Pabst, the director of *WESTFRONT 1918*, had used this form of editing, contrasting rich and poor environments in his film *DIE FREUDLOSE GASSE*).
- 22 *Die Rote Fahne* 24 October 1925 (A.K.). Earlier in the review, a film is mentioned that presents this historical episode in 'knappen, schnell aufeinanderfolgenden, kraftvoll herausgearbeiteten Bildergestalten'.
- 23 The communist dogmas of the KPD had been consolidated around 1925. One of them was: 'Alle Geschichte ist die Geschichte eines erbarmungslosen Klassenkampfes. Heute stehen sich Kapitalisten und Proletarier als Todfeinde gegenüber. Im Zeitalter des Monopolkapitalismus und Imperialismus führt der Klassenkampf unvermeidlich zur Revolution und Bürgerkrieg', in Ossip K. Flechtheim, *Die KPD in der Weimarer Republik* (1969) 328. See also: Helmut Donat & Karl Holl (ed.), *Die Friedensbewegung. Organisierter Pazifismus in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz* (Düsseldorf 1983) 261-266.
- 24 *Die Rote Fahne* 24 October 1925 (A.K.); *Vossische Zeitung* (exact date unknown / Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek Berlin) wrote the following: 'Hier wurde mehr als der stumpfsinnige, tierische Alltag des Frontlebens (...) sichtbar.'
- 25 Idem.
- 26 Censorship report at 'Vorspann' of: *NAMENLOSE HELDEN*, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 11491, 16 October 1925. After the censor's intervention the 83 meters long trailer had been reduced to a 78.18 meters long version for public screening.
- 27 Literature about the film: Michel Geisler, 'The battleground of modernity: Westfront 1918 (1930)' in Eric Rentschler (ed.), *The films of G.W. Pabst* (1990) 91-101; Gerd Albrecht (ed.), "WESTFRONT 1918". *Dokumente, Materialien* (Cologne 1980); Lee Atwell, *G.W. Pabst* (Boston 1977); Yves Aubry & Jacques Pétat, *G.W. Pabst* (Paris 1968); Gideon Bachman, 'Six talks on G.W. Pabst. The man – the director –

- the artist', *Cinemages* 3 (New York 1955). Geisler's contribution is the most profound discussion of *WESTFRONT 1918*, and, in addition, he extensively involves the context and Pabst's other films in his analysis.
- 28 One year later, in 1931, Pabst made *KAMERADSCHAFT*, about a miners' conflict (which originally took place in 1906, but which Pabst moved to 1919) between France and Germany. The reason why I have not included this film in my research is the indirect, latent way in which the war plays a role in the film. The conflict takes place after the war, and the war is only referred to via a very short flashback.
- 29 Joseph Garncarz, 'Hollywood in Germany. The role of American Films in Germany 1925-1990', in D.W. Ellwood & R. Kroes (ed.), *Hollywood in Europe. Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony* (Amsterdam 1994) 94-138. Garncarz compiled his ranking for the period 1925-1932 on the basis of lists that were published in the *Film-Kurier*, which regularly asked cinema-owners what the season's five best films had been, in commercial terms.
- 30 See for the reactions to both the book and the film: Schrader (ed.), *Der Fall Remarque* (1992).
- 31 Some infamous American films were: *THE KAISER – BEAST OF BERLIN* (1918, Rupert Julian); *THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF THE APOCALYPSE* (1921, Rex Ingram) and *MARE NOSTRUM* (1926, Rex Ingram). American war films with a relatively positive view of the former German enemy always met with strong criticism in the press. See: Leslie Midkiff DeBauche, *Reel patriotism: the movies and World War I* (Madison etc. 1997) 159-194; Jack Spears, *Hollywood: the golden era* (London 1971) 11-76.
- 32 Censorship report *WESTFRONT 1918*, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 25961, 21 May 1930: 'Der Bildstreifen wird zur öffentlichen Vorführung im Deutschen Reiche zugelassen, darf jedoch vor Jugendlichen *nicht* vorgeführt werden.'
- 33 'Entscheidung der Oberprüfstelle, Berlin vom 27 April 1933, Nr. 6490: (...) die Darstellung, die der Krieg in dem Bildstreifen gefunden hat (ist) durchaus einseitig und wird in keiner Weise der Erinnerung des deutschen Volkes an die Heldentaten und die Opfer seiner Kämpfer gerecht. Indem der Bildstreifen die gebrachten Opfer als unnütz und den Krieg übertrieben realistisch darstellt, untergräbt er den Verteidigungswillen des Volkes und wirkt den Zielen der nationalen Regierung auf Ertüchtigung der Jugend und Wehrhaftmachung des Volkes entgegen.' in Albrecht, "WESTFRONT 1918" (1980) 4. Incidentally, Michael Geisler suggests, without naming any primary sources, that the premiere of *WESTFRONT 1918* was almost disturbed by Nazis. I did not come across anything of the kind in the reviews I selected. Geisler, 'The battleground of modernity' in Rentschler (1990) 96.
- 34 Walter Redmann wrote in the *Berliner Morgenpost* (124 25 May 1930): it is known 'dass die Tonfilm-Technik heute auf einem weit höheren Niveau steht, als sie dieser Film erkennen lässt. Das hätte anders gemacht werden müssen und können!' For the sound technique and its problems, see: *Six talks on G.W. Pabst* (1955) 50.
- 35 The book was published in Hamburg in 1929 in an edition of twenty thousand copies, and it was translated into thirteen languages. See Gollbach, *Die Wiederkehr*, p. 26 of the notes, note 3. In the Netherlands, the book appeared in 1929 with a preface by Rev. J.B.T. Hugenholtz and in a translation by R.H.G. Nahuys Esq. (J. Ploegsma publishers at Zeist).

- 36 Ibidem, 247 (Gollbach).
- 37 The other players are the actresses: Jackie Monnier (Jacqueline); Hanna Hoessrich (Karl's wife) and Else Heller (Karl's mother).
- 38 Behaviour and language of the protagonists suggest their social background. The Bavarian appears to be a representative of the working class. In addition, he is from southern Germany. Karl appears to be an exponent of the lower middle class, which is suggested by the spaciousness of his living quarters. Karl's hometown is in the north. The Student represents both youth and the intellectual segment of society. And finally, the Lieutenant belongs to the higher reaches of the military hierarchy when compared to the three infantrymen.
- 39 In an *LBB Kinoprogramm*, in which the actors are asked for a reaction, Claus Clausen (the Lieutenant) says: 'Dass es mir vergönnt war, in einer einzelnen Gestalt das Schicksal von hunderttausend Soldaten aufzuzeigen, das allein machte mir die Rolle wertvoll.' (Bundesarchiv/Filmarchiv)
- 40 Quotation from the censorship report WESTFRONT 1918: Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 25961, 21 May 1930: act 7, text 61. This report contains a literal transcription of almost the entire spoken dialogue. In the film itself, the dialogue is barely audible.
- 41 This situation, the incongruence between those who are at the front and an army command which issue, orders far behind the front, is the starting point of Stanley Kubrick's film about the First World War, *PATHS OF GLORY* (1957). The film looks at the war from a French perspective and is set in 1916.
- 42 Gollbach (1978) 245-46.
- 43 Ernst Johannsen, *Vier van de Infanterie. Westfront 1918* (Dutch translation 1929) 111.
- 44 Idem.
- 45 Some examples that are not in the film but in the book, are: 'A young soldier, who is moving to the front line trenches for the first time, stares with bulging eyes at a mess of bones, earth, grass, blood and flesh.' (p.20). A description of a plane crashing: 'One can see the crew burn in the sky (...) Finally the skeleton of the plane dives down and crashes into the ground.' (p.23)
- 46 This scene will be discussed further in chapter six, which deals with the home front.
- 47 Censorship report WESTFRONT 1918, Act 7, text 60.
- 48 In an interview, Pabst's assistant director Paul Falkenberg says about this: (on the eve of the premiere, Pabst asks Jean Oser, the 'editor') 'Let's change the end title – can it be done?' and Oser said, 'Yeah, it's possible – what do you want?' He said: 'All I want is a question mark after the word "The End".' So the film ends not with the words: The End, but The End? – question mark – a final emphasis on the idiocy of wars: "have people learned the lesson?" "Will this ever end?" This was one of his little intellectual touches that he was sometimes able to translate into pictorial symbols, so to speak. The lesson was lost, as we all know, and unfortunately it was lost even on Pabst because you know that he went back to Germany at the eve of World War II?', in Bachman, 'Six talks on G.W. Pabst' (1955) 50-1. Nothing is said about an exclamation mark.
- 49 The documentary aspect is strongly emphasized by Geisler in his article 'Battle-field of modernity' (1990) 97, 252 note 31.

- 50 For reviews of the stage performance, see Günther Rühle, *Theater für die Republik 1917-1933 im Spiegel der Kritik* (Frankfurt am Main 1967) 952-955.
- 51 If we take as our starting point an average number of shots per minute, the attack sequence in *DIE ANDERE SEITE* has about one shot per four seconds, and *DER WELTKRIEG* about one shot per second.
- 52 The left-liberal film periodical *Lichtbildbühne* was angry about this and wrote: 'Der Voelger-Ausschuss [= censorship committee, BK] hat den Trivas-Film "Niemandsländ" nicht als künstlerisch erklären zu können geglaubt. Abseits der weltanschaulichen Stellungnahme wird über das Niveau und über die Qualitäten des Films eine Einmütigkeit herrschen, die im Kontrast zu dieser amtlichen Beurteilung steht. Es bestätigt sich, was wir seit Jahren feststellen; der Ausschuss ist nicht so zusammengesetzt, dass er zuverlässige filmästhetische Wertungen zu finden vermag.'
- 53 *Die Rote Fahne* 20 December 1931 (H.L.).
- 54 Quoted from Verleih Katalog Berlin (Deutsches Institut für Filmkunde & Stiftung Deutsche Kinematek) 213. The origin of this statement has not been indicated.
- 55 In one of the opening scenes, we see the living room of this character: on the floor behind the Jew's sewing machine is a sign on which the stereotypically Jewish name of Lewin can be seen. (Incidentally, Sokoloff played the role of Sasonow in the play *1914*, in September 1930).
- 56 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1703 (1931).
- 57 In the text of the censorship report, the African is only referred to as 'Neger'. Censorship report NIEMANDSLAND, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 30455, 25 November 1931; see act 2, text 16; act 4, text 5 and 6, act 6, text 3.
- 58 If one looks at this from a politically correct point of view, there is a certain measure of racism in the film. Both the Jew and the African have no identity: 'Irgendwo in der Welt' is nearly as vague as 'Afrika'. Although the latter is still the name of a continent, the assertion is a denial of the fact that there are different nation states in Africa, and of the fact that during the First World War, much of Africa was divided by the European colonial powers and therefore involved in the war. Despite his French uniform, the African is never considered anyone's enemy. The fact that 'Irgendwo in der Welt' is associated with Jewishness is not just because of the Jewish wedding, his last name and his profession of tailor, but also because this text refers to the diaspora. Lewin is no-one's enemy, but only because he has lost the power of speech.
- 59 Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler* (1974) 235.
- 60 There are very few reviews of *NAMENLOSE HELDEN*, so I will leave this film out of consideration.
- 61 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 27 May 1930 (Siegfried Kracauer). In *Der Deutsche* (25 May 1930; Erwin Gelpard) a similar reaction could be read. Due to the noise the film produced, many women left the cinema.
- 62 *Die Rote Fahne* 27 May 1930.
- 63 *8-Uhr Abendblatt* 24 May 1930 (Kurt Pinthus). Pinthus added: 'Aber nicht so wie sie es meinen: nicht als zu oft gesehen. Sondern man kann es nicht einen ganzen Abend lang so sehen, wie es da zu sehen ist: als Rohstoff (in doppelter Bedeutung).'
- 64 *Berliner Tageblatt* 25 May 1930 (Eugen Szatmari).

- 65 The film journals hardly paid any attention at all to the violence in the film. In the analysis, the emphasis is therefore on the reactions in the daily press. It is possible that the critics writing for the film periodicals were afraid they might scare potential audiences if they described or criticised violent scenes.
- 66 *Berliner Morgenpost* 25 May 1930 (W.Rdm. = Walter Redmann): 'Es gab gerade an dieser Stelle bei der Premiere Pfiffe.'
- 67 *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 25 May 1930 (K.).
- 68 This occurred in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (24 May 1930; Dr. Emmrich) and in the *Deutsche Zeitung* (25 May 1930; - d -.).
- 69 *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* (25 May 1930): 'gerade die Szenen, wo er sich freihält von jeder Tendenz, sind ausgezeichnete Regieleistungen. Der Grabenkampf, das Verschüttetsein, der Handgranatengriff, die Truppen im Ruhequartier und im Unterstand und nicht zuletzt ein Frontkabarett, geben wahrheitsgetreu das Kampf erlebnis und das Leben und Leiden des Frontsoldaten echt wieder.' The critic for *Der Tag* (25 May 1930; K.) shared this opinion.
- 70 *Deutsche Zeitung* 25 May 1995.
- 71 Idem. 'Ihm [Pabst, BK] träumt so etwas, neben das Inferno Dantes das des Weltkriegs zu stellen.'
- 72 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 24 May 1930 (Dr Emmrich). Besides, this critic believed that the film represented the situation worse than it had been. The second sentence in the piece reads: 'Sollen wir uns dagegen wehren, dass es Filme gibt, die in der Darstellung roher sind als es die grässlichsten Fakten des Krieges waren?'
- 73 'Zur Ehre der Zuschauer sei gesagt, dass sie bei der oben referierten Schlammtrichterszene heftig protestierten.' Ibidem.
- 74 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 31 October 1931 (F.H. Lehr).
- 75 Idem.
- 76 *Der Angriff* 29 May 1930. The headline over the article said: 'Der unsittliche Film'. In the article itself: 'Es gibt da Geschmacklosigkeiten, die einfach nicht zu überbieten sind. Aber sie verschwinden vor der Geschmacklosigkeit und Unsittlichkeit des Films als Ganzes.'
- 77 Idem.
- 78 Idem. This point of view was shared by the *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* (25 May 1930) whose critic wrote that the front scenes had been rendered true to life.
- 79 A film that met this requirement, according to *Der Angriff*, was *Die letzte Kompanie* (Kurt Bernhardt, 1930; leading role: Conrad Veidt).
- 80 *Der Tag* 25 May 1930 (K.).
- 81 *Völkischer Beobachter* (Munich) 8 June 1930. The film opened later in southern Germany, which explains the later date of this review. Modris Eksteins observes the same thing in connection with reviews of Remarque's *Im Westen nichts Neues*: 'The fascist opposition to the novel blended often with that of the conservatives and presented many of the same arguments, but there was an essential difference in the reasoning. The fascists sanctified not so much the purpose of the war as the "experience" of the war, the very essence of the war (...) its ultimate ineffability in anything but mystical and spiritual terms. The war (...) gave meaning to fascism. Thus any suggestion that the war had been purposeless was a slur against the very existence of this form of extremism.' Eksteins, *Rites of spring*, 287.

- 82 *Deutsche Filmzeitung* 24 June 1930. The late appearance of this review, compared to others, was due to the fact that this periodical focused on southern Germany, where the film opened later.
- 83 *Berliner Morgenpost* 25 May 1930 (Walter Redmann).
- 84 Idem.
- 85 *8-Uhr Abendblatt* 24 May 1930, 'So wirkte das Grausige manchmal lächerlich, das Abschreckende grotesk. Der Krieg als Krieg lässt sich nicht vertonfilmen. Schon in der Wirklichkeit unvorstellbar, muss er als Film stets gestellt wirken. Den Krieg kann man so nur erleben (oder auch nicht) – oder man kann ihn lesen (...) Im Buch wirkt der Krieg realer, weil Wahrhaftigkeit des Schilderers und Phantasie des Lesers zusammenwirken, als in der nachgemachten Realität eines noch so gut gemachten Films.'
- 86 The filmmakers have: '... dokumentarischen Kriegsfilm geschaffen, die stärkste Waffe für alle, die nie wieder Krieg wollen.' *Vorwärts* 24 May 1930 (D.).
- 87 'Als Spielhandlung (...) wäre wohl ein starkes, unmittelbares Erleben gewährleistet', *Vorwärts* 24 April 1927 (D.).
- 88 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 27 May 1930.
- 89 *Die Rote Fahne* 27 May 1930.
- 90 *Der Montag* 26 May 1930. The newspaper praised the film in the following words: 'Für den, der draussen war, ist es schwer, das Lob dieses Films zu singen. Es wird wieder etwas aufgewühlt, was wir gern vergessen hätten. Aber es ist vielleicht gut, dass der Krieg noch einmal so naturgetreu vor uns tritt.'
- 91 *Berliner Tageblatt* 25 May 1930. (Tiegel = melting pot)
- 92 *Germania* 25 May 1930 (H. Bachmann).
- 93 *Vorwärts* 24 May 1930 (D.).
- 94 *Deutsche Zeitung* 25 May 1930 (-d-); *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 25 May 1930 (-K-).
- 95 *8-Uhr Abendblatt* 24 May 1930 (Kurt Pinthus).
- 96 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 31 October 1931 (Dr Emmrich).
- 97 *8-Uhr Abendblatt* 24 May 1930 (Kurt Pinthus).
- 98 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 27 May (Kracaue); Szatmari of the *Berliner Tageblatt* (25 May 1930) extensively discussed what Pabst and his screenplay writer Ladislaus Vajda had missed, and in the end reaches the same conclusion: 'Sie sind vorbeigegangen an der Front in der deutschen Heimat, an dieser Front der Frauen und Kinder, an der gewiss nicht weniger gelitten wurde als im Trommelfeuer der Somme.'
- 99 *Völkischer Beobachter* 8 June 1930.
- 100 *Berliner Morgenpost* (25 May 1930): 'Ganz und gar verfehlt ist der Leutnant Clausen [the actor's last name, BK] (...). So sah ein Frontoffizier an der "Westfront 1918" bestimmt nicht aus.'
- 101 *Berliner Tageblatt* 24 May 1930. In more modest words, the critic of *Vorwärts* (24 May 1930) also described this scene as moving. 'Wenn (...) der wahnsinnig gewordene Leutnant immer wieder sein "Hurra" anstimmt, dann packt einen tiefster Schauer.'
- 102 *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 25 May 1930 (K.).
- 103 "'What has happened to you, lieutenant?'" The student asks. "Your helmet is full of blood".' In Ernst Johannsen, *Vier van de Infanterie. Westfront 1918* (1929) 91.
- 104 *Völkischer Beobachter* 8 June 1930.

- 105 Ibidem. This sentence is preceded by the following, after it has been established that he 'recht schauspielerisch wirkt und durchaus nicht dem *Typ* des jungen deutschen Frontführers in allem entspricht. Auch pflegte diese Art von Offizier keineswegs am Fernsprecher im Gespräch mit Exzellenzen die Hacken zusammenzuschlagen, wenn einige Meter über dem Kopf die Splitter schwirrten und auch sonst noch allerhand dicke Luft wehte.' *Vossische Zeitung* (25 May 1930; Heinz Pol) wrote similar things about the Lieutenant: 'Aber ich glaube nicht, dass es im Sommer 1918 an der Westfront im vordersten Graben viele Offiziere gegeben hat, die, wie dieser, am Telefon stramm standen, wenn ein höherer Offizier ihnen einen Befehl erteilte.'
- 106 *Vossische Zeitung* 25 May 1930 (Heinz Pol)
- 107 The High German translation of this sentence is the title of this chapter. See: Censorship report WESTFRONT 1918, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 25961, 21 May 1930; act 7, text 61.
- 108 *Vossische Zeitung* 25 May 1930 (Heinz Pol).
- 109 *8-Uhr Abendblatt* 24 May 1930 (Pinthus).
- 110 *Berliner Morgenpost* 25 May 1930 (Szatmari).
- 111 *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 25 May 1930 (K.).
- 112 Kurt Pinthus (*8-Uhr Abendblatt*) wrote: 'Wiewohl doppeldeutig, wurde dieser Satz pazifistisch aufgefasst und weckte stärksten Beifall.'
- 113 *Völkischer Beobachter* 8 June 1930. 'Gut getroffen ist der bayerische Infanterist mit seinem resignierten Humor bei unbedingt zuverlässiger Kameradentreue'. Incidentally, this was also true for the Student, because the sentence continues with 'ebenso der junge Student in seinem weichen Schwanken zwischen härtester Pflicht und Lebensdrang, der am Rande der Fahnenflucht vorbei schliesslich den Weg zur soldatischen Ehre zurückfindet und vom unerbittlichen Kampf halb verschlungen wird.'
- 114 *Völkischer Beobachter* 8 June 1930. Modris Eksteins makes a plausible suggestion that Remarque himself was inspired to write *Im Westen nichts Neues* by right-wing authors such as Ernst Jünger, Franz Schauwecker and Georg von der Vring. 'Many of the metaphors and images that Remarque used in his book are strikingly similar to those used by the authors he had discussed [in literary reviews for the *Sport im Bild* magazine of 28 June 1928, BK], Jünger in particular, and it is not unreasonable to suggest that he took many of his ideas from these sources.' (Eksteins, *Rites of spring*, 280).
- 115 *Die Rote Fahne* 27 May 1930.
- 116 *Berliner Morgenpost* 25 May 1930 (Szatmari).
- 117 Idem.
- 118 *Berliner Morgenpost* 1 November 1931 (Walter Redmann).
- 119 *Vorwärts* 30 October 1931 (F.Sch. = Felix Scherret).
- 120 *Der Tag* 1 November 1931 (- ee.).
- 121 *Germania* 31 October 1931 (j.).
- 122 *Die Welt am Abend* 30 October 1931 (M. Men.).
- 123 *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 30 October 1931 (F.W.).
- 124 *Reichsfilmblatt* 31 October 1931 (Felix Henseleit).
- 125 *Die Rote Fahne* 20 December 1931 (h.l.). The first sentences of the article read: 'Man muss an diesen neuesten Antikriegsfilm einen anderen Massstab anlegen als an

die üblichen "pazifistischen" Filme. Die Verfasser von "Niemandland" sind ohne Zweifel einen Schritt weiter gegangen, der sie bisweilen so nahe an die revolutionäre Lösung der Kriegsfrage heranführt, dass wir berechtigt sind, gerade von ihnen "ganze Arbeit" zu fordern. Die aber ist nicht geleistet worden: man erfährt nichts über die Ursachen des imperialistischen Krieges...'

- 126 *Der Angriff* 14 December 1931 (H. St.)
- 127 Idem. '... dass nur die *Albernheiten* eines Negers nötig sind, um Deutsche, Engländer und Franzosen zum Pazifismus zu belehren.'
- 128 *Deutsche Zeitung* 11 December 1931 (wh.)
- 129 *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 11 December 1931.
- 130 Ernst Friedrich, *Krieg dem Kriege* (Frankfurt 1981, orig. 1924). Friedrich has become known for the terrifying photography in which, for example, he shows faces from which essential parts have been knocked out by explosions or shrapnel.

## Notes to Chapter 5

- 1 *Film-Kurier* 23 December 1926 (-e-). From a review of UNSERE EMDEN. The line continues with: '(dagegen unser Schützengraben- und Materialkrieg)'.
- 2 In this chapter, navy films are taken to mean those historical films that deal with the First World War, unless indicated otherwise. Comical navy films, the so-called 'Militärklamotten' such as *DIE EISERNE BRAUT* (Carl Boese, 1926) were also very popular.
- 3 Cited by: Michael Epkenhans, 'Die kaiserliche Marine im Ersten Weltkrieg: Weltmacht oder Untergang?', in Wolfgang Michalka (ed.), *Der Erste Weltkrieg. Wirkung, Wahrnehmung, Analyse* (Munich, Zürich 1994) 319.
- 4 In 1898, membership was 78,652 and in 1913 1,123,628. After that, membership decreased to 37,000 in 1925. The enormous increase in the first years was due to the many conservative organisations already in existence which joined the navy league with all members. The league continued to exist until 1934, from 1919-1931 under the name of Deutscher Seeverein. See: Dieter Fricke (ed.), *Die Bürgerlichen Parteien und anderer bürgerlicher Interessenorganisationen vom Vormärz bis zum Jahre 1945*. (Volume 1, Leipzig 1968) 432, 438.
- 5 Ibidem, 438-440. In Fricke's book, no explicit mention is made of film screenings but of presentations with slide shows, which apparently were very popular (440). Martin Loiperdinger has conducted research into the role of film screenings as a means propaganda for the Deutscher Flottenverein. See his 'Pre-war film propaganda in Germany: the Navy league as travelling exhibitor', presentation at 1993 IAMHIST conference in Amsterdam.
- 6 M. Epkenhans, 'Die kaiserliche Marine im Ersten Weltkrieg' in Michalka (ed.), *Der Erste Weltkrieg* (1994) 321.
- 7 Preceding this battle were two sea battles known as the Battle of the Doggersbank (January 1915) and the Battle of Skagerrak (May 1916). The latter was the starting point for the film *DIE VERSUNKENE FLOTTE*.

- 8 Another cause of the famine was the fact that German command had failed to properly organise food distribution at home while giving priority to the army over the civilian population. Besides that, crops failed in Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1916-1917. England and France had taken much better care of their food distribution. See Jay M. Winter, *The experience of World War I* (London 1988) 178-179.
- 9 Epkenhans, 'Die kaiserliche Marine im Ersten Weltkrieg', 319.
- 10 Klaus Kreimeier, *Die Ufa-Story. Geschichte eines Filmkonzerns* (Munich, Vienna 1992) 199; Ilona Brennicke & Joe Hembus, *Klassiker des deutschen Stummfilms 1910-1930* (Munich 1983) 254; Hans H. Wollenberg, *Fifty years of German Film* (London 1948) 30-31. The history of this scandal as described in film-historical literature has been based mainly on secondary literature. Only Brennicke & Hembus refer to a report in *Die Weltbühne* (24 January 1928). An overview of press reactions can be found in 'Wie der Phoebe-Skandal vertuscht werden sollte', *Berliner Tageblatt* 22 January 1928. A study describing the scandal briefly on the basis of primary sources is F.L. Carsten, *The Reichswehr and politics 1918-1933* (London 1966) 284-5.
- 11 This factual information has been taken from an Emelka programme brochure (exact date unknown, published in 1932 on the occasion of the KREUZER EMDEN release; archives of Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin). It does not entirely tally with the present figures. In his *First World War* (London 1994; 109-110) Martin Gilbert, writing mainly from a British perspective, says the following about the Emden: 'On November 9, in the Indian Ocean, in the first wartime action ever fought by an Australian warship, the cruiser Sydney sank the German raider Emden. During her seven week voyage the Emden had captured eight unarmed Allied merchant ships and sunk fifteen, sending to the bottom cargoes of coal, tea, rubber, cattle and even racehorses. In Penang harbour she had sunk a Russian cruiser and a French destroyer. (...) In the engagement that destroyed the Emden, 134 of her crew were killed. Her captain, Karl von Müller, was praised in the British newspapers for having shown chivalry in his treatment of the crews and passengers of the captured ships. "If all the German people had fought as well as the Captain of the Emden," wrote *The Times*, "the German people would not today be reviled by the world'."
- 12 Ulrich Klaus, *Deutsche Tonfilme 1934* (1993) 92-93. The film was put together using footage from UNSERE EMDEN and KREUZER EMDEN.
- 13 Idem.
- 14 Other former members of the crew who participated were 'Korvettenkapitän R. Witthoef, Kapitänleutnant A.D. Lauterbach, Oberleutnant A.D. Dietrich Benzler, Obnermaschinistenmaat Erfuhr, Obermatrose Karl Werner, Obermatrose Alfred Bednors.' See: *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 564 1926; Censorship report UNSERE EMDEN, Filmprüfstelle Munich, Prüfungs-Nr.: 2363, 20 December 1926.
- 15 *Der Deutsche* 24 December 1926 (Erwin Gepard).
- 16 Joseph Garnarcz, 'Hollywood in Germany. The role of American Films in Germany 1925-1990' in D.W. Ellwood & R. Kroes (ed.), *Hollywood in Europe. Experiences of a Cultural Hegemony* (Amsterdam 1994) 122. Garnarcz bases his data on questionnaires organised by film periodicals and completed by cinema-owners. These were asked to name the five most commercial films. In this case, Garnarcz bases himself on the *Film-Kurier*. In the top-ten that was put together, UNSERE

- Emden took up the sixth position. First came AN DER SCHÖNEN BLAUEN DONAU. See also: Paul Monaco, *Cinema and Society. France and Germany during the twenties* (New York, Oxford, Amsterdam 1976) 167.
- 17 *Lichtbildbühne* 31 July 1926. (In the same report, it said that shooting was completed at the end of July 1926).
  - 18 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Neue Preussische Zeitung* 23 December 1926.
  - 19 *Lichtbildbühne* 24 July 1926. The letter was addressed to Emelka (dated 16 July 1926) and read: 'Auf Ihre Anfrage betätigen wir Ihnen hiermit ausdrücklich: Der von Ihnen in der Aufnahme befindliche "Emden"-Film ist der einzige "Emden"-Film, den die Reichsmarine unterstützt und bei dem sie die Erlaubnis für die dazu nötigen Aufnahmen erteilt hat.' *Kinematograph* 25 July 1926.
  - 20 Some of these reports appeared in *Lichtbildbühne* 26 July 1926.
  - 21 A total 10.5 meters of film were cut and some intervening titles were altered. See censorship report UNSERE EMDEN Filmprüfstelle Munich, Prüfungs-Nr.: 2363, 20 December 1926. See also: *Lichtbildbühne* 21 and 22 December 1926.
  - 22 *Lichtbildbühne* 13 June 1927. A report with quotations from four British newspapers praising the film. According to the *Westminster Gazette*, this was the first German war film to be released in Great Britain.
  - 23 This is literally confirmed in the *Film-Kurier* 23 December 1926 (-e-): 'Die "Spielhandlung" ist so kurz hineingeschnitten, dass sie den Ablauf des Films nicht stört.'
  - 24 *Vorwärts* 24 December 1926; F.G. wrote that the emphasis in the film was mainly on the sinking of ships, all realized in the same kind of dramatic framework.
  - 25 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 13 April 1927 (Siegfried Kracauer),
  - 26 Censorship report UNSERE EMDEN, Film-Prüfstelle Munich, Prüf-Nr.: 2363, 20 December 1926; text 40-41.
  - 27 *Film-Kurier* 23 December 1926.
  - 28 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 23 December 1926 (-ma.-): 'Technisch vollkommen, von historischer Sachlichkeit und Konzentration fand das Bildwerk bei der Pressevorführung im Emelka Palast (...) den ungeteilten und begeisterten Beifall eines kritischen Fachpublikums.'
  - 29 *Reichsfilmblatt* 31 December 1926 (c-c.). 'Sonderbar ist, dass die Berufsdarsteller teilweise schwächer sind als die alten Seeleute, die man herangezogen hat.' Only *Vorwärts* (25 December 1926), did not agree and compared the latter to 'Opernchoristen'.
  - 30 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 13 April 1927.
  - 31 Idem.
  - 32 Idem. 'Die Vorgänge erscheinen aus richtigen, mitunter eigenartigen Perspektiven, die Mannschaftsszenen und die Ereignisse im Kommandoraum wirken im allgemeinen überzeugend.'
  - 33 *Vorwärts* 24 December 1926 (F.G.).
  - 34 *Germania* 24 December 1926 (M.R.J.): 'Der Film ist weder eine Glorifizierung des Krieges noch eine pazifistische Propaganda.'
  - 35 *Film-Kurier* 23 December 1926 (-e-). The reviewer praised the ship in this sense as follows: 'Die letzten Ritter der kriegerischen Romantik waren zugleich die verwegensten Schelme der Zeit, ihre Attentate gegen die Übermacht, ihre

- Angriffe auf Schiffe und Häfen, das waren Weltwitz im höchsten Sinne, Siege des kleinen Klaus gegen den grossen, des lustigen Davids gegen den Riesen Goliath.'
- 36 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 23 December 1926 (-ma.).
- 37 Idem.
- 38 *Der Montag* 27 December 1926 (the first sentence reads): 'Das Heldenlied von der Nibelungentreeue (sic), dessen filmische Gestaltung wir seit einigen Jahren als Kronschatz deutscher Filmdichtung in Ehren halten, hat jetzt seine neuzeitliche Gestaltung gefunden. Nicht mehr brauchen ritterliche Burgunden in das Land der Huenen ziehen, um alte Mären vom germanischen Heldenwesen zu singen, sondern aus unserem Erlebten selbst erwächst heroische Vaterlandsliebe, die sich der nordischen Liebe zum Meer verschwistert.'
- 39 *Film-Kurier* 23 December 1926 (-e-).
- 40 Idem.
- 41 For an overview of press reactions in Germany, see: Rainer Berg, *Zur Geschichte der realistischen Stummfilmkunst in Deutschland – 1919 bis 1929*. (1982) 159-166.
- 42 *Berliner Morgenpost* 24 December 1926 (K.Gl.).
- 43 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 23 December 1926 (-ma.). The author did not mean editing technique.
- 44 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 13 April 1927 (Siegfried Kracauer).
- 45 *Germania* 24 December 1926 (M.R.J.).
- 46 *Lichtbildbühne* 23 December 1926 (E.S.P.). A similar view was held by the *Kinematograph* (26 December 1926), which also mentioned that the tendencies in both films were opposite.
- 47 *Lichtbildbühne* 28 December 1926 (front page); *Film-Kurier* 29 December 1926 (front page).
- 48 *Film-Kurier* 29 December 1926.
- 49 Idem.
- 50 *Lichtbildbühne* 28 December 1926. The author could not help but indirectly admonish the Bavarian authorities and censorship board: 'Es ist ein erfreuliches Zeichen dafür, wie die *Berliner Polizei*, im Gegensatz zu gewissen süddeutschen Regierungsstellen, sich streng an die Vorschriften des Lichtspielgesetzes hält. Anderwärts hat man, wenn Ruhestörungen zu befürchten (noch nicht einmal eingetreten) waren, den betreffenden *Film* verboten; in Berlin wendet man sich nicht gegen den Film selbst, sondern gegen die Ruhestörer.'
- 51 In Primus Palast and in Titania Palast (Steglitz). See: *Lichtbildbühne* 21 May 1932 (-e-).
- 52 Brennicke & Hembus, *Klassiker des deutschen Stummfilms 1910-1930* (1983), 250-51.
- 53 *Lichtbildbühne* 21 May 1932 (-e-).
- 54 Idem. 'Die propagandistische Vorbereitung dieser Premiere war in einer bisher noch nicht erlebten Grosszügigkeit aufgezoogen.'
- 55 In 1931, the following German war films were released, in this order: 1914. DIE LETZTEN TAGE VOR DEM WELTBRAND, DOUAUMONT, IM GEHEIMDIENST, BERGE IN FLAMMEN, DIE ANDERE SEITE and NIEMANDSLAND.
- 56 *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 21 May 1932 (Hermann Gressieker) and *Berliner Morgenpost* 22 May 1932 (R.M.), respectively.
- 57 *Vorwärts* 24 May 1932 (k.); *Berliner Morgenpost* 22 May 1932; *Vossische Zeitung* 21 May 1932 (-a p-); *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 21 May 1932 (Fse.); *Der Deutsche* 22

- May 1932 (T.); *Deutsche Zeitung* 22 May 1932 (C.); *Völkischer Beobachter* (Munich) 24 May 1932 (dl.); *Der Film* 21 May 1932 (Hassreiter).
- 58 *Welt am Abend* 21 May 1932 (St.)
- 59 *Vossische Zeitung* 21 May 1932.
- 60 *Vorwärts* 24 May 1932.
- 61 *Völkischer Beobachter* 24 May 1932 (dl.) Curiously enough, the author is the only one to ask the question why the film does not explain why the Emden should have gone down so quickly. He is right to remark that the Sydney was not only larger, faster, more modern and better equipped than the Emden but that she was also able to shell the Emden with her long-range guns whereas the German ship only had short-range guns with which it was impossible to hit the Sydney.
- 62 'Die Fehler, die militärisch, seemännisch, historisch und auch technisch, haften blieben, fallen dem Manuskript zur Last.' *Tempo* May 1932 (-erle-).
- 63 Idem.
- 64 *Glenzdorfs Internationales Film-Lexikon. Biographisches Handbuch für das gesamte Filmwesen* (Bad Münden [Deister], 1961).
- 65 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1329, 1930.
- 66 Two advertisements of unknown origin. Source: Bundesarchiv / Filmarchiv Berlin.
- 67 Censorship report SCAPA FLOW, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr. 24983, 3 February 1930 (act 2, text 3-9 and 12): 'und wir sitzen hier rum und kloppen Dienst (...) die Feldgrauen an der Front wissen wenigstens, warum sie draussen sind – wofür sie sterben!; (...) die da draussen wissen auch nicht, wofür sie sterben!; Evangelium, Soldaten aller Länder; Im Morgenrot der russischen Revolution (...)?!' And a bit further on in the text: 'Bei dem ewigen Einerlei des Dienstes müssen die Leute ja verrückt werden.' The *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* (1329, 1930) has the revolution come out of the blue. Without any introduction, the text reads: 'Über der Hochseeflotte flattern die roten Fahnen. Die November-Revolution! Kapitän v. Klockow wird von den Matrosen angegriffen und er erlebt, was Tausende erlitten: man reist dem Offizier die Achselstücke und Orden herab.'
- 68 Censorship report SCAPA FLOW: act 3, texts 4-6. Text 6 is followed by: 'Nach Rückruf aller U-Boote, soll der Gegner zur Entlastung der schwerringenden Armee unter uns günstigen Bedingungen zur Schlacht gestellt werden.'
- 69 Ibidem, Act 3, texts 7-11.
- 70 Ibidem, Act 4, text 13.
- 71 Ibidem, Act 4, text 20.
- 72 Ibidem, Act 5, texts 5-7.
- 73 Ibidem, Act 6, text 4.
- 74 Ibidem, Act 7, texts 6-8.
- 75 *Der Abend* 26 February 1930.
- 76 *Film-Kurier* 21 February 1930 (E.J. = Ernst Jäger).
- 77 *Vossische Zeitung* 27 February 1930 (H.P. = Heinz Pol). Curiously enough, this newspaper ended the article by saying that German youths (the film had been declared 'Jugendfrei') were now finally able to see how the revolution had taken place. The critic for *Der Abend* (26 January 1930) also wrote that the rebel sailors in the film had 'natürlich' been portrayed as 'Schufte und Strolche'.
- 78 References to SEESCHLACHT in *Der Montag* 8, 24 February 1930, and in *Kinematograph* 21 February 1930. References to POTEMKIN in *Vossische Zeitung* 27

- February 1930; *Kinematograph* (ibidem.); *Berliner Morgenpost* 27 February 1930 (br.); *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 2 March 1930 (A.K.) and *Lichtbildbühne* February 1930.
- 79 *Vossische Zeitung* 27 February 1930 (Heinz Pol).
- 80 *Der Deutsche* 10 December 1926. An overview of press quotations in the *Reichsfilmblatt* (49, 4 December 1926) and *Lichtbildbühne* (4 December 1926) suggests that the film was premiered in many other German cities either at the same time or earlier. There is mention of newspapers from: Munich, Hannover, Magdeburg, Breslau, Leipzig, Hannover, Düsseldorf. About one year later, the *Lichtbildbühne* (3 September 1927) reports that the film has been bought by 39 countries (including the Netherlands).
- 81 *Lichtbildbühne* 5 June 1926.
- 82 An advertisement for the film contains quotations (from 1921 and 1916) from two admirals (Schée and Von Trotha, respectively) saying Lorenz was a very 'tüchtiger Offizier' on the UC48 and on the 'Friedrich der Grosse' at the Battle of Skagerrak, respectively. (*Lichtbildbühne* 12 June 1926).
- 83 Ibidem (advertisement).
- 84 Manfred Noa was originally a painter (of posters) and worked in film from 1914 onwards. His learning period was spent with Richard Oswald (1914. *DIE LETZTEN TAGE VOR DEM WELTBRAND*). He directed very successful films, including *GÖTTERDÄMMERUNG*, *NATHAN DER WEISE*, and *DER UNTERGANG TROJAS*. He died in 1930 at the age of 37. (*Film-Kurier* 27 March 1926 [l.f.]; *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 6 December 1930).
- 85 Jofa-Produktion is an abbreviation of Johannisthaler Filmanstalten GmbH.
- 86 'Weiter nationalistische Kinoparade!' *Berliner Tageblatt* 27 August 1927.
- 87 *Deutsches Biographisches Jahrbuch* (ed.) Verbands der deutschen Akademien, Band I 1914-1916; Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig 1925) 175-177.
- 88 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1927.
- 89 Censorship report *DIE VERSUNKENE FLOTTE*, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr. 14271, 26 November 1926; Act 1, text 15.
- 90 Ibidem, Act 5, text 8.
- 91 Ibidem, Act 2, text 6.
- 92 Ibidem, Act 3, texts 16-18.
- 93 Ibidem, Act 3, texts 23-25.
- 94 Ibidem, Act 3, texts 27-29.
- 95 The same thing is noticed and mentioned by the critic writing for the *Film-Kurier* 9 December 1926 (-g.): 'Zwei Titel folgen ohne Bild hintereinander [see the quotations] (...) Na – da ist es doch also ganz klar, dass die Engländer gemeine Verbrecher sind.'
- 96 *DIE VERSUNKENE FLOTTE*: Act 5, texts 12-15: 'Unser Flaggschiff eröffnet das Feuer!' 'Feuerverteilung: Drittes Schiff von links!'; 'Freunde bisher und Freunde für immer!'; 'Auf das dritte Schiff von links!'
- 97 Ibidem, Act 5 text 2.
- 98 Ibidem, Act 7 texts 14-15. However, the revolution is not mentioned in the programme text.
- 99 Ibidem, Act 7 texts 20-22 and 28-30.
- 100 Ibidem, Act 7, text 33.

- 101 These quotations come from quoted press reactions from local newspapers included in an advertisement in *Lichtbildbühne* (4 December 1926). It goes without saying that the advertisement only contains the most favourable statements. At the same time, the advertisement makes clear how the producer wants to lure the crowds into the cinema. The quotations come from the *Hallesche Nachrichten*, the *Neues Wiener Journal*, and the *Niederdeutsche Zeitung*, 'Hannover', respectively, all undated.
- 102 *Vossische Zeitung* 8 May 1927 (Heinz Pol); *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 7 May 1927 (Franz Wald); *Preussische Zeitung* 6 May 1927; *Reichsfilmblatt* 7 May 1927 (C.Fr.)
- 103 *Germania* 7 May 1927 (J.).
- 104 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 7 May 1927.
- 105 'Namentlich der weibliche Teil des Kinopublikums sieht derart gestaltete Filme recht gern.' *Kinematograph* 15 May 1927.
- 106 Idem. 'Niemand soll wehegetan werden, historische Ereignisse erscheinen als Hintergrund von Liebesgeschichten, die auch ohne sie denkbar wären. Diese Technik ist amerikanischen Filmen geschickt entnommen und vermag auch in Deutschland zu fesseln.'
- 107 *Vossische Zeitung* 8 May 1927 (Heinz Pol).
- 108 *Der Montag* 13 December 1926.
- 109 Idem.
- 110 Idem. The conservative *Kinematograph* (12 December 1926) also agreed.
- 111 'Deshalb ist es erfreulich, dass dieser Film (...) nicht ein "glückliches Ende" an den Schluss setzt, die es von Amerika beeinflusste Mode für den heutigen Film erfordert.' Idem.
- 112 'Gibt es nicht auch so etwas wie Pazifisten in Deutschland? (...) Nur für diese Leute einen Film zu machen, dass wollte man anscheinend nicht recht wagen.' (*Film-Kurier* 9 December 1926; g.).
- 113 Idem. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (14 December 1926; Dr.T.) agrees that the film is about: 'das Zwiespältige der nationalen Freundes- und Feindesphrasen, das sich zwischen tiefer einander verbundene Menschen stellt.'
- 114 Idem.
- 115 *Berliner Morgenpost* 12 December 1926 (-ei-).
- 116 *Film-Kurier* 6 May 1927 (Haf.)
- 117 *Vossische Zeitung* (8 May 1927; Heinz Pol). The article proceeds: 'Nicht mehr das übliche Schema, keine Parademärsche, kein Hurrah-Patriotismus, vor allem nichts wie der makellose deutsche Held und da der böse, niederträchtige Feind.'
- 118 *Preussische Zeitung* (6 May 1927 [U.H. = probably Hans-Ulrich Henning]): 'Im grossen und ganzen ist diese Absicht [to make a film about the hero Weddigen, BK] auch verwirklicht worden.' *Der Montag* (9 May 1927): 'einer der besten Kriegsfilme'. *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (7 May 27; Franz Wald.) The film has been 'auffallend gut photographiert. Die Regie von Heinz Paul ist gut, besonders in der Sinnfälligkeit der Schiffs- und Kampfaufnahmen.'
- 119 *Berliner Tageblatt* 8 May 1927 (Erich Burger).
- 120 *Film-Kurier* 2 January 1930 (Georg Herzberg).
- 121 Idem.
- 122 Censorship report DREI TAGE AUF LEBEN UND TOD, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf-Nr.: 24073, 6 November 1929; Act 6, texts 9-10.

- 123 Ibidem, Act 3, texts 2-3.
- 124 *Deutsche Filmzeitung* (Southern Germany) 22 August 1930: 'Daneben läuft noch eine harmlose Liebesgeschichte, denn dem Publikum zuliebe musste ein Mädel in die Handlung geschmuggelt werden.' *Der Montag* (6 January 1930): 'Packend die Schilderung der Gefahren, in die das U-Boot gerät und der Rettung daraus. Weniger geglückt die Szenen, die eine Liebesgeschichte und die Situationen zeigen, die sich ergeben, als ein von einem gekaperten Schiff übernommenes junges Mädchen Kombüsengast auf dem U-Boot wird.'
- 125 *Film-Kurier* 2 January 1930 (Georg Herzberg). This was confirmed by *Der Abend* 2 January 1930 (c.b.): 'Alle diejenigen aber, die für eine wahre Völkerverständigung eintreten, lehnen diesen technisch sehr gut gemachten Film energisch ab, weil er nicht die Tendenz hat "nie wieder Krieg" (...) Technisch ist der Film einwandfrei.'
- 126 The fact that there are two versions of the film is the subject of Michael Truppner's text-genetic study of *MORGENROT*. The film was shown again in an altered form in 1939 and 1940. The alterations Truppner discovered in the 1940 version are quite remarkable, all (dialogue) references to death have been removed from the film. M. Truppner, "'Zeitgemässe Neuaufführungen". Eine textgenetische Untersuchung zum U-Boot-Drama *MORGENROT*', in Michael Schaudig (ed.), *Positionen deutscher Filmgeschichte. 100 Jahre Kinematographie: Strukturen, Diskurse, Kontexte* (Munich) 1996, 155-178. The version I have seen in the Berlin Bundesarchiv / Filmarchiv is the 1933 version.
- 127 Opinion on Ucicky was divided in National Socialist circles. The *Völkischer Beobachter* (3 February 1933; Stoffregen) was not very pleased with the choice of Gustav Ucicky: 'Konnte die Ufa, konnte der Produktionsleiter Günther Stapenhorst, der doch selbst alter Seeoffizier ist, gerade für diesen Film keinen anderen Regisseur als Ucicky finden?' And further on in the article: 'An den U-Bootszenen dürfte Ucicky nicht beteiligt sein. (Denn davon versteht er nichts!).' For the rest, reviews were mainly positive. Goebbels' *Der Angriff* (3 February 1933; Peter Hagen), however, only lavished praise on Ucicky, who 'hat Menzels Stoff mit technischer Vollendung in das Filmische übertragen und zeigt auch mit diesem Bildstreifen, dass er einer der wenigen Regisseure ist, die ihren eigenen Stil gefunden und folgerichtig entwickelt haben'. Having Goebbels as an early advocate, Ucicky will have had little trouble finding work in the Third Reich, despite the criticism in the *Völkischer Beobachter*.
- 128 A short report appeared about this in the *Film-Kurier* (1 February 1933): 'Schauburgdirektor Von Schenk hatte mit einer wirkungsvollen Reklame das Interesse an diesem Film so gesteigert, dass die Weltaufführung (die einzige bedeutende, die bisher in Essen stattfand) Stadgespräch wurde. Die Festvorstellung war seit Tagen vollständig ausverkauft. Hunderte telephonischer Bestellungen mussten zurückgewiesen werden, weitere Hunderte von Menschen fanden abends keinen Einlass mehr.'
- 129 Idem.
- 130 *Der Kinematograph* 3 February 1933.
- 131 *Film-Kurier* 3 February 1933 (Georg Herzberg).
- 132 Thus Herbert Ihering writes in the *Vossische Zeitung* (3 February 1933): 'Den Kommandanten des U-Bootes [in the film: captain Liers, BK], das nach der Versenkung der "Hampshire", die Kitchener nach Russland tragen sollte (recht

- frei erfunden, aber sehr spannend dargestellt)...’ And Hartmuth Merleker in *Tempo* (3 February 1933): ‘Es gelingt dem Boot den englischen Kreuzer “Hampshire”, der Kitchener nach Russland bringen sollte, hoch oben in der Nordsee zu torpedieren. Historisch kaum haltbar, aber technisch meisterhaft dargestellt.’ And finally, the *Film-Kurier* (3 February 1933): ‘hier findet der Tod von Lord Kitchener filmische Auswertung’.
- 133 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1920, 1933.
- 134 *Stuttgarter Zeitung* 5 May 1961; (the report appeared at his death). See also: Felix Bucher, Germany (Screen Series, London, New York 1970) 122. As a screenwriter, he was especially successful during the Nazi period.
- 135 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1920 1933.
- 136 Quoted from Gordon A. Craig, *The Germans* (London, New York, etc. 1982) 195.
- 137 Cf. The text-genetic analysis of *MORGENROT* carried out by Michael Truppner, which shows that all spoken references to death have been removed from the 1940 version. ‘Ranghöchste Norm ist nun der “Opfertod” für die Gemeinschaft, der nicht mehr durch Reflexionen oder Sinngebungsversuche der Figuren relativiert oder gebrochen wird.’ Truppner, ‘Zeitgemässe Neu-Aufführungen...’ in Schaudig (ed.), *Positionen deutscher Filmgeschichte* (1996) 176.
- 138 Quoted from *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 3 February 1933 (Herbert Ihering).
- 139 Brandmann & Hembus, *Klassiker des deutschen Tonfilms 1930-1960* (1980) 75-77; Dahlke & Karl, *Deutsche Spielfilme von den Anfängen bis 1933* (1988) 313-14.
- 140 Evelyn Hampicke, ‘Ist es so? – Der Erste Weltkrieg im Ufa-Film’ *Ufa Magazin* nr. 10 ‘*MORGENROT*’ (series accompanying the exhibition ‘Die Ufa – Das deutsche Bildimperium’, Berlin 1992) 10.
- 141 Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler* (1974) 270. Kracauer nevertheless considers captain Liers as a typical example of someone who subjects himself to the ‘Führer’.
- 142 *Völkischer Beobachter* 3 February 1933 (Stoffregen).
- 143 *Der Angriff* 3 February 1933 (Peter Hagen).
- 144 *Frankfurter Zeitung* (7 February 1933): ‘Ihre Worte [from Sandrock, BK] wurden bei der Uraufführung am lebhaftesten beklatscht.’ (probably at the premiere in Frankfurt). *Vossische Zeitung* (3 February 1933; -erle-): ‘Sie errang auch dann Beifall, als Sie an das Mutterleid auf der “anderen Seite” zu erinnern wagte.’ *Tempo* (3 February 1933; Hartmuth Merleker): ‘Eine Glanzrolle von Adele Sandrock, als Heldennutter, mit Tönen einer sympathischen Friedenssehnsucht, die ihr starken Beifall brachten’; *Berliner Morgenpost* 3 February 1933 (Walter Redmann).
- 145 *Tempo* 3 February 1933 (Hartmuth Merleker).
- 146 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 7 February 1933.
- 147 Idem.
- 148 Idem.149.
- 149 *Vorwärts* 3 February 1933 (Dr Helmut Klotz).
- 150 Idem.
- 151 *Tempo* 3 February 1933 (Hartmuth Merleker).
- 152 *Völkischer Beobachter* 3 February 1933 (Stoffregen).
- 153 *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 3 February 1933 (Herbert Ihering). Ihering means especially those scenes in which the people of Meerskirchen, represented by the mayor, want to burst into boring speeches every time Liers and his men want to say good-

- bye. In the last farewell scene, Liers interrupts the mayor to hold a short and powerful speech himself.
- 154 *Völkischer Beobachter* (3 February; Stoffregen): 'Auch das langsame Aufdämmern der Erkenntnis, dass der Krieg etwas ganz anderes ist, als was sich diese Heimkehrer mit ihrem einfältig-törichtem Gewäsch und ihrer Hurrah-Freudigkeit darunter vorgestellt haben, holt der Film so überraschend gut heraus, dass sich die leise Wut des Frontsoldaten in ein nachsichtiges Lächeln verwandelt.'
- 155 *Der Film* 4 February 1933 (K.L.). *Welt am Morgen* (Feb. 1933) writes something similar: 'Was lehrt der Film? Aushalten, Hingabe, Pflichterfüllung im Kriege. Aber damit kann doch unmöglich der Begriff des Deutschtums erschöpft sein? Eine Nation muss eine höhere moralische und geistige Form der Menschheit sein.' And: 'schliesst aber Kriege und ihre Verherrlichung aus.'
- 156 *Frankfurter Zeitung* 7 February 1933.
- 157 Idem. 'Daher wäre es im nationalpädagogischen Interesse zweifellos ratsamer, auf die Notwendigkeit einer Regelung unserer Angelegenheiten durch die Vernunft hinzuweisen, statt dem Heroischen ohne weiteres den Primat zuzuerteilen.'
- 158 *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 3 February 1933.
- 159 Rainer Rother, 'Immer einsetzbar', *Ufa Magazin nr.10 'MORGENROT'* (series accompanying the exhibition 'Die Ufa – Das deutsche Bildimperium', Berlin 1992) 4-5.

## Notes to Chapter 6

- 1 Emilie Altenloh, *Zur Soziologie des Kino. Die Kino-Unternehmung und die sozialen Schichten ihrer Besucher* (diss. Jena 1914).
- 2 Patrice Petro, *Joyless Streets. Women and melodramatic representation in Weimar Germany* (Princeton New Jersey 1989) xx note 6.
- 3 In 1914, a film with the same name was made. The contents of this film differed substantially. The story takes place in East Prussia and is about a young woman who recognizes her lover in a young German officer captured by the Russians. She used to be the parlour maid at his parents' house. In order to liberate him, she pretends to be a spy, but is caught and ends up in prison with her lover. During a German attack, she manages to free him. No one had any objections to a marriage then. The film, a three-act production (the 1928 film had seven acts) was produced by the National-Film-Gesellschaft. See: *Kinematograph* 9 December 1914; *Briesetal-Bote* (Birkenwerder bei Berlin) February 1917 (from: archive of Deutsches Institut für Filmkunde, Frankfurt am Main). The last report also mentions the actors: Maria Angerstein and Karl Pasch.
- 4 Bernadette Kester, 'Frauentränen, Verzicht und Einsamkeit. Das ist Der Krieg. Mannelijkheid en vrouwelijkheid in Duitse films over de Eerste Wereldoorlog', in Mineke Bosch, Corrie van Eijl et al (ed.), *Jaarboek voor Vrouwen geschiedenis* 15, special issue 'Sekse en geschiedenis' (Amsterdam 1995) 49-71.
- 5 Censorship reports of *DAS DEUTSCHE MUTTERHERZ* and *DEUTSCHE FRAUEN – DEUTSCHE TREUE* have probably been lost.

- 6 Advertisement: *Lichtbilduhne* 7 August 1926: the statement continues: 'Was ein wichtiger Moment, wenn nicht das wichtigste überhaupt, für manchen Theaterbesitzer sein wird', which indicates how important the female part of the audience was commercially.
- 7 For biographical data about Geza von Bolvary-Zahn (his complete name), see: Hans-Michael Bock (ed.) *Cinegraph. Reclams deutsches Filmlexikon* (Munich 1984) 42-44; *Frankfurter Rundschau* 14 August 1961; *Hamburger Abendblatt* 12 August 1961. The German critic Oskar Kalbus wrote in his *Vom Werden deutscher Filmkunst. Der Tonfilm* (volume 2) (1935) that Bolvary made films 'mit viel Laune und Liebenswürdigkeit, mit viel Tempo und wundervoller Abrundung in Sujet und Darstellung.' (p.33).
- 8 In 1922/23, Bolvary made his first German film, *MUTTERHERZ*, which also appeared to take place during the war. See: *Cinegraph* under the headword 'Bolvary'. In 1928, Bolvary realized a breakthrough with his film *Der fesche Husar* (A German-Hungarian-English co-production).
- 9 In the biography *Heinz Rühmann und seine Filme* (1982) it says that his mother left the screening in tears because her son not only played a 'vaterlandsloser Geselle', but also caused the death of his own mother. See: Brennicke & Hembus, *Klassiker des deutschen Stummfilms 1910-1930* (Munich 1983), 180.
- 10 The description of the contents has been derived from the programme brochure *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 4821926.
- 11 *Film-Kurier* 29 July 1926 (-e-).
- 12 *Reichsfilmblatt* 4 February 1928 (o.); *Film-Kurier* 3 February 1928 (Ernst Jäger).
- 13 The description of the contents has been derived from: *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 189 1928.
- 14 *Cinegraph* headword 'Liddy Hegewald'. DFDT was (from 1920) the 21st and last film Neff made for this producer.
- 15 *Cinegraph* headword 'Marie Luise Droop'. She wrote the screenplay together with Arthur Irrgang.
- 16 *Film-Kurier* 3 February 1928.
- 17 Idem.
- 18 *Lichtbildbühne* 11 December 1925.
- 19 *Lichtbildbühne* 2 February 1926.
- 20 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1926.
- 21 Henrick Stahr, 'Liebesgaben für den Ernstfall. Das Rote Kreuz in Deutschland zu Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs', in *Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt* (ed.), *August 1914. Ein Volk zieht in den Krieg* (Berlin 1989) 87-88.
- 22 'Mutter (Kranken)schwester, Gräfin in einer Person – das ist die heilige Dreieinigkeit der "guten" Frau, der Nicht-Hure. Sie kastriert nicht, sondern schützt. Sie hat keinen Penis, aber auch sonst kein Geschlecht.' Klaus Theweleit, *Männerphantasien 1. Frauen, Fluten Körper, Geschichte* (Hamburg 1982; origin. 1977) 103-4.
- 23 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1926.
- 24 *Germania* 5 February 1928.
- 25 The film board always considered whether a particular film was likely to damage German interests abroad.

- 26 Description of contents based on an Austrian programme brochure *Danub-Film* nr. 2431 (archive Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek Berlin).
- 27 *Lichtbildbühne* 11 December 1925. *Kinemathograph* (13 December 1925) says: 'Durch die opferwillige, heldenmütige Liebe seiner Mutter und seiner Braut wird er jedoch vor schmachvoller Gefangenschaft gerettet.'
- 28 The mothers 'erhalten (sie) ihren Heroismus aus der ihnen zugeschriebenen Haltung beim Verlust von Söhnen (...); auffällig daran ist: niemand macht Anstalten, ihr Leiden etwas zu mindern. Es wird nicht hingenommen, es wird ausdrücklich bewundert.' Klaus Theweleit, *Männerphantasien* 1. (1982) 110.
- 29 Quoted at Angelika Tramitz, 'Vom Umgang mit Helden. Kriegsvorschriften und Benimmregeln für deutsche Frauen im Ersten Weltkrieg', in Peter Knoch (ed.) *Kriegsalltag. Die Rekonstruktion des Kriegsalltags als Aufgabe der historischen Forschung und der Friedenserziehung* (Stuttgart 1989).
- 30 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 1926.
- 31 From an advertisement in *Lichtbildbühne* 17 July 1926. The following lines from this advertisement also betray the necessary pathos: 'Was Millionen von Mutterherzen bebend miterlebt haben, ist hier zu einer gewaltigen Symphonie der Empfindungen gestaltet (...) vom lächelnden Idyll der Kindheitsjahre bis zur schlachtenlärmdurchdröhnten Eroica des söhnmordenden Krieges!...'
- 32 *Berliner Tageblatt* 5 February 1928. The *Gartenlaube* was a very popular magazine for women.
- 33 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 9 February 1928 (efs.).
- 34 *Lichtbildbühne* 3 February 1928: '... der Schluss, der ein billiges Happy end mit Doppelhochzeit vermeidet [after all, the potential wedding candidates, Regine's son and the colonel, both die in the hospital, BK] zeigt deutlich, dass man einer Verkitschung ausgewichen ist und einen würdigen ernsten Stil gewahrt hat.'
- 35 For the appreciation of American films in Germany, 1919-1933, see: Thomas J. Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin. American Cinema and Weimar Germany* (Berkeley, etc. 1994).
- 36 In reviews, the films were referred to under their German title MUTTER und DIE SCHWARZE ENGEL, respectively. *Berliner Tageblatt* 1 August 1926 (-r), and *Deutsch Allgemeine Zeitung* 31 July 1926 (ofr.). It is not entirely clear whether the German title MUTTER corresponds to SOMEBODY'S MOTHER. This film was released in 1926, Carr plays the leading part. (Ephraim Katz, *The international film encyclopaedia*, [London 1979] 210). The dark angel is mentioned in Jack Spears, *Hollywood: The golden era* (London 1971) 66.
- 37 *Berliner Tageblatt* 5 February 1928; *Vossische Zeitung* 5 February 1928 (-tz.). THE BIG PARADE (1925 King Vidor) went into circulation in Germany 1927 as *Die grosse Parade*. Another big American war movie, WHAT PRICE GLORY? (Raoul Walsh 1926) was released in the same time (1927) under the title WAS KOSTET RUHM or RIVALEN.
- 38 A striking moment is when wounded soldiers, whose sick bay is in the fort that receives a direct hit, cry out loudly 'Mutter'.
- 39 Paul Monaco, *Cinema & Society. France and Germany during the twenties* (New York, etc. 1976) 122, 166-168. According to Monaco's computation, war films could not be considered the most popular films. This is in contrast to an assertion made by Joseph Garncarz, based on the same source material, but including foreign films popular in Germany. He writes that war films were 'extremely popular' in the pe-

- riod 1925-1932. Joseph Garnicarz, 'Hollywood in Germany. The role of American Films in Germany 1925-1990', in Ellwood & Kroes, *Hollywood in Europe* (1994) 105.
- 40 Ibidem, 11.
- 41 Monaco sees confirmation of his explanation in other motifs that occur in 'his' films, such as the clock (said to represent the approach of danger); the fact that despite the presence of violent scenes, there is never any blood in the films; and the motif of 'the other', the stranger, often in the figure of the Jew. Ibidem, 128-33.
- 42 The character of the butcher who persuades poor women to commit adultery in exchange for a piece of meat also occurs in Pabst's *DIE FREUDLOSE GASSE* (1924). In *WESTFRONT 1918*, it is the war that women suffer from, in *DIE FREUDLOSE GASSE*, it is the economic crisis after the war.
- 43 *Völkischer Beobachter* 8 June 1930. 'Seelisch richtig gesehen ist auch der Fronturlauber, der seine Frau in den Armen eines anderen findet (wofür der Film allerhand beschönigende Erklärungen sucht) und den es schliesslich, (...) unverstanden und angewidert vom Treiben der Heimat, die zwischen Jammer und Genuss in Sicherheit dahinlebt, wieder zu seinen Kameraden an die Front zurücktreibt.'
- 44 *Neue Preussische Kreuz-Zeitung* 25 May 1930.
- 45 *Germania* 25 May 1930.
- 46 *Kinematograph* 24 May 1930. This specialist film periodical was published by one of Hugenberg's publishing companies, the Scherl-Verlag.
- 47 The quotation comes from a Dutch translation of the book. Ernst Johannsen, *Vier van de Infanterie. Westfront 1918* (orig. *Vier von der Infanterie*, 1928) 25.
- 48 Ibid. 26.
- 49 *Germania* 23 April 1927 (s.).
- 50 *Deutsche Lieder*. Texte und Melodien ausgewählt und eingeleitet von Ernst Klusen (Frankfurt am Main 1980) 509. Italics BK.
- 51 At the beginning of the month, the film had already been given an advance premiere, as the opening film within the framework of the so-called 'Kolonialwoche' in Hamburg. (*Der Montag* 29 August 1926).
- 52 *Vossische Zeitung* and *Berliner Tageblatt* 22 August 1926.
- 53 Censorship report ICH HATT' EINEN KAMERADEN, Film-Prüfstelle Berlin, Prüf. Nr. 13239, 12 July 1926; Act 1, text 17.
- 54 Ibidem, Act 2, text 11.
- 55 Ibidem, Act 3, text 2.
- 56 Ibidem, Act 5, text 13.
- 57 Two occurrences symbolize their eventual equality. Being an officer, Jürgen is reliable, but he still has to prove that he is reliable in love. He passes this 'test' by not responding to the Fatuma's infatuation. Hellmuth has to prove his status as an officer, which he does by catching an indigenous thief.
- 58 'Der Tod meines Mannes hat mir das Augenlicht geraubt – wenn meinem Kind etwas geschieht (...) ich könnte es nicht überleben (...)'. ICH HATT' EINEN KAMERADEN, Act 6, text 17.
- 59 The only realistic footage are documentary or reconstructed images of the western front (barbed wire, airplanes and cruisers) These are shown once in the film.
- 60 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 478 1926.
- 61 ICH HATT' EINEN KAMERADEN, Act 4, text 3.

- 62 Ibidem, Act 3, text 18.
- 63 Ibidem, Act 3, text 19.
- 64 Ibidem, Act 4, text 10. The text continues: ' (...) aber ich habe mich an die Station um einen tüchtigen Aufseher [=Hellmuth, BK] gewandt (...); Lupus in fabula – der neue Aufseher!; Hast Du Zeugnisse?; Viel Glück auf Ihren Weg!; Verbrenne sofort die Zeugnisse, sonst kommt der Mann eines Tages dahinter, dass sie gefälscht sind!' In short, besides the racist remark, the forgery of Hellmuth's papers was also lacking in the later version (text 17-19 is lacking in the film!) The fact that the racist remark was then part of the film is also proved by a statement from Georg Herzberg (*Film-Kurier* 195 21 August 1926): 'Die "faulen Hunde", wie die Neger in einem Titel genannt werden, sind sicher begeistert.'
- 65 *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 478 1926.
- 66 Ibidem, 7.
- 67 Ibidem, 4.
- 68 If this film had not been a piece of propaganda for the colonies, it would not have been shown at the national colonies' day held in Hamburg that summer, which was also the occasion for its premiere. See *Der Montag* 2 August 1926. In addition, the film ends with the text: 'Wird es wieder unsere Heimat?; In friedlicher Arbeit wollen wir es zurückgewinnen – denn es war deutsch (...) und soll wieder deutsch werden!' (says Hellmuth to Hilde): censorship report ICH HATT' EINEN KAMERADEN Act 8, text 23-24. Several critics have also reviewed the film in propagandistic terms. The right-wing *Kinematograph* (22 August 1926) wrote: 'Jedem Deutschen liegt es am Herzen, dass Deutschland wieder ein Land mit Kolonien wird, in denen Deutsche wirken können zum Wohle des Vaterlandes.' The liberal *Lichtbildbühne* (21 August 1926; Hans Wollenberg): 'Wenn das alte deutsche Soldatenlied von der Treue bis in den Tod erklingt, dann klingen unsere Herzen mit, dann sind wir innerlich bereit, uns der schlichten Handlung dieses Films hinzugeben, der ein hohes Lied der Kameradschaft und zugleich eine mahnende Erinnerung daran sein will, dass auch im fernen Afrika für deutsches Land edles Blut geflossen hat.'
- 69 Censorship report ICH HATT' EINEN KAMERADEN, Act 7, text 6.
- 70 *Lichtbildbühne* 22 February 1926.
- 71 G. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers* (1990) 82.
- 72 Volker Ackermann, *Nationale Totenfeiern in Deutschland. Von Wilhelm I. Bis Franz Josef Strauss. Eine Studie zur politischen Semiotik* (Stuttgart 1990) 78, 84. 'Zwar herrschte "Volkstrauer" in dem Sinn, dass Eberts Totenfeier nur drei Tage nach dem erstmals reichsweit durchgeführten Volkstrauertag stattfand.'
- 73 *Lichtbildbühne* 22 February 1926. 'Das Kino steht eben in der breitesten Öffentlichkeit, bietet viele Angriffsflächen und muss sich daher noch stärker schützen wie jedes andere Gewerbe. Am kommenden Volkstrauertag (28 February) ist wieder reichlich Gelegenheit gegeben, Fehler zu machen, die dem ganzen Gewerbe später wieder zur Last gelegt werden.'
- 74 *Kinematograph* (28 February 1926) referred to the memorial character: 'Kein Film zu hurtigem Zeitvertreib, aber in eindringlichem Ernst zu allen sprechend, die nicht stumpf an dem Erleben schicksalsschwerer Zeit vorüberzugehen willens sind.'

- 75 The description of the contents is based on a press report from Südfilm A.G. (Bundesarchiv / Filmarchiv Berlin) and the various critical reviews.
- 76 *Die Filmwoche* 10 March 1926.
- 77 *Kinematograph* 28 February 1926.
- 78 *Der Film* 28 February 1926 (S-r.).
- 79 Incidentally, Paul Wegener himself had also fought in the First World War. In 1933 he wrote a book about his war experiences, *Flandrisches Tagebuch* 1914 (Berlin).
- 80 *Der Film* 28 February 1926.
- 81 *Kinematograph* 28 February 1926. 'Martin Römer, ein Mann der doch für Sentimentalitäten wenig übrig hat, ist kaum imstande, den Befehl zum Sturmangriff richtig in sich auf zu nehmen, der Gedanke an Maria, seine Frau, hat ihm an diesem Tage alle Entschlusskraft beraubt.'
- 82 *Der Film* (28 February 1926): 'Stark, ganz stark das Weib der Tschechowa.' *Kinematograph* (28 February 1926): 'Eine edle duldende Frauengestalt: Olga Tschechowa'. The *Berliner Morgenpost* (28 February 1926; -l-) was less impressed with Tschechowa: '... kalt, starr, ausdruckslos. Von den seelischen Kämpfen merkte man in ihrem Gesicht nicht eine Spur.' (This critic did not like the film at all, nor any of the other actors). The *Film-Kurier* (27 February 1926) also found Tschechowa not expressive enough: 'Im Mienen- und Körperspiel noch immer nicht ganz gelöst.'
- 83 *Lichtbildbühne* 27 February 1926 (Pr.).
- 84 Winter, *Sites of memory, sites of mourning*. (1995) 15-28, 204-222.
- 85 G. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 78-79.
- 86 A similar theme is worked out in contemporary historical films such as *LE RETOUR DE MARTIN GUERRE* and *SOMMERSBY*.
- 87 *ICH HATT' EINEN KAMERADEN*, Act 1, text 12-13.
- 88 Censorship report *HEIMKEHR*, Act 6, text 5-6. Incidentally, the protagonist in the eponymous Enoch Arden poem is also a sailor.
- 89 Only Herbert Ihering referred to another novel with a similar theme: *Landwehrmanns Rückreise* (1871) by Rudolf Herzog, meaning to indicate the traditional standards by which the film was made.
- 90 This not only becomes evident after comparing the film *HEIMKEHR* and the contents descriptions of *FELDGRAU*, but it was also pointed out in reviews: 'Ein neuer Zug im Film ist da auch die Gleichwertigkeit der Männercharakter; da steht nicht Schwarz gegen Weiss, Leichtsinns gegen Edelmut; mit feiner Nuancierung wurde der Hellere gegen den Dunkleren abgetönt.' (*Film-Kurier* 30 August 1928; Ernst Jäger).
- 91 Instead of the film title *FELDGRAU*, some reviews (not those in the specialist periodicals) used the title of the novel. Even the alphabetical catalogue at the Deutsches Institut für Filmkunde in Frankfurt has information about the film under the title of the book.
- 92 Pommer had worked for Ufa in Germany since November 1927. In America, where he had lived since January 1926, he had been offered few opportunities to develop himself further. Ludwig Klitsch, who had been an authorized representative since the take-over by Alfred Hugenberg's Scherl Group, had travelled to Hollywood in the summer of 1927 to negotiate about several Ufa interests concerning the Parufamet Treaty (an agreement Ufa made at the end of 1925 with Paramount,

- Metro-Goldwyn and Universal). At the same time, Ufa made an effort to get Erich Pommer and Ernst Lubitsch back to Germany, which failed as far as Lubitsch was concerned. Klaus Kreimeier, *Die Ufa-Story*. (1992) 202.
- 93 HEIMKEHR was presented as a 'Joe May-Film der Erich Pommer-Produktion der Ufa'; *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 'HEIMKEHR', 1928.
- 94 Ufa did this in a programme booklet especially devoted to her. It was sold to theater-owners. (archive: Deutsche Kinemathek Berlin)
- 95 *Film-Kurier* 30 August 1928. About this issue, see also: Leonardo Quaresima, 'Geheimnis dreier Seelen. Joe Mays "Heimkehr"', in Bock & Töteberg, *Das Ufa-Buch* (1992) 230-33.
- 96 Idem.
- 97 Leonhard Frank, *Karl und Anna*. Erzählung (Leipzig 1954, orig. 1926). The play follows the novel more closely: *Anna und Karl*, Schauspiel in vier Akten (Leipzig 1929).
- 98 Quoted from a letter by Frank (23 February 1928) in Bock & Töteberg., *Das Ufa-Buch*. 233.
- 99 *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 31 August 1928 (-ma.); *Deutsche Zeitung* 30 August 1928 (l.g.); *Der Montag* 3 September 1928); *Der Tag* 2 September 1928 (g.); *Vorwärts* 30 August 1928 (D.) By the way, it was clear from some reviews whether or not the critics had actually read Frank's novel. Only the *Berliner Börsen-Courier* (30 August 1928; Herbert Ihering) and the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* (2 August 1928) deplored the changes that had been made with respect to the novel.
- 100 *Berliner Morgenpost* 2 September 1928, Dr. K. Glück).
- 101 Patrice Petro, *Joyless Streets*. (1989).
- 102 *Film-Kurier* 30 August 1928.
- 103 *Berliner Tageblatt* 2 September 1928 (Ernst Blass).
- 104 *Germania* 4 September 1928 (j.).
- 105 *Film-Kurier* 30 August 1928.

