



**UiT** The Arctic University of Norway

Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

## **Tales of Tirpitz**

The Battleship in European Documentaries and Museum Exhibitions

Juliane Constanze Bockwoldt

A dissertation for the degree of philosophiae doctor – December 2020





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Department of Language and Culture  
Media and Documentation Studies

The cover image shows a close-up of the steel armament of the *Tirpitz*. The armament is part of the *Tirpitz* memorial on the island of Håkøya. The picture was taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, August 2020.

# Table of Contents

|                                                     |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------|
| Note on Translations.....                           | V    |
| List of Abbreviations .....                         | V    |
| Acknowledgements.....                               | VII  |
| Abstract.....                                       | IX   |
| Zusammenfassung.....                                | XI   |
| Sammendrag.....                                     | XIII |
| Table of Figures.....                               | XV   |
| 1 Introduction .....                                | 1    |
| 1.1 Topic of the Thesis.....                        | 4    |
| 1.2 Selection of Material.....                      | 7    |
| 1.3 Memory Approach.....                            | 11   |
| 1.4 Previous Research.....                          | 21   |
| 1.5 Research Questions and Method.....              | 24   |
| 2 Tales of <i>Tirpitz</i> .....                     | 31   |
| 2.1 Presentation and Paratexts.....                 | 31   |
| 2.1.1 Mediators and Ownership .....                 | 36   |
| 2.1.2 Accessibility in Approaching the Medium ..... | 39   |
| 2.1.3 Presentation of Frames.....                   | 42   |
| 2.1.4 The Beginning and the End .....               | 52   |
| 2.1.5 Reception Starting at the Origin.....         | 68   |
| 2.1.6 Paratexts and Propaganda.....                 | 77   |
| 2.2 Sound and Music.....                            | 81   |
| 2.2.1 Documentaries .....                           | 85   |
| 2.2.2 Museum Exhibitions.....                       | 93   |
| 2.2.3 Auditory Memory Potentials.....               | 97   |
| 2.3 Original Footage and Original Objects.....      | 101  |
| 2.3.1 Documentaries .....                           | 102  |
| 2.3.2 Museum Exhibitions.....                       | 138  |
| 2.3.3 Harmonising the Cacophony .....               | 166  |
| 2.4 Re-enactments .....                             | 171  |
| 2.4.1 Documentaries .....                           | 173  |
| 2.4.2 Museum Exhibitions.....                       | 184  |
| 2.4.3 Re-enacting Memory .....                      | 188  |

|       |                                                     |        |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------|
| 2.5   | Eyewitnesses .....                                  | 190    |
| 2.5.1 | Documentaries.....                                  | 192    |
| 2.5.2 | Museum Exhibitions.....                             | 206    |
| 2.5.3 | The Mnemonic Effect of Presenting Eyewitnesses..... | 216    |
| 2.6   | Text.....                                           | 219    |
| 2.6.1 | Documentaries.....                                  | 220    |
| 2.6.2 | Museum Exhibitions.....                             | 241    |
| 2.6.3 | The Most Powerful Stabiliser of Memory .....        | 253    |
| 3     | Discussing Conclusion .....                         | 263    |
|       | References .....                                    | 277    |
|       | Appendix.....                                       | XIX    |
|       | Filmography.....                                    | XIX    |
|       | Supplements to Analysis .....                       | XXI    |
|       | To chapter 2.1.3.....                               | XXI    |
|       | To chapter 2.5.2.....                               | XXVI   |
|       | List of Contacts.....                               | XXVIII |
|       | Museums.....                                        | XXVIII |
|       | Archives.....                                       | XXIX   |
|       | Archival Material.....                              | XXX    |
|       | Bundesarchiv Berlin.....                            | XXX    |
|       | Imperial War Museum .....                           | XXXII  |

## Note on Translations

Quotes are given in the original language and translated to English in a footnote. Translations of shorter quotes can appear in the running text.

## List of Abbreviations

|               |                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BFI:          | British Film Institute                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| IMDb:         | Internet Movie Database                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| IMM:          | Internationales Maritimes Museum (Hamburg)                                                                                                                                                                    |
| IWM:          | Imperial War Museum                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Lincs Centre: | Lincolnshire Aviation Heritage Centre                                                                                                                                                                         |
| MHM:          | Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr (Dresden)                                                                                                                                                           |
| NSDAP:        | Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei                                                                                                                                                                |
| PQ-17:        | The convoy PQ-17 travelled from Iceland to Soviet Union on 27 June 1942. It is named after P.Q. Edwards, who had organised the first convoys between the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union (Helgason 2020). |
| RAF:          | (British) Royal Air Force                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| RAAF:         | Royal Australian Air Force                                                                                                                                                                                    |





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# Abstract

The goal of this thesis was to explore, collect and highlight various strategies that British, German and Norwegian documentaries and museum exhibitions use to mediate different cultural memories about the same historical event.

By examining the story of the German battleship *Tirpitz* that was sunk by the British in Norway during World War II, this thesis analyses the production of memory potentials in documentaries and museum exhibitions from a British, German and Norwegian perspective. I approached the material through a comparison of authoritative, authenticating and affective stylistic devices with regard to the analytical focal points of paratexts, sound and music, original footage and original objects, re-enactments, eyewitnesses and text.

The analysis reveals that the manifold paratextual elements on intra-, inter- and partially pluri-medial levels create expectations of a hero-narrative in the British documentary, a distanced report in the German piece or a modest crime story in the Norwegian work. Spatial paratextuality helps to authenticate historical infotainment for the UK, lends a serious aura to the German works and gives the impression of historical originality in the Norwegian pieces. The same original footage was used to produce different moods for the scene of the sinking of the battleship: mystically displaced in the British, dark and depressing in the German and observing and muffled in the Norwegian documentary. Affective strategies are used in an actively engaging way in British museal presentations, in an abstracting way in German and in an explicitly experiential way in Norwegian museum exhibitions. Textual patterns mark the messages of war as necessary duty in the British, of its meaninglessness in the German and its impact on the country in the Norwegian documentary. As stabiliser of memory, spoken and written text in documentaries and museum exhibitions has authoritative, authenticating and affective functions that shape, transport and re-mediate different attitudes towards the past, the present and the future. Depending on the stylistic tools, the story about the *Tirpitz* is the one of a beast, a lonely queen or of an investigative endeavour.



# Zusammenfassung

Das Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, unterschiedliche Strategien zu untersuchen, zu sammeln und hervorzuheben, die britische, deutsche und norwegische Dokumentarfilme und Museumsausstellungen benutzen, um verschiedene kulturelle Gedächtnisse über dasselbe historische Ereignis zu vermitteln.

Die Geschichte des deutschen Schlachtschiffes *Tirpitz*, das von den Briten in Norwegen im Zweiten Weltkrieg versenkt worden ist, dient als Beispiel. Die Arbeit analysiert die Produktion von Gedächtnispotentialen in Dokumentarfilmen und Museumsausstellungen aus britischer, deutscher und norwegischer Perspektive. Das Material wird mithilfe des Vergleichs von autoritativen, authentifizierenden und affektiven Stilmitteln untersucht. Die analytischen Aspekte Paratext, Ton und Musik, originales Filmmaterial und originale Gegenstände, Re-enactments, Augenzeugen und Text weisen den Weg.

Die Analyse zeigt, dass vielfältige, paratextuelle Elemente auf intra-, inter- und teilweise pluri-medialen Ebenen Erwartungen eines britischen Heldennarratives im britischen, eines distanzierten Reports im deutschen oder einer bescheidenen Krimigeschichte im norwegischen Dokumentarfilm schaffen. Räumliche Paratextualität hilft, historisches Infotainment in britischen Museumsausstellungen, seriöse Aura in musealen Präsentationen in Deutschland und historische Originalität in norwegischen Ausstellungen zu authentifizieren. Dasselbe originale Filmmaterial wurde benutzt, um verschiedene Stimmungen für die Szene der Versenkung des Schlachtschiffes zu produzieren: mystisch, entrückt im britischen, dunkel und niedergedrückt im deutschen und observierend und dumpf im norwegischen Dokumentarfilm. Affektive Strategien wurden in britischen musealen Präsentationen auf aktiv engagierende Weise benutzt, auf abstrahierende Weise in deutschen und auf explizit erfahrungsbasierte Weise in norwegischen Museumsausstellungen. Textmuster markieren die Botschaft vom Krieg als notwendige Pflicht im britischen, als sinnlos im deutschen und von den Auswirkungen auf das Land im norwegischen Dokumentarfilm. Als Stabilisator von Erinnerung hat gesprochener und geschriebener Text in Dokumentarfilmen und Museumsausstellungen autoritative, authentifizierende und affektive Funktionen. Diese schaffen, transportieren und remedieren unterschiedliche Haltungen gegenüber der Vergangenheit, der Gegenwart und der Zukunft. Abhängig von den Stilmitteln ist die Geschichte der *Tirpitz* die eines Biests, einer einsamen Königin oder die eines investigativen Unternehmens.



# Sammendrag

Målet med avhandling var å undersøke, samle og fremheve ulike strategier som britiske, tyske og norske dokumentarer og museumsutstillinger bruker for å formidle forskjellige kulturelle minner om den samme historiske hendelsen.

Historien om det tyske slagskipet *Tirpitz* som ble senket av britene i Norge under Andre verdenskrig tjener som eksempel. Oppgaven analyserer produksjonen av minnepotensialer i dokumentarer og museumsutstillinger fra britisk, tysk og norsk perspektiv. Materialet undersøkes gjennom en sammenligning av autoritative, autentifiserende og affektive virkemidler i sammenheng med de analytiske aspektene av paratekst, lyd og musikk, originalt filmmateriale og originale gjenstander, re-enactments, øyenvitner og tekst.

Analysen viser at de mangfoldige paratekstuelle elementene på intra-, inter- og delvis pluri-medial nivå skaper forventninger av henholdsvis et helte-narrativ i den britiske dokumentaren, en distansert rapport i den tyske versjonen eller en stillferdig krim-historie i den norske dokumentaren. Romlig paratekstualitet bidrar til å autentifisere historisk infotainment i museumsutstillinger i Storbritannia, gir en seriøs aura til museale presentasjoner i Tyskland og bidrar til historisk originalitet i norske museumsutstillinger. Det samme originale filmmaterialet brukes for å produsere ulike stemninger for scenen av senkningen av slagskipet: mystisk fjern i den britiske, mørk og nedstemt i den tyske og observerende og dump i den norske dokumentaren. Affektive strategier blir brukt på en aktivt engasjerende måte i britiske museale presentasjoner, på en abstraherende måte i tyske og på en eksplisitt erfaringsbasert måte i norske museumsutstillinger. Tekstmønstre markerer budskapet om krig som nødvendig plikt i den britiske, om krigens meningsløshet i den tyske og om dens utslag på landet i den norske dokumentaren. Tale og skrevet tekst i dokumentarer og museumsutstillinger er en stabilisator av minner og har autoritative, autentifiserende og affektive funksjoner. Disse skaper, transporterer og remedierer forskjellige holdninger om fortiden, nåtiden og fremtiden. Avhengig av virkemidlene er historien om *Tirpitz* en historie om et uhyre, en ensom dronning eller om et investigativt tiltak.





# Table of Figures

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 1: The map shows the position of the <i>Tirpitz</i> and the approach area of the Lancaster bombers during the sinking of the ship (symbols on map not to scale). Some geographical names used in this thesis are shown for orientation. The base map was created with Google Maps ( <a href="https://maps.google.com">https://maps.google.com</a> ). ..... | 6   |
| Figure 2: Adapted from “Interpretation and discourse in historical representations” (Pöttsch and Šisler 2019: 6). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 19  |
| Figure 3: Corner in the cafeteria of Lincs Centre with showcase and piece of <i>Tirpitz</i> teak. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 45  |
| Figure 4: Part of the History Room at Lossiemouth Air Force Station. Photograph taken by John Le Huquet, 2017. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 45  |
| Figure 5: Showcase about War at Sea at the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 48  |
| Figure 6: Overview over exhibition design at Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven (Iglhaut and von Grote 2020). .....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 49  |
| Figure 7: Arrangement of objects at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 51  |
| Figure 8: The camera looks up at the bow of a battleship. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:00:03). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt. ....                                                                                                                                                                                            | 54  |
| Figure 9: Hitler inspecting the German Navy. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:00:31). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 55  |
| Figure 10: Churchill with his wife Clementine. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:00:34). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 55  |
| Figure 11: An eyewitness looking into the camera. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:01:14). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 56  |
| Figure 12: Approaching the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden (Unterillertaler 2013). ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 62  |
| Figure 13: Entrance area at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 64  |
| Figure 14: Entrance to the bunker housing the exhibition about the <i>Tirpitz</i> at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2016. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 66  |
| Figure 15: Launch scene of the <i>Tirpitz</i> in Wilhelmshaven. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:04:10). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt. ....                                                                                                                                                                                      | 107 |
| Figure 16: Preparation for the launch. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:03:31). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 113 |
| Figure 17: Men looking up in the launch scene. <i>Det siste slaget</i> (Hansen 2007: 00:26). Screenshot taken by the Juliane Bockwoldt. ....                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 120 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                            |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 18: <i>Tirpitz</i> sliding into the water. <i>Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff</i> (Quinn 2005a: 04:32). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.....                                                   | 121 |
| Figure 19: <i>Tirpitz</i> sliding into the water. <i>Det siste slaget</i> (Hansen 2007: 01:08). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.....                                                                 | 121 |
| Figure 20: Hitler being photographed. <i>Det siste slaget</i> (Hansen 2007: 01:17). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.....                                                                             | 123 |
| Figure 21: The bulkhead of the <i>Tirpitz</i> in a showcase at the hangar of the RAF Museum. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017. ....                                                             | 141 |
| Figure 22: Photograph of a photograph of a bulkhead of the <i>Tirpitz</i> , the latter taken by Børretzen, <i>Aktuell</i> . Photograph taken at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2016. .... | 146 |
| Figure 23: Bulkhead during the wrecking of the <i>Tirpitz</i> . <i>Det siste slaget</i> (Hansen 2007: 51:06). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.....                                                   | 148 |
| Figure 24: Photograph of the introductory wall for the section about World War II at the Deutsches Marinemuseum Wilhelmshaven. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017. ....                           | 150 |
| Figure 25: Torpedo net, buoy, and armour plating from the <i>Tirpitz</i> in the outside area of the Deutsches Marinemuseum. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017. ....                              | 152 |
| Figure 26: Showcase with dinnerware at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2016. ....                                                                                        | 155 |
| Figure 27: Hallway at the <i>Tirpitz</i> Museum in Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017. ....                                                                                                 | 158 |
| Figure 28: Four photographs at the <i>Tirpitz</i> Museum in Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017. ....                                                                                        | 160 |
| Figure 29: Two typewriters at the <i>Tirpitz</i> Museum in Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017. ....                                                                                         | 164 |
| Figure 30: Re-enactment of a soldier preparing in low light. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:09:38). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.....                                   | 175 |
| Figure 31: Re-enactment of the radio journalist. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:19:29). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt. ....                                              | 179 |
| Figure 32: Re-enactment for preparations in Arkhangelsk. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:58:03). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.....                                       | 180 |
| Figure 33: Animation with voice-over by Walter Schuck and Norwegian subtitle. <i>Det siste slaget</i> (Hansen 2007: 48:38). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.....                                     | 183 |
| Figure 34: Diorama of a nurse's office at the <i>Tirpitz</i> Museum Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017.....                                                                                 | 185 |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Figure 35: Diorama of resistance activities at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum.<br>Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwolddt, 2016. ....                                                                                                 | 187   |
| Figure 36: Tony Iveson in a plane. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b:<br>0:54:07). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwolddt. ....                                                                             | 193   |
| Figure 37: The sky behind the tower resembles dawn or dusk light. <i>The Battle for<br/>Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:14:24). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwolddt.<br>.....                                         | 195   |
| Figure 38: Terje Jacobsen sits in what appears to be a basement with lighting from a<br>small door behind him. <i>The Battle for Hitler's Supership</i> (Quinn 2005b: 0:14:45).<br>Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwolddt. .... | 196   |
| Figure 39: Heinz Hellendoorn in interview. <i>Det siste slaget</i> (Hansen 2007: 17:29).<br>Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwolddt. ....                                                                                        | 201   |
| Figure 40: John Thornton Lorimer in interview. <i>Det siste slaget</i> (Hansen 2007: 13:17).<br>Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwolddt. ....                                                                                    | 203   |
| Figure 41: Karl-Heinz Lohse in interview. <i>Det siste slaget</i> (Hansen 2007: 13:38).<br>Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwolddt. ....                                                                                         | 205   |
| Figure 42: A part of the exhibition showing World War II. Six small aquarelles on the<br>wall to the right. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwolddt, 2017.....                                                                   | 208   |
| Figure 43: Two aquarelles by Jobst von Harsdorf painted in 1946 in a British prisoner<br>of war camp. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwolddt, 2017.....                                                                         | 208   |
| Figure 44: A German excerpt of the collection of the Moser letters at the Tromsø<br>Forsvarsmuseum. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwolddt, 2017. ....                                                                          | 211   |
| Figure 45: Clipping from the reply from Moser's mother 23 November 1944. The letter<br>is exhibited at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. Clipping taken by Juliane Bockwolddt,<br>2017. ....                                           | 214   |
| Figure 46: Panel accompanying the bulkhead at the RAF Museum in Hendon.<br>Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwolddt, 2017. ....                                                                                                   | 243   |
| Figure 47: Logo of the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden<br>(MHM Dresden 2012). ....                                                                                                                         | 246   |
| Figure 48: Model of the <i>Tirpitz</i> at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta. Photograph taken by<br>Mathias Bockwolddt, 2017.....                                                                                                      | 249   |
| Figure 49: Top of the website of the Tirpitz Museum (Blomkvist ITK AS 2020).<br>Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwolddt, 1 April 2020.....                                                                                       | 251   |
| Figure 50: Screenshot of Tigress website for <i>Sink the Tirpitz</i> (Tigress Productions<br>2020). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwolddt. ....                                                                                | XXI   |
| Figure 51: DVD cover for <i>Sink the Tirpitz!</i> (Amazon 2020).....                                                                                                                                                            | XXII  |
| Figure 52: DVD booklet for amongst others <i>Die Tirpitz—Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff</i><br>(Amazon 2020).....                                                                                                               | XXIII |

|                                                                             |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Figure 53: DVD cover front of <i>Det siste slaget</i> (Hansen 2007).....    | XXIV |
| Figure 54: DVD cover backside of <i>Det siste slaget</i> (Hansen 2007)..... | XXV  |

# 1 Introduction

*Bombs are hitting a beach seen from far up in the air. Large craters are being blasted open and sand is flying. Single bombs hit a ship that can hardly be seen on the grainy, monochrome footage.*

The traces of these bombs can still be seen today on the island of Håkøya in Northern Norway. The craters are still there, overgrown with grass on which horses graze. My encounter with the story of the ship that these bombs were meant to hit was early in my stay in Tromsø as a master student, when I started training to become a tourist guide for the region. In the leaflet for us rookie guides, a paragraph about the *Tirpitz* told a short story of a German battleship that was sunk in Tromsø during World War II. Driving by the island of Håkøya on the planned guiding tour, the guide points to the bay, the beaches, and to a memorial for the *Tirpitz* made of a piece of steel armour plating from the ship. About seventy years after World War II had ended, tourist guides still tell a story about this battleship, highlighting the location and the traces of the ship in the landscape. There are many ways to hear and learn about World War II; still, channels that have a reputation for being factual, being trustworthy, may inspire greater confidence than fictional media would do. The grainy footage described above is the recording of the last bombardment of the *Tirpitz* on 12 November 1944, and the destruction of the battleship is shown in European documentaries and as still pictures in museum exhibitions. Media types such as documentaries and museum exhibitions are said to be trustworthy and to tell a realistic story. Living as a German woman in Northern Norway and having grown up with German memory politics, I wondered, how the story of the *Tirpitz* is told in the United Kingdom, from where the planes that bombed it came, how it is told in a German context, and how it is told in Norway.

For these three countries, the *Tirpitz* seems to have had great symbolic value that extends to the perception and memory of World War II even today. The battleship was a symbol for Germany because it exemplified the strength and war machinery of the rising military power and would demonstrate this power to opponents. It was named after Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, who was an important strategic figure for the German Navy between 1890 and 1916. For the United Kingdom, the battleship *Tirpitz* was a symbol because the ship was a threat to the convoys; Churchill declared it “target number one”. The British Prime Minister took this symbol of German military strength and remodelled it into a mystical threat that needed to be destroyed. After the sinking of the ship, parts of it became trophies for the British Royal Air Force and represented symbols of the British victory over German forces. Finally, the *Tirpitz* was a symbol for Norway because the ship represented the German occupation and power on Norwegian territory,

both with men and material. The material presence of the ship has left its traces on Norwegian soil, as a floating fortress, as a wreck, and as part of material, cultural memory at museums. The comparison of the presentations of the same story from different perspectives will highlight that much of this symbolism is still at work in modern European documentaries and museum exhibitions.

In Tromsø, the stories around the *Tirpitz* are revived particularly in connection to anniversaries. On 12 November 2019, a delegation of families of British pilots came to Tromsø, memorial ceremonies were held, and the local newspapers wrote about the historical and current memorial events connected to the *Tirpitz* for over a week. The recurrent revival of the stories in addition to the memorial ceremonies and the media and public interest in the events demonstrate that this history remains relevant in the lifeworlds of the European population and represents local, medial remembering.

World War II, an overshadowing event, is present for many people today, in the twenty-first century. Most people have an idea about the publicly known circumstances of World War II and have a notion of who won the war, and who the respective villains and victims were. Education, the environment in which they grew up, what films they watch and what books they read can all have an influence on what ideas people have about World War II—the cultural memory they are confronted with in their environment. One's conversational partner can also have a bearing on how one perceives a question, one's personhood, gender, and language, and on how somebody talks about and remembers World War II. Most people living in the 2020s have no first-hand knowledge about World War II. People with direct experience of World War II are becoming rarer and rarer, and the adolescents and adults of the twenty-first century are dependent on the stories they are told. Cultural memory therefore relies on and is negotiated through many different media such as books, magazines, motion pictures, documentaries, computer games, and exhibitions (cf. Erll 2008b: 389). These media can tell us about the events of 1939 to 1945 and beyond. Our teachers learn these stories from academically accepted books that are supposed to tell the right story, depending on the national perspective.<sup>1</sup>

Audio-visual media, especially, can influence the perception of these stories. Motion pictures can provide audiences with emotionally charged stories and brilliant heroes that address feelings, as described by Rosenstone:

History on film is largely about emotion, an attempt to make us feel as if we are learning about the past by vicariously living through its moments. And

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<sup>1</sup> A comparative study called *Different Wars* by the EU-Russia Civil Society Forum analysed schoolbooks from Italy, Germany, Poland, Russia, Czech Republic, and Lithuania regarding their presentation of certain events connected to World War II (EU-Russia Civil Society Forum 2020).

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this experience comes in stories that, like the work of more traditional historians, both engage the discourse of history and add something to that discourse. (2006: 118)

Digital games addressing historical topics have gained more attention in recent years for their potential to offer vital contributions to cultural memory (Hammar 2019; Pöttsch and Šisler 2019). My focus, however, lies in documentaries and museum exhibitions, which have a reputation for being based on facts and which can give the impression of telling history in an authentic way, meaning that they appear to be historically and socially accurate (Chapman 2013: 130). The entertainment factor of documentaries and museum exhibitions usually is subordinate to the factor of education. By presenting eyewitnesses, people who really saw the events at hand, and original objects and documents of the period being discussed, documentaries and museum exhibitions seem to show what happened in an objective, fair and impartial way. Their status as documentary or museum exhibition gives them the authority to claim that what they are showing is real.

This is why it is fruitful to look into how these two media types<sup>2</sup> mediate the same historical topic. Documentaries and museum exhibitions authorise the narratives shown as being trustworthy. Compared to the fictional motion picture genre, the pure genre of the documentary, both on TV and in cinema, evokes an impression of not only being inspired by real events, but also of having an obligation to stick to real events. The status of the museum as an institution, with the duty to collect, research, conserve and mediate, imparts on the objects, written documents, photographs, and audio recordings the status of authenticity. With an attentive gaze, audiences can recognise differences between documentaries and museum exhibitions from the United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway. They might recognise elements familiar from the genre of motion picture, and recognise the same story told in different ways through sound, image, and text.

My research questions are therefore: How do these various stories in the selected media create and shape different cultural memories about World War II? What stylistic tools do these media use to produce their narrative? What can these stylistic devices say about contemporary attitudes towards history in different nations? While audiences have started to ask questions about the stories told in feature films and also documentaries, Janet Marstine claims that audiences need to start asking questions about the narratives that are told in museums: “But because many museums do not provide transparency—do not articulate their agendas—visitors need to develop the critical skills to identify and challenge the choices being made.” (2006: 31) With this thesis, I would like to contribute to this challenge by pinpointing and highlighting the strategies that documentary and

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<sup>2</sup> Both documentary and museum exhibitions are multi-medial documents using image, sound, and text to convey their message. In this thesis, when I talk about media or media types and documentaries and museum exhibitions, I refer to multi-medial documents, which are further explained on pages 10 and 11.

museum exhibitions from different national contexts use to report on one topic: the German battleship *Tirpitz*.

### 1.1 Topic of the Thesis

World War II as personal and international tragedy is present in the European media landscape. Various events and stories have been the topic for many eyewitnesses, for second- and third-generation accounts, for novels, for internet fora and platforms, for motion pictures, for digital games, for documentaries, and for permanent and temporary museum exhibitions. Bjørn Sørensen discusses “virkelighetsbølgen” at the end of the twentieth century, a wave of reality that overtook media such as historical documentaries and employed tools such as eyewitness accounts to provide assurances on the truthfulness of the presentations (2001: 308). In Norway, some prominent and recently medially reproduced examples are the battle for heavy water as told in the six-part Norwegian drama series *Kampen om tungtvannet* (Sørensen 2015) and the Allied attack on Narvik of which the Narvik War Museum gives an extensive account (Narvik Krigsmuseum 2020). Additionally, a miniseries on the events in Narvik is planned (Lindblad 2018). The forced evacuation of the population in Northern Norway in the course of Nazi Germany’s scorched-earth policy has been mediated in books such as *Fire and Ice: The Nazis’ Scorched Earth Campaign in Norway* (Hunt 2014) and *Brent jord* (Jaklin 2016) as well as in several local exhibitions (Kystmuseene 2020; Johansen 2013). These events play an important role for Norway and for its position during World War II.<sup>3</sup> The position of Northern Norway in World War II and its subsequent representation has become a topic of public discussion in popular culture. A group from the history department at the University of Tromsø is part of a large history project to examine mediating and reporting traditions about World War II (T. Kristiansen 2020). The war is subject to both public and academic discussions. An investigation such as the study at hand could also be conducted on the examples mentioned above.

However, for this project, which is based in Tromsø, the story of the *Tirpitz* is a special one. It was here the battleship was bombed; it was here it capsized, and here the local population rescued German soldiers from the cold November water; and it was here, from 1944 to 1957, that the wreck of the *Tirpitz* was an everyday sight. The existence of the *Tirpitz* had an effect on the Norwegians living in the area: a battleship from Nazi Germany had been intended to serve as a floating fortress against the Allies and to enforce the German occupation of Norway. After its sinking, the mere material presence, the enormous amount of steel, fuel, and ammunition—the demonstration of military

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<sup>3</sup> An extensive study on Norwegian motion pictures about World War II is Tonje Haugland Sørensen’s PhD thesis (2015).



power—that laid in the sound and around Tromsø's inhabitants must have had an impact on the region. Still today, in the 2020s, one can find remnants of the battleship in the surrounding area. One can visit the craters and the memorial on the island of Håkøya and the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum in Tromsdalen that was established after the fiftieth anniversary of the sinking of the *Tirpitz* in 1996. There were debates in the local newspaper over whether Tromsø should have a remembrance room for the dead from the *Tirpitz* at the new harbour terminal (Thjømmøe 2017). The presence of the *Tirpitz* and the stories around the battleship are still strong in Northern Norway. Its presentation across a range of multi-medial documents and different national contexts is therefore worthy of this research project.

On 25 January 1942, in a short note to General Ismay for C.O.S. Committee that is published in his war memoirs, Winston Churchill, who was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom between 1940 and 1945, called the *Tirpitz* “the beast” (Churchill 1950: 112). This utterance, in combination with the sentence “destruction of or even the crippling at sea highest priority” (ibid.) is highlighted in a number of media such as documentaries, books, and museum exhibitions and it also coloured my first encounters with the story of the *Tirpitz*. The historical events around the *Tirpitz* seem to leave a less aggressive or powerful picture. The threat *potential* of the ship appears to outweigh the ship's *actual* actions: Launched in Wilhelmshaven in April 1939, the size of the ship surpassed the dimensions permitted by the post-World War I treaties and, thereby, its very construction stood as a provocation against future antagonists of Germany. Commissioned on 25 February 1941, the *Tirpitz* operated mainly in the seas around Northern Norway and was a major threat to the Allied convoys between Murmansk and the United Kingdom. Events such as the attack of German forces against convoy PQ-17 amplified the threat of the *Tirpitz*. Once it was reported that *Tirpitz* would attack, the protecting British warships abandoned the convoy. German submarines and bomber aircraft sunk a large proportion of the convoy, but the *Tirpitz* only arrived on the scene when the attack was already finished. Another known event was the attack by small British submarines, which were called “X-Craft”, in Kåfjord in 1943. Attacks like this contributed to the myth around the “lonely queen” in the north that had to be destroyed. Following a series of attacks against the ship and long repair stops in the Kåfjord close to Alta, the ship could no longer be manoeuvred and was moved to the Sandnessund close to Tromsø in October 1944. Here, the British Royal Air Force could reach the *Tirpitz* with bombers from Scotland. On 12 November 1944, two British Royal Air Force squadrons, 617 Squadron and IX Squadron, departed from Lossiemouth in Scotland. They bombed the *Tirpitz* in Sandnessund and hit the battleship three times with five-ton heavy Tallboy bombs. The number of fatalities on board the *Tirpitz* vary from 971 (Asmussen and Åkra 2015: 395) to 1204 (Brennecke 1988: 225). Eighty-seven men were



Figure 1: The map shows the position of the *Tirpitz* and the approach area of the Lancaster bombers during the sinking of the ship (symbols on map not to scale). Some geographical names used in this thesis are shown for orientation. The base map was created with Google Maps (<https://maps.google.com>).

able to be rescued by cutting the hull open. The scrapping of the battleship took seven years, from 1950 to 1957 (see for example Asmussen and Åkra 2015).

The preservation of the stories around the *Tirpitz* was medially expressed early on through a motion picture, *Above Us the Waves*, that dealt with two British attacks on the battleship (Thomas 1955).<sup>4</sup> In a suspenseful yet documentary way, the motion picture maintains the stories connected to the *Tirpitz* and lays the ground for later re-mediations and inter-medial references that can be found in the material of this thesis as well.

The symbolic meaning of the battleship, as mentioned above, makes the story of the *Tirpitz* an important research object regarding how history is constructed and mediated: “Denn die Geschichte ist eine wesentliche Dimension, in der eine demokratische Nation ihr Selbstbild konstruiert und sich der eigenen Identität vergewissert.” (Assmann 2007: 181)<sup>5</sup> The different constructions in British, German, and Norwegian documentaries and museum exhibitions will provide hints about different expressions of cultural memory about the *Tirpitz*.

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<sup>4</sup> Commander Donald Cameron, who was a participant in Operation Source in 1943, was naval adviser for the motion picture (Healey 1954).

<sup>5</sup> “History is an essential dimension in which a democratic nation constructs its self-image and assures itself of its own identity.” (A. Assmann 2007: 181), my translation.

## 1.2 Selection of Material

Jay Winter's credo that "[t]he comparative approach is the only way to break out of cultural history limited by national perspectives" (2014: 10) may prove relevant in my internationally comparative study. Eager to explore the World War II memory culture of the third generation after the events, I chose media from the 2000s. The choice of this category is due to this generation's dependence on media to learn about and remember these historical events (Erl 2008a: 9). Aleida Assmann termed the current generation in Germany as a *transnational* one (2007: 65) in reference to Schüle: "the first collective in Germany that really lives and embodies pluralism" (2006: 30). The current generation has the opportunity to produce, distribute, and consume media across ideological, geographical, and even across temporal borders. This is why it is important to look at the messages that different media send and what memory potentials can be created. The consumption of media that is not limited by national borders is supposed to make this generation transnational. Still, this generation appears to need national stories that create an 'us' and 'them' with whom the generation can identify, because "[e]ine Nation ist eine Gruppe von Menschen, die durch einen gemeinsamen Irrtum hinsichtlichlicher Abstammung und eine gemeinsame Abneigung gegen ihre Nachbarn geeint ist." (Deutsch 1972: 9)<sup>6</sup>

Assuming that the intended audience for the documentaries, in particular, is young, one could argue that Hollywood-style storytelling, presenting history with suspense and affect, may attract younger groups.

[T]he relationship of mass culture to memory has often addressed concerns about how popular culture and mass media can co-opt memories and reconfigure histories in the name of entertainment—what has become known, for better or for worse, as the 'Spielberg style' of history, in which simplistic narratives are deployed to evoke particular empathetic responses in viewers, and through which memory texts are fashioned. (Sturken 2008: 75)

Yet, looking at the format of television, the core audience would rather be described as older; the medium no longer seems to appeal to younger audiences. Despite this discrepancy between assumed intention and probable effect, a look at the selected media, their strategies and how they appear to be trustworthy and authentic, can be fruitful for an understanding of how historical topics are mediated to groups that are dependent on media, since eyewitnesses to World War II are dying out.

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<sup>6</sup> "A nation is a group of people unified by a joint error regarding their origin and a collective antipathy against their neighbours." (Deutsch 1972: 9); my translation.

Because the United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway were part of the events around the *Tirpitz*, I chose documentaries and museum exhibitions from these countries. Since British pilots launched one of the attacks against the *Tirpitz* from Russian soil, the Russian perspective on this topic would also be interesting. However, I did not find any documentaries or museum exhibitions that dealt with the *Tirpitz* from a Russian angle.

Several databases for films in general and documentaries in particular give an overview of the appearance of the *Tirpitz* in different film genres in the decades after World War II. A scan through these databases showed that entire documentaries about the *Tirpitz* were scarce and that the period since 2000, with full documentaries on the battleship from the United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway, was the only one in which a comparison could be performed. The selected documentaries were released between 2005 and 2007. I chose the British documentary *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b), which tells the story of the battleship from launch to destruction, mixing archival footage from the 1930s and 1940s, new footage of experiments inspired by historical events such as the reconstruction of the bombing on a model, interview scenes, and re-enactments. The narrative develops around the historical statement that the battleship *Tirpitz* was an ultimate threat that needed to be destroyed at any cost. A classic heroic plot is re-mediated in the documentary, inviting audiences to immerse themselves in the events, which are affectively retold by eyewitnesses. The German documentary *Die Tirpitz—Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* (Quinn 2005a) seems to have been produced in parallel and with the same team as the British *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. At its core it is the same documentary with similar scenes, yet sound and speech are often differently embedded. Furthermore, scenes that appear in the British film have been cut in the German version; the documentary thereby mediates a different mood than the British one does. The narrative of the *Tirpitz* as the ultimate threat is less prominent and the documentary assumes a rather reflective mood. The Norwegian documentary *Tirpitz—Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007) investigates the story of the German pilot Heinrich Ehrler in connection with the destruction of the battleship in 1944. The documentary also recounts the battleship's journey from launch to destruction; however, it uses a question-driven narrative to explore, with its audience, the suggestion that Ehrler was partly to blame for the sinking of the *Tirpitz*. Using archival material and interview scenes in equal measure, the documentary uses little new footage and employs re-enactments only in the form of digital animation. The documentary conveys a calm yet immersive mood into the time and atmosphere of the 1940s, mainly through captivating, little dramatised interview scenes. The three documentaries tell the same story in different ways, and, combined, their distinctly different use of sound and music, the embedding of what is often the same archival material and eyewitnesses, the presence or absence of re-enactments, and the ways in which text spoken by eyewitnesses and narrators

is used make an analysis of them valuable. All three documentaries present a distinct story to audiences that is presented through the narrator's voice, a "Voice of God" (Rotha 1939: 209). Following Bill Nichols' categorisation, I would frame all three documentaries as expository documentaries that present and explain a certain event: "The expository mode emphasizes the impression of objectivity and of well-substantiated judgement." (Nichols 1991: 33) As the analysis will show, some of the documentaries have a more absolute answer, whereas others leave more space for interpretation and open questions. Moreover, the documentaries are all historical documentaries, blending actuality film from the 1930s and 1940s, interview scenes, and newly recorded footage, while two of the three documentaries use footage of re-enactments.

The selection of museums was made through research of museum databases and online collections, and personal requests at potentially relevant museums. As institutions and spaces, the museums have a role in what can be conveyed in the respective exhibitions, and they are relevant for the analyses of the museum exhibitions and exhibition elements that I examine more thoroughly. When discussing the media I investigate, I mean the museum exhibitions and exhibition elements, not the entire museums in themselves. As both memory and media institutions, museums were initially supposed to help in the building of nation states and national identities. Confronted with social, cultural, and political changes locally and globally, museums needed to rethink their missions and purposes (cf. Lien and Wallem Nielsens 2016). The selected museum exhibitions are expected to give an insight into how and with which media museums can produce certain meaning potentials.

I selected the museums in the United Kingdom on the basis of the relevance of their regional relation to the topic. The Royal Air Force Lancaster bombers departed for their final raid against the *Tirpitz* from the Air Force Station in Lossiemouth in Scotland on 12 November 1944. The Lossiemouth local museum does not have any exhibition items related to the *Tirpitz*. The Air Force Station itself, however, maintains a small History Room that is not ordinarily accessible to the public (Royal Air Force 2020). I will discuss this memory culture for the limited environment of the members of the RAF and its absence in public exhibitions in Lossiemouth. The second museum is the Lincolnshire Aviation Heritage Centre in Spilsby (Lincolnshire Aviation Heritage Centre 2020). On 11 November, the Lancaster bombers departed from Lincolnshire, also called "bomber county" due to the many pilots from there who participated in World War II, making their last stop before Norway in Lossiemouth. The RAF Museum was selected due to its position in London, where the British military centre was based during World War II, and because of an extraordinary exhibit that is symbolically charged from each of the British, German, and Norwegian sides (RAF Museum 2019a).

In Germany, I selected museums that had items about the *Tirpitz* in their exhibitions and that I was able to visit during a research stay in Germany. The selection resulted in

three museums, two of them with a naval focus and one general military museum. The Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden exhibits a showcase with some individual objects from and about the *Tirpitz*, embedded in the topic War at Sea during World War II (Militärhistorisches Museum Dresden 2020). The Internationales Maritimes Museum in Hamburg presents an extensive exhibition about German naval history and exhibits artefacts from the *Tirpitz* together with many items about its sister ship, *Bismarck* (Internationales Maritimes Museum Hamburg 2020). The final German museum in this selection is the Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven (Deutsches Marinemuseum 2020). The town was founded as a military harbour at the end of the nineteenth century and the military industry was its bedrock in the years before and during World War II. The *Tirpitz* was launched in Wilhelmshaven in 1939, yet the town experienced destruction and the loss of its standing and identity after the war. The museum displays several objects about the *Tirpitz* in its extensive exhibition about German military naval history.

The museum exhibitions in Norway are unique in the extent of items and stories that are presented about the *Tirpitz*, whereas in the United Kingdom and Germany the exhibits are rather singular and small in relation to the overall museum exhibitions. The exhibition at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta is remarkable because of its close connection to the area where the *Tirpitz* was present and its extraordinary collection of items from and about the battleship (Blomkvist ITK AS 2020). The museum, named after the battleship, is on the shore of the Kåfjord where the *Tirpitz* laid from 1943 to 1944. Several attacks on the ship also influenced the surrounding population who witnessed the efforts to sink the ship. The Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum is fascinating due to its location in a bunker that was built by the Germans in the 1940s and its location in the city where the *Tirpitz* was sunk, and thanks to its extensive collection of items, documents, and stories about the topic in its exhibition (Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum 2020).

Both documentaries and museum exhibitions involve different media such as image, sound, and text to convey their message and can therefore be considered multi-medial documents<sup>7</sup>: “En generell bruk av multimedialitetsbegrepet inkluderer enhver situasjon der to eller flere medier eller semiotiske systemer opptrer samtidig.”<sup>8</sup> (Schwebs and Otnes 2001: 40)

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<sup>7</sup> The origin of the notion of document can be traced back to antiquity, and the meaning and use of the concept has evolved over the course of time. I use the term according to Niels Windfeld Lund's complementary approach. He traces the term back to its etymological roots of “doceo + mentum” and includes social and mental aspects in it as well as material aspects (Lund 2009). In my study, I examine how physical components try to presuppose certain mental reactions, which have certain social implications. Another term often used for documents involving several media is multi-modal (see for instance Bateman, Wildfeuer, and Hiippala 2017).

<sup>8</sup> “The general use of the term multimediality includes every situation where two or more media or semiotic systems appear together.” (Schwebs and Otnes 2001: 40); my translation.

Another term often used is audio-visual, a term focusing on the perception process through eyes and ears (cf. Jones 2017). Whereas multi-mediality describes a document's nature in a general way, multi-modality refers to the act of communication and how image can influence perception of sound and vice versa. The fact that both terms focus at documents that combine several media makes them a valuable approach to compare documentaries and museums exhibitions. Even though documentaries and museum exhibitions are different (some might say radically different) media types, their multi-medial character makes it possible to compare them. Especially the comparison of the use of the media images, sound, and text as elements in multi-medial documentaries and museum exhibitions will shed light on the different creation of moods and narratives.

The analysis of the reciprocal influence of multiple forms of communication within one multi-medial document such as the modes of image and sound and they reinforce or destabilise each other will give insights in their role in the creation of dominant memory potentials. The stylistic tools such as soundscapes in a museum or credits in the end of a documentary are composed of multiple modes and can themselves be multi-medial, being formed of images, sound, music, texts that all interplay. The examination of the stylistic tools these media types both apply makes them a valuable corpus of research material.

### 1.3 Memory Approach

The growth of the memory culture may, indeed, be a symptom of a need for inclusion in a collective membrane forged by a shared inheritance of multiple traumatic histories and the individual and social responsibility we feel toward a persistent and traumatic past—what the French have referred to as 'le devoir de mémoire'. (Hirsch 2008: 111)

What Marianne Hirsch calls *the duty of memory* pinpoints what is presented in the European media landscape and what is the subject of academic discourses: A need, a duty, to talk about, film, record, reproduce, re-edit, distribute, and negotiate collective pasts in various forms of media. This ubiquitous presence of the past makes it a vital field to investigate and to develop, as I hope to achieve with this thesis.

Memory, both collective and cultural, is a widely discussed yet controversial topic, not only in the humanities and social sciences but also in natural and medical sciences. Some scholars seem to use the terms synonymously while others are vehement in differentiating them (Erll 2008a: 1). What is undisputable is that research into collective and cultural memory has gained a lot of attention in the last forty years. Especially when examining the representation and mediation of historical events, the inclusion of collective and cultural memory in research is at least fruitful, if not unavoidable.

Just as socio-cultural contexts shape individual memories, a ‘memory’ which is represented by media and institutions must be actualized by individuals, by members of a community of remembrance, who may be conceived of as *points de vue* (Maurice Halbwachs) on shared notions of the past. Without such actualizations, monuments, rituals, and books are nothing but dead material, failing to have any impact in societies. (Erll 2008a: 5; italics in original)

Below, I will give an overview of central and basic concepts in collective and cultural memory and I will lead over to strings of memory studies that may be relevant for media analysis and for this project.

There are so many concepts with which to examine cultural memory that we ought to call it a *transdisciplinary* phenomenon (Erll 2008a: 3). With this study’s focus on several genres, national traditions, and medial representations, this observation is especially important here. Looking at collective memory as “[...] a sensitizing rather than operational concept, [...] that] raises useful questions when taken as a starting point for inquiry rather than as an end point” (Olick 2008: 152), there is no mere collective or cultural memory that is embodied only in media or institutions and that is detached from individuals and societies (Erll 2008a: 5).

They [the media] play an active role in shaping our understanding of the past, in ‘mediating’ between us (as readers, viewers, listeners) and past experiences, and hence in setting the agenda for future acts of remembrance within society. (Erll and Rigney 2009: 3)

Therefore, it is important to look at the social frames that help to generate and to develop collective and cultural memory. A name that often appears as one of the first scholars to work with memory connected to the humanities and social sciences is Maurice Halbwachs. In the 1920s, Halbwachs among others formed and established the field of *collective psychology* and the term *collective memory* (Migliorati 2015: 260). Halbwachs distinguished between historical and autobiographical memory, autobiographical memory being about experiences we have made on our own and those connected with people together with whom we have experienced the events. Historical memory, on the other hand, is about situations that the person did not experience on their own. Media and rituals are aids to remembering, and commemorative events together with other people strengthen memorial experiences. The past is archived and developed further socially. Halbwachs wrote that we use landmarks, points of measurement, events in our lifetime, whether personal or not, to construct ourselves as members of groups. We try to locate memories using social frames built from our present identity (Halbwachs and Coser 1992: 23f.).



Coming from the concept of a collective memory that is developed, negotiated, and transported via social frameworks, I want to approach the field of memory and media. Around the same time as Halbwachs, the German art historian Aby Warburg set the spotlight on the mediality of memory. In a large exhibition project by the name *Mnemosyne* (1924 to 1928), he showed how symbols, which encode emotional intensity, migrated through different artworks, periods, and countries (Erl 2008a: 9). These symbols might be found in the authenticating strategies that I will introduce below in this chapter. Certain affective stylistic tools, be they within speech, image, arrangement, or editing, appear recurrently in Western media and invite audiences to immerse themselves in the narrative that they see and hear.

The French historian Pierre Nora rediscovered the concept of the collective memory at the end of the 1970s. He established the term *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1989) and with it described not only geographical spaces, buildings, and monuments, but also a symbolic act, a colour or a traditional dish. These sites of memory are important for the analysis of museum exhibitions, which are classic and concrete sites of memory. However, Nora's concept is also applicable to the analysis of documentaries in which new documentary footage is developed at what is said to be historically authentic sites. An interview with an eyewitness at the place where a historical event happened might charge the site with a memory potential that is then conveyed to the viewer and the visitor.

Memory, insofar as it is affective and magical, only accommodates those facts that suit it; it nourishes recollections that may be out of focus or telescopic, global or detached, particular or symbolic-responsive to each avenue of conveyance or phenomenal screen, to every censorship or projection.  
(Nora 1989: 8)

These observations about memories, fixed and cared for at historical sites that may appear affective or magical, already represent a crossover from collective to cultural memory, from the abstract and ungraspable to the negotiated and materialised in sites and spaces, roughly to “the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts.” (Erl 2008a: 2) The first extensive study on cultural memory was published by Jan Assmann in 1992. His study on the memory of ancient cultures, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (1992), marked a turning point within memory studies and laid the foundation for many other important academic works. He divided memory into social and communicative, and cultural memory, defining ‘writing’ as an essential part of the latter. While communicative memory is rather bodily and short-term, cultural memory is externalised and has a long-term function (J. Assmann 1992). The written memory, however, again splits into working (canon) and reference (archive) memory. Both canon and archive generate the known ‘our’, and everything around these is framed as ‘the other’ (A. Assmann 2008). Jan and Aleida Assmann both contributed extensively to the development of memory

studies, Jan focusing on the memory of ancient cultures whereas Aleida directed her spotlight on modern processes and representations of cultural memory. Her habilitation treatise *Erinnerungsräume* (1999) addressed various functions, media, and the storage of memory. In it she termed sites that became sites of memory through a religiously, historically, or biographically significant event as ‘externalized memory media’. These sites can preserve and verify memory throughout phases of collective forgetting. Biographical and cultural memory cannot be released from sites. Sites can only support and stimulate memory processes in connection to other memory media (A. Assmann 1999: 21). The media—in this case, documentaries and museum exhibitions—can stimulate the sites and spaces and can create certain foci on stories, people, and events that the site by itself would not tell. However, the interplay between both site and medium is of great importance for the generation, negotiation, and transportation of memory to further generations. In her publication *Geschichte im Gedächtnis* (2007), Aleida Assmann takes a tour of German memory culture, embodied history, family memory, history in public sphere, and staged memory in museums and media. Referring to Schüle’s term *Bewusstseinskollektiv* (collective of consciousness, 2006) of a generation, Assmann stated that the perception of a generation is anchored in medial and virtual worlds (2007: 65). Within these medial worlds, history is

die Fabel, die Handlung, die die Gegenstände des Museums miteinander verwebt, sie mit Bedeutung erfüllt und sie als Abbild konstituiert; die Gegenstände mit ihrer Aura des Echten helfen ihrerseits, den Wahrheitsanspruch der Geschichte zu legitimieren. (Beier de-Haan 2005: 179)<sup>9</sup>

In media with historical topics, including documentaries or museum exhibitions, objects, pictures, stories, and narratives are all recontextualised and are given a new dimension. These elements are staged for the mediation of information and become a point of reference for the respective generation (cf. Assmann 2007: 152). Jan Assmann observes that repetition may have a vital influence on which cultural representations are remembered.

The basic principle behind all connective structures is repetition. This guarantees that the lines of action will not branch out into infinite variations but instead will establish themselves in recognizable patterns immediately identifiable as elements of a shared culture. (2011: 3)

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<sup>9</sup> “the fable, the plot that weaves together the objects of the museum, that fills them with meaning and constitutes them as copy; the objects with their aura of the real help to legitimize the truth claim of history.” (Beier de-Haan 2005: 179), my translation.

Even though repeating in form of tradition and rituals lies in Jan Assmann's focus, this *repetition principle*, as I will call it further on, can be especially relevant for the repeating of visual and auditory patterns used in the selective documentaries, and for the narrative patterns reappearing in museal narrations about the *Tirpitz*. The frequent repetition of messages and attitudes in the selected media may point to crucial memory potentials for the respective cultural expressions.

Another approach that is important to keep in mind during this investigation is the term *postmemory* by Marianne Hirsch. According to Hirsch, *postmemories* are the traumatic memories of preceding generations that live on in current generations. Even though the generation did not experience the trauma by themselves, mediations help to transfer memory (Hirsch 2012). Hirsch referred mostly to events and memories connected to the Holocaust, but the concept can certainly be applicable to other historical situations as well. Since my study explores media from the 2000s that are addressed to a generation that never experienced World War II, *postmemory* is certainly relevant.

Postmemory describes the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. (Hirsch 2008: 106)

A term that goes in a similar direction as *postmemory* is Alison Landsberg's *prosthetic memory*. She states that a person can take on memories of another person as her own, transferred by mediation of affective experiences (Landsberg 2004). Whereas Landsberg seems to imply a positive connotation of the potential to medially feel a historical person's experiences, Hammar highlights limits in this approach, pointing to "empathy and alliances via mass media" that may impede a critical approach to media's memory potentials (Hammar 2020). Mass media such as documentaries, docu-dramas, and above all motion pictures, fictional but often "based on real events", mediate stories and memories to large audiences. With both referential and affective tools in documentary and museum exhibition, these media can create a connection between the medium and the viewer. The staged narrative may become immersive and might evoke empathy within the viewer for the protagonists and their fate in the story.

Michael Rothberg proposes the concept of *Multidirectional Memory* (2009) to highlight that memories and the transportation of memories does not happen in one direction. Using the example of the Holocaust he says that established narratives about a certain historical event can be applied to other historical events to bring forward other atrocities without diminishing the first one. He advocates against a view on collective

memory as competitive and for a dynamic and reciprocally informing collective memory.

The comparable theory of *cosmopolitan memory* (Beck, Levy, and Sznajder 2009) proposes the possibility of the combination of local and global values and an enhancement of moral positioning coming from traumata:

Cosmopolitanism implies universal as well as local values that emotionally engage people. These values become a constituent part of personal identity, thus gaining political significance as well. Concrete historical events and cultural developments contribute toward implementing cosmopolitanism, which is developing into the ethical horizon of an increasing number of people and a self image of various life-worlds. The new, transnational memory does not function erratically. War, destruction and disaster all contribute to shape it. (Beck, Levy, and Sznajder 2009: 114)

The notion of cosmopolitan memory would suggest that the involved countries and individuals learned from the transnational trauma of the war and from each other. The presentations of the *Tirpitz* and the circumstances of World War II in the selected documentaries and museum exhibitions might give hints if such local and universal values can be recognized in contemporary cultural memory.

Previous medial representations play an important role in the audience's "remembering" of historical events.

What is known about a war, a revolution, or any other event which has been turned into a site of memory, therefore, seems to refer not so much to what one might cautiously call the 'actual events', but instead to a canon of existent medial constructions, to the narratives and images circulating in a media culture. Remembered events are transmedial phenomena, that is, their representation is not tied to one specific medium. Therefore, they can be represented across the spectrum of available media. (Erll 2008b: 392)

What tools were used to create these narratives? What patterns reappear and reproduce accepted attitudes towards historical topics? Astrid Erll contributes one approach to explore the *how* of representations of historical events; through the distinction of intra-, inter-, and pluri-medial strategies that a medium can use to mediate historical content (Erll 2008b). Erll has published extensively on memory and media in the last fifteen years and her studies have inspired and initiated manifold research projects in memory studies – even the three-fold model that I apply in my thesis: The intra-medial perspective on media focuses on the modes of a "rhetoric of collective memory". Erll divided these into the experiential, the mythical, the antagonistic, and the reflexive mode (ibid.: 390). What is not explicitly described in her text but what I see as included in Erll's theory, is

that the stylistic elements of a medium create these modes of rhetoric. That means that the formal elements are crucial for the memory potential of a medium.

For a documentary, for example, elements such as the selection and compilation of original, contemporary, and fictional footage, the supporting of the narrative through music and sound effects, and the use of rhetorical tools by a narrator's voice can contribute to the memory potential of a documentary. Sara Jones described these stylistic elements as authenticating strategies, "the first relating to the referentiality of events and objects, and the second to the affective response of the viewer." (2012: 196) Within the referential strategy, pictures, sounds, and stories that are assumed to be known help to form the narrative and to create the authentic appearance of a documentary. Affective strategies invite the audience to immerse emotionally in the story being mediated (Bockwoldt 2019). Authenticating strategies, both in documentaries and museum exhibitions, have an important role in the analysis of the selected media. The question of what seems authentic and why a presentation appears as authentic and trustworthy to audiences will be reappearing continuously throughout this study and will help to investigate the different potential cultural memories created in the objects of research.

But what is authenticity? A common sense interpretation tells us that authenticity when it comes to witnessing is simple: to be authentic, the witness must have genuinely experienced the events that he or she recounts. [...] However, Pirker and Rüdiger (2010, 17) suggest a second form of authenticity, which complicates our view of the witness: the mode of the 'authentic experience'. This mode includes 'replicas, copies, imitation and re-enactment, the evoking of an 'authentic feeling', mood or atmosphere of the time through coming close to the original or producing a plausible or typical past with the means of the present'. (Jones 2017: 140)

The "authentic feeling" Jones introduces above is relevant both for affective and referential authenticating strategies, and for all three medial levels that Erll invites to investigate. The intra-medial strategies need to seem authentic to produce this authentic feeling; inter-medial tools such as reproductions of known and accepted narrative patterns need to be arranged in a plausible way to invite audiences to believe the story. It is precisely this—storytelling on an inter-medial level—that has been widely addressed by Hayden White, among others, who suggests that a historical work is "a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse." (1973: ix) Furthermore, history is told in plot categories: romance, comedy, tragedy, and satire (ibid.: x). This observation proves valuable when including the theory of mediation and remediation elaborated by Anne Rigney and Astrid Erll (2009), which states that not only stylistic strategies but also narrative plots are and can be re-mediated.

Remediation is thus viewed as a form of diachronic intermediality and cultural memory as a transmedial phenomenon, which is realized, over and over, by means of those media technologies that a community has at its disposal and to which it ascribes the potential of creating ever greater immediacy and memorial truth. (Erll and Rigney 2009: 9)

The *transmediality* (see above *ibid.*) may reach its climax when authenticity is no longer assessed with reference to actual events or archival footage, but rather with reference to other fictitious representations. When an interview scene is arranged with elements familiar from spy movie genres, does this make the scene more or less authentic?

By following these intra- and inter-medial strategies, a medium can achieve potentials of meaning (Erll 2008b: 395). According to Erll, a pluri-medial network is needed to fix a medium in the accepted discourse and to transform it into a memory-making medium. In Figure 2, established by Holger Pötzsch and Vít Šisler in their research on digital games as representations of history, the importance of a pluri-medial network for the presentation of history becomes clear.

Selective reduction and historical representation can be curated on intra- and inter-medial levels; however, interpretations and historical discourse can be read as parts of pluri-medial networks that, again, take effect on the next selective reduction. I understand “interpretations” in Figure 2 as reception by various audiences. According to Erll, the reception of a medium is the key to its memory potential becoming concrete. It needs reviews in magazines, special features on TV, and merchandising strategies to “lead reception along certain paths, open up and channel public discussion, and thus endow films with their memorial meaning.” (Erll 2008b: 396) Furthermore, the figure by Pötzsch and Šisler seems to reinterpret the model of encoding and decoding by Stuart Hall (1977), referring to production contexts and encoding under “selective reduction” and to decoding and frameworks of knowledge, say reception, under “interpretations”.

However, who executes these “interpretations” described above and for what purposes are the discussions channelled in a certain direction? To answer this question and to fill the gap of a critical inquiry on memory media missing with Erll’s approach, I include a *propaganda model* established by Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman in their publication *Manufacturing Consent. The Political Economy of the Mass Media* in 1988 (Herman and Chomsky 2002), which they applied mainly to representations in the news media. According to the *propaganda model*, media have to go through five filters to be able to become a part of public discourse. These filters are ownership<sup>10</sup>, sourcing, sources, ‘flak’, and anticommunism (*ibid.*: 2). The model was and is an object of critique as a debate between Lang and Lang and Herman and Chomsky shows (K. Lang and Lang

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<sup>10</sup> Following Ashuri and Pinchevski (2009), I will use the term *mediators* when referring to curators, memorial and museum managers, and filmmakers.

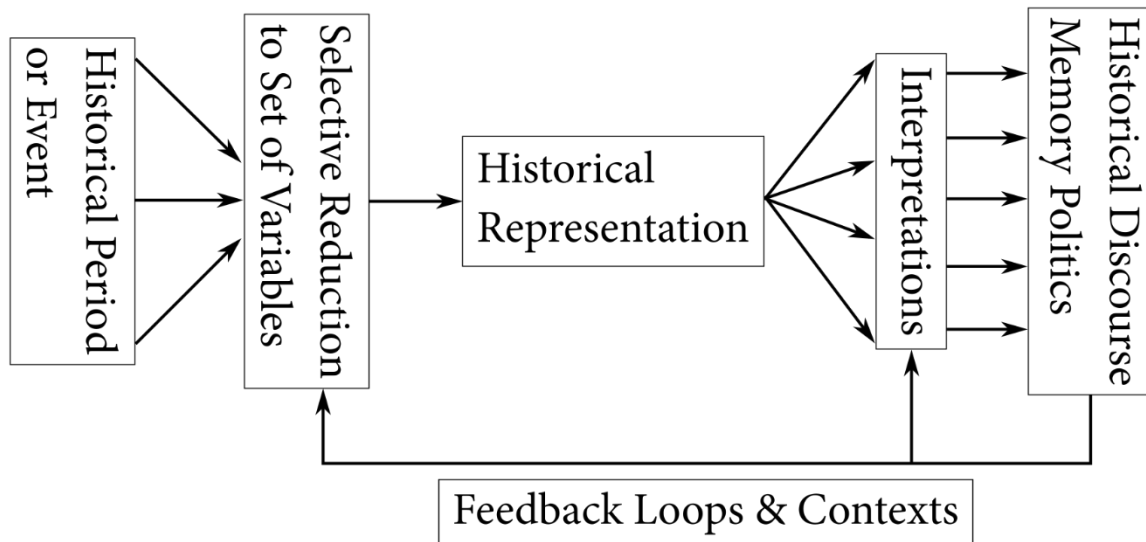


Figure 2: Adapted from “Interpretation and discourse in historical representations” (Pötzsch and Šisler 2019: 6).

2004; Herman and Chomsky 2004). The model has also been charged as being moralistic (Brahm 2006). Still, the model can prove useful since the media Erll is talking about are also owned by companies with financial goals. The media are advertised in order to generate profit, they are authenticated and legitimised by accepted experts, are defended by statements of producers and creators, and are narrating an accepted story that accuses ‘the right side’. Most media—including news media, games, documentaries, or museum exhibitions—that gain status within the public discourse satisfy these filters.

More recent research suggests a *propaganda model* for Hollywood and in the games industry to examine political economy of the entertainment sector (Alford 2011; 2015; Hammar 2019; Pötzsch 2019). Alford’s approach to motion pictures and the political economy predisposing their narrative and formal appearances supports my attempt to analyse documentaries and museum exhibition with this focus. Supplementing Erll’s approach with this lens through the filters of this *propaganda model*, a critical view on media is possible and includes the aspect of political economy within media analysis. The strong connection between (fiction) film and memory (Erll 2008b) demands an analytical emphasis on the political economy that enables medial representations with historical topics. Ownership and authority behind a documentary or a museum exhibition may have crucial influence on what narrative about a historical event is told. Both documentaries broadcasted on TV and public museums need to attract audiences, and for that, they need to fulfil expectations not only of information but also of entertainment (Bockwoldt 2019). The fulfilment of the filters of the *propaganda model* is crucial to make sure the investments will be returned and that the investment was profitable. This way, the *propaganda model* influences contents of media and enforces the assimilation

instead of the challenge of established, dominant narratives (Pötzsch 2019). Therefore, this media analysis needs to be also about political economy. My analysis will shed light on potential reasons for the reproduction of dominant historical narratives and for their differences in three national contexts.

Hand in hand with a potential filter system for present and historical entertainment media goes the question of mnemonic hegemony, historical presentations that are publicly accepted and distributed. The fifth filter of the *propaganda model*, anti-ism, which addresses a suitable antagonist towards which to direct aggressions, might be especially predisposed, negotiated, and cared for within an understanding of mnemonic hegemony. Since “[h]egemony thus establishes one particular narrative as a quasi-natural universality and delegitimises alternative forms of reasoning” (Molden 2016: 126), presentations of the past and how to remember historical events might be included in a “quasi-natural universality”. Calling upon the fourth filter of the *propaganda model*, called flak, “delegitimising alternative forms of reasoning” seems to be relevant both from a political economical and a cultural political perspective regarding mnemonic hegemony.

[H]egemony is built by prioritizing some memories over others according to the specific power constellations of a given society. There is no one history because every historical event can have different meanings, can be ignored, or interpreted from radically different perspectives. (Molden 2016: 128)

The examination of which contexts, events, and even people are ignored or interpreted from different perspectives in the selected documentaries and museum exhibitions provides intriguing insights both into the priorities and discursive positions that the respective mediators from different national contexts may have, and into which mnemonic hegemony their narratives tend to be embedded.

Still, the different voices about one historical event cannot be ignored since they might give a multifaceted and rich image of history, even though stories may contradict each other. An indirect dialogue in the Norwegian documentary analysed in chapter 2.5 *Eye-witnesses* exemplifies the cacophony Winter observes in accounts about the past:

Nations do not remember, groups of people do. Their work is never singular, and it is never fixed. The anthropologist Roger Bastide wrote thirty years ago of the chorus of voices that address the issue of memories about the past. Some members of the chorus are closer to the microphone, others have louder voices, but no one orchestrates them in a unified way. A cacophony is inevitable. (2001: 864)

The critical question in this analysis is about the “louder voices” (ibid.) that pronounce ideologies, perceptions, and attitudes in historical medial representations and what dynamics generate and channel them. Both intra- and inter-medial levels of media help to



create an ‘us’ and ‘them’, good and evil, or an experiential storytelling to an event. Still, these media need to satisfy the filters of the *propaganda model* to enter the public discourse. Just as the paratexts (chapter 2.1) of the media have to have an accepted frame that tells the audiences what to expect, the pluri-medial network around the media concentrates and directs their message towards a certain destination. To make a medium believable, various levels and filters need to be in place and they can be fulfilled by authenticating strategies. Even though the authenticating elements may not correspond thoroughly with reality, “[i]t is the careful orchestration of these melodramatic elements [...] that creates what we might call an authenticity of affect [...]” (Evans 2010: 173).

Visual media mimetically perform past worlds in order to give their audiences a visceral feeling for the radical alterity or strange familiarity and present-day relevance of past lives. What does it feel like to be an eyewitness to the Civil War, World War II, or the Holocaust? What does it feel like to be a victim, a bystander, or a perpetrator of war or genocide? The shift from why to how corresponds to the shift from history to memory, and more specifically from academic history to visually supported memory. (Kansteiner 2018: 4)

As Wulf Kansteiner stated above, the question of how memory is constructed, transported, and negotiated gains importance, and an investigation of this will be the main point of this study. The *how* question also addresses the structural conditions behind media such as documentary and museum exhibition. How is it possible that some narratives about World War II are dominant and others do not receive public attention? How are some stories and perceptions highlighted, and others forgotten? Writing these questions, I sense that the *why* is still as important as the *how* in my investigation.

## 1.4 Previous Research

There exists historical research on the *Tirpitz* with collection of data about the construction of the battleship, its activities, and about the attacks against the battleship in British, German, and Norwegian channels. The publications *Tirpitz: Hunting the Beast* (Sweetman 2004), *Tirpitz: The Life and Death of Germany’s Last Super Battleship* (Zetterling and Tamelander 2009), *Target Tirpitz* (Bishop 2012), *Hunting Tirpitz: Naval Operations Against Bismarck’s Sister Ship* (Bennett 2012), *Tirpitz: The Life and Death of Germany’s Last Great Battleship* (Knowles 2018), and *Tirpitz in Norway: X-Craft Midget Submarines Raid the Fjords, Operations Source 1943* (Konstam 2019) give accounts on the *Tirpitz*’ activities in English language and to differently dramatised degree.

A five-part book series on the *Tirpitz* in German and English by Robert Gehringer and Antonio Bonomi with sketches and photographs (Gehringer and Bonomi 2014), *Schlachtschiff Tirpitz* (Brennecke 1975) and *Schlachtschiff "Tirpitz"* (Breyer 1986) tell about the German perspective on the historical events.

Assmussen and Åkra's collection *Tirpitz. Hitler's Last Battleship* (2015), originally published in Norwegian and in connection with a travelling exhibition at the Midt-Troms Museum, gives a detailed account of the events around the *Tirpitz*, accompanied with sketches and photographs. *Her lå Tirpitz* (Storholmen 2014) is a novel about the time the *Tirpitz* lay in Fættenfjord close to Trondheim.

These representations help to create and reproduce stories of the *Tirpitz* in Great Britain, Germany, and Norway whereas this thesis tries to highlight and pinpoint *how* documentaries and museum exhibitions present the *Tirpitz*. To my knowledge, there has not been done research on the mediation of the battleship *Tirpitz* before, neither on books, motion pictures, nor other multi-medial documents.

Thus, my project is the first to examine the mediation of *Tirpitz* in documentaries and museum exhibitions from Great Britain, Germany, and Norway and its potential influence on European cultural memory. There has not been done research on this topic, neither in history, media, nor in memory studies.

Regarding the media scientific approach, the concrete comparison of documentaries and museum exhibitions about the same topic has not yet been subject to scientific research. Additionally, the material coming from three different national contexts provides this thesis with the potential for new understandings in media studies and for supplementation of existing research in the field. In her article "Mediated Immediacy: Constructing Authentic Testimony in Audio-Visual Media" (2017), Jones analyses video testimonies, memorial museums, and documentary films to show their "impact on collective engagement in the past" (ibid.:135) However, Jones does not compare these media types with one another but she uses them to discuss the importance of authenticity and empathy when mediating historical topics. Especially in her book *Geschichte im Gedächtnis* (2007), Aleida Assmann builds bridges between a manifold of media and their possible impact on German cultural memory. Also here, comparison is not the purpose of the examination of these media but the accentuation of the media's significance for remembering the past and building identities. In his publication *Gesellschaftliche Erinnerung: Eine medienkulturwissenschaftliche Perspektive* (2006), Zierold explicitly advocates for the benefits that a combination of a media scientific and a memory scientific approach can bring about for cultural scientific questions. The reciprocal enrichment of combined media and memory scientific research is what I aim to demonstrate through my study. The documents' multi-medial character makes them comparable and their different media use can give insights in their memory-making potentials.

In memory studies, the research on topics connected to war and trauma, which also includes my research on events connected to World War II, is extensive and arising concepts are often applicable to other research questions and fields. The following examples are only a selection (see also 1.3). Jan and Aleida Assmann's research on world history, European history and German historical issues paved the way for many memory study approaches (J. Assmann 1992; A. Assmann 1999) and gave my research the base of the importance of media's impact on what is conveyed to later generations. Erll's analysis of the mediation of the Indian Mutiny and its pre- and, in part multi-medial, re-mediation highlights the great importance of media in the process of remembering (Erll 2007). It makes me aware that many of the narrative patterns in the selected documentaries and museum exhibitions for my study are re-productions and re-editions of established representations of good and evil. Even though Erll's research is about fiction film, her approaches are applicable to non-fictional documentaries and museum exhibitions as well. Beatrice Tadeo Fuica looked at potential postmemories mediated in Uruguayan documentaries (2015) and Laia Quílez Esteve and José Carlos Rueda Laffond investigated memory in Spanish documentaries (2019). Elizabeth Crooke analysed the exhibit of private memories in a memorial museum (2019) and Marita Sturken examined material memory in connection with the 9/11 memorial in New York City (2016). The concept of postmemory by Hirsch (2012) departs from her own postmemories of the Holocaust but also efficiently applies in an affiliative way for historical events that are not directly connected to audiences' family history but to a group that they solidarise with or are interested in. Winter's research on the World Wars emphasises the importance of language (2017) and influenced my perspective on the selected material in my study and on their use of written text and speech. This focus enables new insights on how text can provide a narrative with a different tone and transport a different mood.

The scope of my thesis with its six analytical focal points, explained in more detail in the next sub-chapter, is new in the field of memory studies. Additionally, the comparison of the perspectives of three national contexts might show the benefits and shortcomings of the chosen analytical tools and if an analysis of, for instance, paratexts from British, German, and Norwegian documentaries and museum exhibitions really contributes to answer my research questions. Furthermore, the comparison may shed light on how the stylistic devices in the documentaries and museum exhibitions help to reinforce or destabilize established historical narratives.

In the beginning of this dissertation project, I had a notion that the project would be highly transnational: historical events that involved several countries, documentaries and museum exhibitions that developed across the borders of nation-states and this in a time when cultural expressions from abroad are accessible through internet and travelling. Richard Crownshaw states in the introduction of his special issue on transnational memory that “[i]n recent years memory studies has travelled from the collective

to the cultural to the transcultural.” (Crownsaw 2011: 1) Extensive research in the last decade invites the field to open up the barriers of national cultural memories and to enable research on the dynamics of cultural memories between and beyond national contexts:

Since nation-states in principle have hard and fast, legal boundaries, the combination of ‘transnational’ and ‘memory’ opens up an analytic space to consider the interplay between social formations and cultural practices, or between state-operated institutions of memory and the flow of mediated narratives within and across state borders. (De Cesari and Rigney 2014: 4)

At the same time, the acknowledgement of ‘the national’ as possible determining factor and consequence of transnationalism is strong in the transnational memory approach:

Indeed, the term transnational itself crucially serves as a reminder of the fact that even in a so-called post-national age, ‘the national’ as framework for identity and memory-making is still a powerful one, indeed one that may be reinforced in response to calls for new types of confederation and integration. (De Cesari and Rigney 2014: 6)

### 1.5 Research Questions and Method

The research questions *How do these various stories in the selected media create and shape different cultural memories about World War II? What stylistic tools do these media use to produce their narrative? What can these stylistic devices say about contemporary attitudes towards history in different nations?* that I introduced on page three, originate from the premise that documentaries and museum exhibitions have a reputation with audiences of telling an objective truth about past events. My questions regarding cultural memory and attitudes towards history are based on a deductive and narratological (White 1973) approach, starting from the media’s genre and institution that imply fact-based presentations and provide the media with a certain authority and authenticity.

The expression “various stories” is meant to describe narrative patterns about the *Tirpitz* that consist of recurrent tropes<sup>11</sup>, which appear in every or in some of the chosen media such as the launch of the battleship in Wilhelmshaven in 1939, the attack by British X-Craft submarines in Alta in 1943 or the sinking of the *Tirpitz* in Tromsø in 1944.

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<sup>11</sup> “Both traditional poetics and modern language theory identify four basic tropes for the analysis of poetic, or figurative, language: Metaphor, Metonymy, Synecdoche [sic], and Irony. These tropes permit the characterization of objects in different kinds of indirect, or figurative, discourse. They are especially useful for understanding the operations by which the contents of experience which resist description in unambiguous prose representations can be prefiguratively grasped and prepared for conscious apprehension.” (White 1973: 31+34)

These narrative patterns can, as my thesis will show, convey different moods through the same story—yet told in a different manner. Together, they do this in a multi-medial fashion, combining image, sound, and text, film and objects.

“Different cultural memories” is supposed to highlight that there can be different aspects of the same historical event that are materially fixed, transported, negotiated, and potentially remembered. The sinking of the *Tirpitz*, for instance, is presented and recorded differently in the British, the German, and the Norwegian documentary, even though all three of them use the same historical footage. With “history” in the last research question, I refer to documented and communicated historical events such as the events around the *Tirpitz* in particular and to larger historical events such as World War II in general. I attempt to draw conclusions about contemporary attitudes towards historical events from the use of the later to be described stylistic tools and their use in documentaries and museum exhibitions. One possible arising question regarding the attitude towards historical events could be, if a constantly highlighted and reproduced local anchoring of historical events and their impact on the local society, such as the population of Tromsø where the *Tirpitz* was sunk, may raise the audiences’ awareness for the local impact of war-related activities, also in current international military affairs.

The “stylistic tools”, that I aim to examine in this thesis, originated from an inductive and qualitative approach, screening the selected media. The stylistic tools such as the use of music, the soundscape in and around a museum exhibition, the presentation of an object in an exhibition, and the credits in the end of a documentary generate the analytical focal points of this thesis (2.1–2.6) and are examined on how they produce authenticity, how they mediate authority, or how they invite audiences to immerse affectively into the historical narrative. Through the overarching six analytical focal points, I aim to explore the use of a manifold of stylistic tools in documentaries and museum exhibitions, which are combined within the focal points. Along analytical terms from media, museum, film and literature studies, I conducted an interpretation of the selected media and appointed six analytical focal points that promised to enable and enlighten an analysis of media with a historical topic. The analysis of all six of them, to smaller and bigger degree, enrich the understanding on how documentaries and museum exhibitions produce and mediate authority, authenticity, and affect and that may enhance the media’s memory potentials.

Something is called authentic when it appears historically accurate (Chapman 2013: 130). Authenticity can be gained through referential and affective authenticating strategies (Jones 2012) and through the authoritative position of the mediator of a documentary or a museum exhibition: “The more fundamental question to ask here is not if an object or site is authentic, but rather who has the authority to authenticate, which is a matter of power—or, to put it another way, who has the right to tell the story of the site.” (Bruner 1994: 400) In return, referential and affective strategies can provide a medial

representation with authority (Jones 2012: 199). Eyewitness reports presented as authentic tell memories in an emotionally immersive way might have this effect on audiences. Just the paratextual labelling as “documentary” or “museum” gives representations an authority to tell an objective narrative. The affective influence of documentaries should not be underestimated (Rosenstone 2006) and I advocate for the consideration of the affective potential of museum exhibitions as well. Not only eyewitness reports, re-enactments, and dioramas, but also historical actuality footage and original objects can be staged through music and text in a way that is affectively engaging.

I excluded the scenes in the documentaries with the explosives experts and I did not deal with footage that was recently recorded, disregarding eyewitness reports and re-enactments. Having a comparative approach in mind, a juxtaposition of such scenes with museum exhibitions would not have been fruitful and would not have contributed in answering the research questions. For both media, I excluded the human factor of participating mediators and visiting audiences. Such an anthropological approach would have great potential, but it was not in the scope of this thesis, which is a rather formal one. The following introduction of the analytical focal points in connection to my research questions will help to see their potential for vital contribution in the field.

When meeting a documentary or museum exhibition, paratextual elements provide audiences with a first impression of the medium, spark expectations with which they meet the actual medium, offer clues of authentication, and they mediate authority telling audiences what they have to expect. The paratexts may consist of iconic, material, and factual elements (Genette 1997: 7) that can be considered a part of the multi-medial document that uses several media to transport its message. The borders between text and paratexts are fluid (Skare 2020), but I chose to draw a line between text and paratext as I do in chapter 2.1, because it will give insights in how paratext and text correspond or do not correspond with each other. The decision on what to include in the chapter on paratext is based on my research questions and it allows me to analyse elements of multi-medial documents that sometimes are overlooked (Skare 2021). The concept of paratext therefore represents a valuable start into an analysis, granting a deeper presentation of the material and at the same time enhancing an understanding on how paratextual elements may contribute to the production of different cultural memories.

Genette’s concept opens up for a large number of interpretational possibilities, as I attempt with the connection of paratext to propaganda and to memory potentials. As I will deepen in chapter 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts*, the analysis of paratexts through Erll’s intra-, inter-, and pluri-medial levels enables insights in what the documentaries and museum exhibitions are transporting through their paratexts. On inter-medial levels, recognizable patterns such as colours and images might introduce the topic of war and create expectations. Similarly, scenes of battle on a DVD cover will evoke expectations for an antagonistic narrative. Furthermore, the supplementation of the *propaganda*

*model* to the media analyses will offer suggestions on *why* certain paratextual appearances are chosen and what these choices might tell about current attitudes about historical and current political topics. The reciprocal influence of paratexts and Erll's media analytical levels will provide new approaches on what and why we remember contents of media productions.

Confronted with a multi-medial document, audiences unconsciously perceive sound before image. Keightley and Pickering frame it that way: you hear the bird in the tree before you see it (2015: 34). Sound reaches audiences quick and often on an affective level, such as sound effects and dramatic music accompanying the scene of the sinking of the *Tirpitz* which help audiences to immerse into the scene and mark a villain to satisfy the fifth filter of the *propaganda model*. Both intentional and unintentional sounds can have influence on the perception of the medium, when, for instance, visiting a museum in a region where air force exercises create a special soundscape and can give information about the first filter of the *propaganda model*, ownership. The analysis of sound and music in documentaries and museum exhibitions will shed light on how these elements can make media appear more believable and trustworthy and how they may contribute to make them more likely to immerse. Chapter 2.2 *Sound and Music* attempts to bring to the fore in which way sound and music in documentaries and museum exhibitions can help to build memory potentials on authenticating and affective levels. Especially Jones' referential and affective authenticating strategies supplement Erll's media analytical approach and together they can point to how and why certain scenes and settings are better, or at least, differently remembered than others.

An important part of this thesis and of the research material, historical documentaries and museum exhibitions, is historical actuality footage recorded in the 1930s and 1940s and original objects collected, preserved, and exhibited in museums. This footage, these objects and their presentations in the selected media are therefore crucial to investigate their unique aura (Benjamin 1970) of the original, as documents of the historical period, can create a connection between the life worlds of the historical events and of the audiences engaging with the media. By examining the embedding of original footage and objects in documentaries and museum exhibitions, I aim at discussing if a more affective embedded actuality footage is more likely to strengthen film's memory potential than the same footage in a more demure embedding. Such an analysis might just as well tell about what of two tales of the same footage can become a part of memory potentials: affective drama or demure documentation. In chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*, I work out how original material can transport different messages on intra- and inter-medial levels, how the filters of the *propaganda model* are fulfilled, and how such presentations can bias presented historical messages.

Re-enactment is very present in two of the documentaries and helps to transport moods and to fill gaps in the documentaries' narratives. I chose them because of their

prominent presence and because of my initial scepticism towards this fictitious tool when presenting a historical topic. I wanted to find out what these re-enactments can contribute to the mediation of historical events and if and how they might enlarge the potential for trustworthiness of the documentaries. Their presence helps to draw audiences into the narrative with intra- and inter-medial strategies and to engage with the presented fates, even though the re-enactments do not depict the lives of specific people but rather give an impression of the circumstances, for instance, during the sinking of the battleship. The closest equivalent to re-enactments in the selected museum exhibitions are dioramas that enrich the museal presentation in an illustrative way. Arrangements of seemingly original objects in a plausible manner contribute to an impression of the presented period and may help audiences to immerse into the narrative. The questions concerning the filters of the *propaganda model* might help to explore how re-enactments help to define a villain or an 'other'. In chapter 2.4 *Re-enactments*, I analyse in which way these scenes with actors, and often dramatic music and quick cuts, can shape and supply memory potentials for the selected documentaries and what their differences have to say about the different presentations from Great Britain, Germany, and Norway.

The presentation of personal memories in documentaries and museum exhibitions through eyewitness reports, letters, photographs, and paintings can create an intense connection between the lifeworlds of the eyewitnesses and of the audiences. The confrontation with an eyewitness' speech, facial expression, gestures, and their surroundings may invite audiences to engage affectively with the presented report and maybe even sympathise with the people sharing their story. An interview of an eyewitness with his vernacular memories might contribute authenticity and authority just by the relation of the eyewitness with the historical event that is the topic of the narrative. Official memories solidified by official documents, institutions, and mediations, such as documentaries by public channels and museums exhibitions funded by the state, and their impact on eyewitnesses' vernacular memories needs to be taken into consideration (Mihelj 2013). Representing an example of a fulfilled fourth filter of the *propaganda model*, the one of experts, the examination of eyewitness accounts can give insights in the media's political economy and elaborate on why these eyewitnesses are presented there and in this way. Chapter 2.5 *Eyewitnesses* examines eyewitness accounts as important tools of authentication and brings to the fore the considerable impact a skilled story-teller in a plausible setting can have on a medium's memory potential. "[...A]ccounts of the collective memory of any group or society are usually accounts of the memories of some subset of the group, particularly of those with access to the means of cultural production or whose opinions are more highly valued." (Olick 1999: 338f.) My various examples highlight in which different ways the same eyewitnesses, different accounts, and abstract presentations such as paintings can mediate personal experiences of a historical event and coin the message of the documentary or museum exhibition in a different way.



The text as last analytical focal point was a natural choice because it is a very important part in all the selected media, it interacts with all the other media in a multi-medial document, and it connects the focal points above. Spoken text in the documentaries by the narrators and eyewitnesses and written text on museum websites, on exhibition texts and object labels mediates not only information but also a mood and an attitude between the lines. A vague and passive choice of words may transport a different attitude towards the presented historical event, its causes and its consequences, than a direct and active choice of words does. In chapter 2.6 *Text*, I explore how spoken and written text can colour a report about a historical event in seemingly factual media such as documentaries and museum exhibitions. A dramatic name for the battleship in one film and a melancholic one in the other may lead audiences to differing memory potentials. Text may frame a threatening villain in the one medium and a more mitigated one in the other and by that fulfil filter five of the *propaganda model*, anti-ism. The analysis of text and choice of words uncovers, beyond translations, different positioning towards the events around the *Tirpitz* and through that, potentially, towards current political standpoints of Great Britain, Germany, and Norway.

This study attempts to combine and supplement the disciplines media and film studies, museology, and memory studies. It investigates the use of media such as image, sound, and text in multi-medial documents with multi-modal forms of communication. It explores multi-medial documents such as documentaries and museum exhibitions and national modes of remembering the events connected to the battleship *Tirpitz*. Paul Basu's term and methodological door opener *cultural memoryscape* seems appropriate to describe my investigation on the cultural expressions related to World War II and their appearance in European cultural memory:

The objective in surveying such an array of sites—what marks this as an exercise in memory studies rather than historical research, for example—is not so much to facilitate the triangulation of data to arrive at a closer approximation of 'historical truth', but rather to investigate how people both shape and are shaped by this landscape of memory, how they inhabit it and transform it, how they negotiate its consistencies and inconsistencies, and what this tells us of the nature of historical and mnemonic consciousness in particular socio-cultural contexts. (Basu 2013: 117)



## 2 Tales of *Tirpitz*

Attempting to provide a cumulative, comparative, and exploring approach about the mediations of the events around the battleship *Tirpitz* in European documentaries and museum exhibitions, I elaborate on the following research questions in this main part of the thesis: How do these various stories in the selected media create and shape different cultural memories about World War II? What stylistic tools do these media use to produce their narrative? What can these stylistic devices say about contemporary attitudes towards history in different nations?

### 2.1 Presentation and Paratexts

This chapter builds the entrance to the examined multi-medial documents, selected documentaries and museum exhibitions. Through the concept of paratext, which was coined by Gérard Genette, who divided it into epitext and peritext, I thoroughly present the documentaries and museum exhibitions to the readers and demonstrate the analytical value of paratexts directed towards the media's authenticity and their memory potentials. As "[...] authenticity is constructed in a social process and an interaction between production and reception" (Jones 2012: 197) and is inherently important to the approach through paratexts, the question of authenticity, what it is and what it means, stands central in the analysis and discussion. At the end of this chapter, I connect paratexts and propaganda and discuss in which way propaganda still can be of importance in modern European media.

The French literary theorist Gérard Genette introduced the term "paratext" in 1987 in his book *Seuils*, meaning "thresholds". Talking about the characteristics of a book, he stated that the material aspects of a medium, such as the title, preface, and cover are of importance for the analysis: "[...] the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public" (Genette 1997: 1). Mostly writing about books, Genette also stressed that the concept can be adapted to other media as well (Genette 1997: 407).

Additionally, he wrote that paratext can be an expression of and reaction to situations in society and that "[...] in principle, every context serves as a paratext." (Genette 1997: 8). Certain trends in book design could mirror contemporary developments in the social environment. "The ways and means of the paratext change continually, depending on period, culture, genre, author, work, and edition, with varying degrees of pressure, sometimes widely varying." (Genette 1997: 3) Parallels to the *propaganda model* that I introduced in chapter 1.3 become clear, since the paratexts orient themselves to what is

established and accepted in a genre. The filters must be satisfied for that a medium really can enter the public media discourse—and can gain memory potentials. The choice of dramatising patterns in the paratexts can have influence on the memory potentials of the respective media. “Nun determiniert die Wahl des dramaturgischen Musters die Entwicklung des kollektiven Gedächtnisses und umgekehrt, die dargestellte Geschichte wird vom dominanten Gedächtnis diktiert.” (Saryusz-Wolska 2009: 66)<sup>12</sup>.

Genette divided paratext into two parts: peritext and epitext. Peritext describes the material factors that are directly connected to the medium, such as format, series, copies, sales figures, cover, as well as the producer’s name, the title of the medium, subtitle, and genre, opening scene and credits. These aspects are iconic, material, and factual (Genette 1997: 7). Epitext instead contains medial expressions that appear around the book, both before and after its release. Advertisements such as posters and trailers, as well as reviews, interviews, and making-of productions, are epitext. Hereby, it is important to keep in mind the distinction between the medium as creative product and the medium as material and receptional object. Another significant observation is that epitext can become peritext, for example, when a review appears on the cover of a book. The plurality of paratexts and their embedding in context is important to keep in mind.

Paratexte gibt es nur im Plural. Kein einzelner Paratext wäre in der Lage, die Aufgaben zu erledigen, die Genette den Paratexten zugewiesen hat. Sie wirken auch nur im Kontext von Diskursen und Dispositiven, die dem ‘Werk’ materielle und psychologische Rahmen verleihen. (Böhnke 2009: 90f.)<sup>13</sup>

Paratexts develop mostly with intention and parallel to the text. Both producers, owners, and distributors may have a say in the creation of the paratexts to accomplish goals that are often connected to both information and education of the public and to large viewing figures and financial success. “Much of the business of media, in both economic and hermeneutic terms, then, is conducted before watching, when hopes, expectations, worries, concerns, and desires coalesce to offer us images and scripts of what a text might be.” (Gray 2010: 24f.) The intention might be to channel the reception of the medium into the wanted direction and to reach a standardisation to fit the public media discourse (Genette 1997: 4). A whole complex of paratexts can be planned in connection to a medium in terms of its distribution and reception. It can have interpretative, commercial,

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<sup>12</sup> “The choice of dramatising patterns determines the development of collective memory and vice versa, the presented history is dictated by dominant memory.” (Saryusz-Wolska 2009: 66), my translation.

<sup>13</sup> “Paratexts only exist in plural. No single paratext would be able to handle the tasks that Genette allocated to paratexts. They only work in the context of discourses and dispositives that give material and psychological frames to the ‘oeuvre’.” (Böhnke 2009: 90f.), my translation.

and navigational functions (Birke and Christ 2013: 67f.). Caldwell even talks of a screenplay as a “business plan” and “story economy” related to the phases of pre-production and production, and of distribution and performance (2008: 232f.). Here is where the connection to the filters of the *propaganda model* is most significant, regarding the political economy of the medium that cannot only predispose formal appearance but also material and digital distribution and reception. Broadcasting time is used most effectively to serve the purpose to attract and to hold audiences. That is why paratexts that are close to the documentary, such as opening sequence, title introduction, and credits in the end, need to work without much effort for the audiences and need to mediate the message of the medium in an uncomplicated way. Audiences are no longer given an introduction by a moderator or a summary at the end of a television program. “Für die kollektive Gedächtnisarbeits ist der mediale Wandel von kommentierten zu unkommentierten Fernsehsendungen von großem Belang.” (Saryusz-Wolska 2009: 63)<sup>14</sup> Audiences have greater freedom to interpret visual media content, to rewatch, or to supplement it with extra material from the internet. This independence might give audiences greater agency to establish individual memory potentials connected to media with historical topics and a dominant narrative.

Paratexts have been addressed in connection to many different fields in addition to literature.<sup>15</sup> Paratexts in documentary have been the object of research earlier (amongst others Skare 2010; 2012). Paratexts and museums have rather been described by research focused, for example, on the physical appearance of a museum (Schall 2014), additional material provided by the museum, be it either physical or digital, and the textual presentation of museal objects within exhibitions (Christensen 2011). Museum and its authority (Ashley 2005) can also be looked at as something that is established by paratextual elements. I establish and discuss a more detailed connection between paratexts and museum exhibitions in this chapter.

The facets of paratexts in documentaries and museum exhibitions can contribute to a deeper understanding of how these media have a potential influence on what audiences might remember and, moreover, not only how, but also why they might do so. Erll’s

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<sup>14</sup> “For the work of commemoration, the change in media from commented to un-commented TV programmes is crucial.” (Saryusz-Wolska 2009: 63), my translation.

<sup>15</sup> Motion picture seems to be the genre where paratexts are explored most extensively (cf. Kreimeier and Stanitzek 2004; Böhnke 2009; Gwóźdź 2009; Gray 2010; Pötzsch 2012) as well as digital paratexts and DVDs’ digital structure and extra material (cf. Lunenfeld 2000; Krautkrämer 2009; Gray 2010; Skare 2010; Birke and Christ 2013; Desrochers and Apollon 2014; Pesce and Noto 2016). The relation between paratexts and translation are upcoming niches (Pellatt 2013). Paratexts and digital games are an emerging field of research (Consalvo 2007). The importance of paratexts for library and information science receives attention (cf. Andersen 2002; Paling 2002; Skare 2020). Furthermore, paratexts of newspapers (Frandsen 1991), of scholarly archives (Dalgaard 2001), and within pedagogy and reading studies (Apperley and Beavis 2011; Mangen and Kuiken 2014) are examined.

intra-, inter-, and pluri-medial levels of media analysis (Erll 2008b) can be interpreted as part of paratexts and also vice versa. Paratexts can create and supplement accepted modes of rhetoric, refer to familiar presentation patterns. Paratexts, in form of epitexts, are certainly about the reception of a medium, say its pluri-medial network. Comparing functions of pluri-medial networks and paratexts, the paratexts rather seem to prepare audiences for what to expect, whereas pluri-medial networks might refer to an 'is'-situation of how a medium is received and negotiated in other media. The filters of the *propaganda model* (Herman and Chomsky 2002) clearly address some of the established aspects counted as paratexts. The production background in filter one, the funding in filter two, the authentication of the content by experts in filter three, the protection against possible counter narratives in filter four, and the material presentation of the medium with a certain message in filter five, are all present. Gray confirms this, saying that "we need 'off-screen studies' to make sense of the wealth of other entities that saturate the media, and that construct film and television" (2010: 4).

Erll's media analytical levels, this reciprocal and supplementing relationship of paratexts, and the filters of the *propaganda model* combine to make an efficient tool that addresses production, distribution, and potential reception processes. I explore and highlight the connection between paratexts and propaganda after the presentation and analysis of the selected media for a more extensive understanding of how media can be used to create dominant memory potentials about past events.

Gray states that paratexts and authoritative functions can be closely connected.

[...I]n preparing us for the text and offering us our first encounters with it, entryway paratexts hold considerable power to direct our initial interpretations, telling us what to expect and establishing genre, gender, style, attitude, and characterization. Working in medias res, paratexts also attempt to police proper interpretations, insisting on how they would like us to read the text. (2010: 79)

The investigation of paratexts of documentaries and museum exhibitions might give insights if there is potential for a certain control through paratexts by the producers of the media and a "closedown of the system" which facilitates control of a discourse through the (media) product (Krautkrämer 2009: 144).

Furthermore, design and effect of paratexts can be strongly interconnected with the generation of audiences that it is supposed to address. Trends in media design, regarding covers, posters, and advertisements in general, are intended to appeal to the current generation. That is why the composition of advertisements for media might often be reminiscent of Hollywood style and motion pictures (cf. Genette 1997: 3).

The hypothesis from this introduction to paratexts is that each generation has its own expectations of media representations, which often are formed, channelled, and negotiated through paratexts. Iconic, material, and factual features of paratexts may create expectations that can be filtered by the political economy of media and they might take shape on intra-, inter-, and pluri-medial levels to develop memory potentials of media. The extent of potential effects of paratexts of the selected media will be my focus in this chapter. When published, this thesis will also become a part of the paratexts of the media and their pluri-medial networks. The reader will notice that the selection of focal points in this chapter is a mixture of Genettian paratexts, elements inspired by the *propaganda model*, and aspects that arose independently while approaching the material. 2.1.1 *Mediators and Ownership* has its roots in the first and second filters of the *propaganda model*, ownership and financing, and points to the fact that ownership is clearly present in iconic, material, and factual aspects of the paratexts of the media. 2.1.2 *Accessibility in Approaching the Medium* reflects upon the first encounter with the media through websites and advertisements, and through the actual way to the museum exhibition. Such epitextual elements mirror again ownership and sponsorship, yet in a way remote to the actual text, the documentary or museum exhibition. 2.1.3 *Presentation of Frames* responds to the traditional peritexts such as covers and the presentation of the objects while also pointing to the visibility of the fifth filter of the *propaganda model*, that of anti-ism. 2.1.4 *The Beginning and the End* addresses opening and ending sequences as well as the entrance experience in the museum exhibitions. Broadly interpreted, the moods conveyed in these parts of the media give hints on anti-ism and even flak, the fifth and fourth filters, respectively. In 2.1.5 *Reception Starting at the Origin*, I deal with the question of reception by briefly examining channels in which audiences can mediate their reception and the visions of the selected museums. Thereby, I can deduce potential intended audiences. The final section, 2.1.6 *Paratexts and Propaganda*, is an attempt to show in which way paratexts can have directed goals and how these might influence memory potentials on historical events. A definition of the term *propaganda* may help to gain distance to the strongly negatively connoted meaning connected to framed dictatorships and ultimate evil antagonists in history: “1. Information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view. -> the dissemination of such information.” (OED 2004) Observing everyday media, one can see that systematic dissemination of information *often is* biased and that it serves a certain purpose; to inform the public that something is dangerous, that a political development is good or bad, or that certain measures are in need of urgent execution. The direction of the bias and the way in which the bias of the message is performed is strongly dependent on national and cultural traditions, on what is accepted as appropriate.

This is not only restricted to political topics and agendas but can also be found in the all-encompassing matters of advertising. Nichols makes the connection to documentary and states that

[p]ropaganda, like advertising, also relies on our belief in a bond between what we see and the way the world is, or how we might act within it. So do many documentaries when they set out to persuade us to adopt a given perspective or point of view about the world. (2001: xiv)

In the 1930s, film producers discovered that documentary had potential as propaganda not only for antidemocratic messages but also for democracies. Sørenssen described the genre development with reference to Grierson's "creative treatment of actuality" (1933: 8) and Rotha as a "ny type film som kan bruke underholdingsfilmens fascinasjonsformer til å stimulere den offentlige debatten" (Sørenssen 2001: 157)<sup>16</sup> but also to be a potential ideological weapon (Sørenssen 2001: 151).

From the same argument as Halbwachs, soon one hundred years earlier, I refer to the social and often economic processes that happen before, during, and after the release of a multi-medial document. The document, be it documentary or museum exhibition, represents potential cultural memory that, by nurture and repetition, can only enter a socially conducted memory discourse if it is negotiated, distributed, and received by audiences.

### 2.1.1 Mediators and Ownership

The issue of who produces, owns, and distributes a documentary or a museum exhibition explicitly determines the appearance of the medium to the public. Whereas Genette considered author and publisher the most important creators of the paratexts of a medium (Genette 1997), research shows that many other people can contribute to the creation of such (Skare 2020). Most paratextual frame is carefully planned before, during, and after the medium is produced and released. The production context and the paratextual, iconic, material, and factual appearance of documentaries and museum exhibitions influence each other reciprocally, and affect and involve each other on several levels. Paratexts create expectations that need to be satisfied by the appearance and content of the medium. This creative production process, often based on audience analyses, is mostly in the hands of the mediators of the media.

The British documentary *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* was produced by Tigress Productions and directed by James Quinn. In 2005, sixty years after the end of World

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<sup>16</sup> "new type of film that can use motion pictures' characteristics of fascination to stimulate public debate" (Sørenssen 2001: 157), my translation.



War II, Five, The History Channel, Channel 4 International and NDR (Norddeutscher Rundfunk [Northern German Broadcasting]) released the documentary, which dealt with the story of the *Tirpitz*. Channel 4 is largely commercially self-funded but it is publicly owned (Catterall 2013). The History Channel works commercially and is owned by A&E Networks (Taves 2001). NDR is a public and regional German channel (NDR Staatsvertrag 1991). Tigress Productions has made a large number of documentary films (Tigress Productions 2020). Piers Gibbon, who is an award-winning television programme narrator, narrates the documentary (Gibbon 2020). The director of the documentary, James Quinn, is known for various television documentaries for British channels, and is active as lecturer, author, and creative director (Williams 2016).<sup>17</sup> The director, the producing company, and the distributing channels are well known in the genre, and may also be familiar to interested audiences. Their names give the documentary a certain authority and raise expectations of the quality and content of the medium. Interested audiences might recognise the names connected to the documentary and refer to earlier productions from the same genre. In a wider sense, this recognition responds to a possible referential authenticating strategy (Jones 2012) that contributes to the authentic presentation of the medium. Audience acceptance for the presented content and the creation of memory potentials may be one result.

The German documentary *Tirpitz—Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* is a version of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* from 2005. The German editing was done by Jürgen Brühns and Volker Zielke. Brühns has made at least four film productions on German historical topics (IMDb 2020). Zielke has worked as an editor for television documentaries. The narrator is Frank Glaubrecht, who is the dubbing voice artist for actors such as Kevin Costner and Al Pacino. Besides the dubbing of motion pictures, he also is a narrator of radio dramas, digital games, and other documentaries (Agentur Stimmgerecht oHG 2020). *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* was broadcasted on German channels such as Phoenix, NDR, and ARD. All of these channels are public and have a mission to inform on a free democratic base (Phoenix 2020; ARD 2019). So, the goals to inform, to educate, and to reach considerable viewing numbers for their channel merge. Their status raises expectations of trustworthy coverage and gives their programmes a certain authority. This authority satisfies the fourth filter of the *propaganda model*, flak, meaning that narratives counter to the narrative of the channel have difficulty coming out on top.

Roald E. Hansen produced *Tirpitz—Det siste slaget* from 2004 to 2006. The film had its premiere in 2007. The name of the production company is Byrå 13 and it is owned by Hansen. Hansen worked as an independent film director and journalist, amongst other jobs, for NRK (Norsk rikskringkasting [Norwegian state broadcasting]). He has been involved in fourteen film productions, of which he has directed eight. Seven of

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<sup>17</sup> Parts of this text have been published in Bockwoldt (2019).

them have been shown or even bought by NRK (information provided by Hansen). Both address and phone number of Byrå 13 are the private ones of Hansen. This information shows that the company is a small and local one that is mainly run by one person. The status of NRK, where the documentary was broadcast, as a state-owned channel with a serious reputation gives the documentary and the company Byrå 13 legitimisation to appear as trustworthy mediators of historical facts. In the Northern Norwegian film context and in connection to broadcasting at NRK, Hansen seems to be a familiar figure when it comes to documentaries. The effect of recognition may function as a referential authenticating strategy, as it does in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. The local anchoring of the production company and the producer himself fit the local focus of the *Tirpitz* documentary. Norway and Tromsø seem to have a special position in the mediation of the story of the battleship.

The production and ownership context is of importance for museums as well. The museums that are part of this analysis belong to several categories of production and ownership. The Royal Air Force Museum is a non-departmental part of the British Ministry of Defence and is registered as a charity. It is supported by a variety of companies and groups (RAF Museum 2020b). Both the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden and the Deutsches Marinemuseum are funded by friends' associations but have a clear connection to the German military and Navy (MHM 2019, Deutsches Marinemuseum 2020a). Other smaller museums such as the Lincolnshire Aviation Heritage Centre in Spilsby are family-founded and financed by donations and visitors' entrance payments (Lincs Centre 2020). The Internationales Maritimes Museum in Hamburg is a foundation with a focus on the preservation of international shipping and naval history in Hamburg (IMM 2020). Again, some of the museums have a clear connection to the military sector or military historical organisations (RAF Museum, History Room at the RAF Station Lossiemouth, Lincs Centre, Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr Dresden, Deutsches Marinemuseum Wilhelmshaven, Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum).

The ownership and sponsorship of potentially memory-making media such as documentaries and museum exhibitions has considerable influence on what these media present and how they do it.

This means that even in the case of this museum [Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr], which favours a critical approach aimed at displaying dissent and conflicting positions, political, diplomatic and corporate considerations act as considerable constraints. (Cento Bull et al. 2019: 618)

Both local volunteer-run museums and large, state-funded, professional museums have their advantages and disadvantages. Ownership and leadership by a military organisation can limit freedom on presentable narratives. The funding of small museums sets

restrictions on feasible exhibitions. However, museums with a large budget might be bound by their supporters according to the intended mission.

A large and professionally curated museum might mediate authority on the topics that it presents, while a small ‘on-the-spot’ museum has the advantage of authentic space on its side. There is an interplay of authority as well as authenticity when it comes to creating trustworthiness for the addressed museums. Both large professional and small lay museums can create different types of trustworthiness on their presented topic. Referential as well as affective authenticating strategies are expressed in the frames of these museums, referring to accepted and authoritative museum genres such as state and/or historical museums that show an accepted collective representation of the past. When a museum is situated where the reported historical event has occurred and visitors can wander on historical ground, emotionally engaged with the presented event, affective authenticating strategies can also be found.

These power dynamics between the owner of the medium and the medium itself create expectations and dependency, and channel the mediated stories to what is accepted. The production background holds crucial influence over the form and content of media. The fulfilment of expectations created by the paratextual frame regarding ownership of documentaries and museum exhibitions might contribute to shaping memory potentials about the presented events of the past. Within memory studies, power dynamics have already been established as analytical focal points (Molden 2016: 128). Producers and owners of media have the power to tell and to mediate presentations of the past. What kind of strategies are they using to tell these stories about the past, and how are they creating potentially authentic experiences for audiences? This analysis is an attempt to find out.

### **2.1.2 Accessibility in Approaching the Medium**

In the modern day, the accessibility of media has much to do with their availability via platforms on the internet. Search engines adjust the outputs of search tasks to the users and their search history. Two persons with different search histories on their devices can get different results for the same query. Topical, geographical, or institutional preferences in the search history might increase the output following these patterns. Additionally, medium-specific appearances of the paratexts might have an influence on what media the user selects from the search result. A full title, the length, and the provider of the medium can make one medium appear more complete or more trustworthy than another one. “They [search engines] contextualise the work like a bookstore [...] but they also ‘sell’ the work as a publisher would, depending on which hits we encounter, obviously” (Dijk 2014: 27). ‘Clicks’, the frequency of how often the link of a medium has

been clicked on and opened, might promote the medium to a more visible position in the search results. Still, clicks do not say anything about how the user interacted with the medium, for example, if the viewer watched the whole movie.

When the desired medium is found, the motivational background of the user can have a different extent. An online offer that is free can easily be made use of, without any commitment to use it in its full length (resulting in more clicks). An offer with costs might instead claim a larger commitment to use the medium and to benefit from it in some way. Accessing a documentary on an internet platform or surfing on the website of a museum call for a different motivation than purchasing the DVD, or the legal right to watch it online, or traveling to a place to visit a physical museum. The paratexts of documentary and museum exhibition can therefore provide thresholds of accessibility (Paling 2002).

The generation of the viewers may also play a role regarding the accessibility of a medium. Karl Mannheimer asks if generations can be defined by their shared experiences that were forged during their shared period (A. Assmann 2007: 33). War, social, and cultural change, and scientific progress might have a connecting influence on social groups. At the same time, experiencing media could also interconnect within a generation. Cinematographically speaking, whether a group grew up with watching *All Quiet on the Western Front* (Milestone 1930), *Apocalypse Now* (Coppola 1979), or *Black Hawk Down* (Scott 2001) might give them a common frame of reference regarding the presentation of these historical events and their memory potentials. The distance in time to a certain event may also serve as a base for collectivisation of a group, such as the wish of the generation who were young adults in Germany in the 1960s to work off the question of their families' guilt during World War II (A. Assmann 2007: 43f). Through distance in time to historically difficult events, the possibilities for mediated representations about the difficult heritage may become more open and might develop a shape and appearance of their own. The reworking of the position of Northern Norway during World War II in the late 2010s is another example of time distance that made new questions and discussions on the topic possible (T. Kristiansen 2020).

Both owner and funding have influence on how accessible a medium is, on the effort to watch or to visit it, and on the costs to buy or enter the medium. The message about its accessibility creates a first impression of the medium and might give an idea of the intentions of the producers and distributors, their power, or their failure in copyright protection.

The documentary *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* is not only available on DVD, but also on the platform YouTube (2019). A hoster called Margy Adelle uploaded the documentary on 3 August 2015, which was later deleted and re-uploaded by a user called Red Baron on 22 November 2016 (Red Baron 2016). The legality of these uploads is questionable. Another version is online at [dailymotion.com](http://dailymotion.com) and is fourteen minutes shorter

than the one on YouTube (Dailymotion 2020). YouTube offers the opportunity of participation to its active and passive users. Media are made accessible by private persons without any copyrights of the presented media (Garde-Hansen 2011). Commentary sections under the watching area are available for discussions, utterances, and questions. A short note on these sections can be found in chapter 2.1.5.

*Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* is not available online on the websites of the channels and co-operators, but it is also available on YouTube in lengths varying from forty-three minutes to fifty-seven minutes (Dokus4Life 2016; GanjAA 666 2015). A copy can be purchased via NDR. This procedure does not invite active engagement with the documentary; one rather needs to be motivated to buy the documentary. Both *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* seem to be produced mainly for distribution on linear television and are not available as clearly legal uploads on streaming platforms; however, *Det siste slaget* is.

The documentary *Det siste slaget* was available online on the website of NRK and was taken offline 30 October 2017. The website informs that the documentary was broadcast on NRK2 between 10 November 2014 and 8 April 2017, although it does not say how often. The composition of the program of television productions before and after the broadcasting of the documentary might hold interested audiences and give the documentary an additional paratextual frame. The broadcasting date on NRK2 correlates with the seventieth anniversary of the sinking of the *Tirpitz* on 12 November 1944. The online accessibility on NRK's websites was renewed in connection to the seventy-fifth anniversary of the sinking and seems to provide the link for seven more years, until 2026 (NRK 2020). NRK provides additional links to a chronological list of the events of World War II and a link to further documentaries about the topic. Additionally, it is possible to share the website with the documentary directly on social media. NRK does not sell copies of the documentary, but forwards requests to the production company Byrå 13. The producer and director of the documentary sells copies on request. The company does not have an official website but only single entries on telephone listing websites. One needs to call the producer himself in order to obtain a physical copy of *Det siste slaget*.

When examining museums and their exhibitions, spaces and buildings are important factors. Sites cannot release biographical and cultural memory. They can only support and stimulate memory processes in connection to other memory media (A. Assmann 1999: 21). Other media are often expressed in digital space, such as websites. The professional museums in the selection for this study have developed websites where one can easily find information about the museum, its exhibitions, and its policies. These are also relatively well connected to the local tourism network, are advertised, and they can be found and reached without great effort. For the RAF Museum in London, there are advertisements when approaching the closest subway station, and the Deutsches

Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven is situated along the esplanade on the shore where the historical ships of the museum in the harbour are shown to their advantage.

Visitors have limited access to the Lossiemouth Royal Air Force Station. Either they seem to be in the group of people who already have access to the area, or they are especially interested visitors who undergo a considerable effort to enter the area. First, one must know that there *is* a History Room in the military area, since the website does not advertise it. To get into the military area, one must apply for the permission to enter. The threshold to visit the History Room's account of the *Tirpitz* and the pilots who bombed the ship is therefore difficult to overcome.

Smaller museums, such as the Norwegian examples in Tromsø and Alta, are listed on the local tourism website and have their own websites, but the locations of the museums are off the beaten path. The Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum is situated in an old bunker that suits the topic, but visitors hardly pass by without intending to. The museum is in a residential area about a ten-minute drive outside of Tromsø city centre. A local bus route stops at the location. The Tirpitz Museum is situated in Kåfjord, a village about seventeen kilometres south-west of Alta. One needs to have a car or take the regional bus to reach the museum, which lies on the shore of the Kåfjord, where the *Tirpitz* was stationed in 1943 and 1944. The museum is situated about twenty minutes by car outside Alta. Approaching the area, signs on the E6 motorway that crosses Norway from the south to the north direct drivers to the museum in Kåfjord.

The location of the museums is important, especially for the local museums in Norway. Due to their relative inaccessibility, they seem to remain insiders' tips for informed and motivated visitors with an interest in military or naval history, or a special connection to the story of the *Tirpitz*. The access to these potentially memory-making media leads the way to their professional and lay distribution and their passive and active reception. By channelling the ways to access the documentaries and museum exhibitions, mediators can contribute to the status of the media in memory culture about World War II.

### 2.1.3 Presentation of Frames

Addressing the presentation of documentary and museum exhibition in genre, title, cover, and museal presentation, filters four and five—flak and anti-ism—from Herman and Chomsky's *propaganda model* become relevant (Herman and Chomsky 2002). These filters deal with strategies to discredit critical voices against the respective medium and with the presentation of something evil that needs to be engaged with. The following observations will show if and how the mere framing of the genre and the title of a documentary, and how the museal presentation of the topic *Tirpitz*, may satisfy these two

filters. Moreover, they will show how intra- and inter-medial levels of these media contribute to producing an antagonistic mode of rhetoric of collective memory (Erll 2008b) that may create a potentially hostile mood or bias in audiences.

As the webpage of Tigress Productions shows, *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* was produced under a different name, *Sink the Tirpitz!*, while the introductory sequence of the documentary shows *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Tigress Productions 2020). This may indicate that the documentary was re-edited for different broadcasting purposes. In contrast to *Sink the Tirpitz!*, *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* mediates the topic and timeframe in which the documentary is set more easily. While *Tirpitz* is not necessarily known to every audience interested in World War II, the name *Hitler* certainly is. "A title, as everyone knows, is the 'name' of a book, and as such it serves to name the book, that is, to designate it as precisely as possible and without too much risk of confusion." (Genette 1997: 79) The title delivers a lot of the narrative already; a *battle*, a fight, a hunt, *for*, meaning against the grammatical object *Hitler's Supership*. Having the parties during World War II in mind, audiences reading the title can assume that the documentary concerns the Allies fighting against Nazi Germany in a naval context. The title is both specific and vague, potentially attracting both audiences interested in World War II in general and in naval issues in particular. By choosing this title, the mediators might have broadened their impact on intended audiences and enhanced their status within media competition for their respective channels. Alternative titles for the documentary appear on the website of the British Film Institute: *The Battle for Hitler's Supership: Revealed*, *Tirpitz: The Hunt for Hitler's Super Weapon*, and *The Hunt for Hitler's Super Weapon*. Interestingly, the title given by the producer's website does not appear on the website of the British Film Institute (2020).

The DVD version of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* alias *Sink the Tirpitz!* can be purchased on Amazon. The presentation of the documentary differs, not only regarding the title. The webpage of Tigress Productions shows the documentary's final image (see Appendix Figure 50) in which the eight veterans of the *Tirpitz* are gathered for a group photograph and two of them are smiling. The picture mediates a rather friendly atmosphere compared to the DVD cover of *Sink the Tirpitz!*, which can also be found on Amazon (see Appendix Figure 51). The title takes a third of the cover and the "S", the "the", and the "T" are written in an old, archaic font. A picture of the battleship *Tirpitz* takes up more than half of the cover and the ship directs its bow towards the camera. The cover is in black and white, besides a slight sepia filter over the colours and the red-brown smoke of the ship's canons. About a dozen small planes are flying over the battleship. The combination of smoking canons and flying planes tells the observer that this battleship is in action. The subtitle on the cover supports this message with "The true, gripping story of the fight to destroy Nazi Germany's greatest battleship". The genre is

also posted on the cover with the line “The Major Television Documentary”. Here, “major” can be read as a superlative synonymous to “greatest” (OED 2019), a strategy that is in line with the language of the whole documentary, which will be addressed in chapter 2.6 *Text*.

No people are shown on this cover, only machines are fighting against each other. This can be seen as the main difference between the presentation on the webpage of Tigress Productions, where the German veterans are presented as a group of old men, compared to the presentation of both fire and air power on the DVD cover. The men on the picture and their age show the spectator that time has passed between the historical event and the recording of the documentary. The photograph shows a generation that experienced World War II and creates a connection between them and the audiences of the 2000s. The message of the presentation on the webpage is rather empathic and reflective, in contrast to a hostile and antagonistic one on the DVD cover.

*Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, on the other hand, has no website, but the DVD can be purchased via web services such as Amazon. The documentary is part of a series of which three parts are on one DVD. The DVD starts with *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, followed by *Wir sind jämmerlich abgedrossen—Die Vernichtung der Scharnhorst* and *Siegen oder Untergehen—Die letzten Tage der Graf Spee*<sup>18</sup>. The collection seems to belong to the format of ARD Videos, which is written in the right lower corner (see Appendix Figure 52 for the cover) (Amazon 2020). The cover shows three different photographs of ships at sea, one of a ship in a dry dock, and one of a soldier perhaps reading something or looking at a map. All the photographs are in black and white and rather vague. In the centre of the cover, the three titles of the documentaries are listed in white on black. Reminiscent of a book jacket, a decorative string apparently holds the jewel case of the DVD together, giving the DVD a noble and nostalgic look.

The most obvious function of the jacket is to attract attention, using means even more dramatic than those a cover can or should be permitted: a garish illustration, a reminder of a film or television adaptation, or simply a graphic presentation more flattering or more personalized than the cover standards of a series allow. (Genette 1997: 28)

The title of the documentary *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* makes the audience aware of the precariousness that Hitler and Nazi Germany were in; it is his *last* battleship. The audience understands that the story of the documentary will deal with a fierce fight for Hitler’s last battleship and that the route to the end of World War II seems to be laid out

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<sup>18</sup> *We Drowned Miserably—The Destruction of the Scharnhorst* and *Win or Perish—The Last Days of the Graf Spee*, my translation of the titles.





Figure 3: Corner in the cafeteria of Lincs Centre with showcase and piece of *Tirpitz* teak. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017.



Figure 4: Part of the History Room at Lossiemouth Air Force Station. Photograph taken by John Le Huquet, 2017.

in advance. The relevance and the suspense of the topic is clarified for the audiences and the title paratextually prepares the way for the expectations of the audience.

The jewel case of the DVD *Tirpitz—Det siste slaget* is designed in black on beige (see Figure 54). A photograph of the *Tirpitz* lying in Kåfjord is on the front and two photographs with Heinrich Ehrler in his cockpit and with Walter Schuck are on the back, together with informational texts about the content of the documentary and about some production information. The information about the photographs used on the jewel case is given on the back, as well as the information that Fagtrykk Ide in Tromsø produced the cover.

The presentation of these documentaries on their covers mediates genre conventions that create expectations: war, planes, battle, but also people who experienced this historical event. The cover of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and the presentation of the documentary on Tigress Productions' website create different impressions, one antagonistic and the other experiential. The cover of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* plays less with dramatic demonstrations but shows ships at sea, which may attract ship enthusiasts as well as World War II lay experts. These covers refer to familiar genre patterns and create affective expectations when the connection between the past and the present is presented by aged eyewitnesses to the historical event.

The presentation of museal objects from and about *Tirpitz* is also part of the paratextual frame that creates expectations and channels the impression that audiences are potentially given. More about the objects themselves is written in chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*. In this section, the focus lies on the bare presentation of the museums and the objects in the exhibitions.

A painted bulkhead from the *Tirpitz* is exhibited at the RAF Museum in London. In 2017, it was situated in the large hangar where a new exhibition was partly under construction. The bulkhead was behind some fences that were securing the construction site.

The Lincolnshire Aviation Heritage Centre shows a small piece of teak from the *Tirpitz* in a showcase that stands in the centre's cafeteria (Figure 3). In the showcase, several objects were exhibited that had no connection to each other except their relation to the Royal Air Force. The piece of teak from the *Tirpitz* was not given much attention but was rather a part of a conglomeration of artefacts connected to the RAF group. Only the frame of the showcase marks that these objects are part of an exhibition.

Einzig die Vitrinen erlauben es, die Exponate von der Wirklichkeit zu trennen, aber das Ensemble der Vitrinen ist nicht sakralisiert oder 'getrennt'. Die Banalität des Alltagsraumes neigt dazu, auch die Exponate zu erfassen,

die sich mitten in einem Raum befinden, der für andere Funktionen bestimmt ist, und zum Gegenstand eines Blickes im Vorübergehen werden, doch selten eines planvollen Rundganges. (Schall 2014: 178)<sup>19</sup>

In the cafeteria of the Lincs Centre, the showcase is not explicitly separated from the seating area (Figure 3). As Schall points out, this strategy might lead to visitors using the room for its primary purpose, for eating, with the objects in the showcase only receiving minor attention when being passed or when letting one's view wander while seated. Thereby, the objects might not become sacralised, as they might have been in a closed and dedicated exhibition.

The presentation of the History Room at the RAF Station in Lossiemouth remains mysterious and only documented by a photograph taken by a local volunteer (Figure 4). Still, the presentation on the photograph could recall an altar or a small corner for prayer. The photographs and newspaper articles are arranged around the model of the *Tirpitz* in a showcase situated on a cupboard. With some imagination, one might even say the model in the showcase recalls a relic in its shrine: untouchable, but symbolic for the deeds of the RAF and for the power of its enemies.

Looking at the presentation of objects in the German example museums, the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden presented a grenade that might be from the *Tirpitz*, a photograph of a bombardment in Kåfjord on 3 April 1944, and a document on Wound Badge for one of the soldiers (Figure 5). This arrangement is in a showcase presenting the War at Sea in a large area that deals with World War II. An overview text on the left-hand side in the showcase depicts the mission and defeat of the German cruiser war. Three ship models, a badge, and a flag showing a red lobster accompany the exhibition in the showcase. The arrangement of models next to original objects may indicate the presentation as an exhibition and it may highlight the presence of the media in the exhibition as a certain hyper-mediacy (Bolter and Grusin 1999).

The Internationales Maritimes Museum in Hamburg exhibits small parts of the *Tirpitz*, such as a grenade, as part of a large exhibit about the *Tirpitz*' sister ship, the *Bismarck*.

At the Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven, several objects such as small paintings by a former *Tirpitz* seaman and footage of the launch ceremony are exhibited in the part about World War II (see also chapters 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects* and 2.5 *Eyewitnesses*). The exhibition has a clean style; white and blue dominate the design and are intended to give a maritime look to the exhibition (Iglhaut and von Grote

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<sup>19</sup> "Only the showcases allow the separation of the museum objects from reality, but the ensemble of showcases is not sacralised or 'separated'. The banality of the everyday space has a tendency to embrace the museum objects that are in the space, which is meant for other purposes, and that become a reference point when passing by, yet rarely a part of a planned tour." (Schall 2014: 178), my translation.



Figure 5: Showcase about War at Sea at the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017.

2020; Figure 6) A large screen at the beginning of each topical section featuring a timeline introduces the topic to the visitors. On the screen, a collage of mute film of the respective period is shown. Short written text announces each film part, as it does for the scene of the launch of the *Tirpitz*. There is no commentary hint that the *Tirpitz* launched in Wilhelmshaven, where the museum is situated. On the external part of the main exhibition, a thick piece of armour plating and steel torpedo chains are presented.

In the museums in both the United Kingdom and Germany, *Tirpitz* has a small part in the main exhibitions. Single objects represent a part of the large narrative of World War II.

Giving a museum a title with “military” in it already creates an image of the museum for the audiences without even having seen the museum. The title, and with it the genre



Figure 6: Overview over exhibition design at Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven (Iglhaut and von Grote 2020).

of the museum, clearly shape the expectations for intended audiences. The sample of museums described above shows different modes of museal presentation: traditional glass showcases presenting more or less important or original objects (see chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*) on clearly military topics and a modern exhibition design reminiscent of colours and forms of the sea referring to the naval context. Inviting affective engagement with the presented, partly personal objects, exhibitions mix impersonal and personal information, which might give a more nuanced picture of the presented story.

Two Norwegian museums dedicate entire exhibitions to the topic of the *Tirpitz*. Both exhibitions of the Tirpitz Museum in Alta and the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum were designed by laypersons, by people without curatorial training, and were created with the resources at hand. The exhibition at the Tirpitz Museum does not have a chronological or topical order and there seems to be no intended way to pass through the museum. There is one room in the entrance area, a corridor, two rooms to the left and two to the right.

In the vestibule, where the front desk is also located, two large models are prominent. One is a model of the *Bismarck*, the *Tirpitz*' sister ship, the other is of the *Tirpitz*, the largest model of this ship in the world, according to the label, made by a model builder from Tromsø. The text on the label with the superlative may impress visitors and create expectations regarding the museum exhibition. The impression is created that people can expect extraordinary objects here, even “the largest” (see also chapter 2.6 *Text*). The

status of the museum as institution potentially gives this statement authority and truth value.

The corridor shows manifold impressions of the battleship, its crew, and the British soldiers who carried out attacks against it. Photographs with short texts, irregularly in Norwegian, English, German, and Russian, show situations from the launch ceremony of the *Tirpitz* in 1939, above physical exercises of the crew in the Alta river and in the Kåfjord to the last mission against the battleship, *Operation Catechism* on 12 November 1944 (see also chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*). The first room on the left hand side shows a mixture of items and topics that could be categorised as “Life in Norway under the German occupation”. The showcases exhibit Norwegian uniforms, newspaper articles, and photographs of Norwegian soldiers without names. Posters show German propaganda intended to convince the Norwegian population to fight with the Germans against “Bolshevism”. The king of Norway, Haakon VII, is depicted alongside the motto since 1905 and especially during World War II “Alt for Norge”<sup>20</sup>. An SS traveling typewriter and a German marine radio transmitter are exhibited together with a leather jacket and an “MG 15 from Arado seaplane” (according to the label). The exhibition shows a cup, a book, and a brochure entitled “Wie komme ich zur Kriegsmarine”<sup>21</sup>. In the same room, a single, smaller showcase shows certificates from King Haakon honouring Lieutenant Trygve O. Nalki.

The second room on the left-hand side shows various photographs of the *Tirpitz* and of soldiers. One panel on the wall gives an account of the heavy cruiser *Admiral Hipper* in the Kåfjord. In the middle of the room, a large showcase exhibits ship models and historical objects. The rear room on the right-hand side of the corridor houses a large showcase over three walls of the room and shows a mixture of objects. There seems to be no overarching topic in the room, and one sees an ice axe, climbing irons, a pan and a ladle, and field glasses, amongst other objects. A group of clothes hangs together in the showcase. They were found after having spent sixty years in the water protected by a film of oil. Texts tell the visitor whom they belonged to and what happened to the owners of these clothes. Two typewriters stand next to each other. One is fully functional, the other one is rusted (see also chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*). The last room on the right-hand side does not touch on the story of the *Tirpitz* in a direct way. The showcases and boards on the walls seem to tell other stories from World War II that were important for Northern Norway, such as the *Operation Silverfox* and the Murmansk front.

The Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum is split over three locations. A shack was built in the 1950s that houses an exhibition about several different events and topics in Northern

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<sup>20</sup> “Everything for Norway”, my translation.

<sup>21</sup> “How do I enter the German Navy”, my translation.



Figure 7: Arrangement of objects at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017.

Norway connected to World War II. Amongst other stories the visitor can read about the escape of Jan Baalsrud (amongst others Howarth 1955) or about the events around the operation *Scorched Earth* (amongst others Hunt 2014) in the winter of 1944. An outdoor area with canons, bunkers, and equipment shows, two ten-and-a-half-centimetre canons, a searchlight with a range of twenty kilometres, and a thirty-eight-centimetre mine thrower to ward off submarines. Additionally, a former German commando bunker has been restored and furnished with communication and optical equipment. This bunker is only open on request.

The main exhibition about the *Tirpitz* is located in an old bunker built by the Germans in the 1940s and contains a varied mixture of objects and stories consisting of about eight parts. Passing the entrance area, the visitor meets a showcase with different objects related to World War II. A special object in this showcase is an *Enigma* machine, a machine used in World War II to encrypt and decrypt messages (Winkel, Deavors, and Kruh 2005). A copy out of a book in Norwegian, and three pages written in Norwegian, English, and German explain the machine. After this showcase, a grey line on the floor highlights the roughly chronological round trip through the exhibition. Titled posters

mixed with objects in showcases, on tables or on the floor tell the story of the construction of the *Tirpitz* in 1939, its missions, and finally its destruction on 12 November 1944. Partly in Norwegian and partly in English, collages of sea maps, photographs, and text boxes on the walls recount the events.

Objects that are arranged in the middle of the room (Figure 7) supplement and illustrate the structured explanations on the walls. Large objects catch the eye, such as a drop tank from an American Hellcat plane that was found in Finnmark county and was used by the locals as a fuel tank on the island Kvaløya. There is also a green rubber boat that was used by a Norwegian member of the resistance (see also chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*) and a part of the torpedo net protecting the *Tirpitz* from torpedoes.

Between a life jacket and technical equipment, the visitor can find blue ribbons that were used for the memorial event for the sinking of the *Tirpitz* in 1994 in Tromsø. An excerpt from a remarkable collection of letters is presented in the exhibition (see also chapter 2.5 *Eyewitnesses*).

According to Beier de-Haan, history can enhance objects with a frame with which they can express their truth and support the truthfulness of an exhibition (2005: 179). The mere presentation of the objects within the institution of the ‘museum’ ensures the narrative is mediated with trustworthiness and authenticity. Showing a steel torpedo net at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum helps to ‘weave’ the plot for collective memory potentials about the *Tirpitz*.

Both the presentation of a documentary on a website or a DVD cover and the presentation of the concept of exhibition prepare the audiences for what they will soon be consuming: footage and objects (chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*). The presentations make the audiences aware of who owns and funds the cultural productions, and who strengthens the claim of the production to trustworthiness and authenticity. Visual appearances of these media refer to patterns that are familiar, such as the design of a documentary with a historical topic or the topical or chronological order of objects arranged in an exhibition. The references to familiar and accepted patterns help to authenticate these medial expressions and to contribute to the appearance of the media as trustworthy. Using familiar frames for historical topics, the cultural productions may have an easier way into memory processes of audiences and may make easier connections to knowledge that audiences already have.

### 2.1.4 The Beginning and the End

The beginning and end of the consumption of a multi-medial document are important to the audience’s experiences and to what they might remember from their encounter



with the document. Paratexts help to shape and to channel both the start and the afterlife of the media consumption. Looking at opening sequences as a transit from the world of the spectator to the world of the film (Pötzsch 2012), I would like to apply this notion to documentaries and museum exhibitions. In both genres, an opening sequence or an entrance area can prepare audiences and help them to ‘transit’. Furthermore, Bordwell and colleagues state that movies in general are very self-reflexive in their beginning and end. “Yet once present in these opening passages, the narration quickly fades to the background. In the course of the opening scenes, the narration becomes less self-conscious, less omniscient, and more communicative.” (Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson 1985: 26) In the following chapter I show in which way both entries to documentaries and to museum exhibitions prepare the way for audiences to enter the narrative of the medium and whether they do this in a reflective or in a dominant way. Moreover, the final seconds of the documentaries and the afterlife of the exhibitions following the visit are valuable to look at. How do they create the lasting impression of the message for the audiences? What mood is mediated once the medium has been consumed?

Even though the opening scene might not be the first encounter with a documentary after having read about it online or looked at the cover (see chapters 2.1.2 and 2.1.3), the opening sequence may have a strong influence on the first impression of the medium. The opening sequence of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* is one minute and twenty-seven seconds long. The opening scene starts thus: The screen is filled with darkness that lightens to reveal the bow of a ship (Figure 8). The ship is moving away from the viewer and its contours become visible. The ship seems huge from the worm’s-eye perspective of the viewer at ground level and up. Four chords of low-pitched music accompany this image and support its menacing character (see also chapter 2.2 *Sound and Music*).

These seconds already set the tone for the rhetorical mode of collective memory (Erl 2008b) that leads the documentary: black and white, good and evil, big and small—antagonistic. The opening sequence proceeds in the same pattern.<sup>22</sup> Narrator Pierce Gibbon tells us, “This is the story of the fearsome German battleship Winston Churchill called ‘the beast’”. The sentence is followed with a quick series of cuts that show gunshots in the dark, and three gunshots are heard with a slight echo to underline “the beast”. The term “story” has a connotation of a telling, a narration that can be a subjective tale somebody is telling. No timeframe is mentioned. The viewer is expected to class a German battleship and Churchill into a certain period and to know that the story takes place during World War II.

The narrator describes the *Tirpitz* as a “[...] floating fortress capable of overwhelming the British fleet. Manned by the cream of the German Navy [...]” and marks the strength

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<sup>22</sup> The whole text of the opening sequence of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* can be found in chapter 2.6.1.



Figure 8: The camera looks up at the bow of a battleship. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:00:03). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

and competence of the German antagonist. Adolf Hitler and Winston Churchill are introduced in consecutive and contrasting pictures that represent their characteristics, which are key for the documentary's narrative (Figure 9 and Figure 10).

Hitler is presented in uniform and surrounded by officers, walking in formation and towards the light, whereas Churchill appears with crooked body language in civilian clothes and with serious expressions, accompanied by his wife. This juxtaposition shows the main features of the opposing sides: Hitler, who has military-industrial and social power and commands the assumingly invincible battleship *Tirpitz*; and Churchill, the democrat who does not want to bear the burden of war but has to in order to save the free world from Nazism. The image of 'man against machine' transports the intended narrative of the civilian army of the British people who fight the structured and systematic war machinery of the Nazi empire. The juxtaposition and the highlighting of the position of the British as underdog serves to magnify the final victory against the *Tirpitz* and the German Reich. The composition of the two images creates the impression that they might have been shot at the same time, but no information on the date or time is given. However, audiences potentially experience this crosscutting as real and true, based on the selection, the context, and the composition.<sup>23</sup>

In the final ten seconds of the opening sequence, the camera shows frontal close-ups of four old men with whom the viewer is not yet familiar (Figure 11). They represent a constant interchanging between past and present, a break in the chronological order and

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<sup>23</sup> Parts of this text are already published in Bockwoldt (2019).



Figure 9: Hitler inspecting the German Navy. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:00:31). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.



Figure 10: Churchill with his wife Clementine. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:00:34). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

at the same time a connection to the historical event and the everyday life of the audiences. One after another, they look directly into the camera and make eye contact with the viewers. The narrator underlines a heroic character by saying that it needed “men of supreme courage to execute the plan”. This implies that the viewers are seeing the heroes who fought “the beast”, meaning veterans of the Allies.



Figure 11: An eyewitness looking into the camera. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:01:14). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

The eyewitnesses seem to know the secret about the battle against the *Tirpitz* and are about to share it with the viewers. The close-ups and the eye contact create intimacy between the eyewitnesses and the viewer.

Throughout the documentary, the eyewitnesses and experts are always shown together with an insert giving the name and function of the person on screen. This marks their authenticity and authority towards their position in the documentary and in its narrative. The 'experts' are also labelled as such. Although they mainly address American news media, Herman and Chomsky's observation on the authority of experts may be relevant for eyewitnesses and experts in documentaries as well (Herman and Chomsky 2002). The labelling of experts in the medium being consumed might have the effect on the audiences that they accept the people being presented as experts in the field about which they are talking about because they have experienced it. Their personal memory serves as a proof of authenticity for the presented narrative.

The opening sequence of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, (00:00–01:39) is mostly similar to *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. Both open with a scene of the launch of the ship, even though the respective audiences are not yet familiar with it. However, some significant differences give the opening sequence of the German documentary a different character. This opening sequence is thirteen seconds longer and generally has a slower mood and slower cuts, meaning longer camera shots on the same perspective. The topic of the opening sequence stays the same, but the focus is a different one. Narrator Frank Glaubrecht's first sentence gives more information on the mediated topic. He tells the

audience about “die Schlacht um den Atlantik im Zweiten Weltkrieg”<sup>24</sup> (00:08) and describes Churchill as “der britische Premierminister”<sup>25</sup> (00:19). Hitler and Churchill are not presented in a contrasting way, but Churchill is shown individually and smiling, and the narrator says that he declared the destruction of the *Tirpitz* the highest priority of the Royal Navy (00:18). In *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, less ‘shooting’ sounds are used than in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*; instead, other sounds are used more often, for example, a typewriter striking paper (00:23). The sound atmosphere is less aggressive even though the tone of the music is the same at the beginning of the opening sequence. Towards the end, from the dropping of a bomb out of a plane (01:21), the music is calmer, supported by a melancholic piano and high-pitched brass sounds. The opening sequence of the German documentary uses fewer re-enactments than the British one. Eleven re-enactments appear in opening sequence of the German documentary, in contrast to sixteen re-enactments in the British one. In particular, the dramatic re-enactments with chaotic scenes at the bow of the ship are missing from the German version. The story about Barnes Wallace (01:03), the inventor of the Tallboy bomb, is not mentioned in the German documentary.

The major difference could be said to be that the opening sequence of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* shows parts of eyewitness interviews with German and British veterans, while *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* does not. The German eyewitness Hellendoorn mentions that the British called them “die einsame Königin”<sup>26</sup> (00:46) and his colleague Lohse said that the crew considered the ship unsinkable (00:48). The term “the lonely queen” describes some crucial features of the battleship for the narration, both in the British and in the German one (see also chapter 2.6 *Text*). The British veteran Lorimer says that they were stuck with their little submarine between *Scheer*, *Tirpitz*, and *Lützow* (00:54). A German eyewitness remembers they were thinking that they could grow old on the ship and that it would be “bombensicher”<sup>27</sup> (01:01). The last eyewitness in the opening sequence is the British pilot Iveson, who recalls the characteristics of the Tallboy bomb (01:07). The status of the eyewitnesses becomes clear through their language and the content of what they are saying. This is how the viewer learns that they are veterans. The fact that eyewitnesses speak in the opening sequence makes it more personal and gives the whole story the touch of ‘seen through their eyes’ and ‘told in their voices’. On the one hand, this tool gives the narrative authenticity and trustworthiness, while on the other it admits that there might be contradictions, inaccuracies, and embellishments in

<sup>24</sup> “the battle for the Atlantic in World War II” (00:08), my translation.

<sup>25</sup> “the British prime minister” (00:19), my translation.

<sup>26</sup> “the lonely queen” (00:46), my translation.

<sup>27</sup> “bomb-proof” (01:01), my translation.

the stories since they are based on the memories of a few people. The accounts of the eyewitnesses support each other and can provide each other with credibility.

Assmann (2006a, 24) describes how autobiographical memories are both specific to the individual and yet do not exist in isolation. They are ‘networked’ with the memories of others and through these connections they ‘confirm and support one another’, thereby achieving ‘coherence and believability’. (Jones 2017: 145; referring to A. Assmann 2006)

Using experts and eyewitnesses, the third filter of the *propaganda model*, that of sources, is fulfilled, rendering their story legitimate and credible.

Here, the German veteran reported that the British called the *Tirpitz* “lonely queen”, whereas in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* the name “the beast”, assumingly said by Churchill, is highlighted. The term “beast” manifests the monster that needs to be fought, which is also supported by music and quick cuts of battle scenes. In contrast, “lonely queen” has a rather melancholic tone that indicates the power of the ship but also its forlorn and helpless situation in the Arctic Sea. Interestingly, both terms seem to stem from British side, as the German eyewitness recalls above. However, the respective German and British production teams behind each documentary chose to focus on different terms. This observation might underline the different focuses in the narration: “beast” versus “lonely queen” and hero narration versus anti-war presentation (see also chapter 2.6 *Text*). The final seconds of the opening sequence of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* are completely different than those of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*. Whereas in the British documentary the eyewitnesses look into the camera one after another and the final image is of the *Tirpitz* covered in camouflage smoke, the last thirteen seconds of the opening sequence of the German documentary are under water (01:26–01:39). A submarine filmed from below is seen and the camera seems to be sinking deeper into the water. The title *Die Tirpitz* and then *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* appear consecutively in white straight letters on the blue background. The music has a dark, low-pitched undertone, a *basso ostinato*, on which soft piano sounds and a melancholic brass tone can be heard.

The opening sequences of the German and the British documentary are similar because they originate from the same production process. In contrast, the Norwegian documentary follows a different approach, which can already be observed in the opening sequence. The opening sequence of the Norwegian documentary *Det siste slaget* offers a rather minimalistic start to the film. Within twenty-two seconds, audiences dive slowly through the milky green water to the bottom of the sea. Objects are lying on the ocean floor, covered in sand and plants, which are growing on them. A deep and non-intrusive sound accompanies the underwater experience; it feels like the sound that you have in your ears when you are under water. After eight seconds, the narrator Nils Johnson starts

to speak with a calm and unaffected voice with a Northern Norwegian accent: “På sjøbunnen ved Tromsø ligger rester av verdens en gang mest avanserte krigsskip: Tirpitz.”<sup>28</sup> Sixteen seconds after the film has started, the title *Tirpitz—Det siste slaget* appears on the screen in large, white, clear letters. *Det siste slaget* starts with the outcome of the events around the *Tirpitz*, with its sinking in the Sandnessund close to Tromsø and its remains on the bottom of the sea.

The comparison of both opening sequences of the British and the German documentary shows that the focus and drama, conflict, and antagonism is more strongly developed in the British than in the German one. A rather poetic language with illustrating images mediates the narrative of “the beast” and the heroes, stands in contrast to an informative anti-war tale told by eyewitnesses. The Norwegian documentary has a special position, starting the narrative from the end of the story, at a slow pace and in a calm mood.

The narrator’s last sentences of the overall *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* documentary are very distinctive: “Das Drama um die Tirpitz war zu Ende. Das Schlachtschiff wurde versenkt, ohne je ein Gefecht gegen einen Feind geführt zu haben.” (57:00)<sup>29</sup>. The contrast to the last sentence of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* is significant: “Tirpitz, pride of the German Navy, scourge of convoys, was a thing of the past.” (1:08:10) The ending in the German documentary seems to direct the spotlight to the pointlessness of war in general, whereas the British emphasises for the last time the vehement threat that the *Tirpitz* presented (see also chapter 2.6 *Text*).

The last minutes of *Det siste slaget* show archival footage of the capsized ship in Håkøybotn and workers on the hull. The narrator recounts the process of recycling the ship and ends with “Stål og skipsutstyr ble brukt til gjenoppbygging av landet” (51:37)<sup>30</sup>. Calm pans over the wreck and on the painted bulkhead (see also chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*) build the end of the documentary with a view away from the wreck to the hills south-west of the wreck. The music is even-tempered as well and it might recall of the flannelly sound when hearing music under water. The Norwegian narration ends how it started, in Norway and Tromsø, and highlights the meaning of the *Tirpitz* for the local and national population. The story about the *Tirpitz* is an international one that touches upon the histories of Germany and the United Kingdom, but it left both a material and immaterial impression on Norway. This is what the documentary, especially its beginning and its ending, mediate to the viewer.

<sup>28</sup> “On the sea floor close to Tromsø lay the remains of what was once the most sophisticated battleship in the world: Tirpitz” (00:08), my translation.

<sup>29</sup> “The drama about the Tirpitz had ended. The battleship was sunk without ever having fought a combat against an enemy.” (57:00), my translation.

<sup>30</sup> “Its steel and equipment were used to rebuild the country” (51:37), my translation.

A look at the design of the documentaries' credit sections can also be fruitful. The hierarchy in the credits section offers symbolic capital that can be transformed to real capital. The order of the mentioned names is important as well as the font size of the writing (Böhnke 2009: 100). In *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* the credits appear alternately with sections from the documentary's re-enactments and is about fifty seconds long. The names of the producers, contributors, and distributors are shown white on black in an old typewriter style, as is also done with the title in the opening sequence. Each re-enactment section is only about one second long and all are edited with a sepia filter. The recurring sections mediate a feeling of recognition and being knowledgeable about the story that was told in the documentary. The credits are accompanied by a cascading piano melody that is also used in the opening sequence, which I will address in more detail in the next chapter (2.2 *Sound and Music*). In the version of the documentary that is accessible on YouTube (2019), a note appears at the end of the credits in which the producers acknowledge that the final raid against the *Tirpitz* was executed jointly by IX and 617 Squadron.

The credit section in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* is designed differently to the British one. Accompanied with the same music as the British documentary, the names roll over the last image on screen, showing the *Tirpitz* at sea, steaming away from the camera. The credit section is about twenty seconds long and the writing is in white letters on the black and white image. The presentation of the credits in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* leaves a less dramatic and more simplistic last impression. It does not trigger the audiences' affective response with recurring re-enactments, but rather lists the credits in a matter-of-fact style. The credits in *Det siste slaget* are white text rolling up on a black background, accompanied by the same music as the final section of the documentary. It names both museums and archives, funding sources and acknowledgments for the documentary.

In particular, the credit section informs about the contextual conditions, the mediums production and distribution through the filters one to three: ownership, sourcing, and experts. Here, the documentary legitimises its origin and background, its funding, and its professional research and status.

Especially the opening sequences are supposed to set the tone for the documentary and its message. Examining the stylistic devices used in some of the documentaries, a similarity to the motion picture genre and its strategies to mediate a historical topic becomes apparent—what Sturken calls a “Spielberg style’ of history” (2008: 75). Looking at the formal presentation of the opening sequence by analysing image, sound, and speech, the British opening sequence seems to be more poetic while the German one provides more information. The Norwegian starts at the end, under water, and with a strong connection to the place where it was sunk, Tromsø.



When reading about paratexts, one can notice a striking parallel between opening sequences in documentaries and entrance areas in museums. The opening sequence prepares the viewers for the documentary and makes them curious. The entrance area to a museum might have a similar function. The experience of approaching and entering the museum, climbing stairs, meeting staff at an information desk, perceiving the amenities of the place, and browsing a brochure can prepare the visitor for the visit to the museum. The entrance area might even set or prepare for the narrative that the museum is telling. “Die Schwelle ist somit der Raum, der auf den Besuch und den Weggang vorbereitet und den Austausch zwischen den beiden Räumen ermöglicht.” (Schall 2014: 174)<sup>31</sup>

When entering the Royal Air Force Museum in Hendon, a suburb of London, one needs to pass a gate and cross large parking areas. The white buildings, opened in 1972, seem modern, with concrete walls and large windows. The entrance hall is light and spacious. A stairway to the right leads to the second floor where schooling and conference rooms are situated. On the ground floor to the left-hand side is a large and professional welcome desk where tickets and the museum guide brochure are on sale. The most obvious route to begin the tour through the museum is to start at the big hangar, which is connected with the entrance hall. To get there, one must pass some standalone exhibits with texts but no coherent topical collection aside from ‘RAF history’. Additionally, large showcases with the symbols and badges of the RAF squadrons stand in the corridor next to the hangar entrance. The badges of number IX and 617 Squadron, which sank the *Tirpitz*, are shown here.

The entrance area to the Lincolnshire Aviation Heritage Centre is enclosed by a gate and fences that one needs to pass in order to reach the ticket shack. Leaving the ticket sale, the former Royal Air Force station area opens up with a big hangar, several houses with exhibitions such as the radio house and the restored Lancaster plane “Just Jane” standing in front of the hangar.

The experience of entering the History Room at Lossiemouth RAF Station remains restricted to interested people who are successful in gaining access to the military area.

The approach to the building of the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden is an impressive experience. From the main street, Stauffenbergallee, one crosses a park area on Hans-Oster-Straße and approaches the originally symmetrical building first on cobblestone pavement and then on broad stairs (Figure 12).

The original museum building is from 1897, a three-wing complex of the Semper School of the 1870s, housed the Königliche Arsenal-Sammlung (Royal Arsenal Collection). Later the Königlich-Sächsische Armeemuseum (Royal Saxon Army Museum), from 1923/24 the Heeresmuseum, after 1938 the Armeemuseum of the Wehrmacht

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<sup>31</sup> “The threshold is the space that prepares for the visit and the departure and that enables the exchange between these two spaces.” (Schall 2014: 174), my translation.



Figure 12: Approaching the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden (Unterillertaler 2013).

(Saxon Army Museum, after 1938 the Army Museum of the Wehrmacht) and from 1972 the Armeemuseum (Army Museum) of the GDR used the building. In 1990, the museum was named Militärhistorisches Museum Dresden (Military History Museum) and in 1994 included in the Bundeswehr network (Militärhistorisches Museum 1997; in Pieken 2012: 163).

Into this old and traditional building with many stages of controversial history, the American architect Daniel Libeskind placed a wedge that brakes up the standard building forms and exhibition spaces (Figure 12). The rebuilding was completed in 2011. The wedge-shaped new element was supposed to “create a bold interruption, a fundamental dislocation, to penetrate the historic arsenal [...]” (Libeskind 2011; ArchDaily 2011). “The wedge becomes an instrument of force severing the arsenal, a thorn, a symbol of war and pain, the counterpoint of the arsenal that does not accept war, but questions it” (Pieken 2012: 164).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> The architecture by Daniel Libeskind marks a paradigm shift in museum architecture that is utterly represented in the Jewish Museum in Berlin built in 2001. Its very architecture makes conceivable that the exhibited topic is a sore and difficult one (Libeskind 2020).

The tip of the wedge points to Ostragehege in the north-west of Dresden city centre, where Allied bombers marked the territory to be bombed on 13 February 1945 with red lights. From this point, the city was systematically destroyed in the form of a triangle, which the wedge retraces (Pieken 2012: 165; correspondence with MHM September 2017). A thematic course and a chronological tour offer various ways to explore the museum and its topic, which leans away from being a war museum to being a historical museum (Pieken 2012: 164). Besides other topics, the thematic course deals with War and Remembrance. In chapter 2.6 *Text*, I point to a certain discrepancy between the progressive, architectural design of the museum and its exhibitional and textual message on a microlevel.

When entering the ‘broken’ building, visitors find themselves in a modern entrance area. Black, white, and grey are the dominant colours, and the original building from 1897 is hardly recognisable from the inside. From a broad, black desk, the staff sells tickets and gives out free information brochures about the exhibitions in various languages. The museum shop is on the right-hand side, with tall, black shelves as well as the wardrobe area and the restaurant “Zeitlos” (“Timeless”). A large light installation by Charles Sandison with the title *Love and Hate* can be seen from the entrance area (Cento Bull et al. 2019). The projected words “love” and “hate” in pink light fly across a concrete wall, cluster, and move again. The modern installation in the undecorated entrance area emphasises the will to break traditional concepts of historical museums and to approach old topics in a new way (more on form and content at this museum in chapter 2.6 *Text*).

Both the Internationales Maritimes Museum in Hamburg and the Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven are in old but newly renovated buildings. The Internationales Maritimes Museum has a cramped entrance area with a large shop and a small area for the sale of tickets. The entrance area in Wilhelmshaven is rather spacious and open before one enters the old part of the building, where the new and modern permanent exhibition about German naval history has been created.

Information material offered in all of the museums helps to fill holes in the memory of the audiences about the exhibition after the visit. Because “[p]aratext can fill the interpretational gaps that may appear between the watching of two episodes, in a reading break, or after an unfinished museum’s visit” (Gray 2010: 42). The content of an information folder directs the attention of audiences to certain websites, to some individual objects, or single personal stories that are highlighted in the brochure. In doing so, the paratextual material can fill the gaps but also redirect and adjust audiences’ media consumption experiences, and thus provide a dominant reading of the museum exhibition.

The introductory experience to both Norwegian museums in Alta and in Tromsø can say something about the shaping of expectations towards the two museums. In Alta, after two official road signs, handwritten signs on fluorescent orange coloured paper guide the way to the museum. It is at an idyllic location next to a school and a home for



Figure 13: Entrance area at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017.

elderly people. One crosses a bridge from the parking area to the museum. In August, nature is blossoming in the surroundings and grass, flowers, and bushes surround large metal objects lying in front of the museum. No signs give any hint what they are about; the objects are lying there in the grass like a still life.

The museum is a house of dark tree logs and recalls a larger log hut. The sign with the name of the museum, Tirpitz Museum, hangs over the front door and is written in a kind of Fraktur lettering. An additional handwritten sign on fluorescent orange paper marks the museum explicitly. The experience of entering the Tirpitz Museum in Alta is shaped by the accessibility to the building for the audiences that may be of older age. A ramp on the side of the entrance door leads into the museum. On the right-hand side in the small entrance area, walking frames and wheelchairs can be borrowed. Above them, local knitting products are offered for sale and a coffee vending machine stands next to them (Figure 13).

Accompanied by the smell of coffee, dust, wood and a hint of metal, a visitor finds the welcome desk on the left-hand side after the entrance. The desk also serves as a showcase and exhibits both exhibition objects such as a guestbook with the signatures of *Tirpitz*

veterans and their families when a monument outside was raised and purchasable souvenirs.

A volunteer who handles the ticket sales guides the visitor into a small room with a large screen and some rows of chairs. As introduction to the exhibition, the 1973 documentary *Target Tirpitz* (Mirzoeff)<sup>33</sup> is shown, for which several languages can be selected. The showing of thirty minutes of the fifty-minute documentary follows a more recent American and British tradition, mainly at theme parks, where a film introduces an exhibition. The film mediates and conveys pre-knowledge about the *Tirpitz* to the viewers and visitors so that they can locate the objects in the exhibition within the context of the historical event.

In contrast to the Tirpitz Museum in Alta, the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum is not at all accessible for wheelchair users because the entrance area is narrow and the stairs are steep. The experience of entering the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum is different to the museum in Alta. A former ammunition bunker built by German occupiers in the 1940s, it houses a large collection of official documents, local finds from the shore and the water, and personal photographs and souvenirs from and about the *Tirpitz*. The bunker is about thirty square metres in size and is located on a hill between trees and shrubbery. The museum buildings are situated next to a street with very little traffic and some private houses around (Figure 14). From this location, the view is only disturbed by the trees, and otherwise open from the north of the mainland. Through the years after the war, the residential area grew closer to the military bunker, which is now a barely present visual relic of the period of the German occupation. The entrance to the bunker presents a change in the environment: fresh air and natural light versus the atmosphere of a basement in dulled light. There are trees around the bunker, bird sounds can be heard, and a bench in front of the entrance faces the south and the potential warmth of the sun. The vibrating sound of the dehumidification machine may recall a ship engine and activate the imagination of the audiences in accord with the museum exhibition. In summer the temperature is much lower inside the bunker than outside and one can sense the smell of motor oil, metal, and musty walls. These subjective impressions might be unintended by the museum staff or mediators, but nevertheless create an experience that addresses not only the senses of sight and sound, but also of smell and haptics in form of humidity and temperature. The change of space can support the visitor in getting involved in the time and in the topic that is told in the museum exhibition.

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<sup>33</sup> In this documentary, the *Tirpitz* is called “the dragon”. It contains a very detailed description of the X-Craft mission at Kåfjord and is narrated by Godfrey Pace. The inventor of the Tallboy bomb, Barnes Wallis, appears in the documentary. At least two of the interviewees in *Target Tirpitz* also appear in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*, *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, and *Det siste slaget*.



Figure 14: Entrance to the bunker housing the exhibition about the *Tirpitz* at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2016.

Visitors can perceive the space and surroundings of the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum as historically authentic because they fit to potential pre-knowledge and expectations about a bunker area built in the 1940s. The old, slightly weathered, and little prominent appearance of the bunker supports the authentic impression and may reassure the expectations of the audiences. Besides the visual experience, the olfactory and auditive perceptions confirm the entrance into a different, historical space. Headings in collages and posters mark the topics, which are not strictly separated from each other. A variety of objects already surrounds the visitor who is standing in the entrance area. Certificates and photographs are positioned in and around showcases and do not follow a chronological or topical order, but are a conglomeration of memorial relics of the story of the *Tirpitz*.

Both opening sequences of documentaries and entrance areas to museums respond to several filters of the *propaganda model*, are shaped on intra- and inter-medial levels, and are supported by authenticating strategies. The opening sequences use eyewitnesses, 'experts', to tell the overall narrative of the documentaries. They can obviate critical voices

through their sound design and stringent narrative strategy. Moreover, the overall narrative presented in the documentaries puts forward the relevant enemy for the documentary. The opening sequence of the Norwegian documentary does not work with experts or clear antagonism, but rather starts at the end, under water, and does not frame a clear evil that needs to be destroyed. The character seems mystical since there is so little information in the first seconds of *Det siste slaget*. The museal entrance areas are shaped by experts, people who work at the museums, who guide visitors to the exhibitions and help to enter the narrative. The museums do not seem to put their energy into producing evil antagonists, but rather work on an experiential mode of rhetoric of memory, directed to the spatial and material experience of the audiences.

Credits of the documentaries as well as the afterlife experience of exhibitions are coined by the first three filters of the *propaganda model*. Ownership, funding, and experts are presented in the credits of the documentaries and acknowledge the contributions and competence that were used to produce the media. Information material that visitors can take with them has a function both as a commemorative support and an acknowledgment of the contributors, funders, and experts that filled the museum and curated the exhibition.

Both the beginning and end of a media consumption experience can have an impact on the perception of the respective medium and may even change the connotation of an event from the past. “[E]ach invocation of a moment in history can paratextually rewrite the text of the event, since, at the moment of the telling, the ‘text’ is only accessible through the ‘paratext’.” (Gray 2010: 45) Every highlighted object on the way to the museum and every piece of information material has the potential to influence the original ‘text’ that is presented: an event in history.

The beginning and the ending of a multi-medial document can strengthen the narrative and build memory potentials by referential and affective authenticating strategies. Especially regarding the end, documentaries and museum exhibitions show significant differences: The credits of a documentary do not necessarily keep the audience’s attention and they are often faded out when broadcast on television. In contrast, the museum exhibition can have a form of individual ending in which visitors are able to choose how long they want to spend at the exhibition and whether they want to go back and revisit certain sections. Filming and designing patterns might resemble familiar and accepted ones, and invite audiences to engage emotionally with the presented topics, people, and sites.

### 2.1.5 Reception Starting at the Origin

I am encircling the topic of reception by addressing paratexts, some epitexts, of the selected multi-medial documents to discuss expectations that might occur, and by analysing the guidelines of the museums as they are presented on their respective websites, which can give us an idea of the intended audience.

A full reception study including viewer and visitor interviews, analyses of commentary sections on websites and of blogs, and analyses of reviews that have been written or recorded on the documentaries and museum exhibitions would give fascinating insights. Yet, I excluded the reception study from my project in order to be able to focus on the presented aspects as deeply as possible.

Classically, epitext (Genette 1997: 7) and pluri-medial networks (Erll 2008b: 390) would describe similar things: media that appear around the actual medium, before and after its release and channel reception in a certain way, which “lead reception along certain paths, open up and channel public discussion, and thus endow films with their memorial meaning.” (Erll 2008b: 396) However, Geiger’s observations on *Nanook of the North* (Flaherty 1922) may point to the role of audiences in the reception process. “Yet some of the responsibility might also lie with Western viewers who have, over the years, collaborated with filmmakers in the process of constructing a social framework of belief in the authenticity of documentary.” (2013: 135) Adding the filters of the *propaganda model*, several connections become significant. Owners and funding companies may channel the reception of a work by launching it on certain platforms or networks in which both owners and funding companies are already represented. Experts such as historians or researchers who talk about a movie—for example in a review praising the authentic presentation of the topic—strengthen the trustworthy appearance of the movie. The same experts may help to discredit potentially critical voices directed at the movie narrative. They may even accuse critical voices of being the ‘wrong’ experts, with less relevant knowledge and expertise. The last filter, anti-ism, can be found in the products of the reception media: reviews, reports, and newspaper articles often renarrate the story presented by the movie and reproduce the created enemy.

Additionally, the reception of the multi-medial document by others can be important for the own reception. If a person with authority, such as an expert in the historical topic, an award-winning film producer, or a well-known film critic gives their judgement about the document, this might colour the own assessment of the media experience.

Until *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* was deleted to YouTube (YouTube 2019), the commentary field has been frequented by visitors to the platform and viewers of the film. The comments did not follow any formal code, grammar rules, or politeness in uttering an opinion in a public sphere. Most of them seemed to be unreflective and rather spon-



taneous posts about the documentary or parts of it. A rough scan through the commentaries (status on 16 January 2018) tells me that to date the 261 utterances about the documentary vary from “Very nice documentary on Germany’s finest battleships, ‘Tirpitz’” to “It’s unwatchable, spare yourself and thank me later”. The commentators merely review the documentary or start somewhat extensive discussions about information in the documentary, for example, whether it was useful to station the *Tirpitz* in the Norwegian fjords rather than putting the battleship to more active use against the Allied convoys. Some of the commentators seem to have knowledge, or at least seem to believe that they have knowledge, about naval history and World War II. In the commentary field of the upload by Red Baron (Red Baron 2016), a commentator shares that his grandfather was part of the PQ-17 convoy. This opportunity to comment on a documentary is an interesting form of a pluri-medial level of this medium. Even though mainly an already interested group, who is surfing the internet for material on a certain topic, gets in touch with this pluri-medial level of the documentary and might experience the film as a memory-making medium. “The specific form of reception which turns fictions into memory-making fictions is not an individual, but a collective phenomenon. What is needed is a certain kind of context, in which novels and films are prepared and received as memory-shaping media.” (Erll 2008b: 395) The commentary section for *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* on YouTube may serve as such a context for collective reception and negotiation.

*Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* is available on YouTube. It was uploaded by Dokus4Life on 10 October 2016 and clicked 3953 times (status 28 February 2019), but there were only a few comments in the commentary section beneath (Dokus4Life 2016). It seems that viewers, almost 4000 at that time, which is not many compared to other videos on YouTube, had the chance to leave a comment but only few chose to do so. Another upload of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* by a user called GanjAA 666, uploaded on 23 December 2015, has about 557 000 views and 691 comments as of 23 October 2020 (GanjAA 666 2015). Interestingly, some of the commentators share that their relatives had been part of the crew of the *Tirpitz* or stationed in Norway, or had connections to World War II in other ways. What does this say about the audiences for these documentaries? Extensive audience studies might be able to tell to some degree.

A web search (with my individual search history on this work computer) on *Det siste slaget* shows the website of the documentary on NRK, where it has been available to watch again since November 2019, but also a link to a historio-phantasy novel (Haugenbok 2020), a black metal music video (Black Metal Updates 2014), a comic film for children with the same title (Argai Project [Since 2010] 2017), and some newspaper headlines announcing a battle against ISIS in February 2019.

Concerning further participation, topical blogs on the topic of the *Tirpitz* and the followers of the blogs could also be an interesting research object. Examining these blogs

and commentaries, one could also ask if anybody really reads these more or less qualified utterances on a historical topic.

Reception processes regarding the selected museum exhibitions is a broad field. Starting from the filters of the *propaganda model* might help to structure observations regarding museal reception. Museums usually appear in tourism guidebooks and websites, even the small ones, and can be a part of the cultural program for tourists and inhabitants being tourists in their own town. If a museum belongs to a military complex of the respective country, it is part both of the local military community and the cultural landscape of the region. Museums usually formulate a mission, a vision, or a goal for their institution, which mirrors the belonging of the museum to its respective genre. How might this belonging described in the vision of a museum channel reception?

The website of the Royal Air Force Museum in London gives information about the exhibitions, the background and locations of the museum, and large parts of the website advertise for events at or in connection to the museum. The traditional colours of the RAF—red, blue, and white—dominate. Genette mentions the importance of colour for a book cover, which could also be adapted to the signposting of colours on websites announcing a certain affiliation. “Simply the color of the paper chosen for the cover can strongly indicate a type of book.” (Genette 1997: 24)

Developing the thought about a book cover further, the design of this website points the museum towards a military and historical genre, provides comprehensive information, and illustrates its affiliation to the Royal Air Force through its colours. With its visual appearance, the website serves as paratext announcing the content of the museum and establishing expectations for the actual museum visit. All ages and different social groups seem to be the intended audiences for the museum; from schoolchildren, to people interested in post-colonialism, to “the mom who loves aircrafts” for Mother’s Day in 2019. The website is available in English only and users can directly connect with and share on social media and register for the newsletter. The Royal Air Force Museum presents its goals clearly on the ‘about us’ page of their website:

The Museum is a place of storytelling and sharing. Our RAF stories include those of serving personnel, veterans, cadets and reserves. They explore our rich collections of technological innovations, archive documents, personal items and the heritage of our sites. The stories come from times of war and keeping the peace, from at home and abroad. They may be about courage, fear, love, loss or laughter. Visitors are encouraged to discover these stories throughout our exhibitions, across our sites and online – and perhaps contribute their own.

- For our visitors, we make our collections and the RAF story relevant and stimulating.

- For current and former RAF personnel and their families, we preserve, honour and share the stories of their service.
- For our nation, we help people to understand the impact of the RAF in the world.

Our vision is to ensure that the Royal Air Force's story endures and enriches future generations. (RAF Museum 2020a)

The message of the goal and vision of the museum is explicitly affective and deals predominantly with people and emotions. "Our RAF stories" marks the perspective of the museum and the potential perspective of the visitors, all including 'us'. "Keeping the peace" points to RAF's mission to serve a bigger goal. Summing up the content of RAF's stories with "courage, fear, love, loss or laughter" distinctly frames the message of the museum not only as about technical devices, museal objects, and documents, but about emotions of real people. The triple alliteration "love, loss or laughter" accentuates the meaning of the words and might invite visitors to engage emotionally with the exhibition supported by this poetic formulation. Under the three bullet points, the vision defines what the museum wants to be for its intended audiences: for visitors, RAF members, and for the nation of the United Kingdom. Key words such as "relevant" and "stimulating", "preserve", "honour", and "share", and "understand the impact" pinpoint the crucial features and tasks of the museum and trigger audiences to experience and to contribute to "stimulating" stories in the museum exhibitions. The sentence containing the vision again works with repeating wording: "ensure", "endure", and "enrich" that all are directed towards "future generations".

Even though the term "memory" does not appear in the text above, its content clearly describes memory processes when writing "for our nation" and "story endures and enriches future generations". Both on an individual and a collective level, through its vision the museum emphasises in which way it will contribute to memorialising the Royal Air Force as an institution. Affective and factual references in this vision statement that is reflected in the activities of the museum may invite audiences to acknowledge the presented history and presented values of this museum.

Both the website and the goal and vision of the Royal Air Force Museum extend the genre of the war museum. Marketing and the attraction and engagement of audiences reshape the basic tasks of the museum "[...] to collect, preserve, research, interpret, exhibit, and enhance understandings of the world [...]" (ICOM 2020). A war museum needs to engage with emotions if it wants to work with its own position as a war museum, the ownership and origin of the museum, and to make it profitable and interesting for audiences. Most palpable may be the emotions and experiences of real people that participated in the presented historical events. Experiential modes of rhetoric (Erl

2008b) mediate lived stories of the past with which audiences of all ages and different groups can identify.

[...S]ream-of-consciousness techniques, which convey the specific inner experientiality of the trenches, combat, and trauma. And finally, a very detailed depiction of everyday life in the war and the representation of oral speech—specially sociolect, such as soldiers’ slang—may serve to create what may be termed (with a nod to Roland Barthes) authenticating *effets de mémoire*. (Erll 2008b: 390f.; italics in original)

This authenticating effect of memory, both highlighted in the guidelines of the museum and in the exhibition itself, can help to establish the memory-making potential of the museum.

The website of the Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven presents a maritime mood and light character regarding text and images. Little text and large images of the museum harbour introduce the museum to the visitors of the webpage. Different colours of blue and white are dominant in the design. The website gives information about background and the exhibitions, contact information, opening hours and events. Similarly to previously analysed websites, the visitor can directly connect with social media. The website is in German only. “Leitbild”, meaning “concept”, tells the visitor what the museum wants to achieve.

Unter dem Motto Menschen—Zeiten—Schiffe zeigen wir am größten deutschen Marinestandort die Geschichte der deutschen Marinen von deren Anfängen in der Nationalbewegung des Jahres 1848 bis in die Gegenwart.

- Wir bieten mit unserer Ausstellung im historischen Gebäude und dem Freigelände mit begehbaren Großexponaten eine einzigartige Kombination von wissenschaftlich fundierter Darstellung und hautnahe Erleben, insbesondere auf den Museumsschiffen und an Bord unserer fahrenden Boote.
- Wir sammeln und bewahren das materielle Erbe der deutschen Marinen, um es unter politischen, technischen, sozialen und kulturgeschichtlichen Aspekten zu erforschen und zu präsentieren. [...]
- Wir wollen das Verständnis für die historische Rolle der deutschen Marinen entwickeln, fördern und erhalten.
- Wir sehen es als unsere Aufgabe an, auf die maritimen Abhängigkeiten Deutschlands hinzuweisen und die Notwendigkeit von demokratisch kontrollierten Seestreitkräften zur Verteidigung und zur

Wahrnehmung von Aufgaben im Rahmen internationaler Bündnisse zu vermitteln. [...] (Deutsches Marinemuseum 2020b)<sup>34</sup>

The Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven puts its spotlight on people (“Menschen”) and additionally highlights times (“Zeiten”) and ships (“Schiffe”). Accentuating these terms, the museum potentially appeals to audiences who are interested in historical and naval contexts, as well as to audiences who may be attracted to cultural anthropological aspects of history, namely people and culture. Descriptive words in this text point to the ambition to present the museum as a relevant and interesting place: largest German Navy base (“größten deutschen Marinestandort”), eliciting this through the superlative “largest” and the authentic historical space, the navy location. Just as the historical building (“historischen Gebäude”), large exhibited objects that visitors can walk on (“begehbaren Großexponaten”) in a unique combination of science-based presentation and intimate experience (“einzigartige Kombination von wissenschaftlich fundierter Darstellung und hautnahe Erleben”), the wording gives the audiences what they might be searching for: authenticity and extraordinary experiences based on scientific research. Next to the traditional museum tasks of collecting, preserving, researching, and presenting (“sammeln und bewahren [...] zu erforschen und zu präsentieren”), the Deutsches Marinemuseum addresses the wish to develop, enhance, and preserve understanding for the historical role of the German Navy (“[...] Verständnis für die historische Rolle der deutschen Marinen entwickeln, fördern und erhalten”). This reflective approach represents the aim of commemorative work that defines many of the German historical institutions dealing with World War II. Potentials for conflict in German discourse, which is also the last point in the quote above, are apparent; the museum sees it as its task to mediate the importance of the German Navy’s task, alongside others, to defend Germany’s position as a sea power.

Here again, memory and remembrance are no literal focal points in the Deutsches Marinemuseum’s text. The terms mentioned, however, describe crucial elements of remembering: historical buildings, close experiences, and material heritage (“historische

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<sup>34</sup> “With the motto people—times—ships, we show the history of the German Navy from its beginnings during the national movement in 1848 to the present at the largest German Navy base. With our exhibition at the historical building and with large exhibits to visit in the outside area, we offer a unique combination of science-based presentation and very close experiences, especially on our museum ships and on board our floating boats. We collect and preserve the material heritage of the German Navy to research and present it with political, technical, and social focal points. [...] We want to develop, enhance, and preserve the understanding of the historical role of the German Navy. Our task is to highlight Germany’s maritime dependencies and to mediate the necessity of democratically controlled naval forces for protection and execution of tasks in international coalitions. [...]” (Deutsches Marinemuseum 2020b), my translation.

Gebäude”, “hautnahes Erleben”, and “das materielle Erbe”). Already the museum’s vision might indicate what the further analysis of the museum exhibition at the Deutsches Marinemuseum may mediate: a difficult relationship to its history. “Denn die Geschichte ist eine wesentliche Dimension, in der eine demokratische Nation ihr Selbstbild konstruiert und sich der eigenen Identität vergewissert. Mit dieser Dimension taten sich die Deutschen besonders schwer.” (A. Assmann 2007: 181)<sup>35</sup>

The website of the Tirpitz Museum in Alta opens with the crest assigned to the battleship, a silhouette of the *Tirpitz* in black and white, and the title of the website “Tirpitz Museum Alta” (see also chapter 2.6 *Text*). At the bottom of the website, one can find contact information, opening hours, and the museum’s mission:

### Our Mission

We want to show current and future generations what happened here in the Arctic during the second world war [sic].

The events are presented in a larger perspective, both locally and globally.

The Soviet needs for arms and ammo at the eastern front and the importance this had for the outcome of the war.

The battle of Narvik are [sic] also part of our exhibition as well as the evacuation and the scorched-earth policy in this region. (Blomkvist ITK AS 2020)

Mostly in full sentences, the museum describes its aims, the topics addressed, and the intended audiences, “current and future generations”. The local anchoring is emphasised with “here in the Arctic” but also widened to “a larger perspective”. The mission also highlights a focus on Soviet topics connected to World War II and mentions key words such as “eastern front”, “battle of Narvik”, “evacuation”, and “scorched-earth policy”. Through its mission, the museum opens to a broad public who may be interested especially in the local developments in Northern Norway or in documentation about World War II in general. Providing all information in English on the webpage, the museum addresses a potential international audience. Still, the fundamental interest in the battleship *Tirpitz* and the effects of World War II on Northern Norway must be conveyed in order to motivate audiences to actually make the effort and visit the museum in Kåfjord.

The website of the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum is designed in a style resembling a newspaper. Light colours such as light blue and grey dominate. The homepage of the website briefly presents the exhibited topics together with some photographs, contact infor-

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<sup>35</sup> “History is a decisive dimension where a democratic nation constructs its self-image and assures itself of its identity. The Germans found it particularly difficult to deal with this dimension.” (A. Assmann 2007: 181), my translation.

mation, and opening hours. The text and the photographs shown vary between the Norwegian, the English, and the German version of the website. The English and the German version provide the same information about the equipment exhibited outside the museum, the *Tirpitz* exhibition and the display in the separate shack. A photograph of a doll in white soldier clothes and holding a rifle illustrates the text on the website. In contrast, the Norwegian version of the website tells about a part in the *Tirpitz* exhibition that deals with the Norwegian resistance. This is also illustrated with a photograph of a doll sitting in a small room wearing radio headphones (see also chapter 2.4 *Re-enactments*). Additionally, a photograph of a *Tirpitz* model and of people being in the exterior exhibition space next to a canon is shown. On the right-hand side of the Norwegian website, a short text with a photograph give information about a collection of letters from a German soldier that were given to the museum (see chapter 2.5 *Eyewitnesses*). The goal of the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum is presented in the Norwegian version of the website: “Formålet er å ivareta Forsvarets historie i kommunen med vekt på 2. verdenskrig.” (Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum 2020)<sup>36</sup> The wording differs in the English and the German version: “Tromsø War Museum was founded in 1993 to take care of the city’s war history from early times—around 1250—until today.”

The highlighting of different aspects at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum in different languages points to varying expectations towards visitor groups. International visitors’ attention is rather directed to a large time period that is addressed (1250–present day) and to broader topics connected to World War II in Northern Norway. In contrast, in Norwegian the region of Northern Norway and World War II are in focus, together with issues such as the Norwegian resistance that was and still is important for the inhabitants of the region. Moreover, the highlighting of a collection of letters is only presented in Norwegian. That might indicate either less effort for translation to other languages or the intention to emphasise this collection only to Norwegian-speaking visitors to the website. One can reflect on how consciously such choices have been made, and whether translations are more dependent on resources and incidental opportunities such as access to a German-speaking volunteer.

The reason why the website and the ‘goal’ of the museums are introduced here is because they can say something about certain visitor groups that may be attracted by the websites’ appearance and content, and they often describe clear goals that the museums want to achieve. “Guiding the reader also, and first of all, means situating him, and thus determining who he is.” (Genette 1997: 212) By this paratextual frame of the museal mission, intended audiences can be anticipated and reception processes can be activated and channelled. One can reach a conclusion on certain reception potentials that are created by the websites, without doing a full audience reception study.

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<sup>36</sup> “The goal is to preserve the military history of the region with a focus on World War II.”, my translation.

Experts', directors', curators', historians' appearance and utterances to the public can have an impact on the audience's perception of the museum. The military director of the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden, for example, participates in open cultural debates, represents the museum to the public sphere, and engages in educational programmes (Henry Arnhold Dresden Summer School 2017). This presentation to the outside may direct the reception of visiting audiences to accept the reflective and open ambition of the museum, which can also be transferred to the design one finds at the museum.

The mere position of a military museum might deflect critical voices since it is military museums and their historians who should know best about military historical topics. Critical voices might be discredited because they are outside the military bubble and do not have access to the relevant information to judge the narratives presented in the museum exhibitions.

When discussing museums and reception, the status of the institutions contributes to the outcome of the reception processes. Are antagonistic modes reproduced in an unreflective way in the reception of museums? To really get to the bottom of this question one would need to examine newspaper articles and reviews of the museum exhibitions, look at the reception of the appearance of the museum experts in public, and the reactions to their statements.

The purpose of paratexts is described right at the beginning of the production of a medium, and the reception of the medium is a crucial part of it. "[...] I would pose that paratexts often tell us how producers or distributors would prefer for us to interpret a text, which audience demographics they feel they are addressing, and how they want us to make sense of their characters and plots." (Gray 2010: 72) The preparation of an audience's expectations of the respective medium seems a pivotal function of paratexts. The ownership is clearly reflected in the paratexts and suggestions of the media. On the cover, for instance, the direction of the message of the medium is given, and hints lead the way to "how they want us to make sense of their characters and plots" (ibid.).

According to Astrid Erll, media, also including documentary and museum exhibition, do not become memory-making media just by their own appearance and presentation. They need to be received, negotiated, and reproduced within pluri-medial networks to become memory-making. Paratexts literally set the frame for these reception processes by raising expectations in audiences corresponding and interacting with their pre-knowledge and attitudes, and by putting the medium into a certain genre with respective conventions, traditions, and missions. Genres attract intended audiences and are supposed to hold audiences for being profitable, both on an educating and on an economic level. In order to be profitable, the message of the medium needs to be within an accepted frame. "Collective frameworks are precisely the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with



the predominant thoughts of the society.” (Halbwachs and Coser 1992 [1941]: 40) Paratexts help to establish, maintain, and to develop these standards that present historical events and that have the potential to be remembered.

### 2.1.6 Paratexts and Propaganda

This chapter will present a theoretical discussion of the reciprocal influences of paratexts and propaganda, their parallels, and what news their combination can tell about media analysis and memory potentials for European documentaries and museum exhibitions.

The combination of paratexts and propaganda as a focal point on modern European documentaries and museum exhibitions about a World War II topic might seem disproportionate. Still, this first large chapter of analysis sets the direction for where the endeavour of insights in this thesis is intended to go. The first step leads through paratexts to the demonstration of how crucial the examination of the formal, material, functional, and symbolical elements of the multi-medial documents in connection to their political economy and to their memory potentials can be. First and foremost, paratexts shape expectations about the text itself; the documentary, the museum exhibition, and their message, and how a certain “spin” in one direction or another could be achieved (cf. Chapman 2013: 83).

Following the observations in this chapter, documentary and propaganda are not opposites. In contrast, documentary and potentially reflective media types such as documentary and museum exhibition that are supposed to be based on historical factual knowledge, are predisposed to give information that is unavoidably directed towards a certain message and narrative. According to Kansteiner, visual media have the stylistic devices and possibilities to mediate historical events both referentially and affectively (Kansteiner 2018: 4). The affective aspects Kansteiner mentions are reflected in the five subchapters of this chapter, 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts*. Many of the paratexts of the selected media invite audiences to ‘feel’ what the protagonists felt and to engage with the goals and missions of the owners of the selected media. As Kansteiner highlights, the visually supported memory is gaining more importance in current history mediation discourses, yet the next chapter will show that sound may contribute immensely to mediated memory potentials. All five analytical focal points of this chapter are moving towards a certain purpose of the genres documentary and museum exhibition in general and the purpose of the selected documents in particular. The paratexts of the media types are based on and negotiated through ownership and accessibility, through their material and formal appearance, and through their planned and channelled reception mechanics.

A look at the ownership of the examined documents made it apparent that expectations towards the media types arise as well as a dependency on the presentation of the historical topic and on the mood and bias of the narrated message. The awareness of a mnemonic hegemony regarding World War II topics in the British, German, and Norwegian media traditions and its impact in what story is acceptable to tell, helps in understanding the factors that are fundamental to how the same topic is presented differently in these three countries. The temporal and historical distance to the actual events may allow different opinions and utterances about conflict-loaded topics. Current political developments might activate new trends in discourses around World War II; for instance, Germany's chancellor Angela Merkel has frequently addressed historical topics in her official speeches since 2014 (Yoder 2019). The examination of online accessibility and material appearance of documentaries and museum exhibitions helps to draw lines between the content, formal appearance, and the political economy of distribution of the documents. Approaching the museums and the concomitant spatial experience before entering the museum exhibition indicates intended and unintended boundaries between the museum exhibition and the visitor and to strategies of openness or exclusiveness. The analysis above of 'the frame' of the media creates a fluid transition, addressing genre conventions in cover design and presentation of museal objects. It shows that materiality may create affective expectations. As this chapter 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts* showed, intra-medial strategies help to establish affective authenticity and antagonistic, experiential, or reflective modes of rhetoric of collective memory (Erll 2008b). Supplementary, inter-medial levels of referential authenticity respond to familiar representations of historical events, and may strengthen and fulfil audiences' potential expectations. The authority of the genres helps to mediate the respective messages and enforces the appearance of trustworthiness of the documents. The filters of the *propaganda model* in addressing ownership, flak, and anti-ism are visible in the frames of the examined documents. The observations regarding the beginning and ending experience of the selected documentaries and museum exhibitions points to clearly different messages being conveyed. The documentaries show a "beast" versus "lonely queen" and 'hero' versus 'anti-war' presentation.

The museums instead work with impressions such as the open and functional RAF Museum, a breaking-up of tradition in Dresden, or a little systematically blended impression in Alta and Tromsø. All these entries have a transit function and are a threshold (cf. Genette 1997) that leads the way into the narrative, creating and responding to expectations, and executing a certain kind of control for the memory potentials of the audiences. Furthermore, the first impressions of the museums can mediate what kind of museum it is that audiences are entering; a military museum such as the RAF Museum in London or a *wunderkammer* such as the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum or the Tirpitz Museum in Alta. The selected museums can be seen as representative examples of certain

museum types, and their paratexts contribute greatly to their form and content. The epitexts and pluri-medial networks surrounding and following the selected media may channel audience receptions, be a place to discuss the media experience, and fill gaps left by the experience. Giving hints on possible intended audiences and planned reception patterns, the visions of the museums point to clear messages: the RAF Museum plays to affection and engagement in a marketing way, the Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven highlights people, times, and ships, and Tirpitz Museum in Alta opens up for international audiences while emphasising the ‘us’ in the Arctic region.

The analysis of the paratexts shows clear differences between the documentaries and the museum exhibitions. The British documentary is produced for an partly state-driven channel and needs to attract audiences, whereas the RAF Museum has free entrance and a public mission. The *Battle for Hitler’s Supership* is accessible via online sale or platforms and its title and cover are supposedly directed to audiences interested in the history of sea war. The opening scene of the documentary prepares audiences for the story to come and it creates expectations of fight and heroism. The entering experience of the RAF Museum in London is a different one; openly, informatively, and undramatically leading audiences into the main hangar of the museum. Inasmuch the documentary creates expectations of antagonism and applies referential and affective authenticity markers through image, sound, and text, the RAF Museum generates memory potentials based on experience of the space and information about history of the audiences.

Whereas the German documentary introduces its narrative through the voices of eyewitnesses and starts in an experiential mood, the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden welcomes its audiences with its historical, manorial, and official appearance from the outside. While the documentary invites to a prosthetic memory (Landsberg 2004) on a micro level of personal reports of eyewitnesses, still omitting personal motivations or thoughts about larger war contexts, the museum’s architecture may represent a possibility for cosmopolitan memory (Beck, Levy, and Sznajder 2009). The museum adapted the rupture from German history, applied it to the material design of the museum building through the wedge, and the design might help to mediate other difficult pasts inside the museum.

When looking at the accessibility of the Norwegian documentary and the museum exhibitions, the documentary can be purchased and streamed online but the museum exhibitions can only be visited in person. The museums’ collections are not searchable online and the museums are located off tourist hubs. The modest cover of the documentary creates rather undramatic expectations about a report on war events, whereas the websites of the Forsvarmuseum and the Tirpitz Museum trigger audiences through the authenticity of the locations and the abundance of exhibited items connected to the *Tirpitz*. The most significant difference concerning the paratexts of the Norwegian documentary and the museum exhibitions could be that the documentary tells its narrative

in a question-driven and structured way following the historical events through Heinrich Ehrler, while the museum exhibitions in Tromsø and Alta do not apply a clear order or narrative presenting the museum objects. The goal seems to be the experience in itself that could evoke postmemories (Hirsch 2008) about the presented historical events.

Many of the paratexts of the selected multi-medial documents mirror certain aspects of Herman and Chomsky's *propaganda model* and, thereby, how political economy predisposes the message and the appearance of these media. At the same time, the paratexts help to develop these media filters, strengthen their position, or alter their boundaries on a formal level close to the actual media. Paratexts are produced by "dramatic interpretation" as Rotha terms it below for documentaries.

The essence of documentary method lies in its dramatisation of actual material. The very act of dramatising causes a film statement to be false to actuality. We must remember that most documentary is only truthful in that it represents an attitude of mind. The aim of propaganda is persuasion and persuasion implies a particular attitude of mind towards this, that or the other subject. To be truthful within the technical limits of the camera and the microphone demands description, which is the qualification of the documentary method. Thus even a plain statement of fact in documentary demands dramatic interpretation in order that it may be 'brought alive' on screen. (1963: 117)

The dramatisation and dramatic interpretation Rotha is referring to is what I wanted to highlight within the analysis through the intra- and inter-medial levels and their relation to the fifth filter of the *propaganda model*, the anti-ism. Facts and actualities are interpreted, dramatised, and mediated to audiences to persuade them that the presented story is trustworthy.

Furthermore, the media types incorporate authority through their genre status; audiences expect that documentary and museum exhibition are based on thoroughly researched (historical) facts. This authority is represented in the paratexts of the media as well, and it mediates trustworthiness to the consumers of the media. To appear trustworthy 'enough', the media fulfil the filters of the *propaganda model* and thereby strengthen their authority again, beyond their genre.

Additionally, the authoritative and authentic appearance of the selected media and the use of accepted and recognisable mediating strategies helps to create the memory potentials of the media. All selected media have the same starting point with the historical story of the battleship *Tirpitz*. Yet, it was possible to create different messages in documentary and museum exhibition such as "the beast" versus "the lonely queen" or 'cosy and heroic theme park' versus 'unidentifiable soberness'. Leach reflects on the presentation of open or hidden ideological messages in documentary and propaganda media,

which directs the attention to the potential bias that can lie within a fact-based presentation of history.

Grierson seems to have assumed that documentary could combine propaganda with social responsibility because of its close ties to actuality, but there is no doubt that documentaries can reflect and construct myths as much as fiction films do. In most fiction films, and in many documentaries, these myths function ideologically as hidden assumptions, but propaganda normally makes its intentions apparent. In a sense, then, propaganda is more open and honest about its ideological workings than films that disclaim any social or political purpose, although the process of selecting evidence for use in propaganda films may be governed by ideological assumptions or assumptions about the ideological framework the spectator will bring to bear. (2013: 149)

Even though Leach is reflecting here on propaganda in the context of the short film *Listen to Britain* (Jennings and McAllister 1942), this quote gives an impulse on how to perceive even modern documentary and on the necessity to question seemingly objective presentations of the past. It is the “hidden assumptions” that become apparent when looking at the selected multi-medial documents through a media scientific lens, as I started doing in this first main chapter 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts*.

It is the purpose of this thesis and this chapter in particular to point to the strategies the paratexts of the examined multi-medial documents use to mediate a message in a certain direction. Documentaries and museum exhibitions about the *Tirpitz* are assumed to be factual and objective. Yet, their paratextual stylistic devices create different expectations and implicitly answer to different ideological frames. This type of analysis of museum exhibitions has not been done before. The following chapters will deal with the classical formal devices used in documentary and museum exhibition: *Sound and Music*, *Original Footage and Original Objects*, *Re-enactments*, *Eyewitnesses* and *Text*.

## 2.2 Sound and Music

Early in the era of documentary, Rotha pointed at the importance of music for film and documentary. “Music always has and, I believe, always will form a valuable part of film creation. It performs certain duties in the exciting of human emotions which cannot be replaced by the use of either speech or sound.” (1939: 212)

Following the chapter about paratexts, the chapter about sound and music might make the reader wonder why a line is drawn between sound and music, and paratexts. Some researchers include sound and music in paratexts as an element that is not part of the actual ‘text’; it is, however, extra material that prepares the audiences for the content of

the medium, and can be changed and adapted in new versions of the same text. Especially in silent film, live music can provide the movie with a new character at every showing (Skare 2010). For this point, one could argue that music is in most cases extra-diegetic, an element that is added and edited in addition to the documentary and the museum exhibition.

Yet, for the study at hand, sound and music are divided from paratexts due to their important functions regarding both intra- and inter-medial levels (Erll 2008b), and referential and affective authenticating strategies (Jones 2012). The most crucial aspect of the aforementioned is that of affect. Sound catches the attention and evokes emotions; it makes a film or an experience what it is. Without sound, the actual message of the audio-visual medium often gets lost. “[A]dded value is what gives the (eminently incorrect) impression that sound is unnecessary, that sound merely duplicates a meaning which in reality it brings about, either all on its own or by discrepancies between it and the image.” (Chion 1994: 63)

Music is tightly interconnected with memory processes. Psychological studies show that hearing, as well as smelling, can activate the parts of the brain that are responsible for memory (Schwartz 2011).

Dem Einsatz und dem Ende eines Musiktaktes und den mit ihnen jeweils im Zusammenhang stehenden Bildern sind vermutlich hohe Wahrnehmungsenergien zu garantieren. Als naheliegend kann angenommen werden, daß die Szene oder der Bildgegenstand, der durch den Moment des Beginns bzw. des Aufhörens von Musik markiert wird, als bedeutungsschwanger erscheint und sich deshalb besonders gut einprägt. (Bullerjahn 2014: 220)<sup>37</sup>

Building the bridge between memory studies, media studies, and musical analysis, I attempt to achieve a deeper understanding of the memory-making potentials of the multi-medial documents.

According to Iversen and Tiller there are four basic functions of sound: to create continuity, orientation, mood, and to make the audience aware of something. Sound creates an entity and helps to orientate in the time and space of the document. One sound can have several or all four of these basic functions (2014: 46f). Iversen and Tiller divide sound into four types: dialogue, music, sound effect, and real sound (2014: 48). In the study at hand, dialogue, or ‘text’ as I call it, will be dealt with in chapter 2.6 *Text*.

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<sup>37</sup> “The usage and the end of a musical beat together with connected images may have high perceptive energies. It can be assumed that the scene or the image, which is marked through the beginning or the end of music, may be perceived as highly meaningful and therefore might be particularly memorable.” (Bullerjahn 2001: 220), my translation.

With the goal of analysing multi-medial documents, photography, or moving picture, and sound should be considered together “for what we see influences how we hear, and what we hear influences how we see” (Pickering and Keightley 2015: 38).

The concepts of inter-mediality by Astrid Erll (2008) and of referential authenticating strategies by Sara Jones (2012) both refer to similar aspects, also concerning sound and music. The concepts mean that sounds in audio-visual media are known from other media in the same genre or from media of other genres. As early as in 1965, Zofia Lissa pointed out that impressions of connections of sound and image reproduce when the same sound is heard at a later point. She therefore concludes that a relationship emerges which connects parts without music with each other (Lissa 1965). One could even speak of musical intertextuality within one filmic experience.

Generally, audiences might be able to understand and classify the sounds, their meaning, and their purpose. Like paratexts, sound and music can prepare audiences for the content the medium is mediating. Together, image and music create a meaning that none of them could have created alone (Krohn 2008).

In dieser Rolle soll die Musik nicht mehr nur als Mittel des ästhetischen Erlebnisses fungieren, sondern als Mittel der Bewußtseinsgestaltung des Zuschauers, als Mittel zu seiner Erziehung, zur Bestimmung seines Verhältnisses zu den dargestellten Personen oder Tatsachen. (Lissa 1965: 163)<sup>38</sup>

A movie gunshot will be recognised by audiences with a certain genre knowledge. The sound of historical plane propellers probably recorded in the analogue age of film might be known from documentaries, historical feature films, or reports on television. The sound might even be familiar from historical flight shows and by that through personal experience. These sounds are accepted as authentic, confirmed by authorities like historical experts of television channels and production companies, and distributed by established institutions and channels. These aspects, like the genre of the respective medium, contribute to a perceived authenticity of the auditory presentation.

A similar parallel about sound and music can be observed regarding the categories of intra-mediality of formal rhetoric of memory-making (Erll 2008b) and affective authenticating strategies (Jones 2012) to immerse into the audio-visual medium. Both sound effects and music can support modes of rhetoric, be they antagonistic, mystic, or reflexive with low-pitched sounds to mark threat, or with high-pitched string sounds to mark drama. Sound effects such as loud sounds of plane propellers or gunshots may produce a mood of departure, a coming attack, or a menacing mood when meeting evil.

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<sup>38</sup> “Music shall not only have the role of a tool of aesthetic experience, but also as a tool to influence an audience’s perception, a tool for education, for determining his relationship to the presented persons and facts.” (Lissa 1965: 163), my translation.

We see and listen simultaneously. It may be that we hear a bird singing in a tree, but have to look carefully until we see it. Hearing has then preceded seeing, but seeing follows up on this and when our eyes alight on the bird, what we comprehend is a happy convergence of both modes of experience. This also applies to their relationship with remembering. (Pickering and Keightley 2015: 34f.)

Frames of sound in audio-visual media can be diegetic, where the audiences see the source of the sound or the music, and non-diegetic where the source of the sound is not visible. Music can be both diegetic and non-diegetic, for example when taken into the next scene (Iversen and Tiller 2014: 71f.). Sounds can be remade in the studio through a post-synchronisation of film (Iversen and Tiller 2014: 43) as is often done with war film footage from before 1950 (Hohenberger 1988). Sound could not be recorded together with the image, so sound had to be recorded separately or be remade in the studio afterwards.

There is a practical point that we might remember in this connection—the greater difficulties attending the portability of sound equipment when compared with the compactness of the modern automatic picture camera. Sound-trucks are essentially large and cumbersome objects. (Rotha 1939: 208)

Loud sounds like the hitting of a typewriter (0:00:38 *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*) might point to what Chion calls “materializing sound indices” and “the sound’s details that cause us to ‘feel’ the material conditions of the sound source, and refer to the concrete process of the sound production” (1994: 114). Both diegetic and extra-diegetic sounds may contribute to different forms of authenticity.

Die diegetische Musik ist, wie ein Geräusch, Teil der Umwelt der Darsteller, durch die der Zuschauer Informationen über die Beschaffenheit des filmischen Raumes, seiner Darsteller, der Zeit (sei es die Epoche, in der die Handlung stattfindet, oder die in der Handlung verstrichene Zeit) oder das Milieu der Beteiligten [sic] Personen erhält. Extra-diegetische Musik ist eine Verständigungsform zwischen dem Regisseur und dem Zuschauer, sie ist nur für den Zuschauer gedacht, nimmt keinen Einfluss auf die filmische Welt. (Krohn 2008: 188f.)<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> “The diegetic music is, like noise, a part of the environment of the actors, through which audiences receive information about the nature of the cinematographic space, its actors, the time (be it the epoch in which the plot is situated or time that has passed in the narrative), or about the environment of the participating persons. Extra-diegetic music is a form of communication between the director and the spectator; it is supposed to be for the spectator and has no influence on the cinematographic world.” (Krohn 2008: 188f), my translation.



The application of the filters of the *propaganda model* (ownership, sourcing, sources, flak, and anti-ism) (Herman and Chomsky 2002) needs to be considered anew for every analytical focal point. Formal media expressions can be easily examined on anti-ism, while ownership, sourcing, sources, and flak are more difficult to discuss in connection to sound and music. Still, the soundscape of the surrounding of museums might give hints to their ownership and the support of eyewitnesses, for instance with music, may strengthen their position as experts in the narrative of the medium. The real sound of the voice of an interviewee might it make hard to question the authenticity of their utterances.

### 2.2.1 Documentaries

*The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* are, according to the credits, musically designed by the same people: Bill Rudolph and Sean Poe worked on the sound and Glenn Keiles and Ian Carnegie worked on the music. Jürgen Brühns is listed in both films, in the German one with “deutsche Bearbeitung”<sup>40</sup> and in the British one with “associate producer (germany) [sic]”. In the German documentary, Brühns is supported by editor Volker Zielke. Hence, the credits suggest that no separate music production occurred for the German version, but rather that it was covered by a German editor.

In both the British and the German documentary, there are repeating musical patterns that help to create and support decampment, menace, and suspense. Both films are certainly similar to each other since the German and the British documentary were produced in parallel. Yet, the selection and use of music and sound differ in both documentaries. The music and sound effects in the Norwegian documentary are calm and discreet, embracing the footage unobtrusively. Still, music always carries meaning, even though the viewer is not aware of it (Iversen and Tiller 2014: 75).

*The Battle for Hitler's Supership* as well as *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* begin with a significant initial pattern of four long low-pitched string chords that seem to be performed in a loop. They introduce the battleship in the opening sequences and meditate that this ship is a threat, without any narration (see also chapter 2.1.4). Upon closer examination, I can sense that the German version of the musical pattern is pitched slightly higher than the British one. The same pattern in a higher-pitched mood might mediate a less menacing atmosphere. The strategy fits the overall usage of the joint musical pool of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*; in the German version, other musical extracts were chosen than in the British one, and they mediate a different mood. The pattern reappears on several occasions in both documentaries, when a new

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<sup>40</sup> “German editing”, my translation.

menacing situation occurs, for example, when the atmosphere on the *Tirpitz* deteriorates (Brit. 0:30:48) or when the British plan the next attack on the *Tirpitz* (Ger. 41:32). It is also used when an already known threat becomes present again, such as Churchill's obsession with the *Tirpitz* (Brit. 1:08:00) or when the narrator comments on the status of war (Ger. 01:41). Repeating patterns in themselves might be interpreted as inter-medial and referential strategies – they refer to already known situations and moods from earlier in the same documentary.

These patterns prepare audiences and create expectations for what is coming in the documentary (Bullerjahn 2001: 246). Another pattern, also appearing in the opening sequences, is that of a quickly running piano melody that makes a circling motion in pitches from low to high and back. The musical sequence is used when the narrator tells about a situation of decampment, about something that might happen. The music has an insistent character, mediating that there will be progress in the plot of the documentary. This is significant in the opening sequence where Hitler and Churchill are walking towards each other with the help of two pieces of different footage being cross-cut (Brit. 0:00:32) (see chapter 2.1.4) and when telling about new leadership in the German Navy (Ger. 25:14). Additionally, the piano melody creates a lively and motivated atmosphere, for instance, when the narrator speaks about the RAF after the final raid against the *Tirpitz* (Brit. 1:08:16) or about the survivors of the sinking of the ship (Ger. 56:56).

Short rhythmic drum rolls frequently mark the topic as belonging to military issues and could indicate skill and accuracy. They appear when equipment such as planes is presented on screen (Brit. 0:01:27) or camouflage equipment at the Norwegian base (Ger. 10:24), when an attack is prepared or started (Ger. 04:35; Brit. 0:36:16), when the narrator tells of the *Bismarck* sinking the *Hood* (Ger. 07:32), or after an experiment with explosives that showed that the *Tirpitz* was hard to damage (Brit. 0:07:52). The short rhythmic drum rolls appear many times and signalise both readiness and danger, military drill and menace. The rhythm and intensity of the drums and drum rolls changes in both documentaries, according to increasing or decreasing suspense. The use of drum rolls can emphasise the military topic for the documentaries at hand. Added strings in high or low pitches strengthen a dramatic or menacing atmosphere, for example, when the narrator tells that the British will attack soon (Brit. 0:33:00) or when the final bombs drop on the *Tirpitz* (Ger. 52:27). The high strings help to create the dramatic mood that supports the narrative. “Spesielt en type melankolsk ‘skjebnemusikk’ med strykere og blåseinstrumenter, som både signaliserer at en av seriens personer opplever noe vanskelig eller befinner seg ved en korsvei i livet.” (Iversen and Tiller 2014: 73)<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> “Especially melancholic ‘fate music’ with strings and wind instruments signalizes that the characters in the film are experiencing something difficult or facing a crossroads in their lives.” (Iversen and Tiller 2014: 73), my translation.

A different pattern that announces ‘attack’ is one with a xylophone rhythm. The rhythm is a slow staccato with a row of eight initial notes that are on a similar height in pitch, with the seventh note moving to a higher pitch. The pattern creates an atmosphere of quick coordination and the soft xylophone sound might point to something secret being coordinated. It appears, for example, when the German Navy is introduced with a re-enactment and a serious-looking captain (Brit. 0:01:59) or when the documentary recounts the attack against the *Bismarck* (Ger. 08:37). The rhythm is accentuated and seems to show many small steps that have to be performed to reach the goal in the respective scene.

The re-enactment of building and preparation in the dock (Brit. 0:03:07; Ger. 02:58) is accompanied with an easy and relaxed drum rhythm that is supplemented with a medium-pitched wind instrument with a slight echo. The arrangement creates an atmosphere of something secret being prepared. The easiness of the drum rhythm might point to the intelligence of the people working on the secret mission. The pattern has been varied and used when the British prepare for the “chariot mission” (Brit. 0:24:27).

Beneath many melodies and concrete sound patterns in these two documentaries, there is a *basso ostinato* (DeVoto 2020), a long, low-pitched note. The stylistic device is rather familiar from genres like horror or crime movies.

Daneben scheint es einen Bezug zwischen extrem tiefen Tonfrequenzen und Angstgefühlen zu geben. Georg Maas (vgl. Maas and Schudack 1994: 45f.) erläutert diese Wirkung dahingehend, daß sich zum einen tiefe Frequenzen im Gegensatz zu hohen nahezu kugelförmig ausbreiten und ihre Quelle sich beim Hören also nicht orten läßt. Zum anderen sind sie durch Eigenfrequenzen körperlich selbst dann noch spürbar, wenn sich die Frequenz jenseits der Wahrnehmungsschwelle des menschlichen Ohrs befindet. (Bullerjahn 2001: 197)<sup>42</sup>

It creates a menacing atmosphere and announces that something dangerous will happen, or adds support when something unfortunate has happened already. A *basso ostinato* is, for example, present after the *Tirpitz* was hit during the “X-Craft mission” (Brit. 0:45:20) or after the narrator has recounted that Churchill wanted to destroy the *Tirpitz* even though the ship did not play a crucial role in war (Ger. 49:25). The sound is dynamic and is adapted to the intensity of the scene. It fades out when tension releases or increases as the scene becomes more exciting. “Synchronized sound and speech are, by

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<sup>42</sup> “It seems there is a relation between extremely low-pitched notes and emotions of fear. Georg Maas (cf. Maas & Schudack 1994: 45f.) explains this effect that low-pitched frequencies, in contrast to high-pitched ones, almost spread spherically and that their source cannot be placed while listening. Additionally, they can be felt bodily through their own frequency even when the frequency can no longer be perceived by the human ear.” (Bullerjahn 2001: 197), my translation.

their very nature, glued to their visual counterpart. Their job, therefore, is the simple one of explanation and guidance.” (Rotha 1939: 207) Menacing music and sound design help to navigate and to recognise the menacing patterns in the narratives of the documentaries.

The sound in assumingly old footage appears to be mostly diegetic and is based on the things that are presented on screen. Plane propellers, gunshots, canon roaring, moving tanks, and sounds from the surrounding such as water at sea support the visuals.

The footage of the bombardment on 12 November 1944 provided by the Imperial War Museum has no sound, which makes sense because of the probable massive sound scenery of motors and propellers on the plane when the footage was taken. Additionally, it confirms the practice of post-synchronisation. The confirmation of the images by their respective sounds might work as an affective authenticating strategy. The audiences perceive the image together with the sound, which might provoke an emotional reaction to what the audiences see. Loud gunshots can evoke fear, while the sound of waves rolling around a ship hull can embody a connotation of decampment, movement, and freedom. Additionally, the careful selection of fitting sound helps to prevent questions of inaccuracy and to strengthen the documentary’s claim of authenticity.

Footage in documentaries that clearly originates from edited films and that is often used for reasons of war propaganda (for use of these scenes in propaganda films, see chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*), is frequently accompanied with contemporary music of the 1930s and 1940s. The scene of the launch of the *Tirpitz* in Wilhelmshaven on 1 April 1939, for instance, is supplemented with an orchestral version of the German anthem, the *Deutschlandlied* (melody by Joseph Haydn [1797], text by A. H. Hoffmann von Fallersleben [1841]) whose third verse has been the German anthem since 1952. The music fits the footage and the audiences can imagine that the scene was broadcast at the cinema in this manner. The British documentary operates with an instrumental-only version (0:04:08) while the German documentary has a sung version accompanied by orchestra (04:16). No orchestra is seen on screen, nor are people on screen actually singing. Still, the German anthem in this scene provides orientation for the location in and time of the Third Reich. The music also creates a mood of celebration and of the power and strength of the ostensibly singing crowd.

The use of sound and sound effects in re-enacted scenes in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* and in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* is supportive and only illustrative. When a German crew and their officer are introduced in a re-enactment, it is underlined with drums and a *basso ostinato* that creates a menacing and dangerous atmosphere (Brit. 0:01:48). Drums in accord with quick cuttings could be described as rhythmic sound design; images, sound effects, and music correspond to each other in a rhythmic and harmonic way. British officers observe the launch of the *Tirpitz* and they are ‘watching’ the launch in a kind of cinema. The sound changes from clear during the direct launch

to unclear and scratchy sound as through an additional device transmitted to the British officers. Additionally, the clicking of a projector marks that there is a second device providing the footage and sound (Brit. 0:04:25). The scene of the “chariot mission” is supplemented with music creating suspense. Sounds of bad weather such as rain on metal and the whistling of wind supplement the scene. The rhythm of the banging on metal by the diver repairing a damaged chariot fits the drum music. The utterance of the narrator “als ein Sturm aufkam”<sup>43</sup> is followed by a thunder roar (Brit. 0:28:40; Ger. 23:00). The motor sound of the German vessel marks that the enemy is leaving and mediates a message of relief and the feeling of having been lucky this time.

The sound of the re-enactments in both documentaries does not offer surprises but rather follows a safe, pedagogic, and channelling path. Suspense, relief, and war situations are received as the musical supplement audiences with genre knowledge would expect. Sounds of motors and of the surroundings fuse and float together, creating an auditory atmosphere that belongs together. The sound design fulfils both referential and affective authenticating strategies and by doing so, the re-enactments fill the gaps in the narrative that the old footage is not able to fill. A detailed analysis of the use of re-enactments in the documentaries is presented in chapter 2.4 *Re-enactments*.

When eyewitnesses are interviewed in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* and in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, music and sound are toned down in general to be able to hear the interviewee. I addressed the presentation and musical staging of eyewitnesses in chapter 2.5 *Eyewitnesses*.

The above-described music and sound distinctly show how menacing atmospheres are created in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* and in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. These observations might not be surprising. Highlighting them, however, can accentuate the strategies that are used to mediate this historical event. Creating an authentic musical impression of, for example, a re-enacted scene provides the documentary with authenticity, both through referential strategies used in the footage such as familiar musical patterns and through emotionally appealing sound patterns to draw audiences into the world of the protagonists.

What is most interesting about the music and sound in these documentaries, are the differences in selection and use. A significant difference is the use of a melancholic but lively wind melody in the German documentary that hardly appears in the British one. The harmonic melody accompanies the last seconds of the opening sequence when a submarine, filmed from below, moves towards a ship’s hull. The melody dissolves into a minor sound at the end of the sequence. This pattern presents a clear contrast to the quick cutting and dramatic music of the end of the opening sequence of the British documentary. While the opening sequence of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* ends with a

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<sup>43</sup> “when a storm came up”, my translation.

low-pitched *basso ostinato* that mediates the threat of the battleship, the last seconds of the opening sequence of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* end with this melancholic wind melody. The melody could mediate a rather reflexive atmosphere pointing at something in the past that ‘dissolved’ under water, like in the footage that it accompanies. The music might point to difficulties within this story and a tragic (minor) ending. At the end of the German documentary (57:02), the melody appears when the veterans who performed as eyewitnesses in the documentary gather in front of a ship for a joint photograph. Again, the melancholic melody mediates an atmosphere of both liveliness and sadness, when the narrator says “Die Überlebenden der Tirpitz trauerten um fast 1000 tote Kameraden.” (57:11)<sup>44</sup>. The musical pattern supports both a positive and negative, a reflexive and conscious presentation of the plot. The pattern also appears in the British version in the same sequence but is less prominent and dissolves in a *basso ostinato*.

A minor but still remarkable difference is that of the sound of the typewriter (Brit. 0:00:38; Ger. 00:22). In the British documentary, the sound resembles a gunshot after the narrator has said, “And Churchill would not rest until he had seen her destroyed”. After this text, there is a pause in the speech and three strikes of the typewriter on paper make the auditive space echo and sound like gunshots. In the German one, in contrast, the sound is softer and quieter, lying under the narration. The strikes are less prominent. The sound of a typewriter might mark a certain period after the invention of the typewriter and before the appearance of computers as writing tools. Working situations of a busy office and diligent workers, often female, might come up as an image when hearing the sound of a typewriter. In the case of the typewriter in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*, the interpretation of an instrumentalisation of a typewriter to resemble a weapon, to scare the potential enemy and the viewer at the same time, seems apparent. In the German documentary, the typewriter is just a typewriter that is visually strong in a close-up as if the camera is sitting on the typewriter. Image and sound seem to be “forged together” and build a “synchresis” (Chion 1994: 5), meaning the auditive and the visual fuse together, and the scene might appear particularly forceful.

The most noteworthy difference regarding music and sound in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* is the appearance of a female-sounding singing voice in the scene of the sinking of the ship in the British one (from 1:05:44). The vocalise, a wordless song, accompanies the archival footage of the actual bombing on 12 November 1944. On the screen, contours of the land can be recognised. One hit of a bomb on the beach of the island of Håkøya and one directly on the ship can be seen. The footage is taken from a plane that had joined IX and 617 Squadron, its purpose to document the raid for posterity. The sound of the bomb strikes or explosions cannot be heard. The high-pitched singing and the shaky and black and white footage create a sad

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<sup>44</sup> “The survivors of the Tirpitz mourned almost 1000 dead comrades”, my translation.

and mystical atmosphere, as the viewers observe a scene of devastation from above through the bomb hatch of the plane. The large distance of about 15 000 feet, the bombs' silent strikes, and the heavenly voice mediate a displacement to the presented events and the actual chaos on the ground. The next cut shows a re-enactment with the chaos under deck of the *Tirpitz* when men in blurry underwater close-ups shout and fight against the water. The sound of streaming water and of being under water mix with the singing and bring the experience of the drowning men very close to the audiences. Still, the singing masks the full extent of the screaming and already seems to be a song of mourning.

Heinz Hellendoorn, a German survivor from the *Tirpitz*, recounts in German with English voice-over how a watchtower on deck fell into the water and covered many men. Re-enactments from inside the ship supplement the scene. After Hellendoorn has told that all were lost, he bows his head, backed by the sad, wordless song. In contrast, Tony Iveson, a pilot from 617 Squadron, utters in a new cut without the musical supplement, "There was no great emotion, really." (1:06:21). Both the spatial distance of Iveson having been a pilot at an altitude of 15 000 feet and the temporal distance of sixty years become clear in his description. This caesura is constructed very distinctly, both formally and in content. The bombing footage and Hellendoorn's retelling of the losses combined with the sad song mediate empathy and compassion, while Iveson's sentence in a new cut and in silence demonstrates professionalism, boldness, and coolness. The hard break between empathy and coolness is done with such ostentation that it has an almost comical character.

The British and the German documentary have the same origin; this therefore suggests that some elements, also in their soundscapes, are similar. Departing from the observations in these documentaries and analysing the use of sound in *Det siste slaget*, the differences in the Norwegian documentary appear even more significant. The music and sound are composed by Gudmund Østgård and Gaute Barlindhaug, and the overall sound in *Det siste slaget* is reluctant and serves only to modestly accompany the shown images and footage. The main musical pattern is an electronic sound in the background that does not feature great changes in pitch. Singular occasions show small climaxes that are marked with higher-pitched notes, such as when the attack in Kåfjord is approaching (20:30), or when Alfred Zuba recounts his fear of being left behind in the hull of the ship after it had capsized (36:00).

Sound effects that are presented diegetically in *Det siste slaget* are, for instance, the sounds of plane propellers (01:35), the sound of water surrounding a ship (04:04), or the fighting sounds of gun shots (05:04). The documentary employs a lot of still photographs in close-up, which gives the impression of a moving picture. Music can contribute to give these visuals a certain flexibility and dynamics. "Photographs appear to arrest in time, whereas recorded music transcribes time in its sequential flow." (Pickering and

Keightley 2015: 34) The music, and especially the diegetic sound effects, support the appearance of a moving picture.

Besides the slow and silent use of sound and music in *Det siste slaget*, the musical accompaniment to one scene is notable. The scene of ships on sea (02:40–04:04) seems to come from a *Wochenschau*, a news format for German cinema. Enthusiastic and euphoric orchestra music joins the presentation of ships and their crews. From the start, a German narrating voice recounts what is being shown on the footage. The German language and pronunciation lets the viewer assume that this sequence is taken from an edited film for a German public in the 1940s. The same enthusiastic orchestra music appears when the *Tirpitz* is shown at sea (09:20–10:09).

The use of sound and music in these three documentaries shows clear differences in tempo and affective design. The tempo of the sound in the British and the German documentaries is reminiscent of action movie genres and might be used as a referential strategy (Jones 2012). The production background of television documentaries may be the basis for the quick tempo of sound and music that attracts audiences who just ‘zapped’ into the program. Significant connotations of good and bad through music, can give orientation to the audiences very quickly (Herman and Chomsky 2002). Both the mood and the progress of the narrative are auditively mediated through sound and music. In contrast, the Norwegian documentary has a slow mood. *Det siste slaget* is in no rush and the music supports this slowed-down attitude.

Affectively, the auditive landscape of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* invites audiences to engage with the clear villain and to identify with the heroic pilots. The sound of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* is more nuanced and provides a less menacing atmosphere, by using less *basso ostinato*, amongst others. Affective sound patterns appear in all three documentaries but with different focal points. The British documentary underlines the scene of the sinking of the *Tirpitz* with a melancholic singing voice, alienating and mystifying the ongoing destruction on the ground, and ends it with an almost humoristic break. The German documentary emphasises a contemplative mood through a melancholic melody by a wind instrument. The music in the Norwegian documentary only slightly marks climaxes with high-pitched notes. All three documentaries point out certain situations characterised by suspense with signals of danger, such as high-pitched notes, a quicker rhythm, or a drum roar.

The potential energy of sound becomes very clear through the observations above. The sound and music in *The Battle for Hitlers Supership*, *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, and *Det siste slaget* show this energy, some modestly, others explicitly. The potential energy of the music is important when contributing to the memory potentials of these documentaries. Sound and music have the ability to engage and embrace audiences to care for the presented historical events and their participants. Through this multi-sensory



presentation with visual and auditory stimuli, it is more probable that audiences will remember the presented message (Bullerjahn 2001: 213).

### 2.2.2 Museum Exhibitions

Dedicating a chapter to sound in connection to film is necessary. Sound in connection to museums and exhibition is an aspect of analysis that might not initially come to mind. Nikos Bubaris shows the importance of sounds for museum exhibitions and establishes parallels to the motion picture genre that are helpful for museum analysis. Both intended and non-intended sounds can influence the visitors' experience and that is what is important for my observations here as well.

In museum exhibition narratives, diegetic sounds refer to the set-up of the exhibition and the immediate relationship between the visitor and the exhibition; non-diegetic sounds refer to the presentation of actions that causally unfold outside the space–time of the visit, but frame the visitor's experience and its derived meanings. The distinction between background and foreground sounds relates to the act of the listener that directs his/her attention to a sound source of particular interest amid various simultaneously heard, sound sources. In museum exhibition narratives, this selective process is orchestrated by design in accordance with the semantic hierarchy of information set by the cultural producers of the exhibition. That is, sounds full of meaning are designed to attract the visitor's attention, ensuring as far as possible that they will not go unnoticed. (Bubaris 2014: 394)

Sound, intended or not, shapes the experience of the visit of the museum, gives a frame to the visual, and influences the affective perception of the story that is presented to the audiences. "Experience' is emerging as a significant source of value added in contemporary cultural production" (Bubaris 2014: 393).

None of the museums that I examined for this study *consciously* used sound or music in their presentation of the *Tirpitz*. Besides a documentary about the *Tirpitz* that was shown in a separate room at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta and could be heard through the wooden walls, there was no specific auditive accompaniment to the exhibitions.

I introduce the term soundscape for the sound scenery in and around a museal presentation. Like a landscape, the sound is present and provides an implicit background for the actual situation in the foreground—a visit to a museum exhibition. For audiences, it is hard to tell where the border runs between museum exhibition and context that the soundscape is a part of. Yet, for this analysis, I state that the sound originating from the context of the respective museum exhibitions becomes a part of the exhibition experience as soon as it is perceived by the audience.

In Lossiemouth in Scotland, from where the planes departed on 12 November 1944 to sink the *Tirpitz*, the British Royal Air Force is still present, in the first instance sonically rather than visually due to the departure and arrival of jet planes. For visitors to the small town at the mouth of the river Lossie, the loud, booming sound of the jet planes might both be exciting and powerful, recalling the technical and military progress and power of the United Kingdom. However, the sound of jets can also point to disputed military actions, questionable use of resources, and a reminder of priorities in the United Kingdom. For the inhabitants of the town, the sound may not be that significant anymore, but both a positive reminder of the employer RAF that might represent security and responsibility on a local, national, and global level and a negative reminder of personal losses in connection to the base and its staff reductions. The exhibition at the History Room might be just embedded in the sound of the jets, the technical and social sounds on the base, and the separation from the world outside of the base. The jets and their sound is a trademark of the region that is in the background of nearly everything that happens in the area. If I want to apply the functions suggested by Tiller and Iversen to this situation, the functions of the jet sound can be both for orientation, mood, and for making the audiences aware of something. The jet sounds provide orientation about where the audience is, in a region where the RAF is still present and has a prominent position in everyday life. They may create a mood of being impressed by the British technical possibilities, of being annoyed by the noise, or of being conscious of military political history. This list could go on forever, since the potential provocation of mood is dependent on individual experiences, preferences, and attitudes. Lastly, the sound of jets makes the audience aware that the RAF Station is still in use in Lossiemouth.

The jet sounds are highly diegetic for the stay in the region, but are non-diegetic for the experience of the History Room. Referring to the filters of the *propaganda model*, the sound of the jets points explicitly to the owners of the History Room, namely the British Royal Air Force. The same applies for the sourcing, the funding of the History Room, which is also covered by the RAF. This exhibition's experts might be military historians situated on the base or in the area, and again, there is the connection to the RAF and the jets. The 'flak' filter is a challenging one that might be fulfilled just by the authority and the status of the ownership and the place where the History Room is. The impression arises that 'they', the RAF historians, will know what really happened between the *Tirpitz* and the British RAF. The anti-ism created by the sound of the jets might be inverse, meaning that the jets could appear as a powerful and noisy machine that was used to fight an enemy.

In Spilsby in Lincolnshire, the Bomber County, spectators might expect jet sounds in this area, yet they were not as present to me as in Lossiemouth. However, I highlight the soundscape around the small exhibit of an object of the *Tirpitz* at the Lincolnshire Aviation Heritage Centre. A piece of teak wood from the deck of the *Tirpitz* is exhibited in

a showcase in the café of the Centre. Frying sounds and the clattering of dishes and cutlery from the kitchen mix with the sounds of chatting and eating people. The soundscape does not contribute to a museal elevation of the object that made it into the showcase, but rather normalises and banalises the situation. The casual sounds decrease the museal aura of the object and place it in the context of a mere decoration, a part of a non-important conglomeration. The placement of the object could point to the great amount of objects that the Centre has in its collection and that the soundscape in this case is not a tool to diminish the object's aura and importance, but a possibility to show as much of the collection as possible—even in the café.

As in Lossiemouth, the café sounds are not diegetic to the exhibition but highly diegetic to the situation in the café, depending on when the visitor is in the café and who else is there. The ownership and the possibilities of the museum might be referred to as objects have to be shown in the café due to lack of exhibition space and so the sound points at improvisation and richness of ideas to show objects even though the space does not allow it anymore.

The soundscape around the *Tirpitz* bulkhead at the Royal Air Force Museum in London is the one of a large hangar and many visitors. The sound of visitors, many children among them, produces echoes in the space of the hangar. The two facets of the sound at the RAF Museum, spatial echo and human laughter, do not correspond, but create a special museal atmosphere of experience. They combine both the experience of the large space filled with aviation and military equipment that mediates the seriousness of the topic and the history that is transported with the exhibition. However, the combination of the matter-of-fact atmosphere with the sounds of children enjoying the engaging exhibition with climbing into cockpits and running around between the planes, takes the exhibition into the sphere of an educating theme park or playing ground. “It is no coincidence that sound is more acceptable in museums that do not have the ‘aura’ of high culture, for example, in science centres and temporary exhibitions.” (Bubaris 2014: 392)

The function of this unintended soundscape at the RAF Museum could be that the visitors can experience the exhibition both as adults but also with the lightness of a child. It creates both orientation, that the audiences are in a large hangar with space to run around, and mood when hearing children enjoy the exhibition. The size of the exhibition space together with the echoing sound of metal planes can point to the RAF ownership of the museum and the financial opportunities that this institution has.

The museums in Germany that show small exhibits about the *Tirpitz* are all of a classic style where visitors are expected to behave well and to be quiet in the exhibition space. This kind of cultural practice can be found already in early conceptions of the museum as “monastic stadium, [...] a solitary and contemplative space sequestered from the noise of the world” (Bennet 2006: 267). The silence might prepare visitors to listen to the ‘ideal

voice', the exhibition text, and turn the visitors into passive and consuming participants in the exhibition (Bubaris 2014: 392).

Since the soundscape was rather matter-of-fact, the graveness of the war-related topics was more prominent in the German museums. At the Internationales Maritimes Museum in Hamburg, the exhibition is placed in an old storehouse on the waterside of the river Elbe and one can hear the wooden floorboards faintly crack when walking through the exhibition. The wooden floor and much wood on the walls absorb much of the sound in the building. The created mood is sober and could appear to be humble, being confronted with the exhibition about World War II. Ownership of the museum is marked by the mood, one could say, that it is owned by German and official institutions that have the inscribed memory cultural mission to inform, but in a toned-down manner.

Both museums in Norway are situated in their own small buildings in residential areas. They are both surrounded by sounds of cars, everyday life, and birds from the trees can be heard. There are usually few visitors to either exhibition, which makes the sound experience rather lonely, especially compared to the experience at the RAF Museum described above. The soundscape at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta is muted and footsteps on the old wooden floor can be heard. The staff introduces the exhibition by showing a documentary to the visitors in a separate room, *Target Tirpitz* (Mirzoeff 1973). The subtitles of the documentary can be adjusted to several languages according to the needs of the current audience. The staff runs the documentary every time a group of visitors arrives, and the sound of the film can be heard through the wooden walls while walking through the exhibition. The sound of the film becomes a constant soundtrack for the walk through the exhibition. The probably unintended function of the non-diegetic sounds of the documentary next door and the diegetic footsteps on the wooden floor can create an informative and progressive mood, using audio-visual media (documentary) and informal atmosphere in the old building (wooden floor).

When entering the bunker of the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum, visitors can sensually experience the movement from the outside world to a surrounding that is different to the friendly residential area. Inside the bunker it is silent and darker, and sounds of the outside surroundings such as busses or cars are blocked out. A machine dehumidifies the air in the bunker and vibrates. With some imagination, one could think of a generator or a ship motor that makes this sound and that fits to the topic of exhibiting objects of the battleship *Tirpitz*. The volunteers who run the museum are helpful in telling stories and answering questions in order to supplement the exhibition. Their speech might also colour the experience of the exhibition visit. The diegetic but irregular and individual sound of the speech of the volunteers orientates that the audiences are in a museum with engaged staff who want to tell and to inform about the exhibition, beyond what is written in the exhibition text. Additionally, through volunteers the soundscape creates a mood

of personal care for the few visitors even though not every visitor prefers this personal attention and perhaps rather wants to visit the exhibition alone.

### 2.2.3 Auditory Memory Potentials

The music and sound in both *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* are used in a pedagogic and constantly channelling way. Music has become a pedagogic commentary to point to the most important moments of the narratives (Larsen 2013: 172). It supports the footage and its embedding in the narrative. The music and sound in *Det siste slaget* colours the footage discreetly and gives it a pillow to rest on, without having a distinct message on its own. In all three documentaries, situativity predisposes the auditive patterns following the mood of the situation such as menace, action, or attack.

Regarding sound in museum exhibitions, Bubaris' question is more than relevant. "What are the possibilities that open up, once the agency of sound in shaping the visiting experience is recognised?" (2014: 392) Through my examples, I can conclude that the soundscapes in the examined museums are mainly extra-diegetic for the exhibitions themselves, and therefore not intended. There is no affective musical atmosphere consciously created. One could argue that these soundscapes allow a somewhat pure experience. On an individual level, these soundscapes can have an indirectly affective influence on audiences when responding in a positive or negative way to the sound of jet planes or to creaking wooden floors.

Sound and acoustic experience generates the distinct perceptions of space and time that move the visitor in the present time while interconnecting past images with future possibilities. Rather than merely enriching a given exhibition narrative, sound can create a dynamic environment, where meaning and experience emerge simultaneously, mutually shaping each other in practice. In this sense, sound and acoustic experience is not only expressive means for conveying information but also cultural practices of knowledge production. Museum sound design practices can move decisively beyond the triple normative distinction of voice-silence-noise and encompass all sounds that have the potential to become significant in the museum exhibition—through their multiple interrelations with other sounds, with the space they define and with visitors as participating agents. (Bubaris 2014: 400)

Even though, the interpretations concern non-diegetic sounds in museums and the regions around the museums might seem speculative, these observations can make the reader aware of connections between intended exhibitions and *non*-intended sounds.

These interpretations are not proven in this study, but they open up for the potentials of how sound can influence the experience of an exhibition visit.

In these examples of historical presentations, one could ask how the type of narrative is transported and emphasised through sound: Is it an open or a closed way of narrating the historical event? Are audiences invited to interpret and to question established narratives, or is it a dominant narrative which is presented? (Rabenalt 2012: 215f.) Looking at the genres, documentaries have a rather dominant direction, mostly one way to watch: chronologically. Jumping to certain chapters in a documentary on a DVD or online is possible, but still the documentary has a chronologically arranged narrative. Audiences often need chronology in the narration to understand the message. Instead, through the spatiality of museum exhibitions one has the possibility to move easily from one section to another. However, chronological curation of a timeline is feasible and easy to follow.

Sound can serve as an orientating mode when moving through the exhibition space in the same way as it gives orientation in the documentary narrative. In the exhibition, it tells you that you are in an old, authentic building—in the documentary, it marks a threat the narrative is now addressing. Moving from the genres to the narration and to how musical design may influence its dominance, both *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* use significant musical patterns to mark battle, suspense, and drama. Sound design clearly frames good and bad, and conveys a certain mood to audiences. The repetitions create an in-film intertextuality and develop a familiar effect for audiences. Still, intended functions may not have the planned effect on audiences:

Funktionen lassen sich folglich nur als 'intendierte Wirkungen' umschreiben, die keineswegs zuverlässig und bei jedem Rezipient auftreten müssen. Jeder Filmbetrachter verspürt einige Wirkungen von Filmmusik bewusst und ist anderen unbewusst unterworfen. Diese musikalischen Wirkungen sind zudem für ihn nicht von der Gesamtwirkung des Films zu trennen. Außerdem sind sie individuell, da jeder Rezipient über andere biografische Erfahrungen, Einstellungen und Prädispositionen verfügt, die seine Wahrnehmung lenken und prägen. (Bullerjahn 2018: 185)<sup>45</sup>

The most prominent aspect of the *propaganda model* regarding the sound and music in the selected documentaries is the fifth filter, anti-ism. Music and sound effects help to

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<sup>45</sup> "Functions can only be circumscribed as 'intended effects', which in no way appear reliably or for every recipient. Every spectator perceives some effects of film music consciously and is influenced by others unconsciously. For the viewer, these musical effects are inseparable from the whole effect of the film. Additionally, they are individual because every recipient has other biographical experiences, attitudes, and predispositions that guide and shape his perceptions." (Bullerjahn 2018: 185), my translation.

anchor threat and danger through re-enactments and archival footage. The ultimate other, the machine, is already marked in the first seconds of both documentaries.

A look at the music producers for the British and the German documentary shows that there was no need for different musical productions for two different markets. Still, a different selection and use of a joint pool of sound design makes it apparent that the outcome of the joint starting point was different. This observation may be representative for the whole presentation of the events about the *Tirpitz*; the same historical phenomena with documented parameters such as dates, ship size, and amount of planes is presented in different narratives with different moods and different messages that are transported.

The main difference between documentary and museum exhibition in the use of sound and music is intention. Yet, sound is present in museum exhibitions and may influence the experience. Even though both documents, documentary and museum exhibition, arise from the historical event with acknowledged documentation, the design and presentation of the narrative in the documentary is established and supported by intentional affective and referential auditory stylistic devices.

These museum exhibitions do not play on affective and embracing musical strategies, but the mostly unintended soundscapes surrounding the exhibitions colour the impression visitors are given. Military sponsorship and limited resources in Lossiemouth and Spilsby are conveyed through the soundscape. The exhibition at the RAF Museum in London opens up the topic to a certain playfulness and makes it a theme interesting for younger generations. Perhaps it even takes away some of the seriousness and horror of war and makes it an exciting (and desirable) topic. The German exhibitions notably keep a distance to the concrete events by excluding affective stylistic devices and maintaining a matter-of-fact atmosphere, amongst other strategies. The strategy represents a recurring pattern in German World War II depictions where affect for the German people and a possible identification with the deeds of the war are avoided, a strategy of moving on that ignores the ongoing influence that World War II and its aftermath may have on today's German society and its attitudes. The ownerships, spaces, and intended audiences might play a crucial role in the choice of this strategy, assuming that visitors to a naval history museum want to learn about naval history without being moralised or affectively triggered in an uncomfortable way. A look at the mission of the museum in Wilhelmshaven (chapter 2.1.5) can indicate such a manifestation. The soundscapes of the Norwegian museum exhibitions do not explicitly accompany the visitor experience, yet the British documentary in the background through the walls may provide a soundtrack to the exhibition. Both Norwegian exhibitions show a combination of cosy wooden atmosphere, authenticity through the building and the place where the *Tirpitz* was stationed, and excitement through the sound design of the documentary *Target Tirpitz*.

I will summarise and pinpoint it thus: In the documentaries, the musical intentions of menace, threat, and drama may lead to a heroic narrative about being proud of military events. The intentions of melancholy and matter-of-factness might encourage forgetfulness about affective identifications with historical events. In the museum exhibitions, ownership is especially presented, often unintentionally, through sound. Thereby the institutions seem to channel the auditive experience of audiences towards the messages of the institutions. Repeating the musical patterns with their respective messages, sound and music might have an extensive impact on what will be remembered. “So ist z. B. ein Behalten von Information bei multisensorischer Reizung wesentlich wahrscheinlicher als bei Informationsaufnahme über nur eine Sinnesmodalität.” (Bullerjahn 2001: 213)<sup>46</sup>

On an auditory level, documentaries and museum exhibitions reveal different national moods that emerge from the presentation of a transnational event and, in part, transnational production networks. The British documentary uses sound and music to dramatise and mystify the story about the *Tirpitz*, whereas the exhibitions in Lossiemouth and London have soundscapes resembling entertainment parks. The factor of entertainment seems to outweigh factors of seriousness in British multi-medial exhibitions compared to the other analysed countries and by that mediate a captivating and distracting potential for memory-making of events connected to World War II.

The auditory division between documentary and exhibition also shows in the German examples. The German documentary auditorily emphasizes the menacing character of the story of the *Tirpitz*, but refrains from mystifying it like the British film did, and consequently stays on the expository path of the documentary. This usage of sound invites audiences to engage affectively with the narrative and is strongly opposed by the approach of the exhibit at Wilhelmshaven, where no sound is featured at all. Through this choice, Wilhelmshaven avoids potential affective immersion of audiences into the material and auditory referential authentication through the recognition of sounds. This passive character in German multi-medial documents enforces German national remembering and local Northern German remembering that excludes affective identification, moral reflection, and possible affiliative postmemories about the events connected to the *Tirpitz*.

The passive and reluctant character of sounds and music in the Norwegian documentary does not invite audiences to follow the narrative in excitement but it supports the core of the documentary – the actuality film and the eyewitness reports. In comparison, the un-intended sound in the museum exhibitions in Norway upholds the exhibitions’ local authenticity and does not play at affective engagement of the audiences. This way, sound and music in Norwegian presentations about the *Tirpitz* contribute to local and

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<sup>46</sup> “The remembrance of information is much more likely through multi-sensory stimuli than through an information uptake by only one sense.” (Bullerjahn 2001: 213), my translation.



national memory potentials that focus on the reference to the local relevance of the historical events and to authentic footage, objects, people, and spaces rather than on a Hollywood-style narrative. To my knowledge, such an investigation of sounds in museums and the comparison to documentaries has not been done before.

### 2.3 Original Footage and Original Objects

In the introduction to this thesis, I drew on Sørenssen's term "virkelighetsbølgen" (2001: 308)<sup>47</sup>, which reflects an enhanced interest in our histories, just as Gertrud Koch asks "Wo kommen wir her, und wie sind wir so geworden, wie wir sind, und was verbindet uns mit der Geschichte anderer?" (1995: 505)<sup>48</sup> This "historische [...] Sinnsuche" (ibid.) may be in accord with a potential desire to see fact-based historical presentations. However, *how* fact-based do these presentations need to be? Or is a certain degree of trustworthiness *authentic enough*?

Actuality footage, what I call here original footage, is a "[f]ilm that provides a record of real events or people that has not been restaged for the camera." (Chapman 2013: 130) This footage in documentary and original objects in museum exhibitions is important for the production of meaning:

The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced. Since the historical testimony rests on the authenticity, the former, too, is jeopardized by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter. And what is really jeopardized when the historical testimony is affected is the authority of the object. One might subsume the eliminated element in the term 'aura' and go on to say: that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the aura of the work of art. (Benjamin 1970: 218f.)

The original ostensibly has an "aura", an atmosphere that only the original, not the copy of it, has (Benjamin 1970: 219–226). "The presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity." (Benjamin 1970: 218) In connection to 'the original', one also must look at the term 'authentic' or 'authenticity', which implies something appearing historically accurate (Chapman 2013: 130). The definitions of the term 'authentic' are of great importance for this study; inscribed authenticity in the documentaries and museum exhibitions through the focus on originals, places, persons, objects, documents,

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<sup>47</sup> "reality wave" (Sørenssen 2001: 308), my translation.

<sup>48</sup> "Where do we come from, and how did we become who we are, and what connects us with the history of others?" (Koch 1995: 505), my translation.

and many other things, confers authority to them. One might assume that these authentic originals are genuine and unaltered. Yet, as Chapman states, “film is a highly mediated source” and “[n]o film is ever ‘an unadulterated reflection of historical truth’” (2013: 80).

The discussion of the term authenticity is central when investigating medial expressions in exhibitions (Knaller and Müller 2006; Gilmore and Pine 2007). Authenticity does not necessarily mean that the issue presented is factually correct but that the overall impression is authentic and trustworthy. As Owen Evans puts it in relation to motion picture with a historical topic, “It is the careful orchestration of these melodramatic elements [...] that creates what we might call an authenticity of affect [...]” (2010: 173) This orchestration of objects, photographs, and text in an original place and in a certain memorial institution can result in an authenticity of affect. The ensemble calls on the emotions of the audiences even if some things are implausible when considered carefully. As long as a verisimilitude is achieved, an “appearance of being real” (Chapman 2013: 137), the presentation is plausible enough.

Clarifying the title of this chapter, *2.3 Original Footage and Original Objects*, I mean archival footage used in these historical documentaries and museal items that are not models or placeholders in museum exhibitions. The title is supposed to highlight and to bring attention to the importance of thinking about what it can mean to be termed original, and how original footage and objects can appear differently in different embeddings.

### **2.3.1 Documentaries**

The meaning of the archival footage for documentary is crucial because it builds a connection between the past and the present, the historical world presented and the world of the watching audiences. As early as 1933, early documentary scholar Grierson defined documentary as being about a “creative treatment of actuality” (1933: 8). The original footage, and with it the clear reference to reality, is one of the main differences between documentary and motion picture that I want to highlight. The perspective, the view of the documentary camera, claims truthfulness of its visual presentations.

‘Views’ tend to carry the claim that the subject filmed either pre-existed the act of filming (a landscape, a social custom, a method of work) or would have taken place even if the camera had not been there (a sporting event, a funeral, a coronation), thus claiming to capture a view of something that maintains a large degree of independence from the act of filming it.  
(Gunning 1997: 14)

However, Gunning also distinguishes the ‘view’ from documentary regarding its “rhetorical and discursive form” (1997: 22). “Therefore, I contrast the *view*, a descriptive mode based on the act of looking and display, with the *documentary*, which is a more rhetorical and discursive form inserting images into a broader argument or dramatic form.” (ibid.; italics in original) On the one hand, documentary attempts to show the pre-filmic scene that would have been there without the camera, and on the other hand, it decontextualises footage and embeds it into a narrative form. In the context of war journalism and production of war footage, Sørenssen states “[...] skulle filmen komme til å spille en viktig rolle som ideologisk våpen, ikke minst i kraft av sin forlokkende tilforlatelighet overfor publikum: levende bilder som gjengir virkeligheten, slik den er og var.” (Sørenssen 2001: 43)<sup>49</sup> World War II showed the importance of propaganda and educational films and also gave a lift to the genre after the war (Sørenssen 2001: 151f).

While motion pictures can be ‘inspired by’ or ‘based on’ true events, the genre of documentary requires a trustworthy base in real events, facts and, scientific research in the best case. If a documentary does not suggest that it relies on real events, it may lose its credibility and its authority. The camera as a tool was given the role of documenting “neutrally” and of helping to preserve events from the past for the future.

Damit fiel der Kamera, erst der Photo-, dann der Filmkamera, eine doppelte Rolle zu: Sie war konstruiert worden, um Bilder nach der Natur, Aufzeichnungen physischer Objekte in ablaufender Zeit zu produzieren; damit fiel ihr von Anfang an nicht nur die Rolle des ‚neutralen‘ Beobachters zu, sondern auch die eines externen Gedächtnisses. (Koch 1995: 499)<sup>50</sup>

To strengthen the impression of a reliable account of real events, in many documentaries archival footage or footage that seems historical is used. This means that, if it is a documentary about a historical topic, assumingly original footage of this period is used in the documentary. Informed and genre-knowledgeable audiences identify footage that responds to cultural and temporal conventions. Monochrome colours, grainy image quality, and hand-held camera movements could correspond to expectations about footage from the 1940s, even though only a part of the audiences has seen footage of the 1940s in the 1940s and can convincingly identify them as such.

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<sup>49</sup> “[F]ilm would come to play a decisive role as an ideological weapon, not least because of its power of trustworthiness for the audience: living pictures that depict reality, as it is and has been.” (Sørenssen 2001: 43), my translation.

<sup>50</sup> “The camera, first the photo then the film camera, was given a dual role: It was constructed to produce realistic images, depictions of physical objects, in passing time: for this reason, from the beginning it was not only a ‘neutral’ observer, but an external memory as well.” (Koch 1995: 499), my translation.

A reciprocal influence seems apparent here; original footage helps to make the documentary trustworthy on an intra-medial level, and the use of original footage in documentaries enhances audiences' acceptance of the authenticity and authority of the medium. "The unique power of the photographic image, however, is that its informativeness is accompanied by what many take as a built-in evidence, supplied by the medium itself and the photograph's means of production." (Plantinga 2013: 41) The archival origin of the footage used in documentaries often stays in the dark because the genre conventions do not encourage thorough referencing. Still and moving images are seen as evidence by the public. If it supports a claim, it can serve as evidence (Plantinga 2013: 40). Chapman ascribes "filmic evidence" (2013: 80) to non-fictional films such as actuality film and documentary in general. "[...T]he nature of the historical evidence is directly related to the empirical content of the film" (ibid.: 80f.) and provides the film with an authentic character. There is no need to reference where exactly the footage originated, who recorded it, who edited it, which time code was used, and from which overall film reel it comes. The only common reference is to list the appropriate institutions, museums, archives, and collectors in the credits in the end of the documentary.

Approaching the selected archival materials and their use, Plantinga's questions to documentaries can lead the way. "We must consider (1) the context in which the images appear, (2) the type of image and the nature of its use and, finally, (3) the difficulty of determining what images are evidence of." (2013: 43)

Two assumingly original types of archival footage and their potential effect on memories about World War II are particularly interesting in all three documentaries; the footage of the launch of 1 April 1939 and the footage of the last bombardment on 12 November 1944. An analysis of the use of this footage is important because differences in the selection, embedding, and in the function of the footage may point to different potential effects to audiences in these documentaries. Additionally, it seemed obvious to search for the footage in the archives that stored, I thought, the original archival footage. What I found was somehow original, somehow edited, somehow channelled, and somehow limited. The institutional organization of historical documents in archives may imply that the stored information is trustworthy. Historians, archivists, and other scholars have helped to gather and sort the documents. Still, the documents have been taken out of their original context and functionality, and meta-data about the documents are often lacking. Archival work as a method therefore has its insufficiencies as well, when documents cannot be traced back to their original context and function, their usage and re-usage. The question of which documents are really kept in the archives, which were sorted out and why, must always be considered when approaching archival material.

### Original Footage of the Launch

Before I analyse the scene of the ship's launch in the British, German, and Norwegian documentary, I show an analysis of the oldest footage I could find of the launch scene; in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin and its film archives. With the help of the staff at the archives, I was able to examine twelve films that came up with the search key word "Tirpitz". In some of them, the battleship appears as a main subject, in others as a minor side element. The launch of the *Tirpitz* is shown in five films.

To contextualise the films of the 1930s and 1940s, I want to turn to Kindler, who addresses the mediation of the necessity of arming the German forces as an important topic of 'Wehrpropaganda' in the 1930s. The NSDAP launched a film before the election that was titled *Abrüstung?* (1933). It dealt with the arming of rival forces and the need to keep pace with international developments (Kindler 2005: 591). The build-up of military strength was framed as crucial and the launches of the two large battleships *Bismarck* and *Tirpitz* were hyped as events of natural emancipation. "Marine-Kulturfilm" (naval documentary), as Kindler terms it (2005: 592), became an important tool to mediate particular popular images of the Wehrmacht to the public. The promising presentation of the reviving German Navy since 1933 was an attempt to link to the more prestigious times of the imperial navy. Germany's efforts to build a strong and compatible navy appeared minor compared to other nations' forces. Naval propaganda became even more important for "wehrgeistige Erziehung" (battle spiritual education) and to maintain the support of the public (Kindler 2005: 592f). Showing a documentary before the main film at the cinemas was a strategy to reach the masses (Kindler 2005: 599). German film, both in *Wochenschau* and as educational film, was of great importance to Nazi Germany once World War II had started. Documentary films with footage from the battlefield such as *Feuertaufer* (Bertram 1940) and *Feldzug in Polen* (Hippler 1940) would serve to "nazify" the population and to encourage public support of the cause (Sørenssen 2001: 127). Documentary film style during the Third Reich cannot be called fascist in itself. Its strategies can already be found in documentaries from the Weimar Republic and in international documentaries from the 1930s and 1940s. It is tempting to look at National Socialist documentary of this period as "idyllic and demonic". (Zimmermann and Hoffmann 2005a: 47) A look at the use of footage of this time in modern documentaries provides interesting insights into presentations of European history.

At first, I will focus on the monochromatic film *Schlachtschiff 'Tirpitz'* (archive number BSP 20238), which is dated to 1939 and seems to be the earliest published and still existing footage of the launch of the battleship. This film is edited, music has been added, and a narrator explains the news of the launch of the battleship. It is on a thirty-five-millimetre film and is 464 meters long, divided between two film reels.

An introductory image of a decorated bow and a balcony with a waving flag featuring a swastika builds the background for the title *Schlachtschiff 'Tirpitz'*. A text element recounts the launch situation, "Stapellauf am 1.4.1939 in Wilhelmshaven"<sup>51</sup>. The introductory written text states that this is a film by the Kriegsmarine that was made by Marine Hauptfilm- und Bildstelle. It shows an emblem of a battleship. Therefore, the purpose of the film is clearly defined in written form in the introduction because it is part of public relations strategies of the German Navy and the German empire. In addition, the presentation of the Kriegsmarine as owner of the film lets the viewer reason that the content of the film will have the distinct ideological and political direction of the 1930s. The political economy only in the information we are given in the intro is significant and shows us who owns the film (filter 1) and that the German citizens paid for the film through taxes to the German empire (filter 2). In the course of the film, we will find various hints of the anti-ism that is created in the film (filter 5) and we will hear how Germany will defend itself against hostile enemies (Herman and Chomsky 2002).

The film starts with a pan shot of a harbour area, assumingly Wilhelmshaven. We see workers and red-hot steel that they are working with. After that, there is a pan shot of the complete portside hull of the battleship from the front to the rear end while, from the very beginning, the narrator recounts the dimensions of the ship. Workers look into the camera before the perspective changes to a view from above the battleship with the town Wilhelmshaven and its church tower in the background. This shot could have been taken from a tower crane located on the rear of the portside of the *Tirpitz*. The camera follows the procedure where the workers put the ship on the wheeling elements for the launch. It seems to be the day before the launch and Grand Admiral Raeder inspects the work at Wilhelmshaven harbour. He and a group of men watch a small-scale model demonstration of the launch. The camera pans the constructions around the bin of the ship that are decorated with garlands and a text banner that says "Nicht Kunst, nicht Fleiß noch Arbeit nützt, wenn Gott der Herr das Werk nicht schützt"<sup>52</sup>. A part of the German fleet arrives at Wilhelmshaven the day before the launch. Above all these pictures lie military marches and there is little narration. The narrator recounts the twenty-one-gun salute that welcomed Adolf Hitler; the Führer salutes, and the crowd cheers and salutes back.

The next shot (Figure 15) is recorded from an upper position portside of the ship. On the right-hand side is the *Tirpitz*, decorated with garlands as people cheer along the railings. Below and to the left, there is a crowd of people filling the place. It seems as though they are grouped by colour, light and dark ones that could indicate certain affiliations

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<sup>51</sup> "Launch in Wilhelmshaven 1 April 1939", my translation.

<sup>52</sup> "Neither art nor diligence nor work help if the Lord God does not protect the work", my translation. A brief internet search connects the saying to the Freemason movement.



Figure 15: Launch scene of the *Tirpitz* in Wilhelmshaven. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:04:10)<sup>53</sup>. Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

such as military, workers, or visitors. Most of the people in the crowd are giving the Hitler salute. There is a gap in the crowd where a group of people is passing through the crowd. In a later shot, we see that it is Hitler who is walking through here together with his staff. The scene of Hitler walking through a crowd can seem a familiar image from other mediations of that time and it may have recognition value for audiences knowledgeable of the genre. In the background are buildings, taller constructions from where visitors can follow the launch ceremony at the balcony portside of the bow, and an industrial chimney and the church tower in the back.

Various perspectives on the harbour area, the tower cranes, and the ship follow, giving an impression of the size of the ship and the crowd of celebrating people. The next camera perspective shows Hitler passing soldiers with his staff. The shot must come from a construction next to the portside bow and the camera records from a high position. In the background, we hear the first verse of the *Deutschlandlied*.

The group around Hitler enters the balcony and the narrator announces that the retired Vice Admiral von Trotha is opening the main ceremony. Von Trotha's speech is fully recorded in the seemingly original sound. While he is praising the size and armament of the ship, the screen shows close shots of the propellers, of people looking up out of the context of the speaker or the ship, and of waving flags. Phrases by von Trotha are accompanied by affirming images such as close-ups of workers and soldiers when he

<sup>53</sup> It was not possible to get a copy of the footage I looked at in the Bundesarchiv, but I am sure that these sequences are the same in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and in *Schlachtschiff Tirpitz*.

talks about “die Tausend”<sup>54</sup> and “der Mann”<sup>55</sup>. He is also talking about “der Name des Mannes, den dieses Schiff tragen soll: Tirpitz”<sup>56</sup>, which is followed by a semi-transparent painting of Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz (1849–1930) laid over the screen in which he is well recognisable by his two-spiked beard. Von Trotha’s speech ends when he shouts “Sieg” and the crowd answers “Heil” three times in rotation, emphasised with a close shot on marine soldiers who answer “Heil”. Ilse von Hassel baptises the ship with the words “Im Namen des Führers und des obersten Befehlshabers der Wehrmacht taufe ich dich auf den Namen Tirpitz”<sup>57</sup> and with help of a rope smashes a bottle of what is probably champagne against the bow of the ship, which corresponds to familiar traditions of ship baptisms. When the bottle is broken, a men’s choir starts to sing “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles”<sup>58</sup> from the *Deutschlandlied* and the battleship starts to move into the water from the left to the right on the screen. A short shot shows some engine arms that are operated to supplement the procedure of the launch for the spectator. Another shot records the bow from a worms-eye view straight frontal as the ship is moving away from the camera and the camera pans up and down (shots used in the opening sequences of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* discussed in chapter 2.1.4). Several shots and close-ups of the ship sliding into the water, from the land and from the water, follow. In one perspective, the ship takes the whole breadth of the screen, demonstrates the ship’s huge dimensions. People on the deck cheer, wave, and give the Hitler salute. A men’s choir sings the Horst-Wessel-Lied (composer of the melody is unknown, text by Horst Wessel [about 1929]) once the *Tirpitz* is in the water.

The second reel of the film is without sound, probably a defective copy, since the first part of the film was with sound. We see the German fleet positioned in the Wilhelmshaven harbour with sailors on board who are lined up standing on the decks, railings, and in the yards. The camera, itself filming from a moving ship, passes by cruisers, submarines, and sailing ships. We see waving flags and sailors in close shots wearing hats with the names of their ships such as “Deutschland” and “Scharnhorst”. The camera accompanies a smaller ship that sails Adolf Hitler with his staff to the *Scharnhorst*, where he inspects the ship and the crew. Smaller ships drag the hull of the *Tirpitz* very slowly through the harbour area to the location of its further construction. Filmed from portside and from above, we see that the battleship is only a naked, floating hull without

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<sup>54</sup> “the thousand”, my translation.

<sup>55</sup> “the man”, my translation.

<sup>56</sup> “the name of the man that this ship shall bear: Tirpitz”, my translation.

<sup>57</sup> “In the name of the Führer and the Commander in Chief of the Wehrmacht, I baptise you by the name Tirpitz”, my translation.

<sup>58</sup> “Germany, Germany above everything”, my translation.



any canons, bridges or towers on deck. The final image in the film is a flag, an eagle, and a swastika.

At least the first part, which is conserved with sound and speech, seems to be the public announcement of the launch in 1939. No broadcasting dates and information about the frequency of the broadcasting of this program were archived together with the footage. Regarding the meaning of this footage at the Bundesarchiv, Jan Kindler states that together with the successful occupation of Norway through the German Navy, the documentary *Schlachtschiff 'Tirpitz'* represents a renaissance of the classic battleship propaganda. The film was the most elaborate presentation of a launch and helped to “[...] hier das Schiff als monumentales Repräsentationsobjekt einer homogenen und rüstungstechnisch leistungsfähigen Volksgemeinschaft charakterisieren.” (Kindler 2005: 599)<sup>59</sup>

Another film called *Schlachtschiff Tirpitz—Stapellauf* (archive number M 1392) seems to be a collection of the footage for the film I described above. It shows some of the scenes as the previous film, albeit incoherently, with no story, narration, or sound in the background. The shots are sometimes very long and seem to be experimental regarding perspective and selection of the focus. According to the choice of shots, their extensive length, and the incoherence of the footage, I reason that this material is a kind of pre-cut for film BSP 20238 that I presented above.

Further footage that I found at the Bundesarchiv was a film about the German Navy *Deutsche Kriegsmarine* from 1939 (archive number M 3119). Kindler states that this kind of film was explicitly designed for educational purposes and was only presented to schools and youth groups (Kindler 2005: 598f). *Des Kaisers Hafen* from 1948 (archive number M 2669) presents the story of the town of Wilhelmshaven between 1939 and 1948. Echoing Hoffmann when he addresses the film *Rüstungsarbeiter* (Hart 1943) also suits this documentary: “In dramaturgischer Hinsicht ist er jedoch alles andere als ein dokumentarischer Film. Er ist ein mit Schauspielern inszenierter Kurzspielfilm, dem eine dokumentarische Aura verliehen wurde.” (Hoffmann 2005b: 636)<sup>60</sup>. Amongst the footage about *Tirpitz*, *4. Deutsche Wochenschau* (archive number M99) and *Ufa-Tonwoche 448/1939* (archive number UTW 448) present the launch of the battleship. The style of these newsreels might be recognisable by sounds, tone, and speech for informed and interested audiences and can have a referential authenticating effect for audiences.

This short overview shows that, for the search of the keyword “Tirpitz”, mostly extensively edited film clips with little metadata are stored and available at the Bundesarchiv.

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<sup>59</sup> “characterise the ship as monumental representational object of a homogenous and armament technical efficient community” (Kindler 2005: 599), my translation.

<sup>60</sup> “Dramaturgically, it is no documentary film. It is a short motion picture staged with actors that was provided with a documentary aura.” (Hoffmann 2005: 636), my translation.

This is probably also what the filmmakers found, viewed, and used in their documentaries, just as it was. Without the specificity of the event of the launch of the *Tirpitz*, footage of cheering crowds, military presentation, and Hitler joining those help to illustrate and to strengthen the narrative of the National Socialist society and its power, exemplified in the analysis of the films below.

### ***The Battle for Hitler's Supership***

The analysis of the use of this footage below shows how the transported message of the same footage varies when music, text, and embedment in the documentaries are adjusted.

In which way combines the British documentary *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* archival footage made by the German Kriegsmarine and new footage such as re-enactments? How do text and speech support the film's main narrative, and how is the scene of the launch embedded in other scenes? How do these tools create a dominant memory potential about the *Tirpitz*?

A sequence of the attack by the *Tirpitz* on Svalbard in 1943, *Operation Sizilien*, comes before the scene of the launch. The narrator Piers Gibbon's voice announces at minute 0:01:50 that "a strategic Allied weather station is about to feel the full force of Hitler's most powerful killing machine". This sentence in itself seems to show the disproportion between the target, a weather station, and the battleship, here called "Hitler's most powerful killing machine". This simplification of the battleship and all the force of the enemy that stands behind it to a "killing machine" could be interpreted as an abstract version of what Der Derian calls "virtualization of the enemy":

Perhaps this is a new characteristic of virtuous warfare: that as states dematerialize and deconstruct, as national identities become more fluid, as simulations and scenarios reach for credible threat, the public image of the foreign enemy is (only) reducible to a wanted poster. This is the conundrum of virtuous war: the more virtuous the intention, the more we must virtualize the enemy, until all that is left as the last man is the criminalized demon. (2009: 101)

Here Der Derian addresses modern warfare and the framing of a suitable enemy. The strategy of reducing a larger enemy complex down to single and simple figures can be traced back to early war rhetorics and strategies (Heuser 2010). Hitler and the *Tirpitz* represent the unmistakable enemies in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. The audiences seem to be assumed not to understand more complex systems of conflict, but are rather introduced to a simply framed evil—a machine, a criminalised demon.

The footage of the shooting towards the island (0:02:23–31) seems to be the one that is also used in German propaganda film with archive number DW 682 that I viewed in the

Bundesarchiv. However, the following pictures of “utter devastation” (0:02:31–47) do not appear in the German propaganda film. Even though one would expect this attack to be highlighted in German news because it was an attack against an enemy base in the Arctic. One could say that this presentation of the attack on Svalbard is there to establish the threat by the *Tirpitz* and in a way already introduces the justification for the hunt and the destruction of the ship. This justification pattern appears more significantly with other examples later on (see chapter 2.4 *Re-enactments*). The narrator ends this part with “Churchill had asked to be informed about Tirpitz’ every move. Because this ship had the power to turn the whole war into Hitler’s favour”. At the beginning of World War II, the British Navy was a symbol of British power, supported by former navy minister Churchill. The *Tirpitz*, threatening British hegemony at sea, became an antagonistic symbol that had to be destroyed. Yet, until 1943, the experiences of the years of war had demonstrated that large, slowly manoeuvrable ships would have disadvantages against modern bombers (cf. Kindler 2005: 592). The narrator’s sentence works with an emphatic choice of words; the expressions “every move” and “whole war” point to necessarily thorough actions needed to prevent the ultimate catastrophe. Both the choice of images and the choice of words reinforces the antagonistic mode of rhetoric (Erll 2008b), which is additionally intensified with an inherent hero narrative; the reluctant British, represented by Churchill, who need to act after being confronted with this incarnation of evil. The constant repetition and enhancement of the same message must have an impact on what audiences remember, as pointed out by Jan Assmann (2011: 3).

The scene of the launch starts with a slow, relaxed, awaiting drum rhythm with four tones that go in a loop (0:03:06–48). It uses a compilation of two kinds of re-enacted footage; some images under a sepia filter, others with realistic colour. We see work at a harbour where only parts of the work are visible through close shots and through moving workers. People are looking up at something tall, looking into something light, and there is an atmosphere of serious concentration. The yellow filter over the sweating workers gives an atmosphere of heat to the images. It was certainly not hot in northern Germany in March 1939, but the heat can refer to the heat produced by doing welding work. “Something very alarming was going on in the port of Wilhelmshaven in northern Germany”, the narrator tells (0:03:24). This is remarkable because the *Tirpitz* was already the *fourth* battleship in a row after *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, and *Bismarck* that was launched by Germany. Why was this so alarming? *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* will tell us shortly. Introducing the coming developments and scenes as something “alarming”, the documentary may play to what Jones calls “universal emotions” of the audiences, catching them through the production of suspense.

In this reading, the filmic representation of the past is meant to function indexically in a similar way to the eyewitness or original artefact. In contrast,

the appeals to an affective response in the viewer, ‘universal’ emotions and a sense of history without accuracy, can be understood as a form of experiential authenticity in which the subjectivity of the viewer is the focus, not the objective portrayal of the past. (Jones 2012: 196)

A montage of a screen divided in three shows workers under a yellow filter and realistic re-enacted images. A flag with swastika is visible in the background of one of the pictures (Figure 16). This split screen is a significant form of hyper-mediation where the viewers are massively aware of the medium that they are watching (Bolter and Grusin 1999). The presence of both re-enactments demonstrates the potential of a multi-medial document such as documentary. The purpose of this triple split screen might be to show the continuous work that is managed in German war industry. “If the logic of immediacy leads one either to erase or to render automatic the act of representation, the logic of hypermediacy acknowledges multiple acts of representation and makes them visible.” (Bolter and Grusin 1999: 33f.) From the division, the drum music is supplemented by a smooth sound of a wind instrument. This smoothness could musically underline the fluidly ongoing work in this German harbour, exemplary for German harbours and shipyards in general. Other pictures and combinations in the triple split screen follow. Highlighting these technical possibilities, such as dividing the screen, contributes to avoiding immersion into the medium and the narrative. In that case, audiences might become aware that they are watching obviously constructed footage.

At 0:03:48, we see the battleship for the first time in this scene. There is a re-enactment where five men look at some papers together, and then point and look up. Behind them hangs a flag with a swastika. This shot is followed by archival footage in black and white that shows a pan shot over the whole length of the ship. The narrator says “when it is completed...” and lists the size and attributes of the ship.

Black and white footage with shots of the ship where only parts of the *Tirpitz* are visible interchange with re-enactments under a yellow filter. In a re-enactment (0:03:50–54), a boy under a yellow filter looks up to something tall, his face lit from the right side, and he squints his eyes. Two men next to him look one after the other at the same tall target and their faces are lit from the right side. The camera catches the three in an upward view and with close shots. This camera perspective gives the men and even the boy a tall appearance. The spectre of symbolic projections of interpretation is wide; are the men growing in the presence of this masterpiece of war industry? Do they seem God-like as creators of this ship? Does their strength and capacity for work make them tall? Another observation is that no women appear in connection to the harbour work. They only appear later on to baptise and to cheer for the ship. The focus on developing and working men fits the zeitgeist within which this narrative is playing and fulfils stereotypical expectations, contributing to and reproducing a mythical and patriarchal mode. “The male

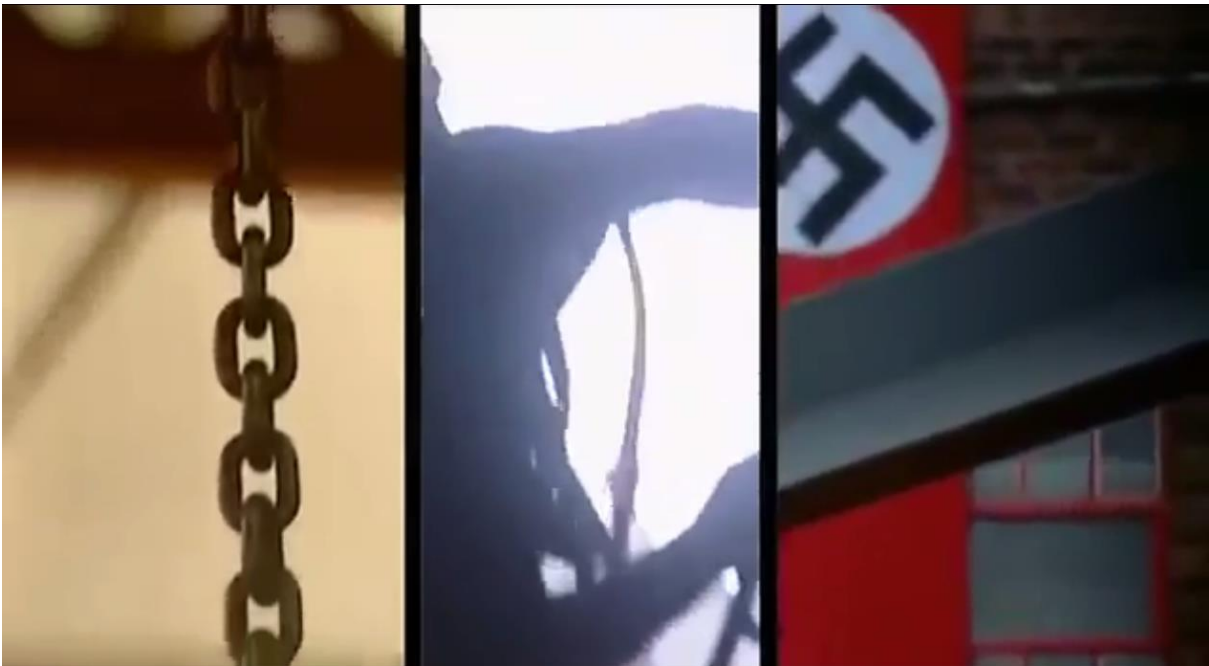


Figure 16: Preparation for the launch. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:03:31). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

protagonist is free to command the stage, a stage of spatial illusion in which he articulates the look and creates the action.” (Mulvey 1999: 385)

The camera shows a long pan shot in black and white from the left to the right along the battleship (0:03:55–0:04:08). The view fails to catch the end of the ship and with this camera movement, the ship seems to be endlessly long. During this pan shot, the narrator recounts the dimensions of the ship, describing it as a skyscraper on the waves, one of the biggest weapons afloat. The long pan shots may call upon an interpretation of *the male gaze* (Mulvey 1999), the camera gliding slowly and thoroughly over the appearance of the ship, which is often referred to in female terms in this documentary<sup>61</sup>. Audiences’ eyes may rest on and acknowledge the dimensions of the ship that for now is lying passively in dry dock, soon to be completed by the male workers. The appearance fits the traditional notion of war as an inherently masculine field. The abundant use of superlatives characterises the message of the main narrative, which deals with the “beast” that has to be fought (see chapter 2.6 *Text*). The narrator ends with “and all this with a single purpose in mind: To dominate the Atlantic and challenge the supremacy of the Royal Navy” when the camera reaches the stern of the ship. The presentation of the launch, the crowd, and Hitler also seems to have only one “single purpose”, namely to frame an obvious potential threat to the British Empire in this documentary. Constant invitation

<sup>61</sup> The naming of ships after goddesses and beloved women has been common in the naval context since at least the 1300s, and the connotation ranges from the protective mother figure to the adored but controlled female companion in battle and trade. There has been a trend away from this tradition to give ships gender-neutral pronouns in the last twenty years (collected in Davies 2019).

to experience a national pride over fighting a mighty enemy together, and the accompanying creation of heroes, seem dominant in this scene.

The next monochromatic shot is the one from *Schlachtschiff 'Tirpitz'* (archive number BSP 20238). It is filmed from a high perspective and we see a crowd of people who are standing tightly together (0:04:08–12; Figure 15). Between them are gaps through which a group of people is marching; large flags decorate the scene. On the right of the picture, a large hull of a ship in a dry dockyard is visible. The ship is decorated with garlands and people are standing on the fences of the ship, looking down. In front of the bow, a structure is placed by which people can walk up and be at eye level with the top of the ship's bow. In the background, we see the old buildings of a town, a church tower. The music plays the *Deutschlandlied* without text, which fits the intended English speaking audiences. The characteristic instrumental tones of the anthem seem sufficient to transport the meaning of German Nazi unity and collective excitement about the launch event. The narrator's speech anchors the images, "[...] the text *directs* the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others; by means of an often subtle *dispatching*, it remote-controls him towards a meaning chosen in advance" (Barthes and Heath 1977: 156; italics in original).

The camera films from a high perspective down on Hitler and a group of officers, who are marching through the crowd (0:04:12). The camera perspective makes Hitler seem small, but in this situation the camera perspective might serve to demonstrate the size of the ship from where Hitler is filmed. The sun shines, shadows point from the right to the left, and Hitler gives the Nazi salute with his right hand raised into the air. A group of three men filmed from below reply to the Nazi salute (0:04:14) and a plate with "Tirpitz" written on it is flipped from the railings of the decorated ship (0:04:15). Flags, garlands, and people are waving in the wind.

In minute 0:04:17, black and white footage shows a crowd filling the screen; they give the Hitler salute simultaneously and are cheering. The narrator gives the information that the *Tirpitz* was launched in April 1939 with large crowds and "under the supervision of Hitler himself". Quick cuts of monochromatic footage illustrate the scene; Hitler on the balcony portside of the bow together with his smiling staff; a woman who throws a bottle against the bow of the ship, where the ship takes the whole height of the screen and has no end on the bottom or on the top, and the plate inscribed with "Tirpitz" hanging from the railing. The archival footage is provided without information. The audiences do not learn who the woman who baptises this ship is. What seems to matter in these quick cuts of archival footage is an impression of the real, an impression of the true historical past that was caught on film and is transported to the present. The narrative choices in *The Battle of Hitler's Supership* shown above do not seem to focus on context and information, but rather on the main narrative of the "beast", Hitler, and the great threat.

The moving documentary picture being the younger sibling of photography, Plantinga's observation is relevant here too.

Photographic images provide their best evidence for the brute presence of various entities before the camera and, beyond that, that entities looked a certain way or moved through space in a certain way. Yet images cannot make sense of this physical reality. Human beings do that. (2013: 45)

It is from two sides that images and footage are supposed to make sense; the mediators arrange archival footage in such a way that it fits the narrative and makes it plausible for the audiences. For their part, the audiences have to make sense of the images they see, too. Thus, the human being on both sides of the screen is an aspect that should not be underrated.

The sound changes in minute 0:04:24, as if it is coming through an old radio or old speakers, and we see a man in close shot smoking a pipe and watching a flickering film on a silver screen. The footage of the *Tirpitz* gliding from the dock from a frontal worms-eye view, as is shown in archival footage BSP 20238 and in the opening sequence discussed in chapter 2.1.4, is repeated, and the next shot shows filmstrips and a viewing machine. Some archival footage from before is repeated, partly several times like the frontal worms-eye view on the bow of the battleship, and other archival footage that has not appeared before, is woven into the scenes where British Admiralty, according to the narrator, is watching the footage. Britain is watching and observing what Germany is doing. The core scenes of the event are repeated and shown from the perspective of the British observers. Jan Assmann's *repetition principle* confirms that these repetitions can very much contribute toward the creation of memory potentials (cf. 2011: 3). Additionally, the British are informed about the potential threat and the scenes of the British watching the launch help to shape the evil. Audiences of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* already experience moments of recognition, being able to identify the footage the British 'get access' to in this re-enactment. The strategy helps to bind audiences to the documentary and to convey a feeling of knowledge and learning achievement to the audiences. The 'new' footage from the British perspective could indicate that Britain even has pictures of the event of the launch that German broadcasting does not.

At 0:04:29 the narrator says "The *Tirpitz* was twenty-five percent bigger than the maximum size allowed under the treaties that followed the end of World War I." Beneath his voice, the melody of the *Deutschlandlied* without lyrics and coming from a scratchy speaker colours the scene. "Nothing in the entire British fleet came close to matching its awesome scale and fire power" the narrator says (0:04:39) while images of the *Tirpitz* in the fleet in Wilhelmshaven harbour and Hitler inspecting the *Scharnhorst* illustrate the narrative.

From minute 0:04:47, Tony Iveson, former member of 617 Squadron is sitting, possibly in a hangar; behind him is a plane. On the right, the hangar is open and light illuminates Iveson on his right. He is wearing a beige suit and a tie. It looks as though he is sitting under the wing of this plane. He talks about the *Tirpitz*, its speed on water, the size of the crew, and about the guns on board. “It was a remarkable, formidable ship” he ends. The former pilot shows appreciation for the ship and he emphasises the success of its destruction. The hero acknowledges his enemy, the machine, and takes the challenge (and the credit). As such, he is supplementing the characterisation of his hero figure.

For the second time, the footage of the ship sliding into the water appears, filmed from the waterside (0:05:10), and the ship takes all the space on the screen. The sound of a running film reel can be heard in the background. Before the music changes back to the pattern with the military drums at 0:05:17, therefore announcing a new part of the plot, the narrator ends the launch sequence with the words “something so powerful would be a tremendous threat to an island nation like Great Britain”. Here again “the single purpose” of the *Tirpitz* to “dominate the Atlantic” is framed one more time. The pre-mediation of Britain as a sea power and the threat posed by the battleship can be traced in the analysed documentary and it “[...] seems to refer not so much to what one might cautiously call the ‘actual events’, but instead to a canon of existent medial constructions, to the narratives and images circulating in a media culture.” (Erl 2008b: 392)

Not only documentary and museum exhibition, but also books, novels, and digital games represent the historical event “across the spectrum of available media” (ibid.) and may contribute to the narrative about the *Tirpitz* as a “transmedial phenomenon” (ibid.). The United Kingdom is presented and confirmed as an old sea power nation that is threatened by Nazi Germany and the *Tirpitz*. Its position and attitude has been topic of many medial representations about the past before, and will be again in the future. Therefore, *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* is an element in the trans-medial chain conveying an image of the United Kingdom and confirming established positions of good and bad.

How do *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* and *Det siste slaget* use the footage of the launch? A look at the length of the archival footage in the scene about the launch, the selection of images and camera perspectives, the sound and music, and at the moods they create helps to gain insights into the memory potentials these documentaries can produce.

### ***Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff***

In the scene before the launch in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, the narrator recounts the outbreak of World War II through the invasion of Poland by Germany, the rules set for the construction of war machinery by the Treaty of Versailles, and the fact that Germany was allowed to build battleships again from 1935 following a naval agreement with the



United Kingdom. The filmmakers chose to give context about the political situation instead of introducing the “beast” through an attack against a weather station. Only footage that seems original is used for this context scene, except for a digital map of Europe when the narrator is speaking about the invasion of European countries by Nazi Germany. A short clip showing German battle action on sea (from 02:19) seems to stem from a kind of educational propaganda film that could have had an informative function for the public in war time. The spoken text is different than that in the rest of the film and through its sharp tone, the nationalistic content, and the style of the speech, it suggests that it is from Germany of the 1930s. Genre-knowledgeable audiences might be able to distinguish between the voice of the narrator and locate it in their own time, and between the speech of a recording ostensibly from the 1930s.

The scene of the launch starts in 02:59, with re-enactment scenes and relaxed music as the British documentary does, but it is twenty-one seconds long instead of forty-two seconds in the British one. In total, the German documentary is about fifteen minutes shorter than the British one, and the mediators had to cut down somewhere. However, it is interesting that the launch has been explicitly presented in a reduced form. Can the mediators assume that German-speaking audiences are satisfied with a shorter sequence of the launch and perhaps do not need the same length of introduction to Nazi German pre-war atmosphere and mood than English-speaking audiences? The narrator introduces the information that the keels for two identical battleships, *Bismarck* and *Tirpitz*, were laid in 1936. The screen does not divide during the re-enactment and does not switch between archival construction footage and re-enacted people looking up to the ship, as it does in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. From 03:28, a long pan shot over the portside of the ship appears (possibly from archive number M 1392). A construction blueprint is laid over the original material while the narrator speaks about technical details of the *Tirpitz*. Only original shots of the construction process and the ship in the dock appear and accompany the narrator's retelling of the launch.

The British admiralty appears in re-enactment from 03:45, but there is no cross-cutting between archival footage and this re-enactment scene. There is no ‘film in the film’, meaning no film reels or strips in blurry close-ups, as they appear in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. The sound of cheering crowds moves from the re-enactment to archival footage in which Hitler is standing in a car, saluting. The location with the crowd and the ship to the right (Figure 15) is shown before Ilse von Hassel baptises the ship. In contrast to the British documentary, the whole text spoken by von Hassel is understandable in this scene. With the cracking of the bottle on the bow, a men's choir extra-diegetically starts singing “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles...”. After shots of the launch from different perspectives, from 04:50 the narrator recounts, still accompanied by the *Deutschlandlied*, that the *Tirpitz* was attacked for the first time in 1940 when the ship was still in dock awaiting completion. The narration builds the transfer to the hunt

for the *Tirpitz*, which is continued in the next scene where planes appear with propeller sounds and drum rolls, assumingly preparing the next attacks.

Two observations seem the most important here: *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* provides other, broader context for the events surrounding the *Tirpitz* than *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* does. Whereas the British documentary opens with the first and only active attack by the *Tirpitz* to frame the threat the ship is presenting, the German documentary recounts the political situation in Europe after World War I. Both documentaries offer different starting points for the audiences to interpret the story that follows and frame a divergent start to their narratives of 'the same' story. This observation can imply a goal rather to inform in the German than to frame evil like in the British documentary. The narrowing down of the conflict to Hitler/*Tirpitz* and Churchill/the people in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* is widened in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* to a broader perspective on World War II as a whole. Education and entertainment seem to be major objectives in both documentaries. Yet, the emphasis on education rather than on entertainment may be stronger in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. It might point to a pre-conclusion that comes to the fore in several parts of the analysis, that the German documentary seems to mediate the message that World War II and this story is not for entertainment, but is rather educational.

Furthermore, archival footage and sounds appear to be given more space in the launch scenes of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, with less cross-cuts to re-enactments. Maybe the strive for the "in dokumentarischen Filmbildern bewahrte visuelle Gedächtnis" (Zimmermann and Hoffmann 2005: 13)<sup>62</sup> motivated the producers to orientate the film on archival footage rather than on re-enactments. This choice of arrangement could point to different genre expectations and conventions for British and German documentaries. Different rhetorical tools may be acceptable for British and German audiences.

The kind of evidence documentary images offer, then, isn't legal or scientific, but 'rhetorical'. Rhetorical evidence depends on various assumptions about the trustworthiness of the film-makers, their purposes and claims, and the conditions under which the relevant images were created. It also depends on a congruence between the film's and the viewer's perspective, or on whether the film-makers can persuade the audience to accept their viewpoint. (Plantinga 2013: 44)

Mediators have to acknowledge the perspective of their intended audiences and try to find the common ground where the narrative is captivating but still believable, entertaining but still professional. While the German documentary may try to establish authenticity and trustworthiness by letting the original footage speak, the British one puts

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<sup>62</sup> "visual memory preserved in documentary footage" (Zimmermann and Hoffmann 2005: 13), my translation.

the spotlight on a fluid story, affectively supporting the original footage through re-enacted scenes. Archival footage and sounds are important, but they seem not to be sufficient to tell a satisfying story to British audiences. Considering the perspective of who is telling what, the message and the focus of the documentaries is not surprising; the winner of World War II gives an account of a hero-enemy relationship, while the loser of the war, and significantly the one who started it, too, attempts a more reflected and restrained approach towards the topic. Still, the *how* is important for this analysis. The tools used to mediate these messages is what I wish to direct attention to.

### *Det siste slaget*

The launch scene in *Det siste slaget* is the first scene after the opening sequence. Archival shots from the harbour in Wilhelmshaven, together with archival shots of people looking up, introduce the scene (Figure 17).

In the first seconds of this scene, a total of six shots show men looking up. This is very expressive and mediates how workers, sailors, officers, and visitors alike raise their heads and look up. The fascination mirrored in the facial expressions of the upward-looking men might demonstrate what Kindler, in reference to Maraun, called “synthesis of human and war technique [in battle]”:

Als filmpropagandistisches Gesamtprojekt sollten Kulturfilm zur Wehrmacht eher zu einer Synthese von Mensch und Kriegstechnik im Kampf finden [...] ‘Man erlebt in diesen Filmen das begeisternd exakte Zusammenarbeiten von Mensch und Apparatur: eine Technik, beseelt und gelenkt von menschlichem Willen, Menschen, miterfasst und geformt von der technischen Präzision und ganz von ihrer Energie erfüllt.’ (Maraun 1937: 17; in Kindler 2005: 604)<sup>63</sup>

The common antipode of human and machine seems to work in this context rather as evidence for human ambition and achievements, while it can be seen as a human enhancing and uplifting device.

A German voice can be heard in the background when the narrator is talking about the launch in April 1939. Knowing and comparing it to the archival footage from Bundesarchiv (BSP 20238), I can deduce that it is von Trotha’s speech. Non-German-speaking audiences and audiences without knowledge of personalities of the Third Reich will not recognise von Trotha. They only hear a German voice in the background that might

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<sup>63</sup> “As film propaganda and cinematic entities, culture film about Wehrmacht should rather find a synthesis of man and technology in combat [...] ‘One experiences in these films thrillingly exact cooperation of man and machine: a technique that is captured and formed by human will, humans that are incorporated and shaped by technical precision and that are entirely filled with their energy’”. (Maraun 1937: 17; in Kindler 2005: 604), my translation. Frank Maraun was one of the key figures in Nazi German film (Hochscherf and Winkel 2016).



Figure 17: Men looking up in the launch scene. *Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007: 00:26). Screenshot taken by the Juliane Bockwoldt.

indicate truthfulness of the footage. *Det siste slaget* works with superlatives to label the ship; “skipet skulle snart bli den største trusselen mot allierte konvoier... “(00:40)<sup>64</sup>. Archival material illustrates the atmosphere and shows flags in the wind, the ship from different perspectives, and the cheering crowd. During the “Sieg—Heil!” and the Hitler salute by the crowds, the narrator remains silent and seems to leave space for this ritual and for its own effect. The same shot as in the German and the British documentary appears in 00:49 (Figure 15). Short shots of the baptism and the launch are accompanied by shouts of “Sieg—Heil!” and the *Deutschlandlied* sung by a men’s choir. The song does not start at the beginning, which is perhaps not important for this documentary and its intended Norwegian-speaking audience. The song, starting at a later point, still mediates the message of a cheering, proud crowd. At 00:57, the screen shows the bow of the ship as it launches away from the camera. It is the same shot as used in the opening sequences of the British and the German documentaries; however, the scene is shorter and thus less emphasised.

The shot on the launch *Tirpitz* from the waterside is particularly interesting. The first image (Figure 18) shows the shot in both the British and the German documentary. The second image (Figure 19) shows the same footage with a different zoom perspective into the footage. In the former ones, the ship takes the whole breadth of the screen. In the

<sup>64</sup> “the ship would soon be the biggest threat against Allied convoys...” (00:40), my translation.

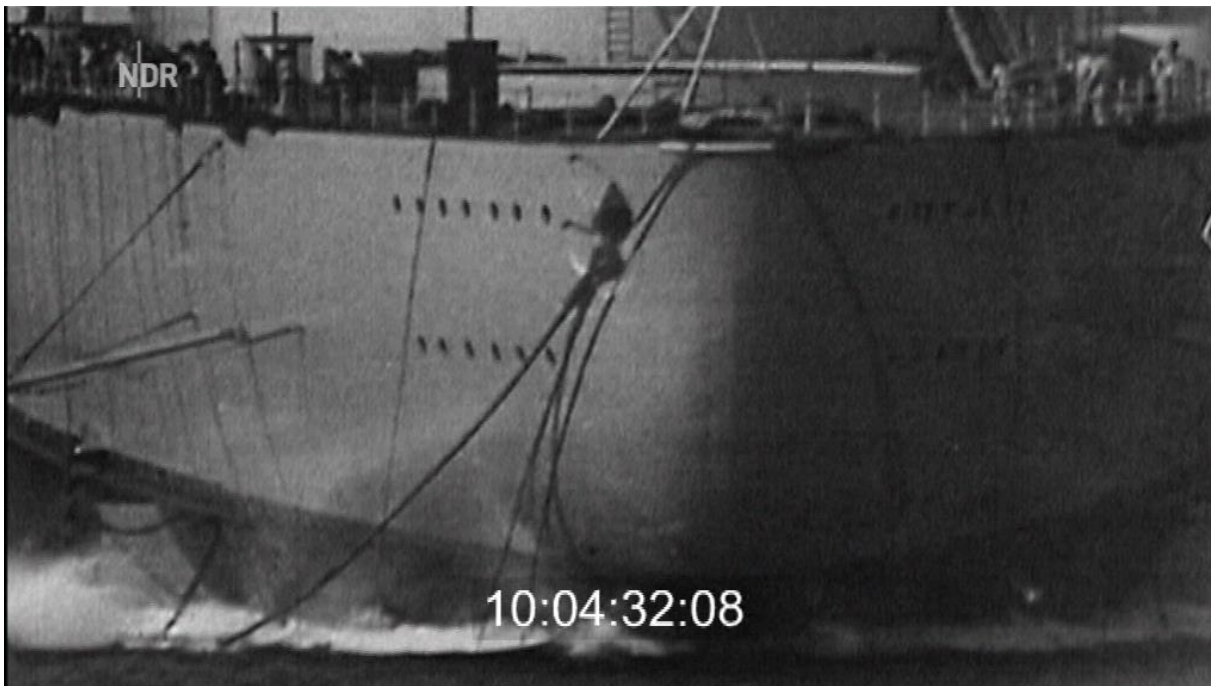


Figure 18: *Tirpitz* sliding into the water. *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* (Quinn 2005a: 04:32). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

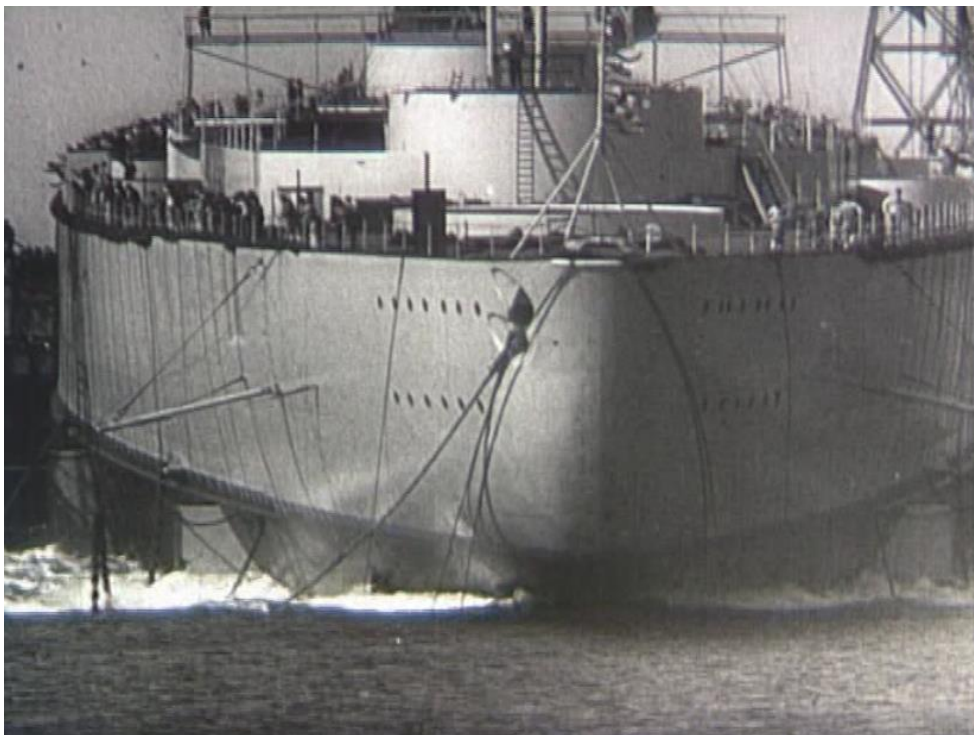


Figure 19: *Tirpitz* sliding into the water. *Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007: 01:08). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

latter one, in contrast the ship is unsymmetrically positioned in the screen and the end of the ship on the left-hand side can at least be seen.

The choice to zoom in the original footage and to make the ship appear massive on the screen is clearly to demonstrate the size and power of the ship. The director of *Det siste slaget* uses the stylistic device of zooming in on photographs at later points in his documentary, but chose not to here. The footage with unsymmetrical positioning of the filmed object serves to mediate a less staged presentation of the battleship. The conveyed message is rather about a regular launch than about an overwhelmingly threatening killing machine.

The second remarkable observation in the launch scene in *Det siste slaget* is a shot where media and contemporary media coverage become visible. In 01:17, Hitler is recorded while someone adjacent is taking a photograph (Figure 20).

The order of shots in *Det siste slaget* makes audiences assume that this recording was made on the balcony during the launch ceremony. Taking a closer look, one might realise that the fence of the balcony at the ceremony is decorated with plant garlands and that it is covered with a waving baldachin. This could indicate that this footage was chosen for other reasons than for its origin from the actual launch.

The arrangement of the image is illustrative, showing Hitler in a medium shot with his characteristic profile, a high rank officer looking at him, and surrounded by officers. Hitler's hand is in a military glove and holding the fence of what could be the bridge of a ship. The hand and the glove seem disproportionately large. The photographer is leaning over the fence to catch a shot of Hitler who is looking straight at something in a distance. Both methods of media production are present in this screenshot (see Figure 20); the photographer in the screenshot and the camera operator who is producing the image that we see in the screenshot. The screenshot keeps a still image of both "immobility and the importance of the moment" characteristic to the photograph and "movement and montage" connected to the cinematic (cf. Bruhn and Gjelsvik 2012: 61).

This footage does not appear in the other two documentaries. It is a good example of the use of footage that does not derive from the actual event, but that serves as illustration of the story to be told. It is placed in the arrangement in an appropriate way, "The first condition for documentary images to count as evidence is that the film-makers both produce and employ the images in appropriate ways [...]" (Plantinga 2013: 44) The fact that the image supports the narrative at this point and appears plausible seems to weigh more than the actual origin of the image. Aesthetics, expression, and mediating context may be the function of this footage in *Det siste slaget*. The potential effect on audiences might be an awareness of the extensive mediation of the event of the launch. The footage makes it apparent that cameras were present at the event, yet they are rarely visible in the footage. This screenshot above (Figure 20) documents a *documentational* moment, even if it is not from the launch event itself, and gives the visual medium itself space in the presentational frame.



Figure 20: Hitler being photographed. *Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007: 01:17). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

After showing the launch from several perspectives, waving sailors, and the *Tirpitz* sailing between other ships in Wilhelmshaven harbour, the scene ends harmonically with the end of the *Deutschlandlied*. The scene after the launch in *Det siste slaget* starts with black and white footage and the intra-diegetic sound of a plane propeller, which is also on screen. Pilots are sitting in planes, ready to depart. In this transition from the launch to the planes, fifteen seconds pass without narration. The images together with the intra-diegetic sound have room to make their own impact. Afterwards, the narrator recounts that the *Tirpitz* soon became an important target of the RAF. A photograph of Tony Iveson appears on the screen and the zoom moves into the photograph. The narrator says that Iveson was one of the pilots to sink *Tirpitz* in Tromsø. Here again, the town Tromsø is mentioned as it is in the opening and the final sequences of the documentary. The order in which the events about *Tirpitz* are told in *Det siste slaget* is remarkable; the documentary starts its story with the sunken ship in Tromsø during the opening sequence, jumps to the launch ceremony in Wilhelmshaven, and afterwards jumps back to the final attack when introducing the pilot Iveson. The recurring reference to Tromsø might serve as a moment of recognition for Norwegian audiences of *Det siste slaget* and activate audiences' local knowledge about the *Tirpitz* and the region. An empathic engagement with the story being told might be a consequence and may lay a foundation for memory potentials connected to the documentary.

The footage of the launch creates an impression of the atmosphere and the power relations at the zenith of National Socialism in Germany, during the arms race before the outbreak of World War II, and may leave audiences with a certain sense of knowing.

Audiences of a World War II documentary know what is about to come and how it will end for the German Reich.

According to Kindler, the German Navy did not have the kind of significant documentary resources that other parts of the Wehrmacht could muster (2005: 603). However, the analysed documentaries do not account for the fact of the deficiency of the German Navy, but present the launch as a monumental and threatening event before World War II. The battleship *Tirpitz* and the war machinery around Hitler seem powerful and strong—exactly as intended by the public relations office of the Wehrmacht. Is it not intriguing that propaganda of the Third Reich is placed back in its enlarging and enforcing context, yet here to show the struggle of the Allies finally to defeat “the beast”? The contrast between the footage of the launch and the footage of the sinking is significant, showing two very different moods and messages. How is the footage of the sinking embedded in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*, *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, and *Det siste slaget*?

### **Original Footage of the Sinking**

Searching for the original footage of the bombing of the *Tirpitz* in 1944, I contacted the Imperial War Museum in London. On their website, they give a thorough overview of their collection of film, photographs, and written documents and about how to get access to them. The mere fact that the museum makes data accessible online gives the data credibility through the authority of the museum. A user searching for decent information about a historical topic will rather address a museum, seen as an expert institution, and accept their information and data as trustworthy.

During my visit of the archives at the museum in April 2017, I was able to view a range of films connected to the *Tirpitz* and the last bombardment. I requested nineteen films and was able to view fifteen of them. Four could not be viewed because they only existed as unique master copies and were therefore not accessible due to conservation reasons.

The most important film was the operations film of the bombardment on 12 November 1944 since it is an assumingly little edited documentation of the event. The film is without text and sound. As a viewer, it is not possible to know how much of the footage was cut at the beginning and the end of the film. The described features of the viewed film clip are suggestive of their originality and their preservation since the actual recording. The observation that the footage has only been slightly edited grants the film clip a large degree of authenticity. The rather original status of the footage keeps the distance between viewer and the presented past event to a minimum and mediates the seemingly unaltered truth of the shown events through the camera.

The website of the Imperial War Museum provides the following information about this film:



RAF BOMBER COMMAND ATTACK ON THE TIRPITZ [Allocated Title]  
(film) Made by: Air Ministry, Directorate of Public Relations (Production sponsor) 1944-11-12

OPX 242

Object description: Day attack by Avro Lancaster bombers of the RAAF 463 Squadron against the battleship Tirpitz, Norway. Filmed by on board cameras. Camera plane piloted by Flight Lieutenant Buckham.

Creators: Air Ministry, Directorate of Public Relations (Production sponsor)  
RAF Bomber Command (Production company)

Loftus (Flight Lieutenant)

Rogers (Flying Officer) (Production individual) (IWM 2020)

These paratextual elements belonging to the documentary footage provide visitors of the website with information and create expectations as to the trustworthiness of the footage. The origin and producers of the footage seem to fit and confirm that here IWM is providing access to real documentation of historical events. The example of paratexts from this website illustrates the double character that paratexts may have. On the one hand, the presented paratexts *create* expectations about the trustworthiness of the footage. On the other hand, this paratext *responds* to what potential visitors and viewers might expect already of historical documentary footage. Therefore, fitting paratexts have the potential to contribute in any case to the appearance of the footage being trustworthy and telling a true story.

As a visitor to the website, I am given the information that this footage was ordered by the Air Ministry's Directorate of Public Relations. The film was produced to be used not only as documentation of the raid for the RAF internally, but also for communication about the operation external to the military. RAAF stands for Royal Australian Air Force and the Australian squadron number 463 was commissioned to document the raid of IX and 617 Squadron. Plantinga points to the double character of the photographic documentation being expression both dependent and independent from the photographer.

The photograph is only in part the product of the photographer's imagination. She or he determines framing, focal length, ISO, camera movement, lens and so on, and yet despite all of the subjective and creative decisions that go into taking the photograph, or getting the shot, the final result is to some extent free of the imagination of the maker. (2013: 42)

On the one hand, documentation of a historical event through the lens of a camera suggests a near and unadorned report of the event. On the other hand, the photographer has influence on the outcome of the photograph and, crucially, their creative decisions form the result on film. Connecting these thoughts to war journalism, the perspective

and the function can have decisive impact on the final photograph and footage; the perspective of the attacker in the air, the function to document for reasons of proof and education, and to mediate the attack against the enemy to audiences on both sides.

The connection between the genres of documentary footage and its use for propaganda purposes seems to be proximate. In the case of the footage of the last bombing of the *Tirpitz*, the documentary footage may have been generated to document the raid, to later serve as educational footage for pilots in the RAF and its allies, and to mediate the raid against *Tirpitz* to a broader public, both British and international. Uplifting for the British public and especially demoralising for the National Socialist public, the footage was produced as a form of propaganda, as one of the definitions of the term suggests: “The systematic dissemination of information, esp. in a biased or misleading way, in order to promote a political cause or point of view.” (OED 2004) The production and distribution of this footage is assumed to be for systematic dissemination of the fact that the *Tirpitz* had been destroyed, with the political cause of supporting the British and discouraging the German side. In accord with war rhetorics of the news reel genre, its later presentation as the decisive destruction of a powerful threat diverges from the observation of a damaged, un-maneuvrable, and little protected battleship that was bombed in Sandnessund.

The introduction to the documentary footage on the film reel at IWM gives the following information:

Squadron no. 463  
A’C Lancaster Y  
Pilot F’Lt. Buckham  
Cam. No. 1 F’Lt. Loftus  
- 2 & 3 F’ O. Rogers  
Height 13,000-5,000 ft.  
Time 0830 hrs.

The title of the section appears:

Bomber Command Operational Film, no. 242  
Daylight Attack on battleship Tirpitz Norway, 12.11.1944

The whole part about the bombing on 12 November 1944 is four minutes and fifty-three seconds long. Firstly, the footage from camera number one is shown, which was recorded by Flight Lieutenant Loftus (three minutes and eleven seconds). There is a large-scale shot of Håkøybotn, the bay where the *Tirpitz* was sunk. The camera approaches from the south and points to the peninsula of Tisnes and the islands of Grindøya and Håkøya. The large island of Kvaløya lies to the west and south of Håkøya, where the *Tirpitz* is anchored.

Defensive gunshots from the *Tirpitz* pop up in the sky below the planes. They explode far beneath the planes and leave traces of smoke in the air. It seems as though the planes are flying too high or are too far away, and that the guns of the *Tirpitz* could not reach them. There are no clouds and no camouflage fog, and no defending planes approach the scene. As Tony Iveson describes at minute 1:04:07 in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*: "It was like a practice bombing run." The ship can already be seen from a large distance and some smoke rises from the ship, which could be from the chimney or from the defensive fire. The camera plane flies until it is to the west of and above the *Tirpitz*. A bomb hits the beach west of the *Tirpitz* and earth and sand flies into the air. Immediately after the beach strike, a bomb strikes the ship (1:41). This shot is used most often in the documentaries and other films, as I show later. The plane with the camera flies a loop to the west and proceeds to record from there. Where the *Tirpitz* should be, there is a lot of smoke and flashes of defensive fire. One can vaguely see a water fountain rising from the ship, probably after a bomb strike. The perspective changes through a cut and the scene is seen from a lower altitude and at a shorter distance. Defensive fire is still coming from the ship and does not reach the attacking planes. It is unclear whether the ship is already capsizing. The scene changes through a cut and the camera follows planes at the same altitude and in the same direction over snow-covered mountains. It seems as though the planes are heading away after the operation. A cloud cover is shown beneath the planes and they fly "home" calmly.

Secondly, after three minutes and thirty-one seconds, the footage from camera number two, filmed by Flying Officer Rogers, starts. The footage shows the strikes on the beach and the ship from almost the same angle as at minute 1:41. There is no approach to the ship, after ten seconds we are straight at the scene of the bombardment. The recording is less shaky than the footage from camera number one. There is motor oil or fuel around the ship in the water. Between lots of smoke, the ship can hardly be spotted on the water. At minute 4:44, the *Tirpitz* can just be seen already capsized; the camera work is unsteady. There was no information available about the take from camera number three and of the cuts omitted from camera number two. One only can assume that the footage was dismissed due to a lack of quality or redundancy compared to cameras number one and two.

### ***The Battle for Hitler's Supership***

The British documentary *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, which is a total of one hour and nine minutes long, deals with the sinking of the *Tirpitz* in an eight-minute-long sequence. Frequent re-enactments, situations played by actors and camera styles that resemble historical ones, interchange with interview scenes with British and German eyewitnesses and archival footage. The archival footage of the sinking that I introduced

above appears two times in order to narrate the attack on the battleship. This footage, and its multiple appearance in one sequence, seems to call upon different kinds of fascination for the spectator. For the first, it is the fascination of the original. I would call this a referential strategy since it refers to other footage that the spectator would recognise as original on the basis of colouring, quality, and appearance. The fascination of the original can also invite the spectator to engage emotionally with the historical situation—they are seeing footage from when and where the event really happened. Secondly, this footage opens for the fascination of the tragedy, knowing, or at least assuming that many men were killed while this footage was being shot. Thirdly, the footage can create fascination of the achievement of the pilots to hit a target from this height, the achievement of the Allies to “defeat the beast”, one step closer to defeating Hitler.

Starting at timecode 1:00:03, the scene of the sinking of *Tirpitz* is introduced when the narrator recounts that Hitler had moved the ship from Alta to Tromsø after the previous attack against the ship. A map with a small spot of light on it shows viewer the movement of the ship. A menacing *basso ostinato* colours the scene. “It was to be a fatal mistake”, the narrator states in 1:00:05. Re-enactments of British pilots and German marine soldiers interchange with archival footage of preparing planes. The black and white footage of a bomb in the opening bomb hole of a flying plane with the narrator’s words, “If tall-boy was going to sink the *Tirpitz*, it was now or never” mark an inter-climax of the scene. A dark closing piano chord also marks the climax, giving an indication of coming action. With the fading piano chord, the screen goes dark.

Pilots are preparing their departure in a barely lit re-enactment filmed from a low angle, accompanied by a witty xylophone rhythm that loops and conveys endurance. The narrator provides the context that 617 Squadron is gathering to try one last raid before the polar night. Intra-diegetic propeller sounds appear with starting planes followed by shots of pilots sitting in the planes (1:00:34–1:01:07). New footage of fjords and mountains in clear weather filmed from the perspective of a plane follow next. Interestingly, the mountains are not covered in snow as one might assume in November in Northern Norway. Deep and dramatic brass sounds accompany the voice of Tony Iveson, who is recounting the flight over Norway and that they could see for “miles and miles” (1:01:22). Iveson, filmed in an interview situation from a low angle in a hangar, alternates with re-enactments of German officers on board a ship peering at something in the distance. The narrator reports that the *Tirpitz* did not have smoke screens in Tromsø but that it was protected by Luftwaffe from an airport close by. While the spectator learns this, quick cuts to on board the German ship show activity and alertness confirmed by extra-diegetic drum rolls announcing readiness for combat (1:01:39). After Iveson expresses that they were concerned about the Messerschmitts coming, British eyewitness Knights says that he was not scared (1:02:08). At 1:02:27, the German eyewitness Dr Heinz Hellendoorn, interviewed on the bridge of a ship, gives an account of how the

crew of the *Tirpitz* was looking at the sky and waiting for the German fighters to defend the battleship. The British voice-over for Hellendoorn's German is laid over the re-enactment of a German crew on the bridge of a ship. The combination of the trustworthy telling of the eyewitness with the historically inspired re-enactment seem to give a complete and plausible report of the situation on board the *Tirpitz* when it was about to be attacked. At 1:02:48, the question is resolved and the narrator says that the Luftwaffe fighters were sent to the wrong fjord. British fears were calmed and Germans fears confirmed. The drama announcing *basso ostinato* interchanging with brass sounds supports the mediation of danger in this scene. Alarm sounds, quick movements of German sailors on board in the re-enactment, and archival footage of flying planes alternate and convey movement and commotion. At 1:03:12, the screen already shows small light pops in black and white and blurry footage, taken from the footage from IWM number 242 where the RAF approaches *Tirpitz* next to the island of Håkøya. From 1:03:24, the perspective is already from the west down to the ship and is chronologically situated after the actual attack. When comparing the footage of the IWM with this scene, I can see that actual footage of another raid, on 29 October 1944, is used in this scene. The most conspicuous clue is that the weather in this footage is cloudy while the footage on 12 November and eyewitness reports state that the weather was clear. This small hint can be representative for the "creative treatment of actuality" (Grierson 1933: 8) in this and surely many other documentaries. Some footage does not show the actual reported event but somehow 'fits' the narrative and may fill gaps in the story without audiences noticing it.

Filmed from an extremely low angle on the deck of a ship, German eyewitness Klaus Rohwedder recounts how the British planes approached (1:03:32). A cut with Iveson introduces a kind of indirect dialogue about the attack as both he and Rohwedder talk about the *Tirpitz*' gunfire toward the RAF planes. Approaching the attack in the narrative, Iveson reiterates the moment when he and his colleague were aiming for the battleship and Iveson was to hold the plane steady: "And Frank said 'This is great! Hold it, hold it, hold it!' And then came the red light. And then down went Tallboy [the bomb]." (1:04:16). The story ends with the same shot of the bomb in the open bomb hold as at 1:00:30. Here, however, the bomb actually loosens from the bomb hold, turns its nose to the ground and falls. Rohwedder describes the falling bomb from the opposite perspective as it approaches the ship, which gives the scene a very close and simultaneously balanced character. The falling bomb filmed through the bomb hold is cross-cut with interview scenes of Iveson and Rohwedder until Iveson describes the Tallboy bomb as a "dead straight arrow" (1:04:59). A falling bomb filmed from another plane illustrates this description. Text and image confirm each other. At 1:05:05, the footage from the IWM archive with number 242 appears where bombs hit the beach and the ship. Sounds of explosions and gunfire supplement the images that were without sound in the archival

version of the IWM. The narration about the Tallboy bomb produces a plausible line of images of falling bombs, eyewitnesses describing the bomb falling and approaching the ship, and consequently of the bombs hitting the ship. For the spectator, there is no hole in the narrative and the story seems plausible and authentic, supported by seemingly authentic footage and sounds. Even the shaky camerawork seems to be in correspondence with the rhythm of the bombing on the ground. Coloured by a *basso ostinato*, Iveson closes with “It was doomed to be destroyed.” (1:05:24). The eyewitness even introduces a mystical connection to fate in his account of the ship being destined to end in destruction. The mission of the British RAF thereby is not only given a purpose justified by the general threat of the *Tirpitz* and its role in the attack against convoy PQ-17, but is also granted an almost religious character, executing the will of a higher force. Since the ship was doomed anyway, the pilots remove some responsibility from their own hands. An eleven-second-long re-enactment follows Iveson’s utterance that shows the situation below deck on the *Tirpitz*. Blurry close-ups show men fighting the water and screaming. The sound of streaming and gurgling water mix with the muffled sound of being under water as a viewer. With a quick and rushing drum rhythm, the hectic scene ends when a lamp below deck extinguishes with a sizzling noise and the sounds die abruptly with a slight echo that lasts as long as the light vanishes. The tone of the scene changes (1:05:35). The next footage is the shot of the bombs hitting the beach and ship, led by a sad and mystical vocalise, a song without clear words (see also chapter 2.2 *Sound and Music*). The singing voice, which recalls a Gaelic mourning song, together with the unsteady and monochrome footage, creates a mystical atmosphere. The sound of the striking bombs vanishes beneath the singing voice. The spectator can observe the scene of destruction from the perspective of the RAAF film team’s camera.

In German with English voice-over, Hellendoorn recalls how the watchtower fell on many men (1:05:53). Re-enactments from the belly of the ship complement the scene. The eyewitness closes by recalling that all these men were lost, and he bows his head slightly, supported by the sad song. In contrast, Iveson states without musical accompaniment, “There was no great emotion, really. There was too great a distance. And it was a target. It was like a toy, a little toy down there. And suddenly you couldn’t see it.” (1:06:21).

The last appearance of the inside of the hull shows floating objects in the water and the narrator recalling that about 1000 men died on the *Tirpitz*, again accompanied by the sad song. The drama seems to have come to an end. The re-enactments in this scene alone show the progression of the attack and how it could have been for the crew of the *Tirpitz*. The re-enactments filled holes in the story and added affective potential experiences for the viewers.

A Norwegian eyewitness, Rolf Mathisen, gives an account of the bombardment from the perspective of the Norwegian population in the area (1:06:51). The interview with

Mathisen is recorded on the shore of the island of Håkøya and the mountains and silhouettes of the island of Kvaløya are visible in the background. Waves purl on the shore and give the interview situation an auditory character that is close to nature. He acknowledges the dead and ends with, “It was pitiful, really”. Hellendorn, escorted by the mournful song, confirms the tragedy of the losses and again bows his head after having finished speaking: “It was horrific” (1:07:15).

Re-enactments of a British military office create a bridge to the events after the sinking and underline the narration about the developments: “Back at home the waiting was over” (1:07:21). To call the United Kingdom “home” gives this utterance a personal and, for Englishmen, inclusive character. It renders it less a tactical military situation than a mission that is complete; now “we go home”. The music, a cascading piano melody that has a pulsing, forward-moving character combined with muffled sounds of conversations, leads the scene that follows the sinking. At 1:07:45, Iveson emphasises the precise work that was done by his squadron to land a bomb from that altitude.

The very last scene of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* shows archival footage of Churchill, the narrator commenting “Churchill’s obsession had finally driven him to destroy the beast.” (01:08:00). The menacing, dark string chords from the very beginning of the opening sequence guide the archival footage of Churchill and Hitler and lead over to the motivating piano melody and a melancholic brass melody when commenting on the fate of British, Norwegian, and German participants in the story (see also chapter 2.1.4).

The use of the archival footage of the bombardment of the *Tirpitz* in this documentary demonstrates a particular strategy that allows a medium to seem authentic and trustworthy. Even in these short examples of my analysis, different memory potentials can be recognised. The interviews with the eyewitnesses present an experiential mode that shows the perception of the historical situation from British, Norwegian, and German perspectives. Especially in the scene of the sinking, the re-enactments might contribute to an antagonistic mode in which the roles are switched: the re-enactments in the hull of the ship show suffering Germans being attacked by the British RAF, in contrast to the rest of the documentary where the ultimate threat is coming from the German side. This is a remarkable strategy and culminates in a mystical mode. The archival footage presented alongside the sad and echoing vocalise creates an atmosphere of mystery and displacement that transforms the historical event shown in the footage into an otherworldly story. The developed modes satisfy the intra-medial levels of this documentary and may contribute to its memory-making potential. Familiar patterns such as re-enactments, interviews and archival footage respond to the inter-medial level of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* and make the documentary a plausible presentation of historical events.

### *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*

The scene of the sinking in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* shows some differences compared to *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. It is not only the archival footage that is embedded in a different way; *other* archival footage is also supplemented.

Minor differences that do not significantly change the message of the scene are for example that there is a different map showing how the *Tirpitz* was moved from Kåfjord to Tromsø (48:23). The map has a wider zoom than the one in the British documentary and shows a larger part of Norway than only a close-up on a small area on a map. Another minor difference is the use of a black and white photograph of the *Tirpitz* where the camera zooms into the photograph, making it appear like a moving picture (50:04). The photograph shows the *Tirpitz* lying in Sandnessund close to Tromsø and the motif fits the chronological story of this scene. The last minor difference that I want to highlight is that the musical pattern of the four dark string chords from the very beginning was looped in an untidy way and one can hear that the transition from one phrase to another is unclear (55:56). This observation leads me to assume that the music was edited for this scene in a different way than was originally planned. It appears that the German editors decided to modify the given musical patterns from *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*.

A major difference in the scene of the sinking that I want to emphasise is the introduction of archival footage of Allied troops entering German cities (48:45). Using footage of rolling tanks with seemingly intra-diegetic driving sounds, of soldiers swapping the German swastika flag for an American one on a balcony, and of the central station in Aachen, this sequence adds significant context to the scene of the sinking of the *Tirpitz*. It shows what was already indicated at the beginning of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*: that this documentary gives more space to the broader context of World War II. Footage of the advancing Allied troops and the seizure of a German city illustrates the development of the war in favour of the Allies. One could argue that this choice of presentation may hint at the meaninglessness of the destruction of the *Tirpitz* in general and to its mainly symbolic meaning of its destruction by the Allies. The footage of the context is of varying appearance and quality, but still conveys the impression of being authentic due to the unsteady camera work, the motifs of destroyed cities and moving troops in historical uniforms, and its colour. The colour of the footage of the rolling tanks is especially interesting since it seems to have been colourised in retrospect. This is a popular method for treating footage from before the colour film era. It gives the footage a kind of unnatural colour and it can therefore be recognised as colourised in retrospect. The footage is not marked in any way as archival footage. No year or place appears in a corner of the screen, which could hint to the intention of creating an unbroken flow of images of various origins, sources, and times. This flow enables the documentary to tell a narrative



with all stylistic devices such as eyewitness interviews, re-enactments, and archival footage without the obligation to actively identify them as one or the other. Rather than informing spectators about the format of the footage used, the narrative progression seems to be the more important goal.

The most important difference in the design of this scene is how the footage of the actual bombing is presented. As described above, in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* the final bombing is accompanied by a mystical singing voice. Instead, in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, the four dark string chords that are introduced in the opening sequence lead the archival footage, re-enactments, and interview scenes. The transitions from the first time the footage appears, where bombs are hitting the beach and the ship (54:22), over Iveson telling that the ship “was doomed to be destroyed” (54:29), to the hectic re-enactments under deck (54:33) are similar to *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. When the footage of the bombs hitting the beach and the ship appears for the second time, the scene develops differently than in the British documentary. A *basso ostinato* guides the footage and leads over to the low-pitched string chord pattern (54:56). Re-enactments of drowning soldiers under deck (55:00), archival footage of smoke rising from the water and oil on the water surface (55:05), and unsteady footage of the *Tirpitz* covered in smoke (55:07) are accompanied by the same dark musical pattern. The string chords also create a *bridge* between Hellendoorn's empathic report about dying comrades and Iveson's cool utterance about the lack of affective impact on him (55:39). The musical bridge prevents a clear caesura as in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and therefore tempers the contrasting character of the eyewitnesses' utterances. The German documentary does not work with a melancholic vocalise and does not create a feeling of displacement. The context of war developments and reports of German eyewitnesses are given more space and give the scene a broader and more matter-of-fact character. Music is applied differently and generates a dark and menacing atmosphere in a divergent manner. The dramatic caesura between Hellendoorn's empathy and Iveson's coolness is moderated by using a musical bridge between the interview sequences. The footage of the sinking is embedded in the arrangement described above, conveying the connection to historical reality, its “pro-filmic scene”.

The photograph is iconic in that, under certain conditions, it resembles its referent. [...T]he photograph, under certain conditions, offers a visual array that can display (some of) the same visual information as that which was available to a person at the pro-filmic scene when the photograph was taken. (Plantinga 2013: 42)

In this case, the pro-filmic scene is the destruction of the *Tirpitz* seen and filmed from the bomb hold of an RAF plane, yet both documentaries stage the footage of the bombing in a dramatic way with different musical accompaniments. The conveyed message is

divergent, mystical, and displaced in the British one, and dramatic and dark in the German one.

### *Det siste slaget*

As mentioned earlier, the narrative of *Det siste slaget* is constructed in a different way than those of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. This becomes especially clear in the scene of the sinking of the *Tirpitz*.

The scene of the sinking, as I define it from 22:40 to 35:59, at more than thirteen minutes, is longer than the sinking scenes in the British and the German documentaries. Archival footage of pilots preparing and starting planes accompanied by the accounts of Iveson and Watkins, two former RAF pilots, lead to the scene of the sinking. Seemingly intra-diegetic sounds of the planes colour the footage together with a slight, discreet music under them, which is hard to perceive consciously. In an unexaggerated manner, the pilots tell about the departure from Lincolnshire and Lossiemouth, how XI and 617 Squadron met in Sweden, and how they set out for Tromsø. The descriptions of “your mountains”, as Iveson frames it, and of the morning atmosphere, have slow, aesthetic character. Audiences have the time to delve into Iveson’s description of the landscape and into the approach to Tromsø. The expression “your mountains” is directed towards Hansen, who is doing the interview, however Norwegian-speaking audiences, and especially those knowledgeable of Northern Norway, might feel addressed explicitly in this small and probably unintended utterance. Iveson uses the same phrase as he did in the interview for *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, that one could see for “miles and miles” (Brit. 1:01:22). The whole introduction to the sinking of the ship has a very calm mood. New footage of snow-covered mountains slightly touched by the rising sun, as they might have looked in November 1944, illustrate what Iveson is describing. The filmed weather corresponds to the reported situation, in contrast to the mountains in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* where the mountains were clear of snow. The local knowledge of the mediator and a commitment to a correct characterisation of the surroundings must have contributed to this detail. Locals might recognise some of the mountains, such as Store Blåmann (24:31). The music develops into a kind of slow rhythm, fluctuating slightly in pitch. It could recall the sound of one’s own heartbeat and blood resonating in one’s ear when under mental stress. The sound design helps to immerse the audience into the story and to comprehend the exciting situation that the pilots were in. Watkins describes the moment when he spots the ship located in the sound: “the black ship showing up starkly against the white background” and “with the torpedo nets it was like a spider in a spider web” (24:50). The use of colours in his description and the figurative comparison of the ship with a spider insinuate the almost

aesthetic fascination of the moment when he discovered the ship. The perception is potentially conveyed to audiences who engage with his described situation and who might imagine the expressed situation. At the same time, the camera is moving over a photograph that shows the *Tirpitz* situated next to the island of Håkøya, where it was later sunk.

What is special about the arrangement of these scenes in *Det siste slaget* is that the sinking is told by British, German, and Norwegian eyewitnesses who are filmed, assumingly, at their homes, in their living rooms, with paintings and personal belongings surrounding them. The interview situations seem very personal, calm, and natural. Audiences see long shots on the faces of the interviewees and have the opportunity to study their faces, their expressions, and their speech (see also chapter 2.5 *Eyewitnesses*). The slow pace, the moderate musical supplementation, and the short distance to the interviewees makes their storytelling an almost intimate chatting situation.

When Hellendoorn speaks about the crew of the *Tirpitz* spotting the RAF planes and their waiting for German Luftwaffe planes from Bardufoss under Ehrler, monochromatic photographs show what might be the Luftwaffe base and an officer leaning over a map on a table. A silent ticking sound of a telegraph accompanies the zooming in on the photographs. The narrator summarises that “here” (“her”) and in Tromsø serious mistakes were made on 12 November 1944. The focus zooms in on a picture and pans to a close-up of a pilot, who is soon identified as Heinrich Ehrler by the narrator and who was one of the first pilots to depart for Tromsø (27:30). In 27:34, animated scenes of planes in the air with motor and propeller sounds illustrate the situation in Norway at that time and show one German plane in the air (see also chapter 2.4 *Re-enactments*). Hellendoorn, Iveson, and Watkins alternate in their accounts of the *Tirpitz*'s gunfire on the British planes that could not reach up to its targets (28:10). Again, a zoom into a photograph of the *Tirpitz* with smoking guns, as if it had recently fired, together with the sound of gunfire, mirrors what the eyewitnesses are retelling (28:25). Iveson explains the procedures on board their Lancaster plane, which had a computerised bombsight, how it felt losing a five-ton bomb, and how a photograph was automatically taken when the bomb was released (29:40).

Footage appears of the *Tirpitz* returning fire right before the strikes on the beach and the ship and fit the chronological order of the narrative (29:48). Immediately afterwards, Per Bjørgan, who was a refugee from the county of Finnmark, speaks about the experience of the bombardment up close. Photographs of bursts of water rising from the sea after bomb strikes illustrate what he is retelling. When Iveson describes how he experienced the bombing, he again mentions the photograph that was taken when a bomb is dropped (30:52). The photograph seems to serve as a proof for the action, to be able to reconstruct the events, and to evaluate which plane exactly dropped the crucial bombs. The accentuation of the photograph taken during the bombing is remarkable; Iveson

mentions it twice and thus highlights the act of documentation during the RAF raid. This photograph, which seems to have been generated in a technically sophisticated manner for that time, is part of this mission, documentation for the RAF as a whole and for the pilots in particular to prove a potentially decisive hit. Additionally, it is evidence for the world about the outcome of this mission. The documentation by photograph is a reassurance of the RAF deed that helps the public relations department of the RAF and the British state to prove, to argue for, and to justify the outcome of this special raid. Hansen, the director of *Det siste slaget*, additionally chose to highlight the process of photography documentation during the process of the launch (see Figure 20). He inserted a photograph that was definitely not taken when and where it appeared in the scene, but added it anyway, showing Hitler on a ship deck being photographed from the opposite side to the camera. Using these stylistic devices, the director chose to make the medium of photography visible in his documentary, albeit in a modest and silent manner. Audiences have the opportunity to discover and acknowledge the process of documentation in warfare in this documentary. The presence of the camera does not disturb the experience of the historical mediation. “The camera literally acts as a tourist, spectator or investigator, and the pleasure in the film lies in this surrogate of looking.” (Gunning 1997: 15) For audiences of *Det siste slaget*, it is possible to look themselves and to observe the camera looking. An intellectual development to challenge processes such as the use of documentary warfare photographs and footage in modern documentaries might occur.

The significant archival footage (IWM archive number 242) of the bombs hitting the beach and the ship occurs at 31:05. The sound design of this sequence is remarkable, especially in comparison to *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. In *Det siste slaget*, whooshing and diffuse sounds of planes and exploding bombs go with the images of the bombs. The German documentary does not use any sound of exploding bombs together with this footage, while in the British one, the slight sound of muffled propellers and explosions that fit the images guide the footage. The footage of Bomber Command Operational Film number 242, which is stored in the archive of the Imperial War Museum in London, does not have any sound accompaniment, whether of propellers or exploding bombs. Hellendoorn and Iveson alternate their accounts of the bomb strikes (31:12–32:57). Norwegian eyewitness Liv Haugen gives an account of the experiences of the bombardment while standing on the shore of what is probably the island of Håkøya, with snow-covered mountains in the background. Snow is falling around her and settling on her clothes, and wind is curling in her hair. The presentation awakens audiences to the harsh nature to which that the crew of the *Tirpitz* were exposed when the ship was bombed. The next footage is a consequence of Haugen's

description as “da røykla dem alt sammen” (32:58)<sup>65</sup> and shows a view down to the water from the north-west. Between the smoke, one can see oil on the water surface (33:34). Hellendoorn creates the transition from bombardment to the events that happened afterwards when he describes on his model at home how the *Tirpitz* capsized to portside (33:49–35:12). The account by Haugen illustrates how torn some of the Norwegian population may have been when she describes “Flott, nå har Tirpitz gått! [...] Men så tenkte jeg, herregud, det er jo mennesker!” (35:15)<sup>66</sup>.

The Norwegian documentary *Det siste slaget* is especially interesting in comparison to the British *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and the German *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* regarding the use of monochromatic photographs. What stands out is the extensive use of original photographs and a zoom or pan in the photograph. According to Sørensen (2001: 307), this method goes back to Ken Burns' strategy from 1981, where the camera “wanders” over a photograph to provide the footage with a dynamic character in close correspondence with the narrator's speech and the sound design. The method provides the scene with a certain dynamic without being hectic or dramatic. Zoom-ins on faces in photographs of eyewitnesses can create a close encounter between audiences and eyewitnesses on screen. Calm pans and a slow pace of cuts convey an atmosphere of a slowly but intriguingly revealing person. The long shots of the narrating eyewitnesses emphasise this impression and give audiences the opportunity to follow eyewitnesses' lips. Photographs of some of the eyewitnesses when they were young punctuate the feeling of sitting in their living room bent over photo albums. Moreover, nature and its plausible presentation in the newly shot scenes contribute extensively to an atmospheric impression of Northern Norway, supplemented by the figurative descriptions of the surroundings by the pilots. Perceiving these calm and atmospheric scenes, audiences might greet ostensibly intra-diegetic sound design when the bombs are hitting the beach on Håkøya and the ship. Responding to documentary genre conventions, muffled sounds of propellers, motors, and of exploding bombs mediate a documented military event in historical distance. The sound in this scene does not displace mystically as it does in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, nor does it produce an emphasised menacing character as in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, but it rather creates a certain degree of understanding of the historical soundscape by keeping a ‘muffled’ distance. The potential effect on audiences is rather an immersion into the storytelling situation of the presented eyewitnesses than into the dramatic scenes on the ground in November 1944. Proximity to the time and reality of the eyewitnesses at the time of the interview and thereby to the time of current audiences and distance to the presented historical events seem to be the most decisive observations when comparing the scene of the sinking in these three documentaries.

<sup>65</sup> “they covered everything in smoke” (32:58), my translation.

<sup>66</sup> “Great, now Tirpitz is gone! [...] But then I thought, oh my God, these are people!” (35:15), my translation.

### 2.3.2 Museum Exhibitions

I want to highlight one of the major differences between documentary and museum exhibition. Both tell a story with stylistic devices such as original objects and original footage. In documentary, however, audiences follow a clear path through the narrative, given chronology, and order of things. In museum exhibitions, there are texts and a suggested path, but the voice and message of the narrator seem to be less prominent. As Aleida Assmann pinpoints, in a museum exhibition audiences have more freedom to choose an order of objects and stories and they may choose which story they read which they do not.

Während man die Lektüre in einem Buch nach Belieben unterbrechen kann oder sich in einer Ausstellung seinen eigenen Pfad und seine eigenen Attraktoren selbst auswählt, ist man im Film auf eine zusammenhängende Bilderfolge festgelegt, die obendrein zur Steigerung von Stimmung und Suggestion mit Wort und Ton unterlegt ist. (A. Assmann 2007: 163)<sup>67</sup>

The story museum exhibitions tell often is connected to original objects, or objects that are ascribed to a certain event, an era, or a person of interest. Originality in itself is not a premise for an object being exhibited at a museum. Moreover, replica, copies, models, and interpretations of something original find their place in displays. Aleida Assmann elaborated on the reconstruction of the Berliner Stadtschloss and the value of original objects in its new exhibitions. “In den Museen werden möglichst keine Rekonstruktionen oder Kopien, sondern Originale gezeigt, die als Erinnerungsträger und Verkörperung historischer Substanz eine besondere Aura entfalten.” (A. Assmann 2007: 136)<sup>68</sup> Exhibitional objects make history concrete and tangible, and facilitate participation and experience in historical contexts. The curating of museum objects opens up for audiences to immerse into histories from the past. “Exhibition narratives are nodal systems for organising meanings, their dramatisation combining the production of knowledge, information and interpretation with emotion and experience” (Bubaris 2014: 394).

The establishment of a museum collection can have manifold origins and points of departure. In recent decades, ethnographical museums have started to engage with their often complicated past because their collections may in large part be connected to colonial history (amongst others Lien and Wallem Nielsen 2016). Even though military ac-

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<sup>67</sup> “Whereas one can pause anytime when reading a book or find one’s own way and choose one’s own attractors in an exhibition, in film, one is bound on a connected series of images that is additionally accompanied with words and sound to emphasize mood and suggestion.” (A. Assmann 2007: 163), my translation.

<sup>68</sup> “As far as possible, no reconstructions or copies are shown in the museums, but originals that develop a special aura as a bearer of memory and embodiment of historical substance.” (A. Assmann 2007: 136), my translation.

tivity and war often concerns colonisation and oppression, military museums, in contrast, generate their collections through the institutionalisation of the national army and army history (amongst others Cento Bull et al. 2019). There is a difference between the collection of a museum and its exhibition. Whereas the collection is behind the scenes, the exhibition shows a selection of the collection and presents it to the outside world to tell a story, *one* version of history. By selecting objects from the collection, a curator not only creates the narrative of a museum exhibition but also contributes to the overall narrative of the museum as an entity. This process can serve as documentation of the collection and museum exhibition processes executed at the museum.

‘Selection’ is a key word in the argumentation as to why and how original objects can contribute to creating cultural memory. It may not be surprising *that* objects shape cultural memory (amongst others A. Assmann 1999; 2007; Lang 2007). “Museen mit ihren Sammlungen und Auslagen basieren auf dieser Einsicht, *dass* Dinge zu Erinnerungsspeichern werden können und daraus eine unverwechselbare Aura und Kraft beziehen.” (A. Assmann 2007: 155, italics added)<sup>69</sup> However, *how* and *why* objects can achieve this needs a more thorough examination in order to acquire a better understanding of how media and memory can work together.

In the same way as a museum selects objects to exhibit and to mediate its message, I selected objects from the examined museums to elaborate on my research questions and to exemplify some points of the argument. Yet, the selection of the objects by the museums and how their aura and authenticity help to shape cultural memory is important here. If I think of the word ‘selection’, it mediates that a process of reflective viewing, examining, evaluating, and finally of choosing has been executed in a certain matter. This means that the ‘selection’ is the result of an elaborate process.

Selection is at times not only dependent on a reflective process, but on feasibility and practicality, as, for example, the museums in the United Kingdom show when they exhibit single objects about the *Tirpitz*. Perhaps the main exhibition and the topics are so extensive that there is only space for a minor object about the *Tirpitz* in the exhibition. Or this *is* the only object about the *Tirpitz* that is in the collection. The piece of teak in the showcase in the cafeteria of the Lincs Centre, the model and the newspapers at the History Room of the Lossiemouth Air Force Station, and the bulkhead at the Royal Air Force Museum in London represent small glimpses of the history of the *Tirpitz*. The teak is in itself no museum object, but evolved into it through time and through the story of the *Tirpitz*. The story of the *Tirpitz* makes it a museum object and the paratexts of the museum again frame it as a museum object; the authenticity and authority of the object is created in a double and reciprocal way. Additionally, a little piece of teak can have the

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<sup>69</sup> “Museums with their collections and exhibits are based on the understanding *that* things can become bearers of memory and, hence, draw a unique aura and power.” (A. Assmann 2007: 155, italics added), my translation.

role of an evidence for a historical event; here, the destruction of the *Tirpitz* by the British Royal Air Force.

In Spilsby and in London, the objects are placed in large exhibitions, while in Lossiemouth they *constitute* the exhibition. All three museums have a military background, yet the embedding of the respective objects is done differently. The Lincs Centre for instance, places the piece of teak in a showcase with a mixture of personal belongings of RAF soldiers. The function of the object in the exhibition is not a concrete element in a distinct narrative, but it illustrates a presentation of the manifold aspects of the history of the RAF. The bare authenticity that is mediated through the paratextual label categorising the piece of teak as an original object contributes to the RAF's presentation. One chose to exhibit a small glimpse of an original object instead of displaying a model of the ship, for instance. The size relations and the materiality also play an important role here. The small piece of teak was once a part of a German battleship that the British sunk. It represents the power of the British RAF to destroy a battleship and contributes to mediating an impression of reverence that only a small thing is left of the *Tirpitz* after the attack of the RAF. The small piece can also have the function of a trophy that presents the defeat of the *Tirpitz*, as I will address later.

When approaching a museum exhibition with the intention of analysing its main narrative, a focus on the interplay of the elements of the museum exhibition is necessary. Is there a dominant narrative on display, or contested ones? Whose history is being told, by whom and to who? (Lien and Wallem Nielssen 2016:21f.) The elements and components one is examining in a museum exhibition are naturally exhibition aesthetics, narrative modes, perceptions of history and knowledge, and the medium's place in the museum institution. Conflict potentials around the positioning of the museum, its ownership and financing, which were addressed in chapter 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts*, are of importance. Among other things, it is on the basis of some of these conflicts of interest that museums can have a heterogenous collection that is presented as a coherent narrative. "The history they [the museums] produce is a cacophonous outcome of contest and compromise." (Gable 2006: 110)

### **The Reappearing Bulkhead**

The bulkhead of the *Tirpitz* at the RAF Museum in London is not a classical war trophy because it was not taken by force from the German troops, but it was a gift from the Norwegian state to the British RAF for their help in the war (Figure 21). Still, the process of selection can easily be justified by its status as a trophy for the accomplishments of the RAF. Its symbolic meaning is supplemented by its material appearance. It is presented in a showcase, and a text and picture board accompany it.





Figure 21: The bulkhead<sup>70</sup> of the *Tirpitz* in a showcase at the hangar of the RAF Museum. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017.

The actual bulkhead, an upright partition that forms cabins or divides compartments, has a half-round shape and was riveted to the *Tirpitz*. German soldiers aboard the battleship painted it with the title "... gegen Engeland" ("... against England"). The phrase might come from the German folk song "Heute wollen wir ein Liedlein singen" (text by Herman Löns [1914], melody from the folk song "Heute wollen wir das Ränzlein schüren") that was a soldiers' song during World War I (Volksliedarchiv 2020). The base colour of the painting is in green and blue and becomes lighter at its centre. In the centre there are the silhouettes of a battleship and a submarine in rough sea. The colour of the battleship is a lighter grey than that of the submarine. It looks like as though the battleship is coming through fog and cannot be seen clearly, like an unexpected threat. The bows of the ship and the submarine point into the same direction, to the left, which could indicate the west, where the United Kingdom is situated from the German perspective. The flag of the NSDAP with swastika is placed in front of the ships in the water and is flying in the wind that also comes from the left side, like a headwind from the west.

<sup>70</sup> The text under the bulkhead says: Part of a secondary gun bulkhead from the wreck of the German Battleship TIRPITZ, sunk by Nos. 9 and 617 Squadrons on the 12th of November 1944 while the ship lay at anchor in

A bulkhead, a steel partition in itself, would not be that interesting and would not necessarily be an object for an exhibition. However, the fact *that* it was part of the *Tirpitz*, *that* it was painted by German soldiers, and *that* it served as a trophy for the RAF, as I will explain later, makes this piece of steel special and original as an exhibition object and an item of an object biography. Echoing Benjamin, “[t]he presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity” (1970: 218), the objects original provenance provides it with authenticity. The story of the *Tirpitz* connects the bulkhead to a certain time that the exhibition is narrating, inviting the visitors to engage with it.

The poster next to the showcase shows the *Tirpitz* in camouflage paint anchored in a Norwegian fjord. In the text on the poster, a Churchill quote states:

The destruction or even crippling of this ship is the greatest event at sea at the present time. No other target is comparable to it. I regard the matter as the highest urgency and importance. (Prime Minister Winston Churchill, 1942)<sup>71</sup>

This poster gives context and paratext. It provides context in the regard that it connects the exhibited object with the contemporary political developments of the 1940s, meaning with Churchill and his goals. Audiences at the RAF Museum will recognise Churchill as an important figure in British history and will acknowledge his estimation of the threat through the *Tirpitz* as trustworthy. Additionally, the poster offers paratext by supplementing the exhibited bulkhead with this text and thereby giving it a form in the exhibition. The poster text in the form of a quote enhances the object to a museal object and elevates it from a piece of steel to a piece of specific history connected to British history. The reader may have noticed the blurry lines between context and paratext, which is confirmed by Genette: “every context serves as a paratext” (Genette 1997: 8). The poster, providing context and paratext, prepares audiences for what to expect of the exhibited object, how to categorise it, and where to put it historically and ideologically. Not only the poster, but also the museum in itself, frame the displayed bulkhead and make its story a dominant one – the bulkhead as a trophy being a symbol for the victory of the British over the Germans during World War II.

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Tromsø at Norway. This bulkhead was presented to RAF Bomber Command by the Royal Norwegian Air Force to commemorate the friendship and co-operation established during the Second World War.

<sup>71</sup> The first two sentences of this quote originally come from Winston Churchill’s war memoirs in a note to General Ismay, for C.O.S. Committee 25 Jan. 42 (Churchill 1950: 112). The last sentence does not come from the same source and is not referenced on the object label at the museum. (see chapter 2.6.2)

The second text part of the poster opens additional nuances of the same dominant narrative (see chapter 2.6.2). It recounts the technical qualities of the battleship and reports that the Allied convoy PQ-17<sup>72</sup> had to scatter due to the false assumption that the *Tirpitz* was close by. Submarines that actually were close by sank many of the ships in the convoy. This text illustrates the power and the threat posed by the *Tirpitz* and justifies the raids against the battleship that are listed in the next text part. The attack against the PQ-17 convoy serves as an “evil deed” in the British narrative (Pötzsch 2013: 131) that helps to justify the following acts against the *Tirpitz* and to accept inconsistencies in the argumentations about the threat posed by the battleship. With this story, the *Tirpitz* is not an unknown and abstract threat in the Norwegian fjords but a power that indirectly caused the destruction of many Allied ships.<sup>73</sup>

The verbalisation of pictures—here, the text added to the exhibition object—sets the context for the presentation (Engebretsen 2013: 87) and contributes to the creation of a new story and meaning around the object. The linguistic message anchors the picture in the new context and lets the spectator understand something that has been decided in advance (Barthes and Heath 1977: 156).

A remarkable part of history connected to this bulkhead is not mentioned in the exhibition text next to the object at the RAF Museum. Having saved the bulkhead from the wrecking of the ship between 1950 and 1957, it was given to the British RAF Bomber Command by the Norwegian air force as a gift of thanks for the British engagement during World War II and for sinking the *Tirpitz*. There was a rivalry between IX and 617 Squadrons, which participated in the raid against the *Tirpitz*, about who really dropped the crucial bombs. Analyses of photographs showed that it was almost certainly 617 Squadron that sank the battleship, but there was still room for doubt that only fed the rivalry. The squadrons managed to steal the 100-kilogram bulkhead, their trophy, from each other several times over the decades. Number IX Squadron even abducted the bulkhead from 617 Squadron’s base and brought it to their base at Cyprus on a supersonic jet bomber. In 1999, it was decided that the trophy would be transferred to the RAF Museum at Hendon to be accessible to the public (Asmussen & Åkra, 2015, p. 261; *The Northern Scot* 2003).

The bulkhead does not fulfil all the characteristics of a trophy. It was not taken by the British, whether from the Germans or from the Norwegians, but it was a gift to the British RAF. However, it was kept *and* displayed as a memorial, firstly in the private ranks of the participating squadrons and secondly in the public museum of the RAF in Lon-

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<sup>72</sup> The name of the commander who organised the first convoys between the UK and the Soviet Union was P.Q. Edwards; later convoys were named after him (Helgason 2020).

<sup>73</sup> In chapter 2.4.1 *Re-enactments*, I address the attack on the convoy in more detail.

don. This story is by no means visible in the museum exhibition and therefore only influences the memory potentials of interested groups who know the story of the rivalry from another setting.

The knowledge of this story would have made the experience of the visitor a different one. Genette states similarly when writing about context knowledge on Proust's work. "I am not saying that people must know those facts; I am saying only that people who do know them read Proust's work differently from people who do not and that anyone who denies the difference is pulling our leg." (Genette 1997: 8) His observation is applicable to media consumption in general. What do audiences know about the presented topic beforehand? Knowing the story about the rivalry between IX and 617 Squadrons opens up an additional dimension to the narrative of the bulkhead that points to events after the sinking and before the object became a museum object. One can only speculate as to why the story is not told at the RAF museum. A possible reason could be that it may tarnish the heroic RAF squadrons with a somewhat childish attitude towards a serious topic.

Andrew Simpson, curator of Aircraft and Exhibits at the RAF Museum, also sent me the remarks that are archived together with the objects at the system. A short description of the bulkhead, of the story of the *Tirpitz* and of the biography of the item inform about the exhibited bulkhead. According to his notes, an anchor chain link of the *Tirpitz* also should have been on display close to the bulkhead. I probably did not see it in the exhibition because it was under reconstruction. The Royal Norwegian Air Force gave the link to the RAF in 1992.

The RAF museum combined the bulkhead, the quote by Churchill, and a list of raids against the *Tirpitz* in its exhibition. The object, text, and the museum in itself give each other context and help to create a particular narrative about the role of the British and RAF in World War II. When one visits an exhibition like this, one should be aware of the choices and arrangements that have been made to mediate the intended narrative. "All museums *stage* their collected and preserved relics [...] Museums [...] use theatrical effects to enhance a belief in the historicity of the objects they collect." (Preziosi and Farago 2004: 13, italics in original) Theatrical effects such as a compelling entry quote, as we saw with Churchill above, a clear argumentation in the presented topic, represented by the 'evil deed', and possibly presentational tools such as lighting may lead the way for a dominant interpretation of the presented topic. When Preziosi and Farago talk about staging, I would assume that every arrangement of objects is intentional; in topical categories, in chronology, or in an argument that is being mediated.

The second example with a remarkable background is a photograph of the bulkhead from the *Tirpitz* (Figure 22) that is exhibited at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. It is placed in the part of the exhibition about the sinking of the *Tirpitz*. The photograph of the

bulkhead is placed between a newspaper article about eyewitnesses of the sinking and a collage that retells the final battle.

The label below the photograph of the bulkhead states that the motif was found on the *Tirpitz* during the wrecking and that it was taken by Sverre Alex Børretzen for the newspaper *Aktuell* (Nasjonalbiblioteket 2020). It is a black and white photograph and the information that it was found during the wrecking can imply that the picture was taken on a ship during the wrecking procedure between 1950 and 1957. In front of the bulkhead on the photograph, there is a leather boot with a small heel that was found in the wreck as the labels says. The purpose for the boot on the photograph in front of the bulkhead is not mentioned anywhere, but it could aid in understanding the size of the bulkhead on the photograph. The ostensibly military boot might point to connotations about the ‘unknown soldier’ or missing persons in general.<sup>74</sup> It looks like the part of the bulkhead of the *Tirpitz* was leaned against a railing. Water and a bit of coast are visible behind the bulkhead through a gap. The photographic reproduction of the bulkhead makes it possible for audiences to get an understanding of the size of the bulkhead and makes it possible to show it in the small exhibition of the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum.

For example, in photography, process reproduction can bring out those aspects of the original that are unattainable to the naked eye yet accessible to the lens, which is adjustable and chooses its angle at will. And photographic reproduction, with the aid of certain processes, such as enlargement or slow motion, can capture images which escape natural vision. Secondly, technical reproduction can put the copy of the original into situations which would be out of reach for the original itself. Above all, it enables the original to meet the beholder halfway, be it in the form of a photograph or a phonograph record. (Benjamin 1970: 218)

The photograph at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum has a double function. It shows the bulkhead out of its original context, as a part of a battleship, put on a ship, and accompanied by a boot. Size relations and references to loneliness and physics would be absent or at least be different from the motif presented. The function of the photograph for the museum exhibition is to “enable[] the original to meet the beholder halfway” (ibid.). The actual object, the bulkhead, is out of reach for the museum exhibition and its visitors, but this enlarged photograph makes it possible to have a look at the object.

One can discuss in which way the photograph is still authentic and historically accurate. The photograph *is* modified in size but continues to convey an authoritative impression by being placed in an authoritative format like the exhibition. The museum

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<sup>74</sup> This topic has been discussed in connection to Vincent van Gogh’s painting *A Pair of Shoes* (1886), initiated by Martin Heidegger (1960).



Figure 22: Photograph of a photograph of a bulkhead of the *Tirpitz*, the latter taken by Børretzen, *Aktuell*. Photograph taken at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2016.

exhibition empowers it to be trustworthy and not fake, and displays the characteristics that frame it as authentic such as the label under and the colours in the photograph.

[...P]hotography is an element of a multimodal text with a montage of printed or spoken verbal text and other graphic elements in a layout system. The photos may show the primary exhibited object, or they may, as in the case of the printed verbal text, be paratexts, which surround the primary text and anchor and contextualise it. (Christensen 2011: 12)

The original purpose and value of this photograph was probably to document the process of the wrecking of the *Tirpitz* and to illustrate a newspaper article that was not exhibited here. The bulkhead on the photograph was remarkable already at the time the photograph was taken because it showed an expression of the attitude of the German soldiers aboard the *Tirpitz* towards the British. Even when the photograph was taken,

the painting on the bulkhead had a certain irony because it was the British who sank the *Tirpitz* and ended its quest “against England”. Time, then, had already had an important role in changing the context of the bulkhead from a motivational painting by and for German soldiers, strengthening their wish to succeed, to a symbol of the German defeat in World War II. The size of the bulkhead is now so manageable that it can be placed on the deck of a wrecking ship. Compared to the bare mass of steel of the battleship *Tirpitz*, one of the largest battleships of World War II, the bulkhead reflects the historical development during the last months of the war. When the photograph of the bulkhead was placed at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum, its story was enriched by plenty of heroism and anecdotes about rivalry. Thus, time again changed the value of the photograph from the representation of an interesting contemporary artefact to the representation of an interesting artefact with a story that happened not that long ago and that touches the contemporary period of the visitor. In the photograph of the bulkhead, a meeting of different times and nations takes place. The bulkhead was painted by the Germans as a symbol of their quest and power. The photograph was taken in Norway during the wrecking by a Norwegian journalist. Lastly, the bulkhead has a meaning for the British RAF squadrons who pursued the trophy that would nominate the real heroes of the raid.

This museum object history may open new dimensions for the mediation of the bulkhead as an artefact of World War II, as a representation of attitudes of the parties of the war, and as an object of competitive rivalry that plays into the time of visiting audiences.

A remarkable find was to encounter a shot of the bulkhead, the same that is displayed materially in London and in a photograph in Tromsø, in the Norwegian documentary *Det siste slaget*.

The image in Figure 23 appears in the last minutes of *Det siste slaget* when the wrecking process of the battleship is addressed. Long shots from water level on the upturned hull of the ship and footage of metalworkers in the bow precede the shot into the ship (Figure 23). The camera circles clockwise above something that is lying in twilight until it reaches the perspective shown on the image (Figure 23). At this point, the audience of *Det siste slaget* might recognise that something is painted on perhaps a piece of metal with rivets surrounding the painting. The swastika can be identified as well as the German word “gegen”, meaning “towards” or “against”. The narrator of the documentary is silent when this image is being shown and does not provide any information about what the audiences are seeing. Based on the knowledge that audience has received during the viewing of the documentary, they cannot allocate the seen object concretely in the narrative of the *Tirpitz* and may only see it as illustrative footage with no greater meaning.

For me, when recognising this bulkhead in *Det siste slaget*, this footage was a fabulous coincidence. This coincidence explicitly awakens me to acknowledge the different perspectives on footage and museum exhibitions based on the pre-knowledge audiences



Figure 23: Bulkhead during the wrecking of the *Tirpitz*. *Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007: 51:06). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

may have. For me, who knows about the bulkhead in London, the story of the trophy rivalry within the RAF, and about the photograph at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum, this footage in *Det siste slaget* fits extraordinarily well in a row of interplay, intertextuality, inter-mediality, and referential authenticity. With my knowledge, I can reconstruct the route the bulkhead has taken. It starts on board on the still capsized *Tirpitz* in *Det siste slaget* and continues with the photograph of the already recovered bulkhead on board a ship, an image that is now exhibited at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. It is passed over to the rivalry at the RAF, which is reported in a newspaper article and a book, and ends, finally, with the bulkhead being placed at the RAF Museum in Hendon where it serves the purpose of illustrating the destructibility of this battleship and helping to justify the actions of the RAF during World War II. This story and this provenance also provide reassurance of the originality of the object because it can be traced all the way back to the ship.

This observation makes it clear how individual the perception and construction of originality and authenticity can be for audiences. Such a row of intertextual connections could be done by every visitor about every object—and it would create different kinds of memory potentials for everyone.

### **Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven**

In Germany, the Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven is most interesting even though it only exhibits single objects connected to the *Tirpitz*. The *Tirpitz*' connection



to the town of Wilhelmshaven is especially fascinating because the ship was launched there in 1939. Directing some attention to the local anchoring of the story of the battleship, the observations at the museum become particularly striking.

In the exhibition part about World War II, the Deutsches Marinemuseum presents amongst others the launch of the *Tirpitz* on 1 April 1939 but without connecting it to the town of Wilhelmshaven. A large wall with text and film clips introduces every period in the museum and does the same with the section about the Third Reich and World War II (Figure 24).

The main text on this wall does not mention the *Tirpitz*, but its launch appears in the drawn timeline on the lower part of the wall. It says at the mark 1939 “1. April. Stapellauf des Schlachtschiffes TIRPITZ, Kündigung des Flottenabkommens”<sup>75</sup>. Before, in 1938, it is written “23. August. Unterzeichnung des Nicht-Angriffs-Paktes mit der Sowjetunion”<sup>76</sup> and after the launch in 1939 “3. September. Kriegserklärung Englands und Frankreichs nach dem deutschen Überfall auf Polen”<sup>77</sup>.

The text of the timeline *does not say* that the launch of the *Tirpitz* took place in Wilhelmshaven where the museum is situated. Is the absence of this information deliberate? Have the curators intentionally avoided creating a connection between the present town of Wilhelmshaven and the Third Reich, between then and now? Or might the curators assume that interested audiences know about the launch of the *Tirpitz* in Wilhelmshaven, or that they might recognise the surroundings in the film clip?

The projection on the introductory wall shows a clip of the launch of the *Tirpitz*. The sequence is rather long at one minute and thirty seconds and is shown without sound. I see crowds of cheering people, Ilse von Hassel, the daughter of Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, who baptises the battleship with a bottle of champagne, and Adolf Hitler standing next to her. The perspective on the ship from the camera is mostly a worm’s eye view to emphasise the size of the *Tirpitz*. The clip contains several different perspectives such as on the crowds, on the bow, on the stage, and on the ship while it launches into the water, filmed from the land and from the water. The size of the ship seems to be the focus and the ship often completely fills the screen. It is the same sequence that I viewed at the Bundesarchiv in Berlin (BSP 20238) and that is used in all three documentaries discussed above (chapter 2.3.1).

The information in the clip comes mainly from images and their visual messages. The only ‘text’ is the title of the clip “1939. Stapellauf des Schlachtschiffes Tirpitz”<sup>78</sup>, which is faded in to the screen before the clip, and the sign ‘TIRPITZ’ which is flipped over the

<sup>75</sup> “1 April. Launch of the battleship Tirpitz, Termination of the naval agreement”, my translation.

<sup>76</sup> “23 August. Signing of the Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union”, my translation.

<sup>77</sup> “3 September. Declaration of war by the United Kingdom and France after the German attack on Poland”, my translation.

<sup>78</sup> “1939. Launch of the battleship Tirpitz”, my translation.

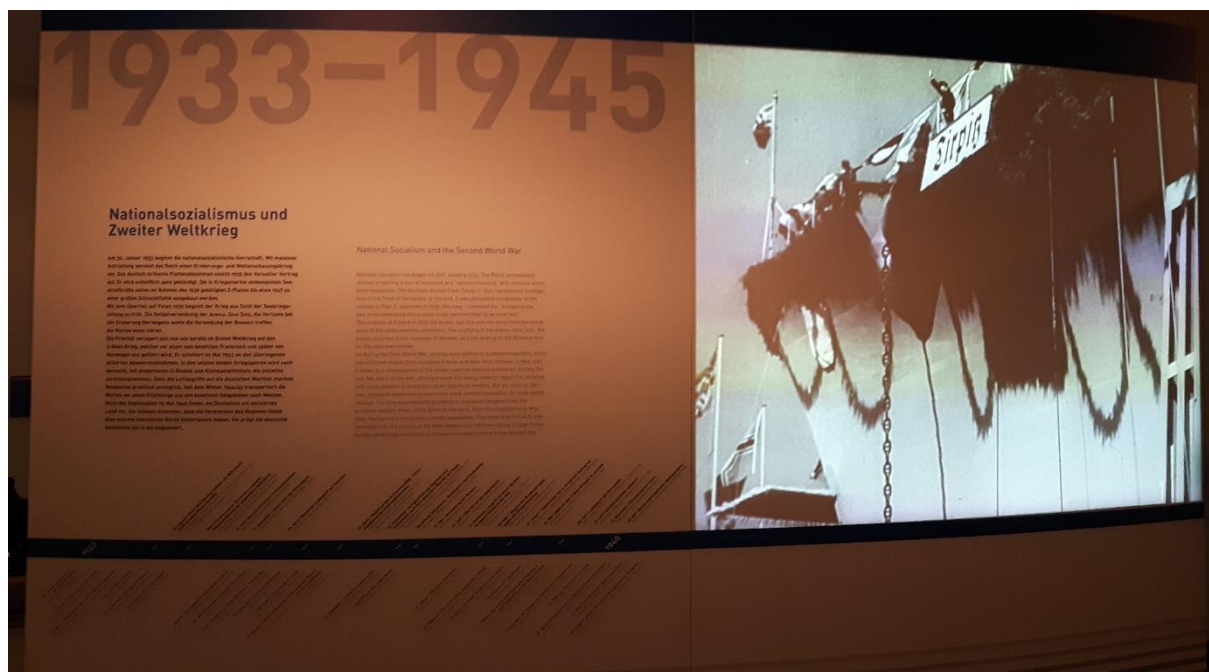


Figure 24: Photograph of the introductory wall for the section about World War II at the Deutsches Marinemuseum Wilhelmshaven. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017.

garlands from the rail of the battleship during the launch ceremony (see Figure 24). There is no written hint in the clip of the town Wilhelmshaven where the ceremony took place. Only spectators with special local knowledge would possibly recognise the surroundings and make a connection between the town and the event.

The transfer in the timeline from the Non-Aggression Pact to the declaration of war via the launch of the *Tirpitz* is remarkable. The clip shows a happy atmosphere where military strength and power (in terms of steel and people) is mediated. One might wonder why the topic of the *Tirpitz* was chosen as part of the timeline even though it was not explained or connected to Wilhelmshaven, except for its naval military meaning. When remembering the intended audience of the Deutsches Marinemuseum (chapter 2.1.5), one could assume that audience has a certain pre-knowledge about German naval history and the role the *Tirpitz* played in World War II. A thorough explanation of the connection between the *Tirpitz* and Wilhelmshaven might not have been seen as necessary for informed audiences. The documentary film clip is given authority because it is being shown in a museum. The frame of the institution gives the film a certain status of trustworthiness and seriousness.

In addition, the visual impression of the film answers to the expectation a spectator might have of footage made in the 1930s; monochromaticity, grainy quality of the images, camera perspectives that one might connect to ‘old’ footage. Experts have chosen the film, evaluated it as true and veridical, and embedded it into the exhibition. The visitor has an expectation of encountering plausibility and authenticity in a historical museum.

Because it is generally assumed among the professionals who manage museums and among the people who visit that museums display or convey what is true and factual, arguments about what counts as ‘true’ or ‘false’ history reveal and even exacerbate troubling differences among communities of ‘experts’ and the public they ostensibly serve and educate. (Gable 2006: 110)

The size of the projection on the wall and the spatiality of the ship on the screen mediate an impression of power, largeness, and strength to the viewer. This can also be perceived as overwhelming and menacing. The impressions are mediated by images, not by information in form of text or emotion in form of sound. The lack of anchoring text can give the images room for ambiguity. The presentation of the launch in the timeline can also have an emotional effect on the spectator. I see images of cheering people but know that war is coming, since the timeline says so. This way, the images perceived as authentic can have a melancholic character. Contemporary knowledge and education have an influence on what might be perceived as authentic. “[O]ur contemporary context shapes our notion of what we think is authentic.” (Marstine 2006: 3)

In the following, I argue for the memory potentials of this particular presentation of the launch at the Deutsches Marinemuseum Wilhelmshaven. In this case, the film clip creates a potential mythical rhetorical mode of collective memory because it lacks concrete information and willingly provides images, impressions, and a mood that audiences might dive into. The ritualisation of the launch, which is familiar from modern times as well as connected with recognisable images of a time in the past, the Third Reich, might project a mythical mood onto the scene (Erll 2008b: 390). The camera perspectives of cheering crowds, of a screen-filling bow, and of a strong Adolf Hitler standing upright generate the rhetoric of the myth of ancient Germanic strength and power. The connection between Hitler as leader and the crowd and the battleship as unity intensify the power that is embodied in the Nazi Empire and that is celebrated.

Does the town of Wilhelmshaven play a role for the presentation of the launch of the battleship, without mentioning the town explicitly? The topic of the museum, German naval history, leads in a way to the spectacle of the launch ceremony. The presentation of the launch might represent a careful approach to local memory that had been forgotten, or one wished to be forgotten. Ethical concerns of responsibility may both trigger and slow down exhibitional activities on difficult pasts. “Das ethische Konzept der Verantwortung ist an das Erinnern gekoppelt. Man übernimmt die Verantwortung nicht nur für sich selbst, sondern für das Kollektiv, für die Vorgängereinstitutionen und -generationen.” (A. Assmann in Blum et al. 2012: 107)<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> “The ethical concept of responsibility is connected to remembering. One not only takes responsibility for oneself but also for the collective, the predecessor institutions and generations.” (A. Assmann in Blum et al. 2012: 107), my translation.



Figure 25: Torpedo net, buoy, and armour plating from the *Tirpitz* in the outside area of the Deutsches Marinemuseum. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017.

Besides, the Deutsches Marinemuseum exhibits a grenade, which could have been shot from the two battleships *Bismarck* and *Tirpitz*, as the exhibition label informs. It is the same strategy as the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden uses when it displays a grenade ‘as could have been used by’ this type of ship (see also chapter 2.6.2). The strategy shows distinctly how objects that do not have a direct connection to the described topic, are presented as substitutes to illustrate the narrative about war at sea or World War II in Dresden and in Wilhelmshaven. The presentation seems to be more about size relations and a demonstration of the possibilities, than about the actual events and historical correlations.

In the outside area, the museum also shows a part of the armour plating of the *Tirpitz* and a piece of the torpedo net with a buoy (Figure 25).

There is a text label in German and English on the sign to the left on the photograph:

The armour of warships contributed to their stability during battle with naval **surface** forces. This armour proved insufficient, however, against the 5,454 kg bombs of English **air** forces. The two fragments weighing about 3.6 and 4.5 tons were originally part of the 145 mm thick upper side armour and of the up to 320 mm thick belt armour of the battleship. The bullet marks were inflicted by modern armour piercing ammunition at the Wehrtechnische Dienststelle 91 of the Federal Armed Forces in Meppen. (bold in original)

This display is stimulating in both a material and contextual dimension. The massive pieces of steel show how thick the actual armour plating of the *Tirpitz* was and give an impression of the weight. To work and wield this material and this amount of it for the battleship may leave audiences in awe of the technical possibilities even in the 1930s. Additionally, the fragments show what immense forces must have affected this material and the battleship to make it capsize. The object and its materiality help to grasp a piece of the story of 1944.

In order to become worldly things, that is, deeds and facts and events and patterns of thoughts or ideas, they must first be seen, heard, and remembered and then transformed, reified as it were, into things—into sayings of poetry, the written page or the printed book, into paintings or sculpture, into all sorts of records, documents, and monuments. The whole factual world of human affairs depends for its reality and its continued existence, first, upon the presence of others who have seen and heard and will remember, and, second, on the transformation of the intangible into the tangibility of things. (Arendt 1998: 95)

The content of the text regarding the materiality of this museal object exemplifies the use of numbers to present size and strength. The numbers depict both the “insufficient” strength of the steel on the *Tirpitz* and, through that, the even greater strength of the British bomb. Numbers have a reputation for being objective by only showing how matters really are—however, this object text illustrates how indicative the mentioning of numbers can be. Power and effectiveness are presented in this text, merely by listing some numbers. Lien and Wallem Nielssen point to the necessity of “*vere sensitiv og vakten for meir eller mindre eksplisitte ideologiske undertekstar*” (2016: 23)<sup>80</sup>. The power relations expressed by the numbers in the object text at the Deutsches Marinemuseum might point to ideological connotations such as power and weakness, victory and defeat.

Contextually, the displayed object and the object label convey transparency on contemporary military activities and practices. The steel, now eighty years old, bombed, then hoisted out of the water, was used for military practice at a Bundeswehr department in more recent times. Without reading the label, one would assume that the ammunition holes stem from the battle in 1944; this would be impressive enough. Still, the object label shows that this old material was used to push for progress in the German military industry. The bare fact of informing about German military development next to a museal object connected to World War II demonstrates the passing of time and the world moving forward, and demonstrates the official and international acceptance of

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<sup>80</sup> “being sensitive and alert to more or less explicit ideological subtexts” (Lien and Wallem Nielssen 2016: 23), my translation.

the German military in modern times. The text and the reported practice anchor the object and create a connection between the past and the present, and actually show the presence of the past in modern days. Referring to Barthes (1964), Christensen pinpoints the importance of “anchorage” of an image through verbal text in a museal context.

Anchorage: a verbal text that anchors and controls the reading of an image is called an anchoring text. It is placed in close proximity to the image. It is practically impossible to find an image without an anchoring text. The reason is that images are polysemic, i.e., they contain so many codes that a sender must necessarily lead the reader’s perception of the image in the intended direction with the help of the anchoring text. (2011: 17)

The museum narrative at the Deutsches Marinemuseum develops twofold where information is provided and added to objects or photographs, and where audiences wander through the exhibition and arbitrarily and individually connect the elements of the exhibition to an individual narrative (cf. Lien and Wallem Nielsen 2016: 21; referring to Mieke Bal 1996).

In this sense, we can see that the experience of materiality in the service of memory is also about comfort, about reassurance that material life goes on, that the material cannot be destroyed but that it is remade, transformed, re-invented into new forms, even replicas and souvenirs, onwards. (Sturken 2016: 25)

The materiality shown at the Deutsches Marinemuseum depicts the ongoing life of material of the *Tirpitz* and the (non-)instrumentalisation of footage about the *Tirpitz* in the museum context. By being confronted with tangible and intangible pieces of history, audiences are invited to develop their own memory potentials about the *Tirpitz*.

### **Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum**

Besides photographs, written documents, and military objects, other things that clearly connect past and present are exhibited at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum.

I want to direct the spotlight to some objects that are not initially associated with an exhibition about military history. Yet, they are essential for daily life, in the 1940s as well as in the 2020s. Figure 26 shows white dinnerware and a kitchen towel that are marked with the swastika and emblems of the Kriegsmarine. In the same showcase, a piece of paper with the meal plan for week nine in 1944 is attached to the right inner side of the showcase. The selection of everyday items is worth a look due to their expressive connection to the lives of the crew on board and because they can refer to the lives of potential audiences who are visiting the exhibition.



Figure 26: Showcase with dinnerware at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2016.

On the meal plan it says “Speisezettel für die Zeit vom 28. Februar bis 5. März 1944”<sup>81</sup>. On 2 March 1944, for instance, the following was planned:

morgens: Kaffee, Butter, Marmelade, Brot, 2 Brötchen.

mittags: Gemüsesuppe, Szegedinergulasch, Salzkartoffeln.

abends: Makkaroni, Tomatentunke, falschen Hasen, Leberwurst 1. Dos., Kaffee.<sup>82</sup>

Food and something to eat the food from is something that everybody can relate to. German soldiers on *Tirpitz* had to eat. Today’s visitors to the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum also have to eat. In a way the display of everyday items demystifies the narrative of the evil German Nazis sitting on their ship, the conquering and subordination of the world’s population the only thing on their minds.

<sup>81</sup> “Meal plan for the period 28 February to 5 March 1944”, my translation.

<sup>82</sup> “morning: coffee, butter, jam, bread, 2 rolls. lunch: vegetable soup, Szegedin goulash, potatoes. dinner: macaroni, tomato sauce, meat loaf, 1 can of liver sausage, coffee.”, my translation.

The showcase with the dinnerware shows that even broken objects can be interesting and can find their place in a museum exhibition. Even more common in archaeology, these broken artefacts make explicit the journey the objects took into the museum exhibition. They make known the route that the objects had to take: from an everyday item perhaps made for everybody, then ascribed to the German Navy and marked with its emblem, then being partly destroyed during the sinking of the *Tirpitz* and becoming trash and useless for their original purpose, and in the end enhanced to a museal object in a showcase behind glass.

The Kriegsmarine emblems identify the dinnerware as belonging to a certain time and context. This is also why the dishes are positioned upside down, in contrast to their original function and purpose. Now, rather than being useful, their function is to illustrate everyday life on the *Tirpitz*. “The museum as shrine leads viewers to assign meaning to objects totally unrelated to their original function or intention.” (Marstine 2006: 9) The whole dishes and fragments help to depict *pieces* of everyday life from the *Tirpitz*.

One special thing with the dishes is that in themselves they do not represent violence or conflict that one would associate with a war or military exhibition or, for instance, with an exhibited rifle. Nonetheless, their presentation in a war exhibition and being partly broken shows the violence of the context they have been subject to – the destruction of the battleship. By being broken, they may also represent the passing of time; but, having first been under water and now being taken care of at a museum, also conservation through time. They may serve as “Stimuli für die Imagination und können suggestive Brücken zwischen Subjekt und Objekt, zwischen Gegenwart und Vergangenheit schlagen” (A. Assmann 2007: 156)<sup>83</sup>.

Another angle to look at the dishes is to focus on the materiality of what is exhibited, namely porcelain. Porcelain and its clean, pure structure and surface can be connoted with beauty, fineness, and civic society. The clean lines of porcelain may stand in distinctive contrast to a grenade, for example. Consciously or not, exhibiting porcelain may point to the pure and graceful aspects of wartime.

The dinnerware together with the weekly menu builds a scene with plates and food. Audiences may imagine people sitting in front of these dishes and might immerse themselves in a familiar situation at a dinner table. The presentation is narrative and picturesque, without providing much information in the way of label text or showing a photograph of soldiers sitting around a table. The audience’s imagination is stimulated by this ethnographical collection of everyday life pieces. The showcase in itself can function as a classic frame, referring to exhibited art works. “As Preziosi explains, a frame is not just a piece of wood that assigns the work inside it the signification of art. Framing is a

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<sup>83</sup> “stimuli for imagination and may build suggestive bridges between subject and object, between present and past” (A. Assmann 2007: 156), my translation.



metaphorical process that creates a vision of the past and future based on contemporary needs.” (Marstine 2006: 4; referring to Preziosi 2003: 96–110)

What potential effect may this presentation have on audiences? The presentation may raise consciousness for the normality on board the battleship *Tirpitz*. Fascination for the National Socialist emblems might accompany the perception of the sense for fine things on board such as porcelain. The presentation may both satisfy and trigger more curiosity about life on board, about objects that were close to the persons on the ship. Moreover, the showcase can provide audiences with a relaxing moment narrating something familiar—dining—between all the military exhibits. “This extraordinary inter-active machinery is designed to engage and be operated by its users, who literally (re)enact history and chronology *choreographically*.” (Preziosi 2006: 50, italics in original) The active and affective engagement, often unconsciously, of audiences with museum exhibitions is what makes museum exhibitions and their museum objects unique possibilities for individual memory potentials.

### **Tirpitz Museum in Alta**

The Tirpitz Museum in Alta presents a large collection of items, photographs, written documents, and models in its exhibition about the battleship (briefly introduced in chapter 2.1.3). For the analysis in this chapter here, I chose the collection of photographs in the hallway of the museum because they make an impressive entry for the museum’s visitors. The photographs and their arrangement on the walls is one of the first things that audiences see. The arrangement of the photographs creates an individual narrative, that of a journey through the story of the *Tirpitz* in small visual extracts.

Photography’s promise to offer an access to the event itself, and its easy assumption of iconic and symbolic power, makes it a uniquely powerful medium for the transmission of events that remain unimaginable. And, of course, the photographic meaning of generation captures something of the sequencing and the loss of sharpness and focus inherent in postmemory. (Hirsch 2008: 107f.)

The literal “loss of sharpness and focus” (ibid.) on the photographs taken in the 1930s and 1940s compared to the clear perception in the very moment of the event might stand representatively for “the loss of sharpness and focus” (ibid.) in memory. An event is remembered, but hazily, missing details, worn at the edges. Still, photography is “a uniquely powerful medium” (ibid.) at the Tirpitz Museum, which I will point out in the following.

Figure 27 shows the hallway at the museum that one sees when entering. The presentation on the walls displays one of the most traditional and original modes of museum



Figure 27: Hallway at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017.

activity: collecting. Consequently, an investigation of this collection of photographs and its presentation is meaningful for the exhibition's memory-making potential.

The above photograph of the hallway may have the character of a picture story and could depict the entrance of a figure into a house. Audiences perceive the collection of photographs in an individual way, probably often without doing so consciously. Many photographs are hanging on the wooden walls. Spotlights from the roof illuminate them. Some photographs are coloured, some are in black and white. Some of the printed photographs have labels that inform about what is on the picture and which year it was taken, but none of them reveals who took the photograph or who is presented in the photograph. In the following, I try to group some of the photographs and highlight what are the most interesting traits of the photograph collection. The photograph's mere presence and the presentation of historical moments through them without concrete information may create what Hirsch calls "an affective link to the past":

It is this presence of embodied experience in the process of transmission that is best described by the notion of memory as opposed to history and best mediated by photographic images. Memory signals an affective link to the past, a sense precisely of an embodied 'living connection'. Through the

indexical link that joins the photograph to its subject—what Roland Barthes (1981: 80) calls the ‘umbilical cord’ made of light—photography, as I will show in more detail below, can appear to solidify the tenuous bonds that are shaped by need, desire, and narrative projection. (Hirsch 2008: 111)

Even though the photographers and people on the photographs are not named, their “embodied experience” (ibid.) is still present in these photographs. The photographs show what people experienced in the past and are therefore crucial in the affective development of memory potentials.

The first group of photographs to the left-hand side in the hallway shows the launch on 1 April 1939. The ten photographs are colourised; many of them correspond with the archival footage from Bundesarchiv (BSP 20238), but some of the photographs have different perspectives than the footage. The only labels are in German, often about where, when, and what the event was; otherwise there are no labels on the photographs. The labels show different date formats, indicating that the photographs were either selected and hung at different time points or by different persons. Only a photograph of the twelve-ton anchor of the *Tirpitz* has an object text in Norwegian.

Another group makes a temporal jump to 1943 with black and white photographs mostly taken in Kåfjord. They show exercises by German troops, texted irregularly in German, Norwegian, and English. Some German texts contain mistakes and two labels on the same photograph have different fonts. Two photographs in the group are titled “Einsame Königin” (see opening sequence in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, chapter 2.1 and 2.6).

A group of twelve photographs shows German soldiers in Alta in training situations in 1942 and 1943. Place names such as ‘Altagaard’ and ‘Isnestoften’ are mentioned. The texting is mainly in Norwegian and occasionally English. Two photographs show casual looking soldiers on Isnestoften, sitting outside in their underwear and playing music. Some photographs are named ‘Batterie Alta’, which points to the name of the German troop that was stationed in the area. They are also photographed performing work in the forest. The local place names address the local knowledge of visitors and enables them to classify and recognise the locations. For people without local knowledge, the place names just add a bit of local but unknown atmosphere to the collection. The casual situation with the partly unclothed soldiers playing music is a document of a situation during war that shows a relaxing moment. The function of these photographs might be similar that showing of the dinnerware—to depict an everyday situation, that not every day consisted of drills and combat. The name ‘Batterie Alta’ is a detail that means something only to informed audiences who have knowledge about troops, names, and missions. Just this limited group of photographs shows how photographs and their labels can attract different groups of audiences, both informed and uninformed ones.



Figure 28: Four photographs at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017.

The most extraordinary part of the exhibited photograph collection is a small group of four photographs that display German soldiers encountering Sami people, or the other way around. It is the only time in the photograph exhibition that German soldiers are photographed together with other people than their own (Figure 28).

All label texts say “Alta Winter 1942” and one has “Elvebakken” added. The photographs show soldiers and Sami sitting in a *lavvo* (Sami tent) smoking together, dealing with the reindeer, and sitting on a reindeer sled. People on the photographs have a serious expression on their faces, except on the photograph to the upper right where at least four of the presented persons are smiling, one of them wearing Sami clothes. As in the entire photograph exhibition, no names are mentioned, none of the persons on the photographs is identified, and no photographer is mentioned by name.

The appearance of these photographs is intriguing in at least two ways. Firstly, why are these photographs being shown in this exhibition? Why were they chosen to illustrate the occupation of Norway by German forces in an exhibition about the battleship *Tirpitz*? Secondly, why were photographs taken with Sami people in the first place? Why were these encounters documented, but not those with the Norwegian population? As to the first point, the presentation of the photograph might help to frame the exhibited narrative of the *Tirpitz* and the mood of World War II in Northern Norway.

Photographs are, Porter argued, placed in museums to frame the meaning and establish the broader economy of truth, in which other classes of objects can function appropriately. Yet, she argues there is little consideration of

how those photographs themselves make meaning. Nor are they documented in a way that affords them their own historicity. Rather than excavating the historical voice of a photograph, displays often mobilize photographs for their assumed immediacy, directness, and unmediated inscription; they are used, she argues, to authenticate other classes of objects, to give ‘period’ – ‘to provide the ‘look of the past’ (24). (Edwards and Lien 2014: 7)

Taking up Edwards and Lien in reference to Porter (1989), the presentation of the photographs without information about photographed and photographing people might point to the little meaning they have for themselves in the collection. Due to the choice of the photographs and the way they are hung merely providing an *impression* of the time and a temporal and geographical frame for the story of the *Tirpitz* and the war in Northern Norway, details seem not to be of importance for this arrangement. Through the photographs’ placement of origin in Northern Norway and in an accepted, if somewhat romanticised setting, they contribute to the museum exhibition’s “economy of truth” (Porter 1989), which is further strengthened through historical documents, items, and the space of the museum itself.

The second point opens up the large topic of ethnography, of colonialism, and exotism—the documentation of the ‘other’. Sami have historically been photographed by outsiders, people representing some power of state, which generated asymmetric power relations. “Dermed materialiserer den fotografiske arven eit element av kontroll.” (Lien and Wallem Nielssen 2016: 157)<sup>84</sup> When exhibiting photographs in a museum, one should reflect on who they present and in what context. “[...W]ithin the archive and the museum there is a dense multidimensional fluidity of the discursive practices of photographs as linking objects between past and present, between visible and invisible and active in cross-cultural negotiation.” (Edwards 2001: 4) To raise awareness of that is perhaps one of the most important tasks of a museum. Yet, the strategy of avoiding individual names is still employed, even in modern exhibitions. Indigenous people become examples of ‘the other’, representatives of a group. The choice not to mention the names of indigenous people on photographs may have to do with resources and time, and the problem of not being able to provide everybody’s name.

Factually based accounts with a focus on authenticity have largely dominated the exhibition stories, while narratives about the indigenous people in the Arctic often continue to be absent from in [sic] the museum’s representations of the past. Photographs and the way they are used play an important part in this misrepresentation or disavowal of history. (Aarekol 2014: 161)

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<sup>84</sup> “Therein, the photographic heritage materialises an element of control.” (Lien and Wallem Nielsen 2016: 157), my translation.

Even though these four photographs make only a small part of the whole collection, the Tirpitz Museum also contributes to a certain misinterpretation due to a lack of information. The groups of soldiers are nameless as well, yet, for the presentation of indigenous people in general and Sami people in particular this reproduction of a colonial view provides a step back into times that many indigenous people are still struggling to escape.

What should not be excluded as a possibility is that both groups, the German soldiers and the Sami people, might have benefited from each other. Trade in tobacco, reindeer meat, and other products may have been the basis for a business relationship—additional to the relationship between occupier and occupied.

The only introduction to the photographs might be the entrance area of the museum with its counter (see chapter 2.1.4) and the model of the *Tirpitz* (see chapter 2.6.2). The arrangement of the photographs in the hallway creates a kind of alley a visitor walks through to go to the various exhibition rooms. The photographs prepare the visitors for the rooms and their presentation creates a certain mood. Preparing audiences for the actual exhibition, the photographs generate a paratext, a frame, and expectations for what is coming. The lack of information for many of the photographs provides the area with the collection with a *primarily illustrating* character. Despite their barely illustrative character, the photographs offer authenticity because they still appear to show what really happened and give an impression of one moment in time, even though the photographs may have been arranged. This authenticity, through the inscription of the museum and by disposition of the photographs through the medium, seems to be enough to marvel at these photographs; the missing information is not necessary to impress the audiences.

Many of the photographs reappear in the exhibitions in the rooms, often with more text on what there is to see in the photographs. Still, the people on the photographs and the photographers mostly remain anonymous.

The overall impression left by this photograph collection is one of awe, but with unanswered questions. The provision of information and translations equally in Norwegian, English, and German seems unsystematic and random. Accordingly, the focus must have been on the pure presentation of a rich collection of photographs that show a specific era and that are connected particularly to Northern Norway and the *Tirpitz* in a broader sense. Place names around Alta may invite local visitors to recognise and to immerse themselves into the presentations, whereas international audiences may be activated by the photographs of Kåfjord where the chariot and X-Craft missions took place.

Photographs are acquired or generated within the museums in a multitude of ways. They can be the result of intentional and systematic collection, or

as semi-structured collection as photographic accruals around object collections, or the process can be entirely serendipitous. (Edwards and Lien 2014: 3)

The development and curation of the photograph collection has a random character, which also becomes apparent when looking for photographs of the sinking. Interestingly, these are not placed in the hallway together with the others. The sinking is covered by three photographs in a room with a mixed exhibition; a photograph with fountains of the water by bombs, one with people standing on the upturned hull of the *Tirpitz* titled “Tromsø 12th November 1944”, and one of the *Tirpitz* capsized, photographed from the air some years after the sinking.

The photographs of the sinking of the *Tirpitz*, even though they are few and not presented in an extensive exhibition of their own, may trigger a bodily memory in audiences that have a personal connection to the events:

[A]s archival documents that inscribe aspects of the past, photographs give rise to certain bodily acts of looking and certain conventions of seeing and understanding that we have come to take for granted but that shape and seemingly reembody, render material the past that we are seeking to understand and receive. And sight, Jill Bennett (2005: 36) has argued, is deeply connected to ‘affective memory’: ‘images have the capacity to address the spectator’s own bodily memory; to touch the viewer who feels rather than simply sees the event, drawn into the image through a process of affective contagion. . . . Bodily response thus precedes the inscription of narrative, or moral emotion of empathy.’ (Hirsch 2008: 117)

Affective memory experiences connected to these photographs may be few, yet they can support powerful memory potentials about the events surrounding the *Tirpitz*. Additional to the collection of photographs, objects mediating memory are exhibited in this museum exhibition. One of the rear rooms on the right-hand side of the corridor houses a large showcase across three walls of the room and shows a mixture of objects. The mixture conveys a distinct impression of passing time, fugacity, and personal fates. Therefore, a close look at one of the showcases brings interesting insights about presenting a kind of materialised forgetting in this exhibition. Items that decompose and that are exhibited in showcases show demonstratively how much time has passed since the events around the *Tirpitz*. Destruction and conservation become apparent in the following example; where “[...] zentripetale Kräfte des Bewahrens und Konservierens auf zentrifugale Kräfte des Zerstreuens und Zerstörens treffen.” (A. Assmann 2016: 19)<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> “[...] centripetal forces of protection and conservation meet centrifugal forces of distraction and destruction.” (A. Assmann 2016: 19), my translation.



Figure 29: Two typewriters at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017.

There seems to be no overarching topic besides the story of the *Tirpitz* and World War II in the room and, amongst other objects, there is an ice axe, climbing irons, a pan and a ladle, and field glasses. A group of clothes that were found, having been in the water protected by a film of oil for sixty years, hangs together in the showcase. Texts inform to whom they belonged and what happened to the owners. Two typewriters stand next to each other (Figure 29). One seems to be functional and the other one is rusted. A pile of letters lies next to the typewriters without further information or exhibition text.

The typewriter on the left has a label with text in Norwegian, English, and German. There are single typographical errors in English and German, as the text below shows. “German Navy ‘TORPEDO’ typewriter from the Tirpitz. This typewriter was rescued out of the Tirpitz under the scrapping in 1947. Privat [*sic*] gift to the museum.” The text accompanying the right typewriter says in the same three languages: “‘TORPEDO’ typewriter found on the Tirpitz wreck sites in Tromsø [*sic*] in 2009 by the diver Thomas Hansen”.

The room and the showcase display a mixture of objects that are only connected through the context of the *Tirpitz* and its destruction. Clothes conserved in the water by a small film of oil, as the label states, present objects that were personal and close to the bodies of their users. The cold water and motor oil that served as conservation here are in contrast harmful or even deadly to the users of these clothes. The many broken, rusted, and torn objects in this showcase demonstrate the fugacity of material and of life. Some of the objects are connected to real persons, names, and fates, while others remain anonymous.

The experience of objects in the context of museums is a sensorial one, in which visitors respond to the presence of material objects through their object-ness. While this experience might be mediated by display conventions



and conservation protocols that prevent visitors from touching or even smelling objects, the museum experience of material objects is nevertheless often quite specifically sensorial or, at a minimum, about projecting an experience of the senses on objects because they are physically present. (Sturken 2016: 19f.)

The mere presence of the objects in this collection in the showcase may have an affective effect on audiences, who are invited to engage with the fates of the owners of the clothes or the users of the typewriters. The presentation of the destruction of objects might trigger audiences' imagination towards the destruction of humans, which can create empathy. An empathic attitude towards the presented fates may enhance individual memory potentials for visiting audiences.

The two typewriters next to each other reveal a very distinct *vanitas* symbolism being “new” and “old”, even though both are from the same period. The label text informs that both typewriters are the same model and that they were lifted out of the water with a temporal distance of sixty-two years. The one on the left was perhaps even actively conserved with care while the one on the right is altered by corrosion in salt water. Both typewriters can generate a certain fascination for audiences. The ostensibly functional one allows a look into past times and may allow the imagination to see people writing on it as though no time has passed. In contrast, the rusty one shows explicitly *that* much time has passed, *that* people and things have passed, and it shows the concrete destruction of material through time.

Material objects that have survived a cataclysmic event put on display the very transformation that turned them from ordinary objects of everyday life into survivor objects; they quite literally become storytelling devices and stand-ins for the dead. (Sturken 2016: 19)

As “stand-in for the dead” and as “survivor objects” (ibid.), the objects can open up for an experiential mode of remembering without actually saying anything about the fate of a specific person. The object's connection to a specific person who touched and worked with the object may mediate a bodily perception of the historical event to visitors. The stand-in function and obvious material transformation over time may be enough to immerse the audience into the presented story. Marita Sturken makes the connection between the event of 11 September 2001 and the exhibition of “arbitrary” objects that may generate an impact on audiences in a memorial or museum:

To see the brick alongside the Last Column—and in concert with the other major objects in the museum, such as the impact steel, the crushed fire engines, and the dust—is to see a panoply of material substances strangely

thrown together because of their arbitrary and coincidental relationship to history. (2016: 23)

Both Sturken's examples from the 9/11 memorial and the typewriters from the Tirpitz Museum in Alta make apparent the unlimited task of the museum institution of collecting, assembling, presenting, moving, and delocating of objects. Small details such as the scratch in steel (see quote above) or the rust on the typewriter pinpoint special historical events and their impact on real people. Additionally, they highlight the passing of time and the importance of the museum institution in drawing attention to past events and their possible impact on the audiences' lives.

### 2.3.3 Harmonising the Cacophony

The walks through the archival footage and its use in the selected documentaries, and through the original objects and their embedding in museum exhibitions, show that the most important thing about them is that they *seem* authentic and are used in a plausible way. In both media types, the original material is arranged in a conceivable manner that represents a rather homogenous story. "Traditionally, museums frame objects and audiences to control the viewing process, to suggest a tightly woven narrative of progress, an 'authentic' mirror of history, without conflict or contradiction." (Marstine 2006: 5) The consciousness for the potential of documentary as ideological weapon (Sørenssen 2001: 151) may open the analytical view for the possible consequences that some of the different mediating strategies of the selected multi-medial documents may have.

The camera with a status as neutral observer (Koch 1995: 499) can contribute to a seemingly trustworthy presentation of past events. Still, the *use* of the footage is of great importance for the mediated message. The use of the archival footage of the launch in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* appears to have the function of being evidence, or at least support to the claim, for the threat posed by Nazi Germany's military industrial activity. A longer sequence about the launch, the cheering crowds, and Hitler attempts to establish the mood of the Nazi empire for English-speaking audiences. In *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, in contrast, the scene of the actual launch is shorter, and it is archival footage that provides context for the overall situation in Europe in 1939 leading to the launch of the *Tirpitz*. The German documentary seems to focus less on the establishment of an atmosphere in the Third Reich and rather on the presentation of information on the martial developments. The embedding of the archival footage also shows less suspenseful cross-cuttings than has been done in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. Instead, *Det siste slaget* works with long shots of seemingly uncut archival footage and presents a German speech in the background without information about the speaker or translation. The mediation of an impression of the zeitgeist and mood of the time appears to

be more important in the Norwegian documentary than a quick and suspenseful narrative composition. The formal appearance of the used footage, such as monochromaticity and grainy quality, may contribute the authenticity of the presentation of historical events.

Certain technologies and styles encourage us to believe in a tight, if not perfect, correspondence between image and reality, but the effects of lenses, focus, contrast, depth of field, color, high-resolution media (film with very fine grain, video displays with very many pixels) seem to guarantee the authenticity of what we see. They can all be used, however, to give the impression of authenticity to what has actually been fabricated or constructed. (Nichols 2001: xii)

As high-resolution media can provide a certain impression of authenticity of newly taken footage, grainy, monochrome, and blurry footage can be supportive for a historical report and enhance its credibility. The above-mentioned example of Hitler being filmed and photographed at the same time, where, in footage with a bigger perspective, the visuals do not correspond with the appearance at the launch, show that the plausible formal character and a fitting placement in the narrative of the documentary are sufficient to make it “original enough”.

The archival footage of the sinking transports different messages in different embeddings in the three documentaries. The archival footage in *The Battle for Hitler's Super-ship* is supplemented and dramatised through a mystifying singing voice and the staging contributes to heroising the British parties. The interviews with eyewitnesses elaborate an experiential level, whereas the added re-enactments establish an antagonistic mode of rhetoric (Erl 2008b). Several repetitions of the same footage of bombs hitting the beach and the ship may contribute to this scene being more easily recalled (cf. J. Assmann 2011: 3). The RAF archival footage shows how warfare was documented; its paratext implies that it was intended to be used for training purposes and that it was planned to become part of British newsreels. The footage represents the mediation of memory *while* the actual event is happening. The RAAF footage itself may seem like a kind of trophy for the historical event and the successful destruction of the *Tirpitz*. *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* embeds the footage in a dramatic and dark, but not mystical or displaced way. The focus of the presentation of the footage of the sinking in *Det siste slaget* might lay in a plausible presentation of Northern Norway with its surroundings and weather. Suitable intra-diegetic sounds of propellers support the calm presentation of still, zoomed-in photographs. The arrangement of the archival footage of the sinking creates a muffled distance to the actual acts of destruction and rather directs audiences' attention and immersion to the reports by the eyewitnesses. The eyewitnesses' accounts may

invite an experiential layer of the events of the sinking. “As Plantinga observes, in contrast with textual forms, ‘the filmed interview allows us to *see* and *hear* the interviewee, giving us information about spatial context, gesture, facial expression, tone of voice, and inflection’ (Plantinga 1997: 70; emphasis in original).” (Jones 2012: 198) So, the mediator of *Det siste slaget* chose to have an explicit focus on personal stories and to support the view through the documenting footage with a blurry mood. The strongly personal character of the narrative through eyewitnesses may invite audiences to generate “an affective response in the viewer” (Jones 2012: 196). Following Jones, the subjective response of audiences might be the important goal for mediators of historical topics. Historical accuracy, as far as it can be perceived by genre-knowledgeable audiences, just needs to satisfy a potential longing for universal emotions, to immerse into the fates of historical people. The aspect of individual affective response seems to be of great importance for audiences’ memory potentials.

The look at the selected objects from museum exhibitions from the United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway shows that the objects do not need to be presented with clear information about their connection to the historical event, but that their mere material existence in the museum makes them potentially memory-making. According to Kirsten Latham, the perception of ‘the real thing’ is dependent on the physical presence of the object, the self of the visitor, their connection to other people, times and events, and the presented object’s surroundings (2015: 5). For this analysis, a look at the physical presence and on the surrounding of the presented object proved most valuable.

The object biography of the painted bulkhead from the *Tirpitz* highlights its presence on the actual battleship and its status as a gift of thanks for help during the war, as a trophy and symbol for rivalry, and finally as a museal object for the Royal Air Force. The re-mediation of the object as photographed item for a newspaper in Tromsø during the wrecking process is exhibited at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. The authentic and archival impression the footage of the bulkhead mediates in *Det siste slaget* demonstrates the bits and pieces of stories about the same object from different perspectives. An individual perception of inter-mediality and re-mediation becomes apparent with the example of the bulkhead that can provide reassurance of the originality of the object through the historical, object-biographical journey. Visual mediation of a historical object can enhance its claim to trustworthiness. As pointed out by Plantinga, “The unique power of the photographic image, however, is that its informativeness is accompanied by what many take as a built-in evidence, supplied by the medium itself and the photograph’s means of production.” (2013: 41) The bulkhead and its many mediations may represent the reported historical events and be evidence of the materiality of the object in history, for its object-biographical journey, and, in the end, for the documentation of both.

The archival footage of the launch of the *Tirpitz* at the Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven is presented in the exhibition without information and connection to the town Wilhelmshaven, where the launch took place in 1939. The piece of steel armour plating outside the museum is an exhibit in numbers, with a hint of the repurposing of the material demonstrating German military development. The original objects and, in the case of Wilhelmshaven, also the footage, help to convey what is accepted as history in the respective contexts, woven into a trustworthy plot (cf. Beier de-Haan 2005: 179).

At the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum, everyday life relics such as a meal plan and porcelain from the *Tirpitz* are arranged between militaria, and they may provide a moment of relaxation in a bunker crowded with objects from the war. The porcelain might point to aspects of normality during wartime and to material beauty, which porcelain can embody. The items in the showcase are defunctionalised and damaged, and their purpose now is rather more symbolic than their original use. The confrontation with damaged items that are familiar to the visitors' lifeworld may have a bodily effect on audiences. The historical and institutional place of the museum is of great importance for the symbolic meaning of these items. What Sturken observes in connection to the 9/11 memorial in New York City is also relevant in the context of the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. "It establishes that the site itself is a key factor in the experience of the museum, something to be looked at, to be felt, and sensorially engaged." (2016: 17) The surrounding of the museum contributes to the meaning of the exhibited objects. "One could argue that this is exactly what the process of museumization does; it turns objects, of art, history, and everyday life into things that signify something more, into objects with mystical and magical qualities." (Sturken 2016: 19)

The selected photography collection at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta forms an entry to the narrative of the museum exhibition as a whole. With little information, the presentation mostly mediates impressions of the time and region in which the events around the *Tirpitz* took place. Despite its mainly impressional character in this museum exhibition, the collection may conform to what Hirsch called a "uniquely powerful medium for the transmission of events" (2008: 107). Even though possibly not consciously selected and arranged, the example of a group of photographs with Sami may reproduce a colonial view, giving the story of the *Tirpitz* a temporal and geographical frame. The presentation of the photography collection shows that a museum exhibition, although not providing much or directed information, can be powerful in its perhaps even uncurated, unintentional message.

The cult of authenticity in western culture today is a protective gesture against the relativism of postmodernism and the commodification of culture. It reflects a desire to find our own authentic selves. It is also a distrac-

tion from and validation of the ‘othering’ in which museums engage. Claiming ‘authenticity’ is a way for museums to deny the imperialist and patriarchal structures that have informed their institutions. (Marstine 2006: 3)

By claiming authenticity through the position of the institution and through the medium of the photographs, the mediators may disregard the underlying message of the group of photographs of the Sami and might neglect the ongoing emancipation and necessary discussion of the depiction of indigenous people in museums. This observation makes apparent the inherent responsibility of the mediators for every topic that is displayed, or not displayed, at their respective museums, although it might not be the main topic of their own exhibition. The human aspect in the institution of a museum and its message to the outside world is not to be underestimated (cf. Plantinga 2013: 45). Human beings create meaning in the documentary and in the museum exhibition at both ends: that of the curator who selects and presents the photograph, and that of the audience who reads the presentation of a photograph with their own background, knowledge, and preferences.

The two typewriters at the Tirpitz Museum show the passing of time and the destruction of material through the bombing and the water. They also demonstrate what a difference preservation through human care can make and the perishableness of materiality, *vanitas*. Audiences can witness the decomposition of the second typewriter in the showcase and they can perceive how two things of the same type, having both “experienced” the sinking, have two different fates. The parallel to human beings who have or have not survived the sinking, where some were more injured than others, may be an underlying message in this presentation. As an observer and analyst, one might hope that such museum exhibitions can have a reflective effect on audiences. “Museum collections are fetishized; the museum as a shrine declares that its objects possess an aura that offers spiritual enlightenment as it inspires Platonic values of beauty and morality.” (Marstine 2006: 9) Even though many museum exhibitions and documentaries, such as my examples, are a mixed conglomerate of items and footage that may or may not derive from the actual events around the *Tirpitz*, they mediate “an aura of spiritual enlightenment” (Marstine 2006: 9) that can connect the lifeworlds of audiences with the historical events, places, and persons. In the end, museum exhibitions and documentaries arrange the objects in a broad narrative that makes sense to the audiences. “The history they [the museums] produce is a cacophonous outcome of contest and compromise.” (Gable 2006: 110)

The differences in the presentation of same and similar original footage and objects in documentaries and museum exhibitions are most significant. The British documentary presented the footage of the launch and the sinking in a dramatically embedded way, whereas the British exhibition at the RAF Museum does not focus on these particular

events but highlights one attack by the *Tirpitz* against the Allies that serves as the justifying moment to sink the battleship. Highlighting this moment, the British narrative reduces the story to one crucial encounter, simplifies the reasons for war, and manifests an antagonistic mode of rhetoric of British collective memory (ErlI 2008b).

The German documentary shows the launch in a broader context and the sinking in a less hectic and mystified way than the British does. In comparison, the footage of the launch in Wilhelmshaven is provided in the exhibition without information or sound, which leaves audiences with a vague impression rather than the concrete local anchoring of the events in the same city of Wilhelmshaven. This strategy could be interpreted as encapsulating a moment of national and local significance by showing it without enlightening the audience about what they are seeing and how this relates to their current lifeworlds.

The Norwegian documentary prominently works with modestly embedded and informative actuality footage, whereas the exhibition at the Alta Museum introduces its audiences to the narrative about the *Tirpitz* with impressions through a collection of photographs. The exhibit of two differently aged typewriters may hit a similar tone as the strategy in the Norwegian documentary. The documentary shows photographs of eyewitnesses of the 1940s while audiences are listening to the same eyewitnesses, aged and in the timeline of the audiences. The local and personal remembering seems to be of importance for the Norwegian multi-medial documents, especially in contrast to the representations from the United Kingdom and from Germany. Whereas British and German representations are occupied staging their roles during and after the war and their attitude towards history, Norwegian representations dare to zoom in on local and personal journeys—those of persons and those of objects.

## 2.4 Re-enactments

Transitioning in the analysis from original footage and objects to a stylistic device called “re-enactment”, Chapman’s definition of realism as an “aesthetic practice in which films seem ‘true to life’ in terms of their stories, situations and characters” (2013: 135) appears to be relevant. Re-enactments can create an illusion of reality where audiences can “witness” historical events on screen that only exist on screen (cf. Chapman 2013: 76). An observation by Rebecca Schneider regarding the relation between documenting the original event and re-enacting it can point to the double function of documentation of a historical event.

The place of the documentation of the ‘original’ event has, in this way, shifted—becoming score, script, or material for ‘instruction’. Documents

that had seemed to indicate *only* the past, are now pitched toward the possibility of a future reenactment as much as toward the event they apparently recorded. (2011: 28; italics in original)

Even though Schneider is referring specifically to live re-enactments of historical events by actors or enthusiasts, her statement applies also to re-enactments in documentaries and museum exhibitions. Original footage and photographs can inform modern presentations in re-enactments and can contribute to completing the narratives of the media. In modern documentary, re-enactments have become a common and accepted strategy to fill gaps in the narrative that cannot be covered by archival footage, newly shot footage, or interviews. In contrast, in exhibitions re-enactment in the sense of a documentary are unusual. What comes close to a re-enactment at a museum exhibition is, for example, museum staff wearing contemporary clothes and re-enacting historical everyday tasks. Referring to Jones' quote above (2017: 140), other forms of re-enactment at a museum that are relevant for this study are models or copies of original objects and dioramas<sup>86</sup>. Jones additionally highlights the importance of authenticity in connection to re-enactments. It is not only an original that can mediate authenticity (see 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*); copies and re-enactments may also contribute to the trustworthiness of a historical narrative.

As mentioned earlier, for his documentary theory Grierson propagated a “creative treatment of actuality” (1933: 8). Interpretations for this phrase can be broad and I could stretch one of them to re-enacted scenes being a creative supplementation of actual events. Early forms of re-enactments appeared, for example, as early as in 1943 in the film *Fires Were Started* by Humphrey Jennings. According to Sørenssen, “[f]ilmen bygges på rekonstruksjon av en situasjon, i dette tilfellet det frivillige brannvesen under tyskernes blitsbombeangrep mot London. Filmen ble spilt inn med amatørskuespillere to år etter begivenheten [...]” (2001: 140)<sup>87</sup>. Besides the creative supplementation of a documentary, the use of re-enactment could have practical reasons. In the 1930s and 1940s, camera equipment was heavy and cumbersome and the actual event might have ended before the equipment was ready (cf. Hoffmann 2005a: 654).

The war correspondent and mediator Hans Ertl (1985) reported that he reconstructed scenes or supplemented them to generate the impression he wanted to record. In 1941, for instance, he was supposed to make a film about the German troops' “Afrikakorps” and to focus on the problem of high temperatures. Illustrating the heat by frying an egg

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<sup>86</sup> The diorama was developed by the French photographer Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre for the purpose of entertaining the public in the 1820s (Gernsheim and Gernsheim 1968).

<sup>87</sup> “[t]he film is based on the reconstruction of a situation, in this case the voluntary fire fighters during the Blitz bombing raid by the Germans against London. The film was recorded with lay actors two years after the actual event [...]” (Sørenssen 2001: 140), my translation.



on the surface of a tank, he had to supplement the natural heat with a soldering lamp beneath the metal to get the effect he needed for his scene. This is only one example of several that Hoffmann provides with Ertl when addressing “re-enacting reality” (Hoffmann 2005a: 653f). Ertl’s example makes apparent how fluent the border between the re-enactment of something authentic and its blatant fake can be. According to Hoffmann, basic rules were established in 1943 not to shoot re-enacted scenes for war correspondence, and to avoid exaggerated expressions, focussing instead on the essence of the report (ibid.: 656). Modern documentaries instead show a broad variety of re-enactments and staging, similar to the genre of docudrama. When examining modern documentaries, one might ask whether these rules were a matter of interpretation, as long as the re-enactment corresponded with accepted patterns and supported the narrative in a plausible way. Regarding to Sturken, the plausible way does not need to be the historically correct way (Sturken 2008: 75). Simplistic narratives, both in motion picture and in documentary re-enactments, can retell what has been established in countless mediations before; heroes versus villains, sacrifices to do what is right, and a satisfying pride that may move audiences affectively. “Just as there is no cultural memory prior to mediation, there is no mediation without remediation: all representations of the past draw on available media technologies, on existent media products, on patterns of representation and medial aesthetics.” (Ertl and Rigney 2009: 4) The ways in which the selected documentaries and museum exhibitions attempt to fill holes in their stories with dominant narrative patterns might point to the different memory potentials that these multi-medial documents can create.

### 2.4.1 Documentaries

I want to start the investigation on re-enactments in documentaries with the question of the function of the stylistic device of re-enactment. Echoing Jones, my contention is that “[...] re-enactments are an example of experiential authenticity: the images are felt to be authentic even where they are not originals” (2012: 205) and that the function of re-enactments is to create a certain atmosphere, which might support memory potentials for the respective scenes. I analyse the re-enactments in their embedding in interview and archival footage, in their accompaniment of music and sound design, and in connection to the narrator’s speech.

#### *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*

On the first impression, a rough overview of single key scenes re-enacted in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* and in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* confirms parts of the hypothesis above. Re-enactments show workers building the ship and the public gathering to watch

the launch (Brit. 0:03:06; Ger. 02:59; chapter 2.1), British officers observing the launch of the *Tirpitz* (Brit. 0:04:24; not in Ger.; chapter 2.1), or drowning sailors in the hull of the ship (Brit. 1:05:53; Ger. 55:00; chapter 2.2). None of these re-enactments provides distinct information, yet they create an *impression* of the actual situation at the scene. Feelings, not fact, seem to be crucial for the function of re-enactments in both *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. An analysis of the following selected scenes aims to demonstrate the possible impact on memory potentials when consuming these documentaries, and to deconstruct its tools. I selected the scenes below because, in comparison of the British and the German versions of the documentary about the *Tirpitz*, these are distinctive. On account of them being 'related to each other', the differences in the presentation of the selected scenes are especially interesting with regard to how the documentaries mediate the same historical events.

In *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, the attack on the dockyard in St. Nazaire in France is presented as an outstanding mission by the British that deserved a re-enacted scene lasting about five minutes. St. Nazaire in German-occupied France was assumed to become the Atlantic base for the *Tirpitz* and should therefore be made defective by the British. The narrator introduces the scene by saying that Churchill needed to find other ways to control the *Tirpitz* and that is why he launched "the most daring raid in the entire Second World War" (0:08:15). A long re-enactment scene, reminiscent of an action film, depicts the attack on St. Nazaire on 28 March 1942, creating suspense with dark sets and sneaking soldiers through the dark. Again, the narrator emphasises that this was "the most audacious raid in British military history" to destroy the Normandy dockyard, "one of the biggest in the world". The frequent use of superlatives such as "most daring", "most audacious", and "biggest", particularly in this scene, shows the wish to demonstrate and to emphasise the enormous challenge that the British forces were facing during this attack (see also chapter 2.6 *Text*).

Archival footage from ships at sea are cross-cut with re-enacted and hectically cut scenes of soldiers shooting and running, accompanied with a frantic drum rhythm. The hectic jump cuts are a modern move to provide the scene with tempo and suspense. Yet, in the days of early war footage, camera operators tried to hold the camera steady. Even though the stylistic choice in modern re-enactments does not fit the original footage situation, the cutting is mostly accepted as authentic (cf. Chapman 2013: 80). Spotlights and flashlights point directly at the camera and prevent audiences from seeing what is happening in the scene clearly. A scene of a soldier preparing himself in the dark, filmed in low light (Figure 30), strengthens the impression of a secret and dangerous mission.

The scene the screenshot is taken from does not add any information to the narration but invites audiences to dive into the dark together with this soldier preparing himself for battle. The camera perspective is extremely close; the only light might be a flashlight, and the soldier is camouflaging his face and reassembling his rifle in a hectic way. The



Figure 30: Re-enactment of a soldier preparing in low light. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:09:38). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

shooting style recalls motion pictures with footage that has a pseudo-documentary and self-made style, such as the horror film *The Blair Witch Project* (Myrick and Sánchez 1999). It also replicates more contemporary war footage taken with now familiar helmet cameras carried by soldiers, and it might point to an adoption of new technologies of authentication that were unavailable during World War II. The closeness of the camera to the actor is almost uncomfortable and audiences are confronted with the actor's heavy breath, the fear and decisiveness in his eyes, and the threatening darkness around him. This strategy has the potential to draw audiences into the scene, let them immerse themselves into the narrative, and forget that they are watching a (documentary) film.

"The British were outnumbered more than ten to one." (0:10:15) says the narrator, and the re-enactment supports his utterance by showing a German officer capturing and shouting in German at a British soldier (0:10:28). From 0:10:40, re-enacted footage and ostensibly original archival footage show the situation after the attack and the casualties on the British side. As already mentioned in chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*, it is not clarified if the archival footage really is from this attack or if it just shows situations that fit the narrative that is to be told in this scene. However, the footage is plausible in the mixture with the re-enactments, enforcing the authenticity of the scene and the trustworthiness of this report.

The end of the scene about the attack on St. Nazaire retells how the British had hidden a bomb in the dockyard that exploded after the Germans felt safe, killing about 200 people. The whole scene, with its superlatives, its danger, and its unequal proportions in

forces, seems to prepare this end. The necessary conclusion is that the British are standing up against an assumingly overpowering enemy and manage to harm them. The message of the British understatement (amongst others Sørensen 2001: 132) can be seen here as well, when the British *understate* their military capabilities to defeat the powerful enemy.

The next example that demonstrates the distinctive affective and situational function that re-enactments have in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* is the scene about the scattering of the Allied convoy PQ-17 on its way from Iceland to Russia on 4 July 1942. Archival footage of ships at sea together, with the narrator speaking about the size and cargo of the convoy, introduce the scene (0:15:15–49). A triple-split screen, as was also used in the launch scene in the same documentary (see chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*), shows a re-enactment of German officers on the bridge in two of the fields, while in the third one sees archival footage of the *Tirpitz* (0:15:57). This hypermediacy (Bolter and Grusin 1999) makes apparent the consumed medium without spoiling the trustworthiness of the scene. The narrator says that a German broadcast had been intercepted and that it seemed as if the *Tirpitz* was on its way to attack the convoys. A dramatic string rhythm follows this statement. Re-enactments of an office with hectic activities depict the British Navy's struggle to make a decision: to risk the warships protecting the convoy when the *Tirpitz* attacks, or withdraw the protective warships and risk the convoy. Close-ups on fingers pointing at a map, shaky images as if one is in a hurry, and dark military drum rolls prepare for the narrator's next sentence: "The decision was made. The destroyers called off." (0:16:18). Archival footage of pointing ship guns confirms the developments visually. In 0:16:21, a re-enactment with young sailors below deck looking out of a porthole to observe how another ship, assumingly a German one, is firing at them illustrates the helplessness of the convoy, the soldiers' fear, and the threat to which they were exposed. A close-up on a typewriter as was used in the opening sequence of the documentary (see chapter 2.1.4) lets the audience follow the typewriter foot hitting "CONVOY IS TO SCATTER" (0:16:29). An interview sequence with two convoy veterans, Dean van Etten and Tom Bigmore, opens with van Etten's impassioned statement, "We couldn't believe it" (0:16:35). Both speak in intervals about the events on 4 July 1942, their observation of the events, and their anger towards the British Navy for having abandoned them. The personal telling gives the narrative an authentic and authoritative appearance in an autobiographical way that may have a more affective impact on audiences than the impersonal narrator's voice could have had. Aleida Assmann points to the possibility of generating a new form of witness through the medium of documentary and through the sharing of memories (2006b: 265). Even though she is writing about video testimonies, which are understood to be a purer version of an interview in structure and staging, her observation may be relevant for this scene of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* as well. In this scene, her description of an audience witnessing a

witness responds to a broad understanding of the concept of postmemory and may transfer affective response from the eyewitness to the audience.

The interview setting is outside, van Etten sitting on a bench wearing a casual polo shirt, the wind driving through the leaves visible behind him. Bigmore is prepared as if he is on a fishing trip and merely tells this story to a companion. He is sitting in a garden chair, the fishing rod placed next to him, wearing a black coat, and seems to show the quiet life of a senior who is reflecting on his past. The interviews are cross-cut with the re-enactment of the young, scared sailors under deck, who only can look out and wait. Instead of the *Tirpitz*, German submarines and torpedo planes encounter the convoy and sink twenty-four of the thirty-five cargo ships. Archival footage seems to give evidence for the destruction, showing explosions at sea, fire, and people jumping into the water (0:16:55). “Within the context of a documentary argument, for example, a moving image may lend support for an argument or part of an argument, but in itself cannot be said to demonstrate or prove that the argument is correct.” (Plantinga 2013: 41). Since archival footage only shows a small part of the historical event and is taken out of its original context, it is not possible to guarantee that the archival footage shows what the documentary says it does. A sad, electric melody lies over the images and emphasises the presented tragedy. At 0:18:01, a new re-enactment scene shows calm waters in the dark and pieces of paper and wood are floating on the water. A dark piano chord with a long echo accompanies the images. Bigmore says that survivors climbed into boats and the re-enactment shows a lonely drifting rowing boat with men covered in icy clothes. The wind is howling and, in the vastness of the ocean, the boat illustrates the loneliness and hopelessness that Bigmore is accounting for. He adds that it had taken weeks until the survivors were found and by then many were dead or frostbitten. By way of conclusion, Bigmore says that many were furious because the Navy had abandoned them. The developments may seem even harder to understand for their participants since the standard propaganda was that it was the common people who were fighting. “There can be little doubt that the most pertinent myth to which Listen to Britain contributes is that of the ‘people’s war’.” (Leach 2013: 149) That the admiralty would withdraw military protection from the convoy would then leave a bitter taste for the common sailors and soldiers finding themselves stranded.

The narrator concludes, “It was a massacre. More than 150 British and American sailors died.” (0:18:43) with a close-up on Bigmore’s face and his sad expression. Over the re-enactment of a drifting lonely boat, there is the voice of a radio transmission directed to American audiences (0:18:50):

Now comes the tragic news of the greatest naval disaster of the war. The convoy PQ-17 has been crowded in the Arctic on the route to Russia. In the last five days, since the 4th of July, U-boats and torpedo planes picked off

twenty-four of the thirty-five ships of the convoy, one by one. And 400 tanks, 200 aircraft, and 153 men, most of them fellow Americans, have been lost to the Arctic frozen seas. And the massacre, because make no mistake, that's what it was, will surely focus American minds on the brave men and women fighting Hitler and the Nazis so far away from home.

After the first sentence, we see the re-enactment of a radio journalist with a cigarette, rubbing his forehead, clearly struggling to tell the news (Figure 31). The camera perspective on the journalist is very close, as though the audience is sitting on the other side of the table but at a slightly lower level. Sad piano chords emphasise the mediation of the tragic event and transform van Etten's sentence, "We couldn't believe it," to music.

After the sad ending of this scene about PQ-17, the narrator says that the *Tirpitz* had never made it onto the open sea and that they did not get the message in time (0:19:54). Following the attack on PQ-17, the Americans refused to send more supply ships, and re-enactments of busy German sailors show that the ship and its crew are still on duty and still a threat. Archival footage shows Churchill when the narrator says that as long as the *Tirpitz* was in the Arctic seas, the ship would be a threat to the convoys. "We must destroy her" (0:20:34), the narrator echoes Churchill. Through the choice of words, the following measurements against the *Tirpitz* seem necessary and the destruction of the battleship appears not to be a choice, but a foregone conclusion. This formulation excludes malicious motivation by Churchill since he "had to" destroy the ship with its crew.

The extensive re-enacted presentation of a stopover of British planes in Arkhangelsk, Russia, during a raid on the *Tirpitz* is interesting to examine because it has a remarkable mood and message, and it does not appear in the German version of the documentary.

Former RAF pilot Iveson introduces the scene when, in his interview, he says that the pilots were not aware of the specific target until the briefing right before the departure. He adds that therefore they knew it would be a special operation (0:54:53). The narrator continues that the problem of reaching the *Tirpitz* from the United Kingdom was one of range. At 0:55:40, the pilots receive the information to attack the *Tirpitz* when making a stopover in Arkhangelsk. The narrator introduces the following visuals with "Hardly a fitting home for the famous Dambusters." (0:55:43) The pilot veteran Knights substantiates what images and narrator's voice mediate, "They were very primitive people. [...] The Russians were very primitive in those days. [...] The sanitation I won't describe on television. It was absolutely awful. [...] We would survive. We were tougher in those days, you see." (0:56:03) Re-enacted scenes show the British pilots entering a hut, catching a rat, and battering to death bugs in the pallets (0:56:13). Close shots on simple food made over an open fire such as boiled potatoes combined with camera perspectives on



Figure 31: Re-enactment of the radio journalist. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:19:29). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

men sitting around a fire drinking one shot after another are intended to illustrate the primitiveness of the situation during the stopover (0:56:55).

With its overacted staging and the striking utterances by the narrator and the eyewitnesses, the whole scene has an almost comical character. The scene seems openly to make fun of the Russian station in Arkhangelsk during the war and to excoriate the collaboration in this particular case in an unprofessional way. The depiction and choice of words mediates an arrogant attitude of the pilots towards the Russian allies, which might have a provoking or triggering effect. This documentary produced and distributed by established and acknowledged media parties reproduces a condescending attitude towards Russia during World War II that may reach into modern times and social dynamics. Memory potentials inspired by such mediations might pave the way for modern hostile attitudes.

The narrator continues that sailors on the *Tirpitz* received messages about the invasion of the Normandy by the Allies and about German losses in the east to the Russians (0:57:44). The narrator pinpoints, "The end was looming for Hitler and the Nazis. German visions of the *Tirpitz* commanding the waves had been forgotten. The beast was cornered." (0:57:50) Following this description, the *Tirpitz* was not an immediate threat since it was "cornered". However, instead of captivity, the destruction of the battleship still seems to be the necessary measure. Re-enactments of British pilots planning the raid follow (Figure 32).

In this re-enactment, the British soldiers are building a model of the area around the *Tirpitz*' mooring in Alta and are practising throwing the bombs from a great height by



Figure 32: Re-enactment for preparations in Arkhangelsk. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:58:03). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

climbing up a tree. The second part of the re-enactments about the events in Arkhangelsk are not as explicitly dismissive as the first part about the sleeping arrangements. However, the arrangement of the set, on the floor of the woods, and preparing the raid in such simple conditions makes clear the discrepancy to the before heroically highlighted pilots and their crucial mission. The stay at the Russian base seems to represent yet another challenge that the prestigious pilots have to master to defeat “the beast”.

At 0:58:40, the narrator says that on 15 September 1944, the all-clear signal came and twenty-seven bombers started from Arkhangelsk. The Germans on and around the *Tirpitz* discovered the bombers, turned on the smoke machines, and the British ended the raid without success. It represents another failure to destroy the *Tirpitz* despite exhaustive and heroic efforts, as the documentary informs.

The presentation of these re-enactments in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* supports the main narrative in explicit and partly extensive ways. These presentations generate intensive affect and immersion with the pilots, and they invite the audience to share the heroes' excitement about the events of the war.

### ***Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff***

In *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, some extensive re-enactment scenes of German and British officers are cut. This makes sense since the German version is about fifteen minutes shorter than the British one. I want to highlight that the scenes of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* analysed above appear in a different way and to a different extent in *Hitlers*



*letztes Schlachtschiff*. This observation may allow certain conclusions on these documentaries' intended audiences, on possible memory potentials, and to some degree on the general historical discourse it therefore aligns to.

The attack on the dock in St. Nazaire in France, “one of the biggest dockyards in the world” as it is termed in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, is not mentioned in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. The importance of the attack on the dock seems dependent on the perspective of who is telling the story. To nail down the narrative of the British defeating an all-powerful enemy, the emphasis on their attempt to execute “the most daring raid in the entire Second World War” strengthens the message of the committed British soldiers. Instead, in the German documentary the scene about St. Nazaire does not seem necessary and was excluded.

The events around the abandoning of PQ-17 appear in the German version (12:00); however, the radio broadcast I described above is excluded. The radio broadcast has a significant function in the British documentary because it not only mediates an affective impression but also provides information about the historical events. On a content level, the journalist mentions the numbers of lost ships and soldiers and on a formal level, audiences receive an insight into how war reporting might have looked like behind the radio microphone. Additionally, the presentation through the re-enacted journalist shows the historical event through the body of the re-enactor and transports his physical and bodily reactions to the event to the audiences. The decision to exclude the radio broadcast may point to the intention to diminish the American perspective in the German documentary since this may not be of great relevance for German audiences. Furthermore, the scene of the radio broadcast adds a supplementary emotional tone to the scene that appears to be avoided in the German version. Then, in the German documentary, the narrator summarises Bigmore's and van Etten's statements. Bigmore himself does not appear in the German documentary and van Etten does so only briefly. This also fits the reduction of focus on American voices in the German version. This choice does not need to be particularly directed against American voices; however, the editors had to cut somewhere and thus chose these scenes. This choice could suggest that the narrative of “the massacre” in connection to convoy PQ-17 and its status as a justification to hunt the *Tirpitz* is not part of the German mnemonic hegemony, but distinctly anchored in the British one. The exclusion of the event may be a strategy to avoid the confrontation of a violent event where Allied soldiers and civilians were killed by German forces. The avoidance of confrontation for German audiences finds its parallels in museum exhibitions and approaches to personal fates in German presentations of World War II (see chapter 2.5 *Eyewitnesses*).

The stop in Arkhangelsk, which is an about three minutes long scene at *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, is reduced to one sentence in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*: “Dort wurden sie aufgetankt, munitioniert und starteten ihren Überraschungsangriff auf die

Tirpitz.” (32:50)<sup>88</sup>. A map showing Arkhangelsk, drum roll in the background, and a re-enactment with soldiers sitting over a model in the woods (see Figure 32) illustrate the whole event. As mentioned above in the short analysis of this scene, the depiction of the stay in Arkhangelsk leaves a condescending impression of the Russian allies that may still be an accepted thread in British collective memory about Russian culture in the past. Yet, in the German version, the editors chose to exclude the extensive re-enactment and briefly to illustrate the information with rather neutral footage.

The absence of certain scenes in *the same* story can provide interesting insights into what mediators assume is acceptable and necessary for intended audiences. The German documentary has been adjusted to fit German audiences’ potential genre expectations of less personally affective and more seemingly objective presentations of past events. These may correspond with a dominant historical discourse that has its focus on the presentation of impersonal facts that German audiences are not invited to identify with. War remains an accumulation of numbers and consequences that do not affect individuals, especially not sixty years after the fact. The selection of events that received extensive re-enactments in the British but not in the German documentary points to exactly the statement that Molden is posing when he writes about “prioritizing some memories over others” (2016: 128). Some memories *are* prioritised over others because they serve a purpose in this particular narrative. The message about the same event changes when it is presented in a different way. The heroism, threat, and evilness in the story about the *Tirpitz* varies depending on which, and whose, memories are chosen to be presented.

### ***Det siste slaget***

In *Det siste slaget*, no re-enactments as in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* and in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* are used. The only two scenes that are comparable to a re-enactment are animations of planes in the air, at the timecodes 27:40 and 48:33.

When the main narrative in *Det siste slaget*—an investigation into whether a single German pilot was guilty of letting the destruction of the *Tirpitz* occur—is introduced, the narrator states that huge mistakes were committed in the coordination of German aircraft on 12 November 1944. After this introduction, the first animation of a German plane with a swastika on its tail appears on the screen (27:40). The narrator comments that Ehrler, the German pilot in question, had been the first to depart from Bardufoss Luftwaffe base, but that he arrived at Tromsø too late and the *Tirpitz* had already been attacked.

The second occasion for an animation is when Ehrler’s story is about to be finished. Walter Schuck, a former colleague of Ehrler, speaks about Commander Weissenberger,

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<sup>88</sup> “There, they received fuel and ammunition, and departed for their surprise attack against the *Tirpitz*.” (Quinn 2005a: 32:50), my translation.



Figure 33: Animation with voice-over by Walter Schuck and Norwegian subtitle. *Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007: 48:38)<sup>89</sup>. Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

who heard Ehrler's last words in the battle. Then a long sequence of animation follows (Figure 33: 48:33).

This sequence is intended to show Ehrler's plane right before the pilot decides to fly his plane into an enemy plane. Having been confronted with a military trial to investigate his guilt in the case of the *Tirpitz*, Ehrler chooses to end the humiliating outcome and to die in battle.

The credits inform the audience that Kjetil Åkra from Midt-Troms Museum and Viggo Danielsen designed the animations of the Messerschmitt 109, ME 262, the flight route, and the Lancaster.

The animations are illustrations that help to imagine the air raids Ehrler had participated in. Even though these animations do not have the evidentiary or confirmative character of archival footage, they may contribute to a better understanding of aircraft movements in the 1940s. They do not establish a bodily impression of a re-enactor reliving personal experiences in a direct way, but, rather, present the flight course of the plane in the animation in a distanced manner. Audiences can observe Ehrler's last moments, re-enacted in an animation, supported by the speech of the eyewitness Schuck,

<sup>89</sup> "He could not shake off his depression", my translation.

who knew the pilot personally. The animations may serve as interesting—yet for the narrative perhaps unnecessary—supplements to the investigation into the German pilot. Here, a parallel to museum exhibitions concerning practicality might arise. As practised in museum exhibitions, accessible items may find their way into the exhibition because they are in the collection and not necessarily because they are crucial for the narrative the exhibition is presenting. The animation might have a similar origin and supplement the scene in a technically interesting way.

### 2.4.2 Museum Exhibitions

Items in museum exhibitions are taken out of their original context and dramatised and staged in a more or less curated exhibition. Already in early ethnographic exhibitions from the beginning of the twentieth century, it was common to use stylistic tools in the exhibitions that seemed inspired by the theatre genre. Arne Røkkum calls it “popularising gjennom teatralisering” (2005: 121)<sup>90</sup> in the ethnographic context. Yet, to stage scenes in a museum exhibition is not only common in ethnographical exhibitions, but also in cultural historical museums in general. In contrast to the selected museums in the United Kingdom and in Germany, both museums about the *Tirpitz* in Norway utilise dioramas to depict situations during World War II connected to the *Tirpitz*.

#### British and German Museums

At the British and German museums, no dioramas present exhibition parts about the *Tirpitz*. Still, a model of the *Tirpitz* at the History Room in Lossiemouth could be interpreted as a form of re-enactment since it is a re-made object inspired by the historical object “Tirpitz”, echoing Jones (2017: 140). Where no original object is available, such a model can have the function of a substitute in the narrative of the exhibition that illustrates the story. This substitutional strategy is also found in showcases in Dresden, Wilhelmshaven, and Hamburg where grenades are exhibited as they might have been shot from battleships such as the *Bismarck* and the *Tirpitz*.

#### Tirpitz Museum Alta

The Tirpitz Museum in Alta uses dioramas on some single occasions, not to illustrate or demonstrate specific actions, but rather to depict general situations in certain areas, such as dolls clothed in German military uniforms and with various equipment, and a doll wearing a Russian uniform. The example below is special because the showcase presents a whole nurse’s office as it could have looked like during World War II (Figure 34).

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<sup>90</sup> “popularisation through theatricalisation” (Røkkum 2005: 121), my translation.



Figure 34: Diorama of a nurse's office at the Tirpitz Museum Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017.

The nurse's "office" is equipped with administrative items such as a telephone, writing paraphernalia, and interestingly a record player. In the background, a flag with swastika is hanging on the wall and a bed with pyjamas and a medical suitcase is placed behind the mannequin. The mannequin is fitted with a wig of blond plaits, is wearing a nurse's white uniform with the emblem of the German Red Cross on her arm, which is not visible in this picture, and a cap with the Third Reich's eagle on it. On the table in front of the mannequin lies a list of the contents of an ambulance box, titled "Verbandskasten". The ambulance box is standing opened in front of the mannequin and she is holding a syringe in her right hand.

The diorama mediates an impression of a general situation but does not give concrete or detailed information about a particular person, her job, or her tasks. It is possible that

the collection of items in the showcase was assembled without them having a clear connection to a nursery office—but they could have.

The museum exhibitions create a connection between items and events, even though there is no exact connection. A certain degree of distant connection does, however, seem to be enough to justify the presentation of the items. Still, the items contribute to the impression of a historical presentation. These “replicas, copies, imitation and re-enactment” (Pirker and Rüdiger 2010: 17) seem to leave a ‘real enough’ feeling for audiences and can mediate an “authentic experience” (Jones 2017: 140) to them.

The provenance of the arranged objects is of no importance, but their arrangement and their relationship to the presented scene needs to be *plausible* to be a part of the exhibition narrative. No text accompanies the diorama directly, and its message is conveyed only through the impression that is created, not through information. Schneider even highlights the possibility that deficiencies in re-enactments can contribute to an understanding of the re-enacted topic; “the curious inadequacies of the copy, and *what inadequacy gets right* about our faulty steps backward, and forward, and to the side.” (2011: 6; italics in original) Adapted to the diorama at the museum exhibition, one could take it further that a diorama can tell about perceptions and interpretations of the past and about how contemporary audiences want and can remember past events.

Next to the diorama, texts and photographs tell about the evacuation of Northern Norway in the winter of 1944. Others depict life under occupation in Norway and the presence of German forces in different areas, such as public health. The embedment of the diorama of the nurse between the photographs helps to place it in the topic of the occupation and to create an individual narrative without having an authoritative and informing narrator or exhibition text that informs the audience so. Photographs close to the diorama may have the function of contextualising the scenographic element of the diorama.

### **Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum**

At the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum, the example below is the only exhibition part that is designed as diorama. The cell (Figure 35) is a niche to the right-hand side when entering the bunker that houses the exhibition.

In the cell, locked with a transparent netting wire fence, a mannequin wearing headphones is sitting on a wooden chair in front of a small desk. Ostensibly, a radio transmitter and receiver are standing on the table and the cell is sparsely furnished. A large suitcase is lying on the floor.

Collages with titles such as “De usynlige soldatene” and “Etterretning med livet som innsats”<sup>91</sup>, in addition to maps and photographs, hang close to the diorama and mediate

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<sup>91</sup> “The invisible soldiers” and “Surveillance with life at stake”, my translation.



Figure 35: Diorama of resistance activities at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2016.

its topic: the Norwegian resistance movement and its activities regarding surveillance of the occupying forces.

The diorama in itself does not contribute any information on the Norwegian resistance or on any particular mission, but does convey an impression of the hard conditions and limited resources that members of the resistance had to deal with. Additionally, the texts of the collages tell that Norwegian agents “did very important work under extremely dangerous conditions”, which is supported by the diorama showing a person sitting in a very small room, perhaps all the time, ready to pack the equipment into its case and flee. Audiences may be invited to develop claustrophobic and paranoid feelings when peering into the cell and empathising with the person with the headphones.

These kinds of scenographic exhibition elements can be inspired by the developments of the early twentieth century and have the function of creating “iscenesatt autentisitet” (Lien and Wallem Nielssen 2016: 141)<sup>92</sup>. Through the staging, an affective authenticity might be perceived by visiting audiences when confronted with this presentation of a victim of occupation. Even if audiences are not given as detailed stories as they might be through an eyewitness’ story, the bodily representation in the space of the museum through the cell and the mannequin makes it tangible and more comprehensible. This

<sup>92</sup> “staged authenticity” (Lien and Wallem Nielssen 2016: 141), my translation.

diorama might serve as a generalising, representational substitute for the group of the Norwegian resistance and stand-in for eyewitnesses' potential experiences. As visitors, audiences can become witnesses to this re-enactment.

To witness a reenactment is to be a bystander, a passer-by, possibly out of step, in the leak of another time, or in a syncopated temporal relationship to the event that (some) participants hope will *touch the actual past*, at least in a partial or incomplete or fragmented manner. (Schneider 2011: 9; italics in original)

Even though Schneider is addressing live re-enactments with actors and non-professionals, the experience of embodied past, although through a mannequin, can create a connection between the present of the audiences and the past of the historical event.

The Norwegian version of the homepage of the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum shows a photograph of the head of the mannequin through the wire door and illustrates one of the important topics of the exhibition, the Norwegian resistance. Through the paratextual framing of the exhibition content on the webpage, expectations for Norwegian-speaking audiences are triggered. This epitext (Genette 1997: 7) is explicitly directed to a specific visitor group and therefore highlights the potentially specifying function of this paratext in advertising for the museum exhibition.

### 2.4.3 Re-enacting Memory

This chapter shows a clear difference in the comparison between the use of re-enactments in the selected documentaries and in museum exhibitions that lies predominantly in the nature of the multi-medial documents. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* uses scenes of re-enactments more often, and to a greater extent, than either *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* or *Det siste slaget* do. Considering the overall style and mood of the documentary, this is not surprising. Whereas the British documentary uses dramatisation in an almost playful way, the German one appears to be more sober and affective in a different way. The style of the Norwegian one has a different approach to this historical topic as a whole and might also have chosen to exclude re-enactments with actors due to a lack of resources. The selected museums only show few re-enactments in types of dioramas that have an illustrative rather than informative character. Yet, the strength of the re-enactment seems to lie in its ambivalence, being historical and non-historical at the same time. Through the bodies of the re-enactors and the presentation of human-like mannequins, the re-enactments can generate empathy for the presented story, in a similar way as eyewitness accounts can. Re-enactments may leave audiences with a



vague feeling of having witnessed something historical through the documentary or the museum exhibition.

The stylistic tool of re-enactment demonstrates explicitly how re-mediation, both on a formal and on a content level, helps to mediate the story about the *Tirpitz* as “trans-medial phenomenon” (Erlil and Rigney 2009: 9). By using hand-held camera footage, applying a sepia filter to new footage, or by recreating a past mood through clothes or music, *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* reuses known patterns from the actual past and from past motion pictures and documentaries that dealt with historical events. For audiences, the distinction between re-enactment and archival footage might not be obvious in the first place, which may contribute to an even stronger experience of an authentic presentation of the past.

Indeed, often it is difficult for the viewer to identify which aspects of the film are reconstructions and which are recordings from the period under discussion: the filmmakers use authenticating markers for the reconstructions (e.g. period clothing and objects, black-and-white or sepia tone, shaky camera movements) to suggest that what has been recorded in the present in fact belongs to the past. (Jones 2012: 204)

This method of transmedial recycling and reshaping is acknowledged and accepted by most indicated documentary audiences. The presented closeness to anonymous yet historical figures in a re-enactment may help to dive into the fates of groups during World War II and, supported by archival footage and the genre status of the documentary as such, strengthen its claim to be a trustworthy memory medium. For audiences with a general interest, *Det siste slaget* integrates graphical animations of planes that illustrate the dramatic narrative when Ehrler dies, and provides technical and visual details for especially interested audiences.

On an intra-medial level (Erlil 2008b), *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* elaborates the underdog-hero narrative through the re-enactment of the attack on St. Nazaire, invites American audiences to immerse affectively into the message of a tragedy, and revives and cultivates a condescending British attitude towards the Russian ally during World War II. The observation that those scenes that are highlighted in the British documentary either do not appear, or hardly do so, in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* and *Det siste slaget* exemplifies what could be drawn on as mnemonic hegemony in different national historical discourses. According to Molden, “[...] every historical event can have different meanings, can be ignored, or interpreted from radically different perspectives.” (2016: 128) The choices that are made in these mediations about the *Tirpitz* represent different focal points of remembering; small yet superior hero, objective yet submissive participant, and affected observer of tragic events during World War II. Moreover, the starting points of all selected mediations are the same; nevertheless, there are some

events connected to the *Tirpitz* that have different importance for different perspectives and audiences. The museological examples in this chapter are less striking and confirm the initial hypothesis that the dioramas' primary function is to illustrate without supplying distinct information. Regardless of the missing information in the selected dioramas, the presentation can make the visiting experience more immersive; "je tiefer die Immersion in die Vergangenheit (qua Darstellung im Reenactment und haptischer Erfahrung), desto authentischer die Museumserfahrung (vgl. Reachadvisors 2008)." (Pirker and Rüdiger 2010: 17)<sup>93</sup> The impression of something authentic, some material details arranged in a plausible way and placed in a suitable institution, can affect audiences' memory potentials and anchor a transported message.

The differences in the re-enactments in the three countries and two multi-medial document types show that the re-enacting strongly supports the overall mood of the documentaries and supplements the Norwegian museum exhibitions with possible experiences of the locals. Mocking and condescending messages in the British re-enactments enhance the entertaining character of history and a potentially self-righteous tendency in remembering the British position during World War II, possibly projecting to current opinions on war and the military. In comparison, reduced and less dramatic use of re-enactments in the German documentary reinforces less immersive, less self-reflective attitudes towards one's own past. This strengthens abstract, national remembering of concrete and personal events that may still have consequences today. The Norwegian documentary animation and dioramas in museum exhibitions are more focused on local authenticity and local relevance than on dramatising re-enactments in the British and German documentaries. The presentation of possible situations that local Northern Norwegians might have found themselves in during World War II can point to the trial to make Northern Norway and its actors in the war *visible* in a national narrative and reaffirm local significance in cultural memories through multi-medial stand-ins.

## 2.5 Eyewitnesses

In both documentaries and museum exhibitions, the accounts of eyewitnesses are an important tool of authentication (Jones 2017). The temporal distance of the eyewitnesses to the historical event and the influence of the accounts on what is remembered and how it is told have an impact on eyewitness presentations in the respective media. Eyewitness accounts attempt to create a connection between the current time of the audiences and the historical events that they are discussing. The dramatic tool of testifying can be traced back to ancient times.

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<sup>93</sup> "the deeper the immersion into the past (by presentation in reenactment and haptic experience), the more authentic the experience of the museum (cf. Reachadvisors 2008)." (Pirker and Rüdiger 2010: 17), my translation.

In the context of ancient and modern drama, the witness describes what cannot be brought onto the stage, in the name of those who are no longer able to speak for themselves. The division of roles between the one who experiences and the one who testifies becomes here a structural feature of the witness. (A. Assmann 2006b: 268)

The eyewitness therein becomes a bearer of a message and an element between a past event and ‘new’ witnesses, so to speak, the audiences of the medium. The presentation of eyewitnesses may also have the function of connecting a new generation with a historical event, mediating experiences to a new group of people who has not experienced the actual event. Aleida Assmann draws attention to video testimony in this context, a little structured interview situation where eyewitnesses are sharing their memories and are “forging a transgenerational link” (2006b: 261).

Intergenerational memory normally fades away after the span of three generations, a period of about eighty to one hundred years at most. There is, however, a ‘transgenerational contract’ inscribed into the very setting of video testimony. Which means that each viewer of a testimony steps not only into the position of the interviewer but also into that of a belated ‘daughter’ or ‘grandson’ in sharing the memory. This is the point where *testimony* acquires the quality of *testament*: an *intergenerational* memory is transformed into a *transgenerational* memory. (A. Assmann 2006b: 271; italics in original)

Even though the primary purpose of the video testimony is to store the memories for later generations, they can be, and should be, activated in various media to “make the invisible visible and create effective frames of attention for what had long remained beyond the scope of interest or consciousness” (ibid.).

The idea of transgenerational memory leads to Hirsch’s concept of postmemory where later generations remember what they never experienced, just inspired by mediated history through conversations and media. Referring to Hirsch’s own postmemories of the Holocaust transferred from her parents and their generation, I see a strong relevance for past memories that are not anchored in their own families but are affiliative and consumed through media in general.

Postmemorial work [...] strives to *reactivate* and *reembody* more distant social/national and archival/cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression. Thus less-directly affected participants can become engaged in the generation of postmemory, which can thus persist even after all participants

and even their familial descendants are gone. (Hirsch 2008: 111; italics in original)

These often personal postmemories may evoke affective responses in audiences consuming media. Connected to the embodied authenticity in a person accounting about historical events they experienced, this might help to establish what one might call affective authenticity or “authenticity of affect” (Evans 2010: 173). As my examples will show, an emotional and personal eyewitness account as a determining element in a presentation of a historical event can become crucial in what Evans calls the “orchestration of these melodramatic effects” (ibid.).

Additional to the presentation of the eyewitness as an authenticating and affecting tool, it may contribute to providing the respective medium with authority and strengthening the authoritative character provided by its genre. Also relevant for documentary and museum exhibition as mediating research and fact-based histories, their presentations may have a reputation for being ‘objective’. “Another reason for the heavy weight given to official sources is that the mass media claim to be ‘Objective dispensers of the news’” (Herman and Chomsky 2002: 19). Not only “news” and traditional mass media but also representations of past events in authoritative genres such as documentary and museum exhibition are significant when establishing and re-enforcing dominant historical narratives. The actual content of the eyewitness account may not even play a crucial role. “Once the event is established as factual by historical discourse and common knowledge, the accuracy of the testimony becomes less important than the fact that the witnesses tell what they have actually experienced.” (A. Assmann 2006b: 269) Rather, the fact *that* a person who experienced the event tells their own memories may further memory potentials on the respective event.

### 2.5.1 Documentaries

The interviews with the eyewitnesses present an experiential mode that shows the perception of the historical situation from British, German, and Norwegian perspectives. Eyewitness accounts are an established tool in the documentary genre and their first usage can be traced back to *Housing Problems* (Elton and Anstey 1935) where they were used to confirm the narrator’s speech (Sørenssen 2001: 160).

#### *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*

The interview settings in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* are varied and the eyewitnesses from all three parties appear in situations that fit to what they are saying. Former RAF pilot Tony Iveson is sitting in a hangar with a plane and an open gate in the background (1:01:25), similarly to Robert Knights, who is interviewed in an atmospherically lit



Figure 36: Tony Iveson in a plane. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:54:07). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

hangar where a plane can be identified behind him (1:02:00). Other British eyewitnesses give their accounts in a harmonic surrounding, apparently at a lake, and speak about the attack on the Allied convoy PQ-17 (0:16:00; see also chapter 2.4.1). The German eyewitnesses and former crewmembers of the *Tirpitz* such as Karl Heinz Lohse (0:32:26) and Heinz Hellendoorn (0:48:30) give their interviews on the bridge and the deck of a ship, respectively. Neither the planes and hangars nor the ships where the British and German eyewitnesses are interviewed are identified, and their belonging does not seem to have any importance. The surroundings merely support the interviews and serve as scenery to create a connection to the past. Two Norwegian eyewitnesses appear in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*: Rolf Mathisen (0:13:04) and Terje Jacobsen (0:14:46). Mathisen is describing the attack as an external observer from the shore, whereas Jacobsen is staged as a spy in a separate scene that I will address below.

Except for the interview scenes with Iveson sitting in a hangar, the eyewitness is staged in a way that answers to his past and to the story that he is telling for the documentary. At 0:53:40, a group of three people opens a hangar door and the camera films the group against the light. The narrator says “Churchill turned to the most talented and glamorous squadron in the air force, 617 Squadron, the Dambusters<sup>94</sup>.” (0:54:00). The group

<sup>94</sup> On 16–17 May 1943, 617 Squadron attacked three dams in the Ruhr valley and those on the rivers Möhne and Eder collapsed. A special “bouncing” bomb was designed by Barnes Wallis for the attacks that was to be dropped by trained pilots. The squadron became known as the “dambusters” after this raid. Fifty-three of the 133 aircrew and almost 1300 people on the ground died (Mason 2018).

climbs into the plane and we see Tony Iveson squeeze himself into the cockpit (Figure 36).

He is wearing a pilot's cap, jacket and glasses, and a tie underneath. He pushes some of the buttons in the cockpit and the image freezes when his name appears written on the bottom of the screen. Iveson's voice can be heard saying "6-1-7 was a magic number." (0:54:13). He continues that everybody knew what 617 meant and highlights with his confirmation the mythical character of heroes of the past, including himself, which is conveyed through this scene. The narrator's introduction of the scene, the atmospheric entrance of the group of pilots, their presence in a plane that could be from that time, and Iveson's and the narrator's testimony of the meaning of the group name, 617 Squadron, and their popularity; all this contributes to a mode that is both mythical and experiential. "Experiential modes are constituted by literary forms which represent the past as a recent, lived-through experience. They are closely connected to what is called 'communicative memory' (see J. Assmann, this volume)." (Erll 2008b: 390) The scene is a mixture of past and present in which Iveson, at over eighty years old, illustrates the tasks about which he is speaking even though this probably has nothing to do with his current life situation. Even if the scene is implausible for the actual lifeworld of Iveson, it is plausible in the narrative constructed by the documentary. This plausibility may have a trusting effect on memory potentials and help audiences to connect Iveson, his past and his memories with the actual historical event. Here the documentary uses a different strategy than Jones suggests to mediate authenticity to audiences. "The viewer experiences the witness accounts as authentic because they are constructed as being unmediated, unperformed and unrehearsed testimony." (Jones 2012: 198) Indeed, the interviews appear to be *mediated*, *performed*, and probably *rehearsed*. The mediation, performance, and staged interview situation with Iveson instead seems to present the very construction of the scene to audiences.

The second extraordinary staging of an eyewitness in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* is the scene with the Norwegian Terje Jacobsen. Before the first sequence with the eyewitness Jacobsen (0:14:20–0:15:11), battleships are shown at sea and the British narrator speaks about the Allied convoys requiring protection from the German battleship *Tirpitz*. This presentation claims the significance of the convoys for the outcome of the war and emphasises the menace posed by the battleship. On an inter-medial level, a visual style resembling original war footage reminds viewers of World War II reports, creating an impression of authenticity that visually supports the statements made by the narrator, contributing to a "transmedial phenomenon" (cf. Erll 2008b: 392). Genre-knowledgeable audiences may recognise the type of footage showing a convoy at sea and might accept its presentation as trustworthy because it answers to the "canon of existent medial constructions" (ibid.) about World War II and its depictions of the war at sea.



Figure 37: The sky behind the tower resembles dawn or dusk light. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:14:24). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoltdt.

The narrator announces, “The mere threat of the Tirpitz was tying up much of the whole [British] fleet”. The next scene is filmed from below something that seems to be a tower on a construction site, and the camera moves down to ground level in a shaking manner. The sky behind the tower resembles dawn or dusk light (Figure 37).

What little light there is comes from behind a person and makes only contours visible between the buildings and structures. The narrator states “Churchill had been outmanoeuvred [...]”. The person is observed from below. The camera work is shaky and sometimes parts of structures interrupt the view. It seems as though the viewer is observing from a hiding place. Against the light, it is clear that the figure is wearing a hat and a coat. The person bows their head slightly. The camera angle changes and the viewer can recognise the person as a man. The narrator introduces the man with “Spies like Terje Jacobsen risked their lives every day.” After this sentence, the camera observes Jacobsen while he is disappearing behind the barely lit structures. Similar to the first sequence of the documentary when the screen gradually reveals a big ship (see chapter 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts*), the documentary here again works with contours that slowly become visible, employing darkness and light to indicate opposition, and the narrator’s spoken words to anchor the scene.

Echoing Barthes, the spoken text leads the audiences and makes the images understandable: “The text is indeed the creator’s (and hence society’s) right of inspection over the image; anchorage is a control, bearing a responsibility—in the face of the projective power of pictures—for the use of the message”. (Barthes and Heath 1977: 156) The presentation of Jacobsen relies on cinematographic patterns from fiction film genres



Figure 38: Terje Jacobsen sits in what appears to be a basement with lighting from a small door behind him. *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (Quinn 2005b: 0:14:45). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

such as spy movies, with the camera filming from a supposedly hidden position, a meeting set 'at dawn', and the depicted person's old fashioned, dark clothing. The eyewitness who experienced the actual event, but who the viewer sees in his late eighties, mediates the impression of time and the passing of time: He embodies a connection between past events and present day, to echo Jones. "[Their] testimonies are embedded in the film in a particular way that creates further links between past and present, and which is likely to generate a specific emotional, physical and cognitive response in the viewer." (2012: 197)

The sound is remarkable during this scene: A *basso ostinato*, a permanent low-pitched recurring melodic pattern, lies under a gentle melody of a melancholic wind instrument and the approaching footsteps of what emerges to be Jacobsen can be heard. This principal structural element of the music composition mediates a menacing atmosphere that supports the hidden position of the camera perspective. The function of the music is to emphasise the presence of a potential threat, in this case Nazi Germany in the 1940s (on the function of music in general, see Helseth and Maasø 2008: 80). The music in this scene works as a referential authenticating strategy that corresponds to familiar musical patterns known from the motion picture genre mediating suspense. Additionally, the music, combined with the images and the narration, invites the audience to feel a threat yet to be revealed, to be seen by some vaguely defined evil (on music in documentary in general, see Jones 2012).

The next scene is an interview in which Jacobsen is sitting in what appears to be a basement with lighting from a small door behind him (Figure 38).



It is dark in the room, except behind the man where the stairs he is sitting on seemingly lead towards the light. The wall behind Jacobsen looks old. He is wearing a shirt and tie under his coat, and fine black shoes that reflect the little light from the door behind him. He holds one hand in the other. The camera is filming from below, up to Jacobsen and towards the light. Jacobsen's Norwegian speech can vaguely be heard under the voice-over, as is practised in every interview sequence of non-English speaking interviewees in this documentary. The voice-over for Jacobsen has a slightly smoky, rough, and elderly sound, fitting to the bold role of the spy that he is mediating. Jacobsen's name and 'Norwegian Resistance' appear at the bottom of the screen in a faded newspaper type-writing style. Jacobsen's voice-over says,

One day some men asked me to come to a secret meeting. I met three people and they asked me 'Are you willing to join the resistance?' At the time, I was living twenty kilometres away from Tirpitz. I would get up early every morning and go down to the fjord to watch her. Sometimes, I would stay there all day.

The introductory sentence of the documentary's narrator is rather dramatic, whereas the content of the text of Jacobsen himself is less surprising; a spy who observed the *Tirpitz*, and stayed there for a while. The description by Jacobsen of "go[ing] down to the fjord" might evoke an aesthetic impression. The active movement from one level 'down' to another depicts a certain engagement for the spy and his commitment to the cause. However, the scant content of his comment seems to be compensated for by his dramatic introduction, the staging of his entry to the scene, and by the composition of the interview scene.

After the interview, the camera films Jacobsen outside and leaving the scene. The camera remains in a hidden place. Jacobsen is again walking against the pink light of the sky, with a bowed head. The viewer can faintly hear his steps on metal, while the narrator states that in 1942, Norwegian spies sent an urgent message to the United Kingdom and reported that the *Tirpitz* was ready to depart for the convoys. Following this message, the British Royal Navy abandoned convoy PQ-17 heading to Murmansk, and German submarines and planes subsequently attacked it. When the *Tirpitz* arrived, the attack had already ended (see chapter 2.4 *Re-enactments*). Within the documentary, this attack seems to have the role of a justifying narrative because it is the main occasion where the *Tirpitz* was responsible, albeit indirectly, for the death of many Allied citizens. After this story of the attack, the *Tirpitz* is not only a symbolical threat but has become a real target for revenge. The story can work as "evil deed" (Pötzsch 2013: 130) that justifies both the attacks on the battleship and the acknowledgement of about 1000 dead soldiers on the wreck of the *Tirpitz* after the last attack.

According to Jones (2012), the combination of both strategies, the referential and the affective one, is what makes the documentary appear authentic. In addition, Owen Evans emphasises the importance of the connection between authenticity and affect: “It is the careful orchestration of these melodramatic elements [...] that creates what we might call an authenticity of affect [...]” (2010: 173). Even though he is referring to the motion picture *Das Leben der Anderen* (Henckel von Donnersmarck 2006), his observation retains relevance to this documentary. The concepts describing fiction films can also be used to analyse documentaries because of the inherently narratological framing of past events applied in both genres (see Nichols 1991). To gain acceptance and to attract wider audiences, documentaries and fiction films often do not challenge established patterns of good and evil and frame ‘the other’ in lighting, music and, by visualising and narrating terms like “the beast” in opposition to the positively connoted ‘us’. History told in a conservative plot becomes apparent in such observations (White 1973). These media draw upon both referential and affective authenticating strategies in order to retell and strengthen hegemonic narratives that might prepare the way for arguments on a contemporary and global scale about participation in conflicts and military intervention based on a civil duty.

Stylistic elements such as mystical music, a camera angle from a hidden perspective, and the support of the secret atmosphere by a dawn-like coloured sky, which might be familiar from fiction film, were combined and help to portray the narrative of Terje, the spy. This scene featured the real Terje Jacobsen. Aged over eighty, he climbs down into a barely lit bunker at dawn, wearing a coat, to give a short statement about his role during World War II. Even though this interview situation is implausible, the documentary’s mediators decided to stage Terje to illustrate the situation of the Norwegian resistance in historical times. These elements do not correspond with Jacobsen’s current life situation in a rational way, but invite audiences to identify with the presented story, accept the framed good and bad, and experience the event with the eyewitness. As all eyewitnesses do, Terje Jacobsen also has the function of an expert (Herman and Chomsky 2002: 18–25) who testifies the truth of the reported events. His personal report strengthens the claim to authenticity of the documentary’s narrative and contributes to the dominance of the generated meaning potential.

This scene with Terje, the spy, in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* invites the audience to feel like a confidant of the secret activities of which the eyewitness was a part more than seventy years ago. On an intra-medial level (Erlil 2008b: 390), the stylistic tools described above, establish an experiential rhetoric of collective memory. The audience re-

ceives historical information filtered through the experiences of the expert, Terje Jacobsen. At the same time, this invites an intimacy between spy and audience that charges the representation with potential affective value.<sup>95</sup>

The documentary *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* uses various types of interview situations that answer to divergent potential expectations by audiences. Traditionally, the seating of interviewees in suitable surroundings is supported with interview scenes outside and staged re-enactments. The relation to the fiction film genre becomes clear in the examples with both Iveson and Jacobsen: Their testimonies are strengthened by re-enacted scenes with them as real people, the people who experienced the historical situations. This presentation might invite audiences to an experiential immersion into the narrative of the eyewitnesses. Furthermore, the above-mentioned scene involving the former member of the Norwegian resistance Terje Jacobsen shows the tools with which the mediators of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* invite audiences to identify and align with the spy by fulfilling the 'expert filter' of the *propaganda model*. The historical and real person confirms the narration of the documentary and provides trustworthiness to its version of history.

The power of the eyewitness lies undoubtedly in the perceived authenticity of the stories they tell—the sense that they must know what it was like because they were there and the promise that this experience can be transmitted to the listener, reader, visitor or viewer. (Jones 2017: 136)

### ***Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff***

Being a version of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, a look at the interview choices for *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* as directed towards a German-speaking audience is particularly intriguing. *Differently staged* presentations of eyewitnesses appear in the German version of the documentary. Looking at the British and the German versions of the same documentary, the differences in choices become especially apparent. The interview footage of eyewitnesses recorded sitting in a hangar or on a ship deck were *included* in the German version, whereas interview footage that staged the interviewees extensively, such as the scenes described in the subchapter above, were *excluded*.

German eyewitnesses receive more space than in the British version, which fits the intended audiences of German-speaking viewers for this documentary. What I want to highlight is the extensive cross-cutting that is done, especially in the scene of the sinking. British and German eyewitnesses alternate in their retelling of the events on 12 November 1944 (from 40:50). To reflect on this observation, I want to draw on a quote by Jones

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<sup>95</sup> Parts of this text about Jacobsen have been published in Bockwoldt (2019).

that deals with the testimonies by victims even though the discussion of victim-predator-relationship does not have first priority here and the focus lies on eyewitnesses in general.

This creates the sense that the victims are remembering together as a group, even though evidently their testimonies have been recorded separately. We might view them in this regard as a ‘remembering community’: following Aleida Assmann (2006), where memory can constitute community through generating a network of individuals whose memories intersect and overlap to lend one another coherence and credibility. (2012: 201)

Not only victims but also eyewitnesses in general may remember as a group, meaning their memories supplement each other and may fit a joint narrative. This group space could open up for joint narratives that were suppressed because they were not accepted for a long time and it could open up for counter-narratives that were not present in the public before. Eyewitnesses can support each other’s credibility and help to share their memories through media.

Furthermore, it is interesting that no Norwegian eyewitnesses at all appear in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. Neither Mathisen, with his brief account on the shore, nor Jacobsen have a role in the German version of the documentary. In the British documentary, Jacobsen was introduced dramatically and staged as a vital source for the Allies’ cause and as an important witness to the events being narrated. Omitting heavily staged interviews and focusing instead on calmer interview situations may affect audiences in a different way and responds to different genre traditions. Perceptions and acceptance of authenticity are at stake here and this audience-directed choice illustrates the matter exceptionally. In the German version of the documentary, audiences seem to be invited to a differently mediated interview experience than in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*. This may point to history mediation tendencies that were addressed in the chapters above, and deal with the strategy to present individual experiences in a sober manner. With this undramatised character, audiences are not clearly invited to engage with feelings or intentions of the interviewees, but rather with the mere accounts. The presented circumstances, deeds, and consequences may appear in a rather matter-of-fact way, which may help to avoid identifying with the German past.

### ***Det siste slaget***

The presentation of eyewitnesses in *Det siste slaget* is remarkable because it differs greatly from their use in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* and in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. As I will show, the distinctive exposition of the eyewitnesses mediates a



Figure 39: Heinz Hellendoorn in interview. *Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007: 17:29). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.<sup>96</sup>

particular mood of the interview situations and gives the documentary a casual, storytelling (rather than intoxicating) character in the narrative.

The eyewitnesses in *Det siste slaget* provide their accounts in various surroundings that all seem to fit the interview situation and the narrative they are telling naturally. Hellendoorn, Lohse, Iveson, and Lorimer also appear in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. Additionally, eyewitnesses who only appear in the Norwegian documentary, such as Jeff Watkins (24:50), Liv Haugen (35:15), Alfred Zuba (35:30), Kurt Schulze (40:00), and Walter Schuck (43:50) supplement the story.

With Hellendoorn's interview setting, I want to exemplify how special and calm the interview situations appear to have been in the Norwegian documentary. Figure 39 shows Hellendoorn in his living room surrounded by personal belongings.

The visual appearance of this eyewitness mediates an intimate mood, as though the viewer is sitting with Hellendoorn in his home, looking at the model of the *Tirpitz* and talking about the events of World War II. Since it is of considerable size, one might

<sup>96</sup> "3 April '44, for example, when we were about to depart for an exercise run, we were suddenly attacked by 40 planes.", my translation.

wonder whether this model is always in the middle of the room or whether Hellendoorn might just have fetched it from the attic. The *Tirpitz* seems to be a material part of Hellendoorn's life, even after more than sixty years at the time of the interview. The presentation of the eyewitness together with the model in this interview footage creates a connection between him as a person, the historical event, and the material object representing the real battleship, and may contribute to an "authentic feeling" (Jones 2017: 140). Additional to the visuality, the performative pace of the interviews in this scene and in *Det siste slaget* in general is captivating. Eyewitnesses are granted the time to search for words when answering a question. The mediator decided not to cut but to keep long takes of answers to questions. This approach provides the interviews with a personal and natural character because the sentences are not sharpened to *one* compelling utterance. Instead, audiences can follow the chain of thoughts of the eyewitnesses and their way to the answers. The camera rests on the portrait of the interviewee and gives audiences time to study the face of the person talking, to perceive their breath, the breaks in the speech, and their expressions as though one is sitting next to the talking person. On some occasions, a photograph of the young interviewee is faded in. On an experiential level for audiences, this act strengthens the impression of sitting over a photo album with the interviewee. Additionally, the photograph of the young Hellendoorn makes his real bodily being in the past even more explicit and depicts his authoritative position to tell 'what really happened' in the past.

The interview setting in personal surroundings, the slow pace of speech, and the long camera takes give the interviews a personal character and contribute to their authentic appearance. The interviews are constructed in surroundings that may rather fit to the current lifeworlds of the interviewees and therefore might appear less staged. Told naturally, the accounts may seem more trustworthy. This extensively experiential mode, not only on the level of narrative and content but also on a formal level as I showed above, opens a natural and personal memory potential for audiences. The strategies used in the interview scenes allow audiences to immerse themselves in the story being told and to forget that they are watching a constructed, designed, and narrated documentary. Echoing Pirker and Rüdiger, I could call this observation "vermittelte Unvermitteltheit" (2010: 18) translated to "mediated immediacy" by Jones (2017: 137), which brings together the presence and awareness of the documentary medium with the intensity and intimacy of the encounter with the eyewitness.

Another interesting observation is the comparison of Iveson's interviews in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, and in *Det siste slaget*. Whereas Iveson is sitting wearing shirt, tie, suit jacket, and even pilot clothing in the first ones, he is wearing a casual pullover with the RAF emblem on it in the latter one. He is not placed in a hangar under the wing of a plane, but he is sitting in a room with a blank wall and a



Figure 40: John Thornton Lorimer in interview. *Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007: 13:17). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.<sup>97</sup>

shelf with books behind him. Also in *Det siste slaget*, Iveson appears experienced in telling his story; however, he speaks more slowly, there are more breaks in his speaking, and sometimes he stumbles in his sentences. His presentation as an eyewitness is less that of a bold pilot who can still push the buttons (see Figure 36 in this chapter) but rather that of a normal person who was part of events during World War II. The naturalness of Iveson's presentation may not generate that much suspense as it does in the British and the German documentaries, yet it does make his account credible and less dramatically suspicious. His performance may seem more similar to an everyday situation.

The testimonies are embedded in the film in a particular way that creates further links between past and present, and which is likely to generate a specific emotional, physical and cognitive response in the viewer. An important part of this is the mode of narration, which can be described as what Nichols terms 'virtual performance, or the everyday presentation of the self': that is,

<sup>97</sup> "We hit an unmarked stone and broke through the water surface. And somebody who is here today saw us come up", my translation.

the presentation of ‘the logic of actual performance without signs of conscious awareness that this presentation is an act’ (1991: 122). (Jones 2012: 197f.)

The “virtual performance” (ibid.) of the eyewitnesses in *Det siste slaget* is remarkable as they seem little staged. At the same time, the interview situations are no natural conversations with a friend or family member, but planned, scheduled, and prepared interviews between the eyewitnesses and Hansen, the director. It is in the comparison to the British and the German documentaries, that the small degree of staging in *Det siste slaget* becomes apparent and significant. The same story, in large parts even the same eyewitnesses, were arranged and interviewed in a very differing way—and leave a calm, reflected, and unexaggerated atmosphere for the audiences to take in. Memory potentials might be triggered particularly by the closeness to the eyewitnesses and the time provided to the audiences to immerse into the told story. Different memory potentials are possible than in a narrative that is driven by suspense and drama.

The most significant interview situation in *Det siste slaget* is when two interviews were carried out on a ship (13:00). Karl-Heinz Lohse and John Lorimer speak separately about the events of the X-Craft mission *Operation Source* in Kåfjord on 22 September 1943, where three British submarines tried to sink the *Tirpitz* by placing a bomb under its hull. One submarine succeeded and an explosion killed one German sailor and rendered the *Tirpitz* inoperative for half a year. An indirect dialogue develops to a small conflict when Lorimer speaks about his experiences and what he suggests the sailors on board of the *Tirpitz* perceived of the actual attack (Figure 40).

Lorimer recalls that they had to dive up to the surface with the submarine and that one of the German veterans claims to have seen them. He refers to “someone who is here today” and establishes the situation for the audiences that British and German eyewitnesses *met* on this ship in the interview scene. As for the shared history, this situation incorporates some suspense because the eyewitnesses were once enemies in war. This makes audiences aware that resentments may still be present, even though one would not think of a relationship between enemies when looking at these two men. Their appearance as old men sharing a part of history seems to be of greater importance than World War II itself. The fact that Lorimer is talking about the other person but is not standing next to him enhances the impression of a tense situation, whereas the tone of Lorimer’s speech does not have a stressed connotation. In contrast, the speech of his indirect interview partner has a stressed connotation (Figure 41).

Lohse accounts, “He [Lorimer] accused me of having polar fever because I had been in the north for too long”. Here, Lohse talks about “him” without mentioning a name and without having a direct connection to his indirect conversation partner. Both Lohse and Lorimer are talking about each other and their interview answers make apparent that





Figure 41: Karl-Heinz Lohse in interview. *Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007: 13:38). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

they *had* an encounter on this ship, which had a tense outcome. Lohse's German speech, his expressions and gestures and his strained search for the right words make clear the intensity of the situation. The difficulty of the difference in perception of the 'same situation' is telling for the whole point of this thesis—one event has different stories, depending on the perspective of who is telling it and if they belong to the same group.

In this respect, the testimonies are not originally produced in a remembering community; however, they are presented and might be received as a cohesive whole. They can be viewed as what I have described elsewhere as a 'mediated remembering community' (Jones, 2012a, 2012b). (Jones 2012: 201)

This perception of a "cohesive whole" (ibid.) is mediated to audiences and contributes to the trustworthiness of the narrative. The cross-cutting in *Det siste slaget* is a decisive creation of a "mediated remembering community" (ibid.) which makes the overall story they are telling in this documentary more believable.

The interview setting moves both Lorimer and Lohse back to Norway and onto a ship. The landscape in the background could indicate that the ship is sailing in Northern Norwegian waters. The wind and the warm clothes of both interviewees suggest that they are in cold weather. The background behind the interviewees and the movement of the ship additionally hint that both men are standing each on separate sides of the ship, Lohse on portside and Lorimer on starboard. The two veterans are separated both in their speaking *about* but not *with* each other, and in space through the materiality of the ship they are standing on. The interview setting and their joint presence on the ship recreates, reconstructs, the situation from 1943. In a way, the location and the conversation confirm and intensify the told story and can make it a memorial experience – both for the interviewees and the audiences who additionally themselves witnessed a difficult meeting that made past and present merge.

### 2.5.2 Museum Exhibitions

Eyewitness reports in museums are an important tool to mediate personal stories of past events. In some museums, they have a prominent and elaborate role, whereas in other museums, the eyewitness account is little used.

#### British Museums

The British museums I examined with regard on displays about the *Tirpitz* did not work extensively with eyewitness reports in their exhibition parts about the battleship. Lincs Centre does not use eyewitness accounts in connection to the little piece of teak in the cafeteria showcase (see chapter 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts*). Neither does the RAF Museum in Hendon, rather focusing on an utterance by Churchill and a list of attacks against the battleship (see chapters 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects* and 2.6 *Text*). The little History Room at the Lossiemouth Air Force Station seems to have small exhibition objects that have a connection to individual people. On the photograph (see Figure 4), one can see photographs of pilots and ostensibly a medal, yet there does not seem to be an extensive presentation of the experiences of one person or a group. This might mean that either the museums did not have eyewitness material in connection to these exhibition parts or that they did not prioritise the presentation of eyewitness accounts in this context. These observations might indicate that the single event around the *Tirpitz* might have less relevance in the overall exhibitions examined.

#### German Museums

The Internationales Maritimes Museum in Hamburg that exhibits single items about the battleship does not present any distinctively personal stories or accounts in connection

to the *Tirpitz*. What is remarkable at this museum, when one strolls through the exhibition, is the part about Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, the man after whom the battleship is named. A large oil painting, a showcase with many personal belongings and medals, and a desk as it could have been used by Tirpitz are arranged to a small exhibition. Tirpitz was an important figure for the naval development of the German Reich before and during World War I. He died in 1930. Yet, he was not a direct part of the deeds of World War II and this is why he as a person and his belongings may be given space in the exhibition, without running the risk of glorifying a German participant of World War II. I will stretch this aspect later in this chapter through the exhibition in Wilhelmshaven.

Even though the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden does not work with personal reports in the exhibition part about the War at Sea, I want to highlight this absence connected to a contrasting strategy in this exhibition. The showcase with some single objects from and about the battleship *Tirpitz* displays a “Document on Wound Badge in Black for Oswald Schlegel” but does not account for more details about the fate of the sailor before or after the attack on 3 April 1944 for which he received the badge. Next to the showcase is a panel with the vitae of two persons and their photographs. It shows Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz and sailor Fritz Wehrmann and their courses through life, demonstrating the contrasting outcome for two members of the German Navy with divergent rank. Dönitz sat in prison for ten years for his role as a high-ranking navy officer during World War II and died in 1980, whereas Wehrmann died on 10 May 1945, after the capitulation, twenty-six years old, in the Geltinger Bucht.

In an unobtrusive and non-commenting way, the panel shows the divergent fates of two members of the German Navy during World War II. The panel provides information about these two men, and it demonstrates the arbitrariness of war casualties and of who survives and why, independent from the participants’ possible responsibilities and motivations. This exhibition strategy may be a response to the method of the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden as a whole to show Germany’s broken history, demonstrated by the broken building (see chapters 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts* and 2.6 *Text*), and its consequences that reach out to modern times.

### **Deutsches Marinemuseum Wilhelmshaven**

An examination of the position of the eyewitness in the exhibition at the Deutsches Marinemuseum Wilhelmshaven is fascinating. As I already have addressed in chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*, the exhibition does not connect the event of the launch of the *Tirpitz* to the town of Wilhelmshaven, where the ship was actually launched. The positioning or representation of the accounts of eyewitnesses shows a similarly distanced approach.



Figure 42: A part of the exhibition showing World War II. Six small aquarelles on the wall to the right. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017.



Figure 43: Two aquarelles by Jobst von Harsdorf painted in 1946 in a British prisoner of war camp. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017.

The section at the museum that deals with World War I presents eyewitness accounts through diary entries that can be listened to via headphones. The section about World War II, however, does not provide access to any written or recorded utterances by persons who experienced the war. According to my observation, the only exhibition part that comes close to a personal account of World War II is a small collection of six aquarelles painted by a former crewmember of the *Tirpitz* (Figure 42 and Figure 43).

Next to the video clip as introduction for the area of World War II, the museum exhibits a small collection of aquarelles by Jobst von Harsdorf, who painted them while he was prisoner of war in the UK. The genre of aquarelle fits the general strategy in this exhibition since war paintings of various periods supplement the informative exhibition. The painting has a different character than a photograph. Yet, according to Barthes, an

original artwork is inevitably connected to the actual event when it was produced and therefore may construct a bridge between the audiences and the historical event.

Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be. This unique existence of the work of art determined the history to which it was subject throughout the time of its existence. (Barthes and Heath 1977: 218)

A photograph has the reputation of showing reality exactly as it has happened whereas a painting *carries* the history that made it an artwork. Although this conclusion is highly debatable due to the choice of perspective by the photographer and the section that the photograph is showing, a historical photograph is usually seen as authentic and trustworthy. The painting, in contrast, shows reality explicitly through the perspective of the artist. Abstraction, supplementation, and accentuation in paintings are more commonly expected and accepted as they might have been in the genre of photography. In this particular case, the perspective of the artist is especially interesting because it is the view of an eyewitness at the time of the *Tirpitz*. While a photograph is an indexical sign in which real past light has made a direct imprint on a chemical surface, the painting is the result of a creative endeavour that goes beyond selection of perspective. The aquarelles' label informs that von Harsdorf was on board *Tirpitz* and painted these aquarelles based on his memories while he was being held in captivity in the United Kingdom. The aquarelles show perspectives from and on the *Tirpitz*, partially focusing on small sections of the ship (see Figure 43). They show calm scenes from on board, peering over the canons in the blue skies or looking over the table at the mess. The colours are light and friendly and the experience conveyed through the aquarelles is of a quiet day at sea, and not one of battle. The mood leaves the impression that von Harsdorf remembered his time on the battleship as rather idyllic, or at least it was the idyllic part that he wanted to put on record through the aquarelles. There can be several reasons why these aquarelles were chosen for this exhibition. It may be that these aquarelles were the only paintings or veteran accounts in the museum's World War II collection.<sup>98</sup> It is possible that they were selected from several accounts because they represent wartime at sea in a romanticised manner and without glorifying battle scenes. They may seem innocent and aesthetic and they do not show individual people. The aquarelles may even be an attempt to add a humane layer to the war narrative, both from the side of the artist and from the side of the exhibition concept. Yet, what is not shown and left out in these depictions is the actual chaos of war and the consequences for people that were involved. In that way, the aquarelles are an innocuous possibility to show war without showing it, and without

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<sup>98</sup> The museum does not have an openly searchable online archive for its collection.

running the risk of inviting German audiences to feel uncomfortable when having to identify with the events of World War II. The potential ambivalence of these aquarelles makes them especially interesting as eyewitness accounts, offering not only the personal view and memories of a participant, but also producing evasive abstraction and mystification of factual events with consequences for real people.

It is not only the artworks in themselves and their origin that are compelling to look at; their use and purpose in this exhibition is also interesting, as I will elaborate in connection to German memory culture below. Noticing that diary accounts and audio stations with personal reports exist for the section about World War I but not for World War II, I ask whether the presentation of these aquarelles might be intended to add a human and personal dimension to an otherwise cool exhibition about World War II. I wonder if the topic of World War II is still too close to present times and fates, and that may be why the curators chose to represent a personal voice in an abstract, artistic way.

Zum Verhältnis von Nation und Geschichte ist zu sagen: Das eine bringt das andere hervor, es bedingt, bestätigt, definiert es. In Deutschland besteht zwischen beiden ein gebrochenes Verhältnis, um nicht zu sagen: ein Nichtverhältnis. Dieses Nichtverhältnis ist eine direkte Folge der kulminierten Gewalt des mörderischen NS-Regimes, das den Zweiten Weltkrieg entfesselt und den Holocaust zu verantworten hat. (A. Assmann 2007: 182)<sup>99</sup>

Aleida Assmann calls the German relationship to its history a “non-relationship that emanated from the violence of World War II” (ibid.). I suppose that the choice that is taken at the Deutsches Marinemuseum is based on the still continuing non-relationship of many Germans to their history. This may depict a continuous non-identification with the events of World War II, narrating it as an accumulation of abstract facts such as troop movements and casualty numbers. Still, individual motivations and attitudes from the German side are avoided and thereby excluded from the World War II narrative. The strategy of the museum might be to avoid a direct, personal and spatial, relationship of the museum and its audiences to the events of the Third Reich. Yet, the inclusion of the aquarelles, individual accounts of an artist who may have abstracted reality and thereby offers ambiguity, making reality more easily digestible and acceptable as a personal account of an eyewitness would do. An account of a German veteran, who also belongs to the same nation as most of the audience at this museum, might make audiences especially uncomfortable. The pitfalls of presenting accounts of National Socialists

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<sup>99</sup> “Regarding the relationship between nation and history, it can be said the one engenders the other, conditions, confirms, and defines it. In Germany, the relationship between these two is broken, or rather: it is a non-relationship. This non-relationship is a direct consequence of the culminated violence of the murderous Nazi regime that unleashed World War II and is responsible for the Holocaust.” (A. Assmann 2007: 182), my translation.

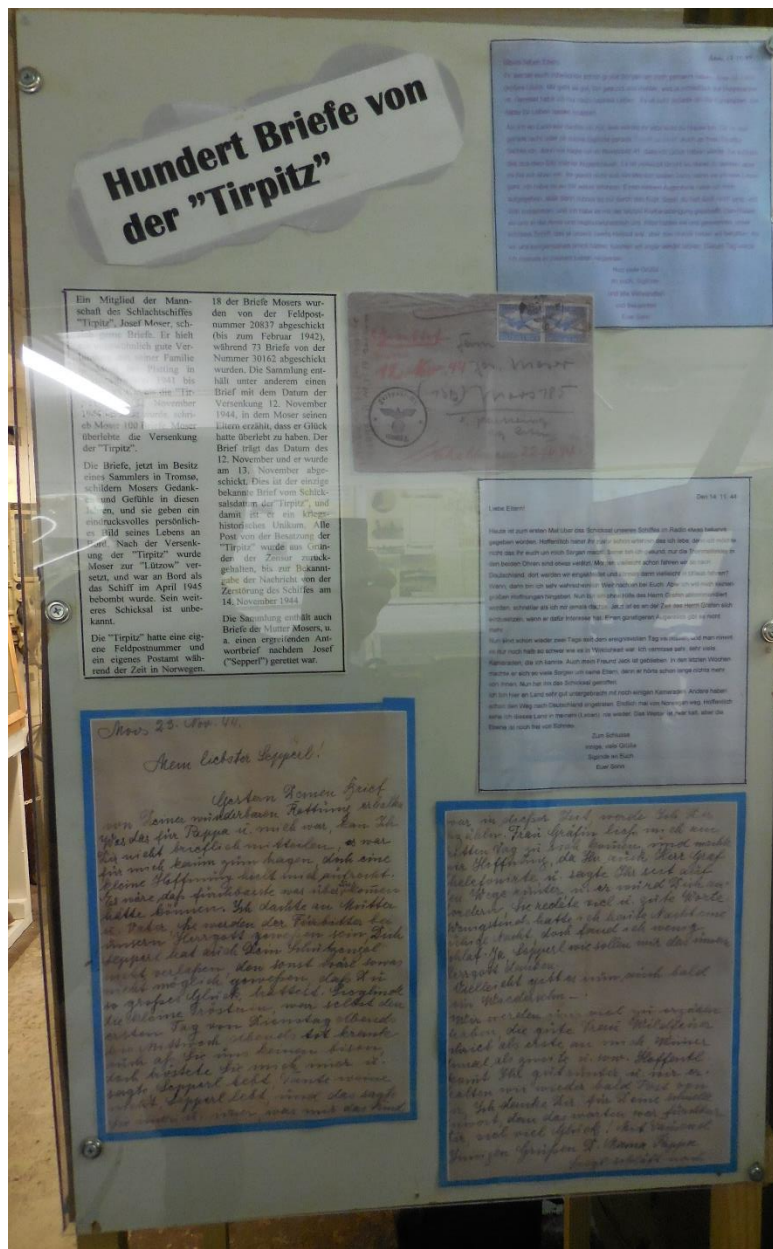


Figure 44: A German excerpt of the collection of the Moser letters at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017.

are manifold to the effect that a glorification of perpetrators, diminishment of atrocities, or disrespect towards victim groups may be mediated. The use of artistic works may be an opportunity to add personality to the exhibition by circumnavigating potentials of conflict.

### Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum

Whereas the Tirpitz Museum in Alta does not exhibit individual accounts of eyewitnesses, a collection of about 100 letters of an Austrian eyewitness has been given to the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum (Figure 44). The letters were written to and by Josef Moser,

who was a sailor on the *Tirpitz* and survived the last attack on 12 November 1944. The letters occurring right after the attack are exhibited, transcribed, and translated to English and Norwegian. The letter by Moser to his parents is apparently the only known letter from on 12 November 1944 and is therefore a unique testimonial of an eyewitness' experience written when the bombardment had just happened.

What is it that may trigger audiences to remember this collection of letters? The personal account contributes to imagining a real person experiencing the presented historical events, as all of the eyewitness accounts in this chapter have done. Their accounts make these events more real and graspable. I argue that emotional connection to the display can have a role in evoking memory potentials for audiences. Affective invitations to audiences to immerse into this presentation are manifold, as I show in the following.

The witness authenticity of the objects, buildings and remembering individuals creates the potential for the emotional and experiential authenticity of the recipient of the memorial medium: they ascribe significance and offer an apparently direct link between past and present. However, witness authenticity is constructed in part by the viewer experiencing the artefacts and people as actually there, rather than mediated through the film, and as the past made present. (Jones 2012: 206)

The exhibited excerpts present a letter by Josef Moser, who was stationed on the *Tirpitz*, that he sent to his mother on 12 November 1944 after he had survived the final attack against the battleship, and his mother's reply from 22 November 1944 (transcriptions in the appendix). An explanatory text in the upper left of the showcase provides this information to the audiences but does not offer any sources or explanations of where this information comes from. The text says that the letter by Moser from 12 November 1944 is a "unique artefact" because it is the only preserved letter from this day. This paratext labels the letter as being unique, special, and genuinely original. The front and the rear side of the envelope are displayed with the German original and the translated excerpt to Norwegian, respectively.

Josef Moser's letter from 12 November 1944 depicts his thoughts to his loved ones, about their sorrow of not knowing about his fate. He emphasises how lucky he was to be able to save his own life and expresses his mourning about his dead comrades. "Ihr werdet euch inzwischen schon große Sorgen um mich gemacht haben. Aber ich hatte großes Glück."<sup>100</sup> The second part of the letter is directed towards the life at home in Austria, wondering about what his loved ones and friends are doing. "Als ich an Land war, dachte ich mir, was werdet ihr jetzt wohl zu Hause tun."<sup>101</sup> Moser recalls a friend

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<sup>100</sup> "You will have worried already a lot. But I was very lucky", my translation.

<sup>101</sup> "When I had reached land, I wondered what you were doing at home", my translation.



telling him about his lucky future because of the placing of his eyebrows. Reflections on his luck and on how he managed to gather his last reserves to save his life dominate the letter. His letter expresses joy, gratitude, and love towards his next of kin and his comrades, and it recapitulates how he motivated himself to survive. “Sepp [nickname of Josef], du bist doch noch jung, rei dich zusammen, und ich habe es mit der letzten Kraftanstrengung geschafft. Dann fielen wir uns in die Arme und beglckwnschten uns.”<sup>102</sup> The letter has a strongly positive notion, focused on Moser, his family, and his comrades. The only text part that mentions an enemy is the sentence “Alles haben sie uns genommen, unser schnes Schiff, das ja unsere zweite Heimat war, aber den Humor haben wir [behalten?].”<sup>103</sup> A diffuse and undefined “they” that is known for both the author of the letter and its recipients actively “took everything”. In the context of Moser’s survival, it does not matter which Allied party destroyed the *Tirpitz*; just the fact that it has been destroyed by ‘the other’, the opposing side, is of importance. No reflections about assignments of guilt towards the German Luftwaffe missing their duty to protect the battleship, or towards other Nazi German authorities, appear in the letter. This is not surprising since critical utterances towards the Nazi German authorities would have been treated as treason. “They” took an all-encompassing “everything” that was represented and contained by the battleship. This formulation, together with “our beautiful ship that was our second home” demonstrates the personal importance of the ship for the crew on board rather than an ideological or war strategical value. It depicts that for many of Moser’s comrades their everyday lives were strongly connected to the ship and that it became their centre of interest for a period. Despite the loss of the ship and of comrades, the only sentence about a diffuse enemy ends positively with “but we kept our humour” showing a focus towards a future and formulating a coping strategy with a traumatic situation. The positive tone might also have a purpose to calm down the worried family at home and to demonstrate that Moser was not broken.

In contrast to the narrative presented in the selected documentaries about the *Tirpitz* that were produced sixty years after the events, this letter immediately after the sinking provides a personal and immediate picture of the experiences of an Austrian survivor. The micro level of Moser’s life was of importance, not thoughts about losing the war or humiliation, but about his personal fate and that of his comrades.

In the German excerpt (Figure 45), the actual letter by Moser’s mother is exhibited and audiences have the opportunity to take a closer look at the handwriting and at the form of address that she uses for her son, “Mein liebster Sepperl!” (*my dearest Sepperl*, see Figure 45). Sepperl, being a German affectionate diminutive of the name Josef, placed

<sup>102</sup> “Sepp [nickname of Josef], you are still young, get it together, and I made it with my last strength. Then we hugged and congratulated each other”, my translation.

<sup>103</sup> “They took everything from us, our beautiful ship that was our second home, but we kept our humour”, my translation.

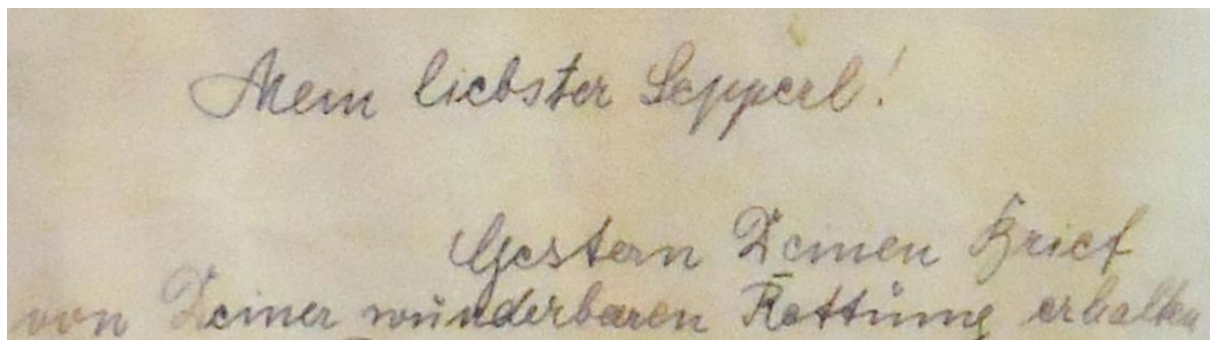


Figure 45: Clipping from the reply from Moser's mother 23 November 1944. The letter is exhibited at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. Clipping taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017.<sup>109</sup>

on the top of the letter with an exclamation mark, conveys the joy of the mother upon reading from her son that he survived the final attack against the battleship on 12 November 1944. Emotionally, the mother writes about the feelings at home and their great relief when hearing about the son's rescue. "Was das für Pappa u. mich war, kann ich Dir nicht begreiflich machen, es war für mich kaum zum tragen, doch eine kleine Hoffnung hielt mich aufrecht."<sup>104</sup> The words "hope" and "guardian angel" appear as well as she writes about her gratitude to God, "Ja, Sepperl wie sollen wir das unserem Herrgott danken."<sup>105</sup> The last part of the letter deals with the mother's hopes about the future, "Vielleicht gibt es nun schon bald ein Wiedersehen - ."<sup>106</sup> The sentence might reflect either notions of the current developments of the war, which were unfortunate for Nazi German forces, or a diffuse hope of the mother for her son to be sent home to Austria. Norway is not mentioned but she writes "Hoffentl. kommt ihr gut runter [...]"<sup>107</sup> Mother and father say goodbye with "Tausend Innigen Grüßen"<sup>108</sup>. The letter depicts the euphoric mood of the Moser family when Josef's message about his rescue arrived. They do not ask questions about war developments in Norway or accuse any parties; they are just happy to know their son is alive.

The information provided by the explanatory text in the small showcase adds a bitter taste to the happiness of the letter. The text says that Moser was transferred to the heavy cruiser *Lützow*, which was bombed in April 1945. His fate is unknown according to the text. Even though no picture is provided, for either Moser or his mother, their emotional words and their personal accounts can invite audiences to engage with their experienced

<sup>104</sup> "What this [the rescue] means for Daddy and me, I can't make understandable to you, I could hardly bear it, yet a small hope held me up", my translation.

<sup>105</sup> "Yes, Sepperl, how can we thank our Lord for this", my translation.

<sup>106</sup> "Maybe we will see each other soon - ", my translation.

<sup>107</sup> "Hopefully, you'll have a safe journey southwards [...]", my translation.

<sup>108</sup> "A thousand deep greetings", my translation.

<sup>109</sup> "My dearest Sepperl [nickname of Josef]! Yesterday, I received your letter about your wonderful rescue", my translation.

history. “Images and pictures of faces, in particular, affect us viscerally, evoking emotional, parasympathetic responses over which viewers have little control.” (Young 1988: 163f.)

These showcases are representative for the style of the exhibition at Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum as a whole. Handmade collages made with a computer, printed on regular paper, and highlighted with a thicker and darker pen narrate the story of the battleship at the museum. The lay style of exhibition design might make clear to the audiences that the resources for the exhibition were not extensive. Still, the mediators had the wish and ambition to highlight this extraordinary piece in the collection. Collection and exhibition design seem to stand in a partly striking contrast. Furthermore, the collection is highlighted on the website of the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum, but only in the Norwegian version and not in the English and German ones. The collection has a status as a unique testimony of time.

Zum Zeugnis gehören die Objektgruppen der Quellen, der Zeitzeugen, der Unikate und der ‘auratischen’ Orte, kurz: die Suggestion eines Originalen, eines Relikts aus der Vergangenheit, das durch seine historische Echtheit selbst zu wirken scheint. Zum Erlebensmodus gehören Repliken, Kopien, das Nachspielen und Reenactment, das Evozieren eines ‘authentischen Gefühls’, Zeitstimmung oder -atmosphäre durch Annäherung an das Original oder Erzeugung einer plausiblen bzw. typischen Vergangenheit mit Mitteln der Gegenwart. (Pirker and Rüdiger 2010: 17)<sup>110</sup>

Both the “auratic space” (ibid.) of the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum and the “historical genuineness” (ibid.) of the collection of letters contribute to this authentic representation of Moser’s experiences on the day of the last bombardment of the *Tirpitz*. The collection has a highlighted position in the exhibition because the museum received it as a donation, because the collection is unique in its existence with regard to this event, and because it is an outstanding testimony of historical events, feelings connected to it and of the circumstances of this time. The presentation of the collection ‘behind glass’ and at this museum enhances the collection of letters to exhibitional objects. Its materiality as something that has been touched by the sailor and his mother—something that connected them—now connects audiences with their fate and time.

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<sup>110</sup> “Object groups of sources, of eyewitnesses, of unique artefacts, and of ‘auratic’ spaces belong to the testimony: the suggestion of an original, a relic from the past that seems to have effect on its own by its historical genuineness. Replicas, copies, playing out and re-enactments, evocation of an ‘authentic feeling’, mood of time or atmosphere by approaching the original or creating a plausible or rather typical past with tools of the present, is what belongs to the mode of experience.” (Pirker and Rüdiger 2010: 17), my translation.

### 2.5.3 The Mnemonic Effect of Presenting Eyewitnesses

Once more, the pool of people that were presented as eyewitnesses in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* is almost the same as in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. Yet again, different scenes were chosen for the German documentary as for the British. Former RAF pilot Tony Iveson appears in both documentaries but is set back to his former position and clothed in a pilot jacket and a cap. This heroic presentation of him makes sense in this scene and in the story being told. The staging is plausible within the documentary. However, in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, the mediators chose to exclude this interview footage and only show Iveson sitting in a hangar with a plane behind him as supportive stage setting. This different choice of presentation of the same eyewitness conveys different messages to audiences. Are they invited to engage with the hero who is brought back to his plane in his equipment still ready to fight evil? Are they transferred to a liminal time between the events of World War II, where Iveson was a young man, and the current time of the documentary, where Iveson and the audiences share the same time and reality? Or is Iveson sitting statically on a chair in a museal environment, clothed in a suit and talking about his past without *playing it out*?

The presentation of the Norwegian eyewitness Jacobsen fits in this observation as well. Whereas Jacobsen does not appear in the German documentary, his character is given his own acting scenes in the British one. In a mysterious atmosphere and spy-like staging, Jacobsen's presentation helps to frame and depict the evil from which he has to hide and against which the Allies have to fight. What Sturken calls "the Spielberg-style" (2008: 75) is expressively shown in the presentation of the Norwegian eyewitness; this invitation to affectively engage with the situation of the eyewitness is familiar from fiction film genres.

The mediation of affect and emotion—believable presentations of plausible personal narrations—play an important role when both authenticity and authority are generated in and through documentary. As mentioned above the "Evozieren eines 'authentischen Gefühls', Zeitstimmung oder -atmosphäre durch Annäherung an das Original oder Erzeugung einer plausiblen bzw. typischen Vergangenheit mit Mitteln der Gegenwart" (Pirker and Rüdiger 2010: 17)<sup>111</sup> is crucial in the attempt to present a historical topic, be it in documentaries or museum exhibitions. The "authentic feeling" is also a part of the power that an eyewitness may have in the narrative of a documentary. Through their experiences, they are experts of the historical event, even though their memories might lack detail or their narration might be biased. Still, their account has weight in the trustworthiness of the documentary.

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<sup>111</sup> "[...] evocation of an 'authentic feeling', mood or atmosphere of time by approaching the original or creating a plausible or rather typical past with tools of the present" (Pirker and Rüdiger 2010: 17), my translation.

The Norwegian documentary *Det siste slaget* also works with intimacy, “mediated immediacy” (Jones 2017: 137), and affect, but in a different way than the British and the German documentaries do. With its slow pace, long shots on eyewitnesses’ faces, and little pinpointed interview utterances, the Norwegian documentary creates a more personal encounter between watching audiences and the presented eyewitnesses. The unexaggerated style of the whole documentary, coming from the long shots of archival footage, over reluctantly supportive music, to the calm speech of the narrator, is explicitly present in the scenes with the eyewitnesses.

What do these differently affective mediations of the same topic convey? They certainly have different potential effect on audiences, based on their individual background, their expectations towards and familiarity with the medium, and the genre traditions that are common in their environment. Even though the accounts and presentations of the eyewitnesses have varying character, they still are a part of the discourse about the *Tirpitz* and participate in creating a discourse about the topic in a networked way (Jones 2017: 145). This “coherence and believability” (ibid.) that Jones is addressing in reference to Aleida Assmann, anchors the known and documented historical elements: a German battleship has been sunk by the British in Norway during World War II. However, the mood the eyewitnesses present is different; heroic and bold in the British, reluctant and grieving in the German, and calm and reflective in the Norwegian.

The museums paint another picture of personal accounts by eyewitnesses about the events around the *Tirpitz*. Even though they are an important tool to authenticate a historical narrative, the museums in the United Kingdom that I examined did not work explicitly with eyewitness accounts in connection to the story of the *Tirpitz*. The Internationales Maritimes Museum in Hamburg and the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden do not use personal accounts of the events either. Priorities and practicalities might be reasons for this; for instance, there may not have been any specific eyewitness reports in the respective collection or considerations according to the size of the exhibition part in the whole exhibition had to be made. The impression that such choices mediate is that these historical events did not affect real people and no one experienced the events. Audiences do not have the opportunity to engage with a personal fate, but are confronted with impersonal factors such as dates, sizes, and amounts. This museal tradition of attempting objective presentation of difficult pasts is no longer executed in many new and innovative exhibitions. Yet, as the examples in this section show, on some occasions the attempt at objectivity is a strategy with which to approach challenging historical topics.

The presentation of an eyewitness’ memories at the Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven is especially interesting compared to the specific utterances in the documentary interviews. A German soldier’s romanticised aquarelles of the *Tirpitz*, painted from memory while he was a prisoner of war in the United Kingdom, show abstractions

of the experiences on board. The aquarelles are extracts of the reality of the artist, seen through his eyes. I argued above that these aquarelles might be an avoidance strategy to prevent visiting audiences from identifying themselves with the perspective of an eyewitness. If it *was* such a strategy it would put German memory politics, particularly at the Deutsches Marinemuseum, in an unfortunate light. Modern responsibilities, identification, and consequences of the audiences of the museum exhibition may become abstract when topics of World War II are presented in an abstract way. The aquarelles show a beauty of war without showing its cruelties and the persons behind and in it. My observations at the museum exhibition of the Deutsches Marinemuseum may point to an ongoing reluctance of cultural institutions to confront Germany's past, to depict the pain, and to show the background of its participants.

My last example in the analysis presents the personal account by a sailor and his mother about the events on 12 November 1944 at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum. This unique testimony makes apparent the different character of an account directly from the event compared to the accounts by the eyewitnesses in the documentaries, who have experienced sixty years of media consumption reiterating their story, and sixty years of developing their own narrative patterns about the event. Moser's and his mother's letters were directed towards loved ones and not originally towards a wider audience. The only media influence that the mother's letter might have adapted is public news that the *Tirpitz* was bombed at all. Yet, inter-medial influences of pre-mediation of earlier ship sinkings and the reports about them might have coloured Moser's account about his experiences. Another aspect that becomes apparent in connection to the letters is the relation between verbality and visuality, perceiving words and their content, and seeing them written in handwriting on an original historical document. The combination of the verbal and the visual in this personal report might explicitly contribute to the potential engagement with the artefact, its history, and the story of the persons connected to it. The aura of the original (see also chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*) together with the implicit intimacy with the parties might convey a more direct message to audiences at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum than abstract artworks do at the Deutsches Marinemuseum.

In this context, the visitor of the memorial museum or viewer of documentary very rarely (if ever) sees the individual testimony in its entirety, isolated from the memorial museum exhibit or separated from the story the documentary is aiming to tell. Rather these testimonies are cut, edited and grouped according to the needs of the curator, designer or filmmaker and frequently in a way that highlights their similarities above the differences in their accounts of the past. (Jones 2017: 145)

The arrangements of the eyewitness accounts in both documentaries and museum exhibitions show that they contribute in showing a homogeneous picture of the past within the respective medium. Disregarding the calm conflict in *Det siste slaget* that I addressed above, the accounts are entangled to mediate different moods and main messages in the documentaries and museum exhibitions.

The dramatised and heroic presentation of eyewitnesses' vernacular memories in the British documentary might point to the purpose of entertainment and to the wish to hold audiences to the program, whereas in the German documentary, eyewitnesses are presented in differently staged and acted scenes. The personal encounter with an eyewitness in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* stands in opposition to the abstract encounter with an eyewitness' art in the exhibition in Wilhelmshaven. Sitting in British war captivity, Jobst von Harbsdorf painted his personal memories of a German ship and the paintings ended up representing personal experiences in a historical, public exhibition. The calm and long records of eyewitnesses in the Norwegian documentary enable audiences to get close to the eyewitness. In a similar way, the handwritten letter in Tromsø provides audiences with the opportunity to take a close look at an original object that was created by a person of the period who experienced the event of the sinking of the *Tirpitz* and who fixed his immediate thoughts on a piece of paper. The local, spatial focus in the Norwegian multi-medial documents transcends the nationality of the reporting person and enables the Austrian Josef Moser, part of the occupational force, to become a part of local cultural remembering through his presence in the 1940s and his unique letters of correspondence.

## 2.6 Text

“Die Sprache ist der mächtigste Stabilisator von Erinnerungen.” (A. Assmann 1999: 250)<sup>112</sup> When talking about “Sprache”, I would presume that this includes anything that is connected to the spoken or the written word, and that the language one is using is strongly influencing what is mediated. Speech and written text are very present and important in documentaries and museum exhibitions. The speech of the narrator and the eyewitnesses has a bearing on meaning just as the written object text and written and auditory supplementary material at a museum exhibition do. Speech and writing fix and convey, modify and negotiate experiences of past events and myths of past generations to future generations. Especially written text and recorded speech can contribute to a sense of immutability and repeatability of what has been documented. Context can then

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<sup>112</sup> “Speech is the most powerful stabiliser of memories.” (A. Assmann 1999: 250), my translation.

lead to new ways of understanding the fixed documents. Established and accepted narrative plots about heroes are often reproduced in both entertaining and informing media. Both “communicative” and “cultural memory” are extensively dependent on the act of speech or the fixation of a message in written form (J. Assmann 1992).

Starting from the statement that “language frames memory” by Jay Winter (2017: 2), I am directing the spotlight in this last analytical chapter on *how* text in spoken and written form may invite audiences to engage with the presented story, immerse in it, and store some of it in their personal memories. Here, too, the focus is on *memory potentials* rather than on absolute memories for specific individuals.

Examining the *how* of the memory potentials regarding text in the selected documentaries and museum exhibitions, I look at the speech of narrators and eyewitnesses connected to tone, choice of words, superlatives, numbers, contrasting descriptions, breaks, and personifications, and on their potential effect for audiences. The alluring text by the narrator in the opening sequences of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* (see chapter 2.1.4) and the song in the launch ceremony would count in this category (see chapters 2.2.1 and 2.3.1). Diffuse talking in re-enactments (see chapter 2.4.1) as well as single understandable words are used to support an impression. Single occasions with longer sequences of re-enacted spoken text such as the radio transmission (see chapter 2.4.1) and experts, such as eyewitnesses, supporting the message of scenes with single sentences (see chapter 2.5.1) are forms of text to be considered. Many of the categories listed above are applicable to object text in museum exhibitions, exhibited documents, and museum websites as well. The focus on differences and their divergent potential effects will be of importance.

This chapter addresses examples that have already appeared in previous chapters. Its purpose is to highlight the extraordinary meaning of speech and language—of text—for the selected multi-medial documents and their memory potentials. The chapter about the text additionally serves as an end point in the analytical circle by binding all five previous chapters together: paratexts, sound and music, original footage and original objects, re-enactments, and eyewitnesses.

### 2.6.1 Documentaries

All three documentaries operate with a “richly toned male voice” (Nichols 2001:51) that leads through the narrative and fits the association of war with masculinity and strength. Already in early documentary film, Paul Rotha observed the appearance and the character of the narrator’s voice: “One method, the easier and therefore the most used, is to engage a well-sounding person—often with broadcasting or theatrical associations—and have him recite the written comment with one eye on the typescript and the other



on the screen.” (1939: 208) It was also Rotha who, in exchange with Grierson, officially termed it a “detached ‘Voice of God’” (1939: 209) which is a popularly used description still today. It serves to mediate the impression of an omniscient narrator (Sørensen 2001: 160). The following pages will show how the narrator’s voice, together with the utterances of the eyewitnesses, steers the narratives of the respective documentaries.

### *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*

This is the story of the fearsome German battleship, Winston Churchill called “the beast”. It was a floating fortress, capable of overwhelming the British fleet. Manned by the cream of the German Navy, unprecedented fire-power of their disposal.

She was the mighty Tirpitz.

She threatened to dominate the sea war for Hitler and Churchill would not rest, until he had seen her destroyed. He would order wave upon wave of attacks from the sky and from below the sea. Brute force, cunning and cutting edge innovation, brought back to life for the first time in sixty years. Each attack was more daring than the last. Yet each failed to sink her. It was a struggle lasting until almost to the end of the war. Ultimately, it would take a genius to devise a weapon up to the job of sinking the ship, and men of supreme courage and skill to execute the plan.

This is the story of the battle for Hitler’s supership. (0:00:03–0:01:18)

“This is the story of the fearsome German battleship Winston Churchill called ‘the beast’”. (0:00:05) With this sentence, the narrator of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* opens the documentary and establishes with this single sentence the main narrative of the documentary. As already addressed in chapter 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts*, the opening sequence skilfully carries audiences towards the setting of good and bad, army of civilians and military machine, Winston Churchill and Adolf Hitler. To frame the battleship *Tirpitz* as “the beast” with reference to Winston Churchill has been emphasised in this British documentary and was repeated in other media such as a book accompanying a temporary exhibition of the Midt-Troms Museum that dealt with the battleship: “The ship Churchill called “The Beast”” (Asmussen and Åkra 2015: 8).<sup>113</sup> The book does not provide a reference for the quote, and nor does the documentary, as is common practice in the genre. A step back from the connotative strength of the word “beast” itself and towards the origin and context of this quote provides a different impression than total commitment to destroy an overwhelming enemy. According to the Churchill Archives, the full quote of Churchill titling the *Tirpitz* as beast is as follows. On 27 January 1942, the Prime Minister Winston Churchill sent a note to the First Lord

<sup>113</sup> I reproduced the quote myself in an article before I had the reference in hand (Bockwoldt 2019).

of the Admiralty: “Is it really necessary to describe the *Tirpitz* as the *Admiral von Tirpitz* in every signal? This must cause considerable waste of time for signalmen, cipher staff, and typists. Surely *Tirpitz* is good enough for the beast.” (Churchill 1950: 844) The original quote and its de- and recontextualisation show in a most significant way how words can change their *function* when put into a different context. In the cited quote above, the ship and its name seem rather to be measured according to practical resources, culminating in a degradation of the ship and its meaning. The word “beast” could be interpreted here as a condescending way of looking at an enemy or at a tool of an enemy. “Surely *Tirpitz* is good enough for the beast” (ibid.) shows with the “good enough” that a relativisation is formulated in connection to the battleship. In contrast to *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*, I would interpret the original quote with an opposite connotation that diminishes the threat of the battleship and its meaning for the war. Surrounded by dangerously charged superlatives, battle-reminiscent sound design, and menacing music, and confirmative footage, “the beast” in the opening sequence in the documentary helps to establish the ultimate anti-ism and to mark a threat that has to be fought. As Alford observes in connection to news media: “Ultimately, the ideology of screen entertainment is driven mainly by the amorphous fifth filter—the cultural milieu, which, of course, is itself generated largely by the news media.” (2015: 160) The entertaining factor needs also to be fulfilled for media such as documentary, that is, in addition to its informative purpose, supposed to bind audiences to the television program. The old narrative of a hero against an evil might be considered as a safe call to catch most audiences’ attention. Emphasised by the alliteration of the “floating fortress” and the image “cream of the German Navy”, the introductory text of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* reaches a pre-climax at “[s]he was the mighty Tirpitz”. Until now, the name of the battleship was not known to the audiences, only the description of “the beast”. In the rhythm of this sentence, one can sense a slight *ritardando*, a gradual slowing down of the tempo of speech, and perceive a meaningful break after “Tirpitz”, which gives the impression that this sentence is intended to have an effect. Furthermore, until this point, the battleship was called “it”. After the audience has been familiarised with the name of the battleship, it is called “she”, which may contribute to a personification of the ship. “She threatened to dominate the sea war for Hitler and Churchill would not rest until he had seen her destroyed”, poses an opposing chiasm where “she” is the subject with “Hitler” as object and whereas “Churchill” is in contrast the subject to the object “her”, the *Tirpitz*. The central characters of the documentary’s narrative are introduced, but are not positioned equally. It rather seems to be a man-against-machine-motif, subject *Tirpitz* against subject Churchill, an uneven fight. Yet, Churchill “would order wave upon wave”, which can be read rhythmically with emphasis on “wave” and without stressing “upon”. The rhythm would make the sentence sound like a wave and illustrate textually the visuals of falling bombs and submarines that accompany this sentence. Repeating patterns may

point to a long and unstoppable process led by the endurance of the British. One attack after the other would hit the *Tirpitz*, like repeated waves that cannot be stopped, and usually not be ordered, yet Churchill can for that matter. The “[c]unning and cutting edge innovation” is supposed to emphasise through the alliteration and assonance to highlight the descriptive elements of the innovation. The utterance could also comment on the documentary itself and point to how important and innovative the documentary is in trying to research the events around the *Tirpitz* and the technical innovation connected to the research. Several attacks were launched against the battleship, but none succeeded. Endurance as a British quality is demonstrated in these sentences, as well as in “[i]t was a struggle lasting until almost to the end of the war” which mirrors an exhaustion from the British side. “Ultimately, it would take a genius to devise a weapon up to the job of sinking the ship, and men of supreme courage and skill to execute the plan.” – “Ultimately” transports a longing for success, for an end after the long mission to sink the *Tirpitz*. The whole story before this sentence seems to have had the purpose of persuading the audience that the *Tirpitz* is a major threat and the ship was difficult to destroy. This story magnifies the effort and the success of the “genius” and of “the men of supreme courage and skill”. A break after this sentence gives space to digest what was said so far and to prepare for the story that lies ahead of the audience—the documentary itself. The text of the opening sequence ends with almost a repetition of the first sentence of the section, yet supplemented with information that audiences have received in the last minute: “This is the story of the battle for Hitler’s supership.” Audiences learned that this story will be about a battle, a struggle, and that it is an excellently equipped and threatening ship, a supership that needs to be overcome. Yet, the name of the battleship, *Tirpitz*, is not mentioned, as if not daring to call the evil machine by its name. However, to make sure that audiences can put the “right” label on the battleship and to emphasise the evil factor of the ship, the last sentence adds “Hitler”.

The launch scene in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* is introduced with a scene about the attack on a weather station on Svalbard by the *Tirpitz*: “A strategic Allied weather station is about to feel the full force of Hitler’s most powerful killing machine.” (0:01:50) This sentence is interesting on several layers: The weather station needed to be described as “strategic”, otherwise just the term “weather station” could evoke an ironic tone. Why would one attack a weather station? The term “strategic” then gives some kind of justification as to why the battleship, with all its resources, was moved to this target at all. The phrase “to feel the full force” works to personify the weather station and make it an individual target with individual value that can perceive some sort of attack. “[T]o feel the full force” also has an empathic character with its alliteration of *feel/full/force* that highlights its content in a playful way. The accentuation of “full force” helps to describe the threatening character of “Hitler’s most powerful killing machine” that is about to strike the weather station. The disproportionality of a strategic weather station being

attacked by Europe's largest battleship is played out regardless of how irrational it sounds since it enhances the intentionally menacing mood that is being mediated. After a sequence of archival footage of a burning building, the narrator says: "Churchill had asked to be informed about Tirpitz' every move. Because this ship had the power to turn the whole war into Hitler's favour". (0:02:44) Again, the narrative turns to the wishes of an important historical figure to affirm the priority of the battleship for the British Navy and emphasises this with the intensifying specification "every move". The ship embodies seemingly decisive power and its narratively obvious significance is pointed out one more time through "turn the whole war into Hitler's favour". The keywords "whole war" and "Hitler's favour" can help to alert audiences who empathise with the Allied hero protagonist, and once again argue for the undisputed necessity of executing extraordinary measures to prevent Hitler from winning the war. As I mentioned in the chapters 2.1.4 and 2.3.1, brief sentences like these can, through their choice of words, reinforce an antagonistic mode of rhetoric (Erll 2008b) that clarifies who is on which side, and who is on the good and the evil side, in an uncomplicated way. The continuous affirmation and repetition of who belongs to the good and who belongs to the evil side, helps to recall the narrative as a whole and might affect the memory-making potentials of the stories. The repetitions might make "[...] recognisable patterns immediately identifiable as elements of a shared culture." (J. Assmann 2011: 3)

While the *Tirpitz* appears on the screen during the launch ceremony and the *Deutschlandlied* accompanies this archival footage, the narrator says: "The Tirpitz was twenty-five percent bigger than the maximum size allowed under the treaties that followed the end of World War I." (0:04:29) On the one hand, this information helps in comprehending the size of the battleship in relation to what was common and allowed in the 1930s, and on the other hand, it points to the violation of rules formulated after Germany had lost World War I. The violation of rules might evoke an impression of effort from the German side to develop military industry, which will, as the viewing audience knows, turn into military power used in World War II. The provocation through the violation may enhance a suspicious appearance of German activity in the shipyards in this narrative. The narrator sets the *Tirpitz* in relation to British ships to demonstrate the subordinate position of the British: "Nothing in the entire British fleet came close to matching its awesome scale and firepower." (0:04:39) The end of the launch scene here reiterates the British understatement narrative emphasising the British's underdog status in comparison to the Nazi empire. By praising the ship's "awesome scale and firepower", the outgunned situation of the British is accentuated, and "[n]othing [...] came close" pinpoints excessively *how* outgunned the British were.

The Allies' attack against the dry dock in St. Nazaire is characterised as "the most daring raid in the entire Second World War", "the most audacious raid in British military history", and the dockyard as "one of the biggest in the world" (0:08:15). The superlatives

help to frame the hero narrative of the underdog British against an overwhelmingly powerful enemy. This understatement is affirmed when the narrator adds: “The British were outnumbered more than ten to one.” (0:10:15)

The text that supports the scene of the Norwegian eyewitness Terje Jacobsen, which I addressed in chapter 2.5.1, is significant in how it helps to configure the narrative of the underlying good versus a menacing powerful evil. The narrator introduces the overall war situation before Jacobsen is presented with: “Churchill had been outmanoeuvred [...]” (0:14:00), which again indicates a precarious situation for the British, even for the highly decorated military man Churchill. The British turn to their Allies in Norway and the narrator announces: “Spies like Terje Jacobsen risked their lives every day.” (0:14:17) To term this eyewitness as a “spy” provides Jacobsen’s position with suspense and significance for the Allies’ cause. Since the “spy” is spying for the “good” side, the Allies, the term might be connoted positively instead of traitorously. In a newspaper typewriting style, “Terje Jacobsen” and “Norwegian Resistance” fade in at the bottom of the screen when Jacobsen is interviewed. This written text on the screen “labels” the real person Terje Jacobsen with the category “Norwegian Resistance”, which might evoke heroic associations depending on the audiences and point to the close connection between the United Kingdom and Norway during World War II. Even though for audiences with little prior knowledge of Norwegian resistance activity, the labelling may help to acknowledge and to allocate this particular spy as a helping unit of the Allies. The actual spoken text by the eyewitness that is mediated through an English voice-over is:

One day some men asked me to come to a secret meeting. I met three people and they asked me ‘Are you willing to join the resistance?’ At the time, I was living twenty kilometres away from Tirpitz. I would get up early each morning and go down to the fjord to watch her. Sometimes, I would stay there all day. (0:14:42)

Keywords such as “secret” and “resistance” secure an impression of suspense; something that needs to be hidden, that is potentially dangerous, and that is connected to the resistance movement against the occupying German forces. This rather sober description incorporates suspenseful elements that audiences, at this point in the documentary, can allocate in the narrative; they can evaluate that the situation might become risky. That Jacobsen “would get up early every morning to go down to the fjord” and “would stay there all day” shows commitment from the eyewitness’ side and that he is willing to make an effort. With his deeds as an individual spy, he seems to be able to help the Allies and to contribute to ending the war. As audiences, we do not learn what Jacobsen was doing actually, if he was drawing images of the ship lying in the fjord or if he was writing reports on the *Tirpitz*’ movements. His specific contribution, however, does not seem to be of importance in this narrative, but Jacobsen appears to be a representative of the

Norwegian resistance. The lack of specific information may also convey his presentation with a kind of mystique about his actual actions and about how dangerous these might have been. Instead, after the interview scene with Jacobsen the narrator summarises that Norwegian spies had sent “vital information” to the British about the battleship’s movements.

This leads to the sequence about the German attack on the Allied convoy PQ-17 (see chapter 2.4.1), where in staccato style the narrator sums up: “The decision was made. The destroyers called off.” (0:16:18) With this clear and undecorated rhythm, the narrator recounts that the Allies abandoned their convoy because there was intelligence that the *Tirpitz* was going to attack. The sentence structure and directness of the speech might contribute to a suspenseful mood and underline a cold-hearted, yet in the narrative necessary, decision by the admiralty. The speech by the narrator is affirmed by written visuals, when the typebars are striking “CONVOY IS TO SCATTER” (0:16:29). The all-caps style provides the phrase with a loud and unquestionable character. To see the order in written form gives the impression that the case is decided and irreversible. The final nail seems to have been put in the coffins of the convoy’s sailors. The eyewitness Dean van Etten emphasises the coolness of the order by stating: “We couldn’t believe it” (0:16:35). Emotionally tense, he frames the ‘we’ of the sailors leading the convoy through the Arctic Ocean and hostile areas. The ‘we’ may also stand in contrast to the ‘other’, which in this situation is the admiralty, those with the power to decide over the destiny of many lives. Hierarchy and class, power and compliance become apparent in this framing of ‘us’ and ‘them’ that is little present in large parts of the official narrative about the British in World War II, the “people’s war” (Leach 2013: 149). This brief exclamation explicitly demonstrates the trust between sailors and admiralty that was broken by the abandonment of the convoy. British and American battleships seemed to have higher priority than the lives of the sailors who took the risk for the Allied cause.

As an introduction to the re-enactment scene about the attack via Arkhangelsk (see chapter 2.4.1), the narrator establishes a mystical rhetorical mode (Erll 2008b) in reference to the British Prime Minister. “Churchill turned to the most talented and glamorous squadron in the air force, 617 Squadron, the Dambusters.” (0:53:40) The presented fact that Churchill himself asked the group of pilots makes the mission and them as a group even more important. They are not only the superlatively “most talented and glamorous squadron” but are also the ones that Churchill himself asks for help. When Iveson mentions “6-1-7 was a magic number.” (0:54:13), he emphasises the mystical quality of the group that requires no further explanation. For interested groups the reason for the magic appears to be self-evident.

Remembering the text by narrator and eyewitnesses of the scene about the stopover in Arkhangelsk in chapter 2.4.1, it is worthwhile looking at the specific choice of words and tone in this scene and what message this can convey to the viewing audience. Illustrated

and supported by the re-enactments of a simple cabin and facilities, both the narrator's speech and the eyewitnesses' reports mediate a condescending impression on their Russian hosts. "Hardly a fitting home for the famous Dambusters." (0:55:43) The sentence implies that a certain standard should have been expected for the British pilots because of their prestige in the Royal Air Force. It degrades the hosts' offer and leads the focus to standards that they seemed to have expected, even though one would assume that wartime would adjust pretensions of comfort. The former pilot Knights strengthens the impression even more, "They were very primitive people. [...] The Russian were very primitive in those days. [...] The sanitation I won't describe on television. It was absolutely awful. [...] We would survive. We were tougher in those days, you see." (0:56:03) The eyewitness emphasises the "primitivity" by repeating the term. He marks the period that he is talking about temporally with "in those days" and creates a time distance to the events, and conditions, that he is reporting. The reference to the television medium provides the interview scene with a brief sense of hyper-mediality (Bolter and Grusin 1999) and briefly shines a spotlight on the medium that is otherwise not usually thematised in the documentary itself. Knights seems to point to certain conventions that should be upheld in a television program, and his view that a more detailed description of what he and his colleagues experienced would not be appropriate for the medium and its audience. He appears to spare his audience what he experienced as a challenging situation, additional to the war itself. By omitting specific description of the conditions, Knights leaves it to the audience's imagination and invites them to immerse actively into his retelling, and might call on them to empathise with him and his colleagues. The repeating pattern of "[w]e would survive. We were tougher in those days [...]" helps to frame a 'we' that stands for the group of the Dambusters in contrast to an 'other'. However, the other is not a specific group or object, merely the contrast to the Dambusters, everyone who is not part of the group. The scene ends with the narrator saying, "The end was looming for Hitler and the Nazis. German visions of the Tirpitz commanding the waves had been forgotten. The beast was cornered." (0:57:50) Audiences do not learn through the sentence *why* the "end was looming for Hitler and the Nazis". On the basis of the narrative, one could assume that it refers to the advancing Allied forces represented through the RAF pilots starting an attack from Arkhangelsk. Looking at the overall military developments at this point in September 1944, "the end was looming" on several fronts for the Third Reich. According to "German visions of the Tirpitz commanding the waves", the battleship is presented as actively doing something, again giving the battleship its own agency. By stating "[t]he beast was cornered" the text provides the image with a figurative note, as though it were an animal trapped. This textual illustration is also reminiscent of a fairy tale in which the hero corners and defeats the monster. This familiar narrative part represents the constant re-mediation of narrative patterns that have been worked in stories and literature through the ages. What Der Derian

calls a “criminalized demon” (2009: 101) may be applicable for the establishment and constant confirmation of the monster, “the beast”, in the narrative of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*. The additional information that the battleship was hardly used for combat and that it was a cumbersome tool compared to modern air warfare, are of no importance; yet its construction as an ultimate enemy is.

The scene of the sinking has been dealt with specifically in two chapters, 2.2 *Sound and Music* and 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*. However, I want to direct the spotlight on the distinct use of the text in this important scene. The use of adjectives, superlatives, images, and phrases can give intriguing insight in the message that is transported and that can enlighten us about the strategies that may make audiences believe what they are seeing.

“It was to be a fatal mistake” (1:00:02), the narrator comments on the *Tirpitz*’ transferal from Alta to Tromsø, where it was accessible from British airfields. The sentence announces subsequent events of suspense with the formulation “it was to be”, looking knowingly into the future. The “fatal mistake” may evoke a certain feeling of satisfaction within audiences who may have identified with the hero-party of the narrative and the German side making a “fatal mistake” might indicate a chance for a destructive attack by the underlying British. To illustrate the urgency of acting quickly, the narrator explains, “But now, only a day or two was left before the perma-darkness<sup>114</sup> of the Arctic winter.” (1:00:05) It also describes the harsh conditions that they faced in Northern Norway in November 1944, close to the beginning of the polar night. Textually evaluating the military situation, the narrator concludes in a brief inter-climax, “If Tallboy was going to sink the Tirpitz, it was now or never” (1:00:29). The narrator seems to personalise the Tallboy bomb to an active subject, as was done earlier in the documentary with the *Tirpitz*. The pilots who would drop the bomb are not mentioned, but the Tallboy appears to be given its own agency. This provides it with the extraordinariness that only this one bomb had a chance to destroy the battleship and it takes away the agency, and the responsibility, from the human beings who ordered the attack and dropped the bomb. The alliteration “*now or never*” can highlight the urgency of a quick attack and of an only chance to succeed that must be taken by the right people. Iveson’s role as an eyewitness is particular, as I addressed in chapter 2.5.1, what is expressed in his utterances in the scene of the sinking as well:

As we flew towards Norway, the sky was absolutely clear. As the dawn really came through, we discovered that the sky was gin clear. We could see for

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<sup>114</sup> “Perma-darkness” is an exaggeration since, at the latitude of Tromsø, there is always some light during mid-day even during the polar night.



miles and miles. And we thought ‘wow’, you know, probably under these ideal conditions, we might get her this time. (1:01:08)

The former pilot describes what he has experienced himself and seen with his own eyes. His personal experience as an eyewitness may bring the reported event closer to watching audiences and can help audiences to immerse affectively into the story. Iveson’s description of the clearness of the sky like the transparent texture of gin, of the break of daylight, and of the breadth of the view has a poetic tone that might trigger the imagination of audiences about Norway and about this day in particular. His colloquial speech with “wow” and “you know” makes him a more personal individual than through the clean description of historical events. He directs his emotional memory to the audiences, “*you know*”, and includes them into his story as if he wanted to make sure that the audiences understand the excitement of the moment. “[P]robably under these ideal conditions, we might get her this time” can point to the reiterated motif of understatement that ideal conditions were necessary really to have a chance to succeed. The last part-sentence might be interpreted as an expression of hope in that moment, after many attacks, as audiences have learned in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*, to be able to execute a destructive raid. In contrast to the constant understatement, Iveson states “[i]t was like a practice bombing run” (1:04:07) and compares the crucial raid with something they are familiar with and that does not seem to be as decisive for the end of the war as has been narrated throughout the documentary. Additionally, the utterance is an emphasis of the skills of the squadron and highlights that they did not break under the pressure of the situation, but rather handled it like an exercise. In a suspenseful way, Iveson recalls how they approached the *Tirpitz* on 12 November 1944. “And Frank said ‘This is great! Hold it, hold it, hold it!’ And then came the red light. And then down went Tallboy.” (1:04:16) He literally reiterates what he experienced in that moment and recounts what his pilot colleague said to him. Colloquially, he narrates as though he were an excited person in that situation. “And then [...]. And then [...]”. This mode of experiential rhetoric brings the historical situation very close to audiences and may invite them to share Iveson’s excitement of that day. He closes that part with “It was doomed to be destroyed.” (1:05:24). This formulation implies that the *Tirpitz* may have been already convicted by a greater force and that its destruction was meant to be. With this strategy, Iveson denies his own agency to a certain degree and he might be brushing aside a part of the responsibility for the results of the raid. In chapter 2.2.1, I dealt with the sequence in which Hellendoorn and Iveson speak alternately about the sinking and create a distinct caesura in the mood of the narrative. Hellendoorn starts

We were leaning at an angle of about forty degrees and the gun tower called Bruno, the highest tower on the stern, just exploded. It was a tremendous detonation. The whole tower flew through the air over towards the portside

where the crew had already abandoned the ship and were swimming towards the shore. All of them were lost without hope. They all died underneath that tower. (1:05:53)

Interestingly, Hellendoorn's German speech can be heard in the beginning and in the end of the English voice-over text. Even during the short monologue, breaks in the voice-over allow the German voice to come through and transport the eyewitness' real voice and emotions through that voice. Hellendoorn's description of the situation is illustrative and may make audiences imagine the "tremendous detonation" and the events following it. The eyewitness does not explicitly say that people were killed when the tower fell on them, but he paraphrases it by saying "[t]hey all died underneath that tower". Furthermore, he maintains the inclusive first-person plural "we" to a minimum and keeps a distance in his narration with "[a]ll of them" and "[t]hey all died" instead of speaking of them as his colleagues or comrades. The established distance through the use of "they" could also point to the temporal distance to the event or to the distinction between the ones who survived and the ones who did not. He closes his speech by bowing his head; a sad vocalise supports the mediated mood. The caesura occurs when, without accompanying music, Iveson says, "There was no great emotion, really. There was too great a distance. And it was a target. It was like a toy, a little toy down there. And suddenly, you couldn't see it." (1:06:21) His statement of there being no emotion in this situation appears even stronger after Hellendoorn's emotional closing. Yet, Iveson explains indirectly why there was "no great emotion": due to the distance between him, the battleship, and its crew, and due to the ship being in the military category of a "target". The spatial distance of 15 000 feet altitude, and the professional distance of thinking of the battleship as a target and not of about 1000 people on board, could be supposed to explain Iveson's coolness in the situation. By comparing the largest battleship in Europe to a "toy", even a "little toy down there", Iveson belittles the *Tirpitz*, which has been framed as a major threat throughout the documentary narrative. The pilot raises himself and his colleagues above the menace of the battleship, both literally and symbolically. Literally, because the battleship really is "down there" from an altitude of 15 000 feet, difficult to hit and at the same time less menacing. Symbolically, because the RAF now seems to have all odds on their side: no German air defences in sight, ideal weather conditions, a bomb that could penetrate a bunker roof, and apparently the right aircrew with the skills to execute the mission successfully. In a suspenseful manner, maybe even a bit surprised within his own telling, Iveson closes with "And suddenly, you couldn't see it." The ship is no longer referred to as "she" but as "it", which may contribute to a distanced attitude towards the destroyed ship and the consequences on board following the bomb strikes. The last sentence depersonifies the ship, which was highlighted as an active subject throughout the documentary, and dehumanises the crew onboard. "And

suddenly, you couldn't see it" implies an almost unbelievable, sudden disappearance that seems to be hard to understand for the eyewitness. He does not say that it capsized or that smoke limited the view; it simply disappeared. By the end of the scene of the sinking, eyewitnesses from the British, German, and Norwegian sides are represented and reporting about the bombing from different perspectives: Iveson as an attacker of the battleship, Hellendoorn as a soldier on board when the bombs hit, and Mathisen as an observer who experienced occupation. The Norwegian eyewitness Rolf Mathisen speaks about how he observed the bombing of the *Tirpitz* and acknowledges "[i]t was pitiful, really" (1:06:51) and he seemed to be "really" affected by the events, which he expresses in a compassionate manner. Hellendoorn ends the scene after having confirmed the losses on board and bows his head after having said, "It was horrific. Horrific." (1:07:15) These are the last words by an eyewitness in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and they demonstrate the affective impact the destruction of the *Tirpitz* and its aftermath had on its crew and survivors. It shows that the Allied forces did not shy away from executing a mission that would lead to many deaths in order to end World War II.

The last couple of sentences in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* summarise the outcome of the events around the *Tirpitz* in an almost poetic way.

Churchill's obsession had finally driven him to destroy the beast. For the Allies, it was a long awaited victory. For Hitler, another heavy blow on the road to ultimate defeat. For the men of the Royal Air Force and the Royal Navy, an epic story of bravery, tragedy, and triumph had finally reached its climax. And for the survivors of the *Tirpitz*, an adventure that began with hopes of winning the war for Germany had ended with merciful release after five years of ever more deadly attacks. *Tirpitz*, pride of the German Navy, scourge of convoys, was a thing of the past. (01:07:55–01:08:49)

The first sentence does not present Churchill himself as agent in the destruction of the *Tirpitz* but represents him as influenced by a strong emotion. The concrete action is led away from the Prime Minister to an abstract factor as emotion, which also leads away the responsibility for about 1000 dead soldiers. Here, the otherwise rather negatively connoted term "obsession" may have a positive tone because it led him to succeed in the mission to destroy the battleship and by that to harm the Third Reich. This sentence alone confirms and strengthens an overarching narrative that points to the British as an army of civilians led by a democrat unwilling to fight (see also chapter 2.1.4). Still, the circumstances of a National Socialistic threat force him and his people to take action and to 'make sacrifices' to free the world from Hitler. The following list of "For the Allies [...] For Hitler [...] For the men of the Royal Air Force [...] And for the survivors [...]" emphasises the extensive effect that the destruction of the battleship had for all participating parties and may have a function of an implicit justification of the destruction with

many casualties. Examining the additions to every party in this list, the reader might note crucial keywords that mark the message of the overall documentary explicitly. Interestingly, the phrase “it was a long awaited victory” renders the Allies a passive element in the events, “waiting” for something to happen. On the one hand, it points to the endurance of the Allies, but on the other hand, it surprisingly also brushes aside the Allies’ active part in the destruction of the battleship. Hitler is receiving “another heavy blow on the road to ultimate defeat” and the audience is hearing, already knowing, about the outcome of World War II. The formulation almost makes it an unavoidable “road” to take for history, affirmed by “ultimate defeat”, once and for all, an evil that will not rise again after being hit by the Allied forces.

The addition describing the Royal Air Force and Royal Navy notably points to its inherent narrative character, highlighting “an epic story of bravery, tragedy, and triumph” that mirrors long-lasting re-mediation of this pattern through the ages. It is only in the three descriptive nouns bravery, tragedy, and triumph that audiences may find values and empathies to identify with and to immerse in. Tragic heroes, who have to do what must be done, succeed above evil in the end. The climax that the story reaches is on the narrative level also a rhetorical one in the documentary, on the historical level a military one, and on an abstract level a power-related erotic one that may point to the success of having conquered and defeated “the lonely queen”.

Finally, the added descriptions to the survivors of the *Tirpitz* are particularly interesting, firstly drawing on a rather uncritical and innocuous formulation similar to a fairy tale, “an adventure”, but then concluding with an outcome that non-British audiences might struggle to comprehend; “had ended with merciful release”. Does the mercy lie in the fact *that* some of the crew of the *Tirpitz* survived? Is it a release from the continuous, “ever more deadly attacks” by the Allies and a release from the servitude of National Socialism? This formulation makes apparent the clear differences in the use of words in talking about history, seen from different national perspectives. The last sentence “Tirpitz, pride of the German Navy, scourge of convoys, was a thing of the past”, summarises the apparent meaning of the *Tirpitz* for the German and for the side of the Allies. The focus on “pride” may evoke a certain melancholy because this proud battleship is now destroyed, but it may also imply the pride from the side of the Allies in having destroyed it and harmed the German side. Being a cumbersome fortress in the Norwegian fjords, the *Tirpitz* was a danger to the Allied convoys, yet it hardly ever attacked. One last time in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*, the possibility of the *Tirpitz* attacking was threat enough to destroy it and to create the documentary’s narrative around it. At last, “the beast” is diminished, objectified, to a thing that has been defeated and that already is no longer part of the present.

### *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*

The quote by Churchill about “the beast” is not reiterated in the opening sequence of the German documentary, which also in this case frames the direction the documentary is taking (see also chapter 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts*). Accompanied by descriptive superlatives such as “Deutschlands stärkste Waffe” (00:12) and “das größte Schiff der deutschen Kriegsmarine” (00:38)<sup>115</sup>, other terms frame the battleship. The German eyewitness Hellendorn, for instance, recalls “Der Engländer nannte uns die Einsame Königin” (00:46)<sup>116</sup> which resonates with the tradition of describing weapons and ships as female. Additionally, it emphasises the meaning of the ship on a status level both in importance and in dimensions and presence. As “queen”, the ship has one of the highest ranks among the ships of the German Navy and the term describes the ship’s extraordinary position by size, equipment, and power. Yet, the mentioned loneliness of the ship points to a weakness of no further backup by other powerful battleships and foreshadows its solitary position in the Arctic Ocean. Given this name by the British, it has a connotation both of acknowledgment of the strength of the ship and of pity for its weakened position.

The opening sequence of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* provides further keywords that indicate the specificity of the sinking of the *Tirpitz*. The German eyewitness Lohse remembers “Wir hielten die Tirpitz für unsinkbar” (00:48)<sup>117</sup> which implies great trust in the craft of ship construction and in the Nazi system that has very probably propagandised the quality of the ship as being unsinkable. Still, the word “unsinkable” might trigger an uncertainty in audiences, since the most famous example of an unsinkable ship, the Titanic, also found its icy grave. Visual figures of speech help to imagine the dangerous situations that the eyewitnesses found themselves in. The British eyewitness Lorimer, for example, tells “Mit unserem kleinen U-Boot saßen wir zwischen der Tirpitz, Scheer und Lützow” (00:57)<sup>118</sup>. The audience does not know at this point that Lorimer is talking about the attack by the British against the *Tirpitz* with small X-Craft submarines in the Kåfjord. Yet, by his description of a small submarine between three large and heavily armed ships, the audiences learn the danger that the British were in in this situation. The German eyewitness Albert Buddensiek concludes “Da hab ich noch gedacht ‘Auf dem Dampfer kannst du alt werden. Der ist bombensicher’” (01:02)<sup>119</sup>. In a colloquial tone through constricting “kannst du” to “kannste” and through shortening “ist” to “is”, the eyewitness seems to be reflective on his own thoughts of the past. This

<sup>115</sup> “Germany’s most powerful weapon” (00:12) and “the German Navy’s biggest ship” (00:38), my translation.

<sup>116</sup> “The British called us ‘the lonely queen’” (00:46), my translation.

<sup>117</sup> “We thought the Tirpitz to be unsinkable” (00:48), my translation.

<sup>118</sup> “Tirpitz, Scheer, and Lützow, and we were with our tiny U-boat sitting in the middle of it” (00:57), partly reconstructed under the German voice-over.

<sup>119</sup> “Then I still thought, ‘You can grow old on this ship. It’s bomb-proof’” (01:02), my translation.

reflectivity might contribute to a perception of trustworthiness of his account as an eyewitness since he is intellectually capable of thinking about his past mindset, and not only sharing his memories in an unthoughtful way. The word “bombensicher” has a double meaning in German language. It can mean that something is absolutely sure, but here it also fits its literal meaning being “bomb-proof”. The pun is performed so fluidly and naturally in the eyewitness’ speech that audiences might need a second to consciously hear and identify it, and to see the metaphorical and literal meanings of the word in the context of the documentary. The British eyewitness Iveson concludes the presentation of eyewitnesses in the opening sequence and speaks animatedly with German voice-over about the special characteristics of the Tallboy bomb. “Normale Bomben überschlugen sich und taumelten nach dem Abwurf. Nicht aber der Tallboy. Der flog wie ein Pfeil ins Ziel.” (01:10)<sup>120</sup> Iveson’s English speech can clearly be heard before and after the voice-over and even in the breaks of the German speech, Iveson’s original speech can be understood. Through the German voice-over, Iveson’s “even smaller bombs, one-tonne bombs” becomes a more generalised “normal bombs” that establishes the qualitative difference between “normal” and special, such is the way Tallboy is presented through its features. The interview sequence is cut before Iveson can say “absolutely dead straight” as he does in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* (01:04:57), which demonstrates a moderation in affective expressions in the German compared to the British documentary. Probably connected to the overall language of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, colloquial, affective, and dramatic expressions are more present in the German speech than in the British voice-over.

The presented spoken text from archival footage in the launch scene of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* may shed some light on the mood and tone that the documentary might imply. Ilse von Hassel, daughter of the Grand Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, gives the battleship its name with the words “Im Namen des Führers und des obersten Befehlshabers der Wehrmacht taufe ich Dich auf den Namen Tirpitz.” (04:09)<sup>121</sup> Hitler is described with his ideological name “Führer” and the military specification “commander in chief”. Mentioning the name “Adolf Hitler” does not seem necessary or appropriate in von Hassel’s speech since “Führer” can only refer to one individual in this context. The honouring of Hitler’s authority is presented as it was practised in the 1930s and for modern audiences contributes to understanding the past modes of address. The way von Hassel pronounces “Tirpitz” additionally fits into the mediation of the 1930s way of speaking. She rolls the “r” so long that it almost seems comical when heard today. Yet, in the 1930s,

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<sup>120</sup> “Normal bombs rolled over and tumbled after the drop off. Not the Tallboy. That flew like an arrow.” (01:10), my translation.

<sup>121</sup> “In the name of the Führer and the Commander in Chief of the Wehrmacht, I baptise you with the name Tirpitz”, my translation.

this way of speaking was in fashion and was a sign of emphasis and commitment. The long “r” can remind of a high drum roll, which again corresponds to the military setting of the event. Von Hassel addresses the battleship directly “taufe ich Dich” and personifies it, addresses it as a living being that can be named and spoken to. After von Hassel has smashed the bottle against the bow of the ship, “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles”<sup>122</sup> from the *Deutschlandlied* sung by a men’s choir can be heard. German-speaking audiences will recognise at once the first verse of the German anthem that is associated with the Third Reich. In the 1930s, this verse may have marked unity and social strength, whereas today, it marks a period of history and the dominant ideology. The men’s choir may additionally evoke implications of men singing an ode to the battleship that is presented as a mighty beauty. Furthermore, the all-male voices can mediate strength and power through the deep and strong sound that they create singing; another demonstration of strength and power, this time in form of male voices.

During the sinking scene, the spoken text by the German eyewitnesses and the voice-over for the British interviewees is overall similar to *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*. For instance, when Iveson concludes that “she was doomed to be destroyed”, his speech is translated literally to “Sie war dazu verdammt, zerstört zu werden.” (54:29) As I already addressed in chapter 2.2 *Sound and Music*, the cross-cutting between Hellendoorn’s report about the sinking and Iveson’s utterance contrasts to Hellendoorn’s empathic speech (55:39). This example showed that the same sentences in the British and German documentaries *can* mediate different moods when they are embedded in different musical patterns. The harsh break between empathy and coolness in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* was created with the same spoken text as the smoother and more moderate transition from one eyewitness’ utterance to the other in *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*.

Especially when comparing the last sentences of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* and *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*, the different messages of these two documentaries become apparent.

Endlich war es Churchill gelungen, die Tirpitz zu vernichten. “The Beast”, wie er sie nannte. Hitler verlor sein letztes Schlachtschiff. Für die Soldaten der Royal Air Force und Royal Navy war es das Ende eines jahrelangen Kampfes. Die Überlebenden der Tirpitz trauerten über fast 1000 tote Kameraden. Das Drama um die Tirpitz war zu Ende. Das Schlachtschiff wurde versenkt, ohne je ein Gefecht gegen einen Feind geführt zu haben.” (56:46-57:27)<sup>123</sup>

<sup>122</sup> “Germany, Germany above everything”, my translation.

<sup>123</sup> “Finally, Churchill had succeeded in destroying the Tirpitz. ‘The beast’, as he called her. Hitler lost his last battleship. For the soldiers of the Royal Air Force and the Royal Navy, it was the end of a long-running battle. The

In the final spoken text of the German documentary, there is no word of “obsession” and the overall description of the situation in 1944 is affective in a different way. “Another heavy blow on the road to ultimate defeat” and “epic story of bravery, tragedy, and triumph” are replaced with short and simple sentences with adjectives that are less emotionally charged. The descriptive emphasis is limited to “letztes” (last) and “jahrelang” (long lasting), which frame the military position of Hitler and Nazi Germany and points to the endurance of the Allies in hunting the ship for several years. The importance of the ship becomes clear even though a drier and more matter-of-fact style of speech is used. Interestingly, the “beast” quote by Churchill appears in this very last section of the documentary. The narrator uses the English word “beast” with its definite article “the” as in the original and reproduced quote instead of the German “das Biest”, which sounds similar. In this embedding, the quote is redirected to its origin, to Churchill, and serves as a quiet description of the battleship without being accompanied with dramatic rhythms, gun shots, or quick hectic cuttings as in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* (see chapter 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts*). The sentence about the survivors of the *Tirpitz* is not about their former intentions, hopes, and dreams as soldiers, but about their losses as humans. They are framed primarily as survivors, not as Nazis. The narrator’s text prepares the ground for the visuals of the surviving veterans on the screen. “Synchronized sound and speech are, by their very nature, glued to their visual counterpart. Their job, therefore, is the simple one of explanation and guidance.” (Rotha 1939: 207) The narrator’s text might help audiences to immerse into the setting of the challenging situation of being a survivor, whereas about 1000 others died in the same event. Even though the tone of the narrator’s speech might appear little affective, in connection with the image of a group of eyewitnesses more than eighty years old, it may contribute to inviting audiences to engage with their fate. “Like the dramatic film, the documentary wants you to feel and care deeply about the events and people of the past.” (Rosenstone 2006: 74)

As I addressed in chapter 2.2, these last sentences are accompanied with a melancholic melody that creates a sad but engaging mood. The choice to say “comrades” instead of “colleagues” or “fellow soldiers” provides the group of survivors with empathy and emotional engagement in this historical event. For audiences, it may imply that the depicted group had to mourn, thus humanising them. The impersonal passive voice in the last sentence “das Schlachtschiff wurde versenkt” avoids naming an agent who destroyed the battleship, but rather points to the final result. This passive voice also fits the strategy that I observed at the Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven, later on in this chapter (2.6.2). The last two sentences demonstrate the insanity of war and imply that

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survivors of the *Tirpitz* were mourning for almost 1000 dead comrades. The drama about the *Tirpitz* had ended. The battleship was sunk without ever having fought against an enemy.” (56:46-57:27), my translation.



everything the audience has just watched in this documentary was done to hunt and destroy a ship that never saw active battle. It pinpoints that enormous human and material resources were used to satisfy the need for power: first to build the ship, and then to destroy it.

### *Det siste slaget*

The first sentence by narrator Nils Johnson in *Det siste slaget* already presents the end of the story of the *Tirpitz*: “På sjøbunnen ved Tromsø ligger rester av verdens en gang mest avanserte krigsskip: Tirpitz.”<sup>124</sup> The sentence informs about the remains of a superlative battleship and gives a preview of the destruction that this story will narrate. Additionally, it gives geographical information for Norwegian-speaking audiences and at the same time, “på sjøbunnen” may appear figurative, explicitly pictorial, and take audiences down into the water with the camera. Together with the underwater footage and the sound design, audiences can immerse themselves with the speech into the narrative. “På sjøbunnen” also has a vertical dimension when audiences are watching the documentary on land, over the surface of the ocean, and are narratively, visually, auditorily, and textually “diving” down to the secrets within the story of the *Tirpitz*. This makes a calm yet suspenseful transition to the main question of the documentary: Whose fault was it that *Tirpitz* was sunk? The narrator’s text’s extensive use of questions is a significant aspect in *Det siste slaget*. Through questions, the documentary establishes the investigative crime narrative that follows. The most remarkable ones are “Var han den skyldige? Hva skjedde virkelig den 12. november 1944?” (02:35)<sup>125</sup>, referring to Heinrich Ehrler and his role in the sinking of the battleship. These questions limit the story of the *Tirpitz* to the role and the decisions of one man that audiences can turn their attention to. It may make the story about the *Tirpitz* more easily digestible to relate to these questions and to try to follow a possible “yes or no” argumentation in the documentary’s narrative. This is the impression one is given in the beginning when these questions are asked. The answer is much more difficult and is not given, but reflectively addressed mainly through the accounts of the eyewitnesses who met the German pilot Ehrler.

Regarding the appearance of spoken text in the scene of the launch in *Det siste slaget*, I can note that the German anthem during the launch scene (00:40) appears together with the German text in *Det siste slaget*. Additionally, a German speech can be heard without being understandable. I recognise it as the speech by Admiral Adolf von Trotha during the launch ceremony, which is inserted into the propaganda film that I viewed at

<sup>124</sup> “The remains of the battleship that once was the most sophisticated in the world are lying on the seabed close to Tromsø: Tirpitz.” (00:08), my translation.

<sup>125</sup> “Was he guilty? What happened on 12 November 1944?”, my translation.

the Bundesarchiv (BSP 20238), but it is not identified in the sequence of the Norwegian documentary (see chapter 2.3.1). Neither the content nor who is speaking seem to be of importance, but only the background sound of German speaking with the tone resembling that of the 1930s is sufficient to mediate the intended atmosphere for the launch scene and a mood of the period. In *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, this speech does not appear and for German audiences the exaggerated manner of speaking of the 1930s can be perceived as caricature or as glorification. This choice is especially interesting in comparison to the British *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, where a version of the anthem without text was chosen. In the case of the British documentary, my previous argumentation was that a British, non-German-speaking audience does not need a German text to get the impression of an authentic representation of the launch event. Yet, the Norwegian documentary does use the verbalised version, which may mediate an even more trustworthy and true impression of the reported events; not only the visuals with archival footage, but also sound and speech fit expectations of news reports of the 1930s and media coverage of the launch event. The speech ends with three "Sieg—Heil!" which again marks the period, the region, and the spirit. Only this exclamation narrows down the spectre to Germany during the Third Reich. The speech and its final exclamation may serve as an orientating and recognising moment for non-German-speaking audiences. Furthermore, the absence of spoken text can be as interesting as the spoken one. When the camera pans over the portside hull of the not yet launched *Tirpitz*, the narrator is quiet. The silence gives audiences the opportunity to focus only on the visuals, which they are presented and to reflect on the scenes that they have consumed so far. *Det siste slaget* dares to be quiet and challenges audiences to confront the silence with no auditory input.

During the scene of the sinking of the *Tirpitz* in *Det siste slaget*, Iveson recalls how he and his pilots departed from Lincolnshire and Lossiemouth and approached Northern Norway. He addresses his interview partner directly by mentioning "your mountains" (23:51) and establishes an aesthetic morning atmosphere through his memories about the morning on 12 November 1944. Additionally, some formulations only occur in *Det siste slaget* because eyewitnesses in this documentary have the time to phrase and rephrase sentences, and to talk at a slow pace. Iveson reiterates formulations that he used in the interview scenes for *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and for *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* as well. With "miles and miles" (24:20; Brit. 01:01:22), Iveson speaks about the wide view that they had from their planes and how good the weather was. Both exercised and newly formed formulations build the personal memory that the former pilot is mediating.

An eyewitness who does not appear in the British or the German documentary, Jeff Watkins, remembers how he caught sight of the *Tirpitz* as they approached the battle-

ship lying in Håkøy bay, “the black ship showing up starkly against the white background” and “with the torpedo nets it was like a spider in a spider web” (24:50). Watkin’s description in the form of a comparison to something familiar, a spider, may help audiences to envision the view by the pilot on the ship. The colours Watkins is using to describe the battleship underneath him are black and white, contrasts, which may represent a form of evil, like a dark spider waiting to devour its attackers.

Liv Haugen’s exclamation “Flott, nå har Tirpitz gått! [...] Men så tenkte jeg, herregud, det er jo mennesker!” (35:15)<sup>126</sup> demonstrates the ambiguity that the Norwegian population might have experienced with the sinking of the battleship. The eyewitness shares her thoughts and feelings of that day, and even her thoughts about her feelings, which may mediate an even more immediate impression to audiences. Perceiving an eyewitness reflecting on their own thoughts about an event that was, at that point, sixty years ago, can connect audiences with their own stream of consciousness and immerse audiences more deeply into the story. Haugen differentiates in her exclamation between the *Tirpitz* as a machine, and the sailors who she acknowledges passionately as human beings onboard of the battleship. Highlighting this distinction, Haugen expressively objects the established categories in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*; machine versus man, *Tirpitz* versus Churchill.

As I mentioned in chapter 2.4.1, Ehrler’s last air battle is mediated by an animation of German and Allied planes (48:33). The animation is in large part without any spoken text until Walter Schuck, eyewitness and former colleague of Ehrler, starts to speak about Ehrler’s court martial, his being found guilty and the relief of his command. Upon appeal, Ehrler was exonerated and would be rehabilitated in Jagdgeschwader 7. Schuck recalls that Ehrler was broken by the events following the sinking of the *Tirpitz* and he recounts that Ehrler’s superior in Jagdgeschwader 7, Theodor Weissenberger, heard Ehrler’s radio transmission during his last air raid on 4 April 1945. “Theo von Heinrich. Theo von Heinrich. Ich habe zwei Bomber abgeschossen, habe keine Munition mehr. Ich werde rammen. Auf Wiedersehen in Valhall.” (49:38)<sup>127</sup> The account by the eyewitness Schuck together with the plane animations gives the scene a quiet yet dramatic mood. To hear the last words of the documentary’s anti-hero from the mouth of a person who knew Ehrler personally may invite audiences to engage with the told story affectively. In addition to the calm emotionality of the scene, the words “Auf Wiedersehen in Valhall” allow a view into the ideology of the time and may leave an even stronger impression because it is told by someone who also experienced this period. The narration by Schuck mediates in a personal way how the speech and the beliefs in the Third Reich

<sup>126</sup> “Great, now Tirpitz is gone! [...] But then I thought, oh my God, these are people!” (35:15), my translation.

<sup>127</sup> “Theo from Heinrich. Theo from Heinrich. I shot down two bombers, no ammunition left. I will ram. See you again in Valhall.” (49:38), my translation.

were anchored and practised. Interestingly, Ehrler appears in neither the British nor the German documentary, even though his role seems to be of great importance for the fate of the *Tirpitz* in *Det siste slaget*. The German pilot Ehrler represents a type of anti-hero who was held responsible for the destruction of the battleship. Neither does Ehrler appear in any of the museum exhibitions that I examined. The reason for this may lie in the fact that Hansen, director of *Det siste slaget*, came across Ehrler's story by accident in the early 2000s<sup>128</sup> and that the exhibitions in Tromsø and Alta are older than that. Compared to the hero narrative in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, the lack of Ehrler's story makes sense since the focus lies on British and their Allied heroes. A story-bearing German figure might not have fit the expectations and may have made the story too hard to follow. In *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, a German anti-hero, a spotlight on one particular German pilot, could be understood as a heroisation and his depiction as a scapegoat for the destruction of the battleship as a wrong positioning of compassion for German-speaking audiences. The choice rather to highlight several eyewitnesses as representatives for the group of survivors, yet without individual stories or characteristics, may serve as a strategy to avoid affective empathy and consecutive reflection about the persons as individuals.

After the re-enactment of the last mission of Heinrich Ehrler and a close shot on a photograph of him has faded out, archival footage of the sunken *Tirpitz* in Sandnessund appears. The narrator closes the story.

En verdenskrig er over. Ved Tromsø ligger et slagskip med bunnen i været. Høvding Skipsopphugging kjøper vraket av den Norske Stat. Arbeiderne bruker mange år på å hugge opp det 50 000 tonn tunge skipet. Stål og skipsutstyr ble brukt til gjenoppbygging av landet. (50:58–51:37)<sup>129</sup>

The style and choice of words in these last sentences of *Det siste slaget* is significant. The sentences are short and no subordinate clauses describe or specify the matter. “Stål” and “skipsutstyr” are unspecified, it does not seem to matter what kind of steel and what kind of ship equipment is reused. Only the fact that there *is* material to rebuild the country seems to matter in this situation. The narrator does not highlight that this was a German battleship and that it was sunk by the British. The last sentence is about Norway and Norwegian rebuilding of the country. The main clauses fulfil their function of informing about the outcome of the *Tirpitz*' story in particular and about World War II in general. This style mediates a certain directness in which no circumscription seems possible or

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<sup>128</sup> Conversation with Hansen 2017.

<sup>129</sup> “A world war is over. Close to Tromsø, a battleship is lying with its hull upturned. Høvding Skipsopphugging buys the wreck from the Norwegian state. The workers spend many years dismantling the 50 000-ton ship. Its steel and ship equipment was used in the rebuilding of the country” (51:37), my translation.

feasible. The lack of an abundant or emotional tone about personal losses and ubiquitous devastation may leave an impression of a sober conclusion, ready to move on. The narrator's voice might contribute to an impression of objectivity. "As in traditional narrative, this third-person, unnamed and seemingly omniscient voice is authoritative precisely because it is not embodied and does not create an impression of subjectivity." (Jones 2012: 203) Furthermore, the Northern Norwegian dialect of the narrator can add an inclusive aspect for Northern Norwegian audiences and an authenticating aspect in general for making the narrative even more connected to the region. The phrase of "a world war" might support this impression, taking a step back from the extraordinariness of World War II to a superordinate perspective of looking at the events as "a war" that can be overcome. The name of the *Tirpitz* is not mentioned in this last section, which can be interpreted as another stylistic tool to distance oneself from the concrete events and to look at it as "a battleship" without its superlatives and the symbolic threats projected on it. Instead, on a focus on the battleships propagated meaning for the outcome of the war, the text directs the spotlight towards Norway and towards how it dealt with the material aftermath of the *Tirpitz*. The documentary closes the circle that it started in the opening sequence by showing the remains of the battleship at the bottom of the sea close to Tromsø. *Det siste slaget* cultivates the connection between the memories, not only of Norwegian people, and between the Northern Norwegian landscapes that are presented correctly. Tonje Haugland Sørensen elaborates a topography of remembrance in her doctoral thesis on Norwegian movies about World War II and, inspired by Simon Schama (1995: 5ff.), states, "When this memory of landscape is historically tied up with ideas of Norwegian sovereignty and struggle for independence, the outcome is formidable." (Sørensen 2015: 208) The narrative of the documentary seems to be strengthened through the connection to Tromsø and its surroundings. The war and the *Tirpitz* came and went, but Tromsø is still here.

### 2.6.2 Museum Exhibitions

Texts both in digital form on websites or physically present in printed form in a museum exhibition lead audiences' attention, provide information on the presented topic, and guide through the narrative of the museum exhibition. Christensen, who I referred to in chapter 2.1 *Presentation and Paratexts*, talks about the anchorage of an image by a verbal text. "The reason is that images are polysemic, i.e., they contain so many codes that a sender must necessarily lead the reader's perception of the image in the intended direction with the help of the anchoring text." (2011: 17) This observation goes not only for images, but also for exhibition objects that may have a visual and a material value in the

exhibition; however, text often creates the connection between the object and the exhibition narrative.

### RAF Museum

The written text presented in the British museal context that I examined constantly frames an ‘us’, which audiences can refer to when visiting the Royal Air Force Museum. Leaving the stereotype of the male, often elderly, flight enthusiast and including families in the audience of interest, the website of the RAF Museum invites “the mom who loves aircrafts” for Mother’s Day in 2019 (see chapter 2.1.5). With a smiling eye, the mother colloquially addressed with “mom” presented with a strong feeling towards planes, and the topic of the RAF might be an affective invitation to bring families together at the museum. The mission of the RAF Museum explicitly emphasises the ‘us’ when describing the goals and tasks of the museum as institution (see chapter 2.1.5); *our* RAF stories; *our* rich collections; *our* sites; *our* visitors; *we* help people to understand the impact of the RAF in the world. By including everybody who belongs to the ‘us’ by nationality, ideological conviction or culture, the mission at the same time excludes international audiences who do not identify with the presented ‘us’. The close, British society seems to be the target audience for this museum that may perpetuate a message that is highlighted in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* as well; *we* against the *other*.

At the examples of the exhibition at the RAF Museum, object text helps to establish a dominant narrative about good and bad, and about duties and necessities. A closer look at the text connected to the earlier mentioned bulkhead may illustrate the way in which this narrative is created. The exhibited bulkhead at the RAF Museum in Hendon (chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects*) is accompanied with a panel with a photograph and text.

The destruction or even crippling of this ship is the greatest event at sea at the present time. No other target is comparable to it. I regard the matter as the highest urgency and importance. (Prime Minister Winston Churchill, 1942)

As mentioned in chapter 2.3.2, the first two sentences of this quote originally come from Winston Churchill’s war memoirs in a note to General Ismay, for C.O.S. Committee 25 Jan. 42 (Churchill 1950: 112), whereas the last sentence does not come from the same source and is not referenced on the object label at the museum. The following object text provides information about the *Tirpitz*’ purpose, its activity, and concrete justification for the efforts of the British to destroy the ship. It starts with “The German battleship Tirpitz, and her sister ship Bismarck, were amongst the largest and fastest ever built in Europe. [...] the Bismarck was destroyed by the Royal Navy [...]”. The entrance to this

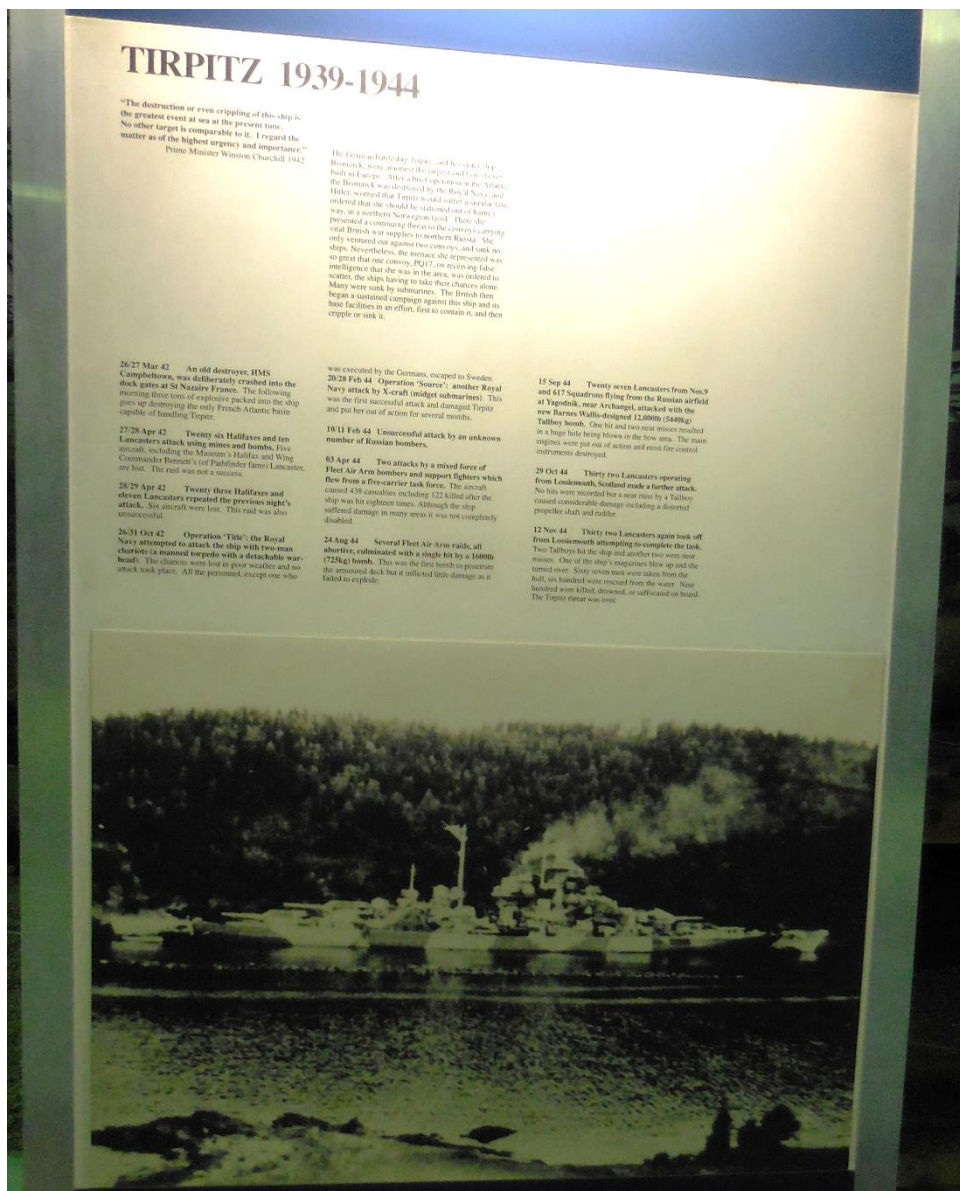


Figure 46: Panel accompanying the bulkhead at the RAF Museum in Hendon. Photograph taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 2017.

text clarifies the relations and emphasises how big and powerful the two ships were. Still, *one* of the ships could be sunk by the British *even though* it was “amongst the largest and fastest”. The superlatives “largest” and “fastest” establish the dominant threat that the ships represented and point to the massive efforts required to battle them. The text continues “[...] Hitler, worried that Tirpitz would suffer a similar fate, ordered that she should be stationed out of harm’s way [...]”. The choice of words in this short part of a sentence is outstanding, providing the ultimate villain Hitler with the ability to worry, an emotional state that can be connoted with weakness and insecurity.

A short pre-conclusion only from the image of the worrying Hitler indicates that the Allied forces managed to represent a threat to their enemy, which might activate a feeling of pride in a British and patriotic audience. The phrases “suffer a similar fate” and

“out of harm’s way” clearly personify the battleship, awarding it with the human characteristics of being able to suffer, have a fate in general, and to be harmed. Taking it to an extreme, the phrases express that the ship has feelings and can feel pain. In connection to Hitler, the text might indicate that Hitler was so fond of the battleship as if he would assume the ship to have feelings. Correspondingly, destroying the ship would cause emotional harm to Hitler, which might make the destruction even more attractive, adding an affective level to the military one.

The text goes on that the *Tirpitz* was a “continuing threat” to Allied convoys and that “[s]he only ventured out against two convoys, and sank no ships. Nevertheless, the menace she represented was so great [...]”. In this text, the battleship is referred to as female, personified as something that can act, seemingly consciously. The female character of the *Tirpitz* may even evoke an implication, an urge to admire and to care about a beloved protagonist in this narrative, which often represents the traits of a female character in a (conservative) story. At the same time, the female framing of the ship fits the old and well-preserved narrative of the female evil—re-mediating Eve and her evil deed with the apple and the countless female witches who were punished for performing miracles against God. The military machine *Tirpitz* may provoke both aspects—fascination for the appearance and equipment of the ship, and fear of its capabilities that are steered by the acknowledged ultimate spawn of hell, Hitler. Through this textual presentation, the battleship is framed as a beautiful monster that poses a threat that is difficult to overcome.

The rest of the text gives an account of the attack at the convoy PQ-17 in which “many” ships were sunk by submarines (see chapter 2.4 *Re-enactments* for a more detailed report of the event). Consecutively, the British “began a sustained campaign against the ship”, which is mirrored in the list of attacks against it under the text, briefly describing eleven raids against the battleship, finishing with the final raid on 12 November 1944. The text gives signposting information on the actions of the ship with “only ventured out against two convoys” and “sank no ships”. Despite the described inactivity of the announced menacing battleship, the “nevertheless” suggests that there is still enough reason to look at the ship as dangerous. So dangerous, even, that a convoy was abandoned by the protecting Allied battleships and experienced extensive losses—which is directed back to the *Tirpitz* and seen as enough justification to hunt the ship and its crew, in addition to the symbolical meaning for the outcome of the war through the destruction of the ship. The indirect threat through the mere existence of the ship characterised by superlatives and through the assumption of the possible action of the ship through British admiralities, in combination with the general goal of the war to defeat Nazi Germany and Hitler, justifies the raids. The last sentence in the list of the raids is “The Tirpitz threat was over”. According to the narrative, a long and enduring hunt finds its end and reflects the penetrating efforts that the British attempted to reach their goal. “Tirpitz threat” could even



be seen as an own term for the special threat that the battleship was demonstrating: a threat so extensive that it needed to be given its own name. The British put a full stop to the story, a final sentence, keeping control over the narrative in the end.

As mediated in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* (0:00:23), the battleship and its fire-power are at the disposal of the German Navy under Hitler, which makes the *Tirpitz* a dangerous tool. The text accompanying the bulkhead at the RAF Museum confirms this message through the decontextualised quote by Churchill, the justifying strategy referencing to the attack on convoy PQ-17, and the explicit anti-ism directed at a monstrous machine in evil hands. "Hegemony thus establishes one particular narrative as a quasi-natural universality and delegitimises alternative forms of reasoning." (Molden 2016: 126) Everything is in place for this dominant narrative; protagonist and antagonist, action and reaction, hero and villain—the arrangement seems natural, unquestionable. Within a short object text in a museum exhibition, a dominant World War II narrative is reiterated and stabilised, renewing a still cultivated argument about the necessity of war in general and the necessity of fighting a declared evil.

### **Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr Dresden**

In chapter 2.1.4, I introduced the broken space that is presented architecturally by a wedge in the traditional museum building at the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden. Returning to the logo of the museum, and through that to the paratexts of the museum, I would like to point to the caesura that is mediated in the corporate design of the museum that may stand symbolically for caesurae in space, time, history, and in (visual) text. The image (Figure 47) shows the German title of the museum in black and red letters, slightly displaced but still readable. It mirrors in a quiet manner the overall message in this museum that attempts to discuss and visualise caesurae that German history and German military history in particular have caused and gone through. The colours can highlight a contrast between black and red, particularly well visible on digital surfaces, or it could hint to a change, a dark and bloody past that is exposed in the logo of the museum. Red, black, and white also were the colours of the Third Reich and could be a reference to the use of colour of this period. Yet, military history for that matter apparently is dark and bloody, the German case may be special because of the extensive rupture that happened in German society through the Third Reich. This rupture of Germans killing Germans and Germans killing millions of human beings can be interpreted as abstractly portrayed in that logo. A rupture that makes nothing fit anymore, but the name is still the same: Germans.

Even though the architecture and design solutions at the museum seem to aim at a critical and demanding handling of German military history, a look at some specific exhibition texts paints a different picture. The showcase at the Militärhistorisches Museum



Figure 47: Logo of the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden (MHM Dresden 2012).

that depicts War at Sea exhibits a “Document on Wound Badge in Black for Oswald Schlegel” and does not provide information on the document, the soldier, or the event for what he received the badge except that it was for an attack on 3 April 1944. In this particular example, the label text for this document does not further inform or critically discuss anything. It only adds basic information about the category of the object, document on wound badge in black, and for whom it was. The context that the showcase is granting through its topical title War at Sea is apparently enough information for this particular exhibit, and audiences may be encouraged to establish their own context when confronted with this exhibit. Little written text in an exhibition can be a possibility to focus more on the visuals of an object and to invite audiences to use their imagination in the respective sections. Yet, in a museum about military history, information, numbers, and specific stories are mostly appreciated, even though they may lead to misunderstandings, disputes, and professional conflicts. Simply avoiding these disputes by not providing more information seems to be an evasion strategy, in spite of the apparently progressive aims of the museum.

### **Deutsches Marinemuseum Wilhelmshaven**

An examination of the use of text in the Deutsches Marinemuseum Wilhelmshaven can give additional insights to the analyses done above in the chapters 2.1.3, 2.3.2, and 2.5.2. Remembering the set-up of the section about World War II in the exhibition with its introductory wall showing archival footage clips without text, the reader might recall that World War II served as superior lead story rather than smaller events. The launch of the *Tirpitz* in Wilhelmshaven, for instance, does not appear as a framing story. The following examples of museal object text from the exhibition that deal with events around the *Tirpitz* in the broadest sense will display how fragments of information may be seen as sufficient to fulfil the message of the exhibition without becoming specific.

A title of a part in the exhibition about World War II is “Die Rolle der Überwassereinheiten im Zweiten Weltkrieg”<sup>130</sup>. The text describes that from the beginning of the war there was a small amount of German heavy ships to attack Allied convoys. It goes on to

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<sup>130</sup> “The Role of the Surface Units in the Second World War”, translated in the exhibition.

list the losses such as the armoured ship *Admiral Graf Spee* in 1939, the *Blücher* in 1940, and the *Bismarck* in 1941 and that from 1942 the efforts were concentrated on the northern Atlantic. “Dort geht Ende 1943 das Schlachtschiff SCHARNHORST verloren, die TIRPITZ im November 1944.”<sup>131</sup> The text ends by recounting that Allied air forces managed to repel the German sea forces. The formulation of “losing” the ships mentioned in the quote above appoints no agency to the destruction of these ships, but rather seems to insinuate that the ships simply disappeared. Even though the formulation is a common one, one gets the impression that grammatically, the ships themselves are the subjects that “get lost”. Any action is detached from human participants and transferred to the machines and, in this way, is abstracted. The formulation of “losses” could also be a possibility to talk unemotionally and in a neutral manner about sunken ships and killed soldiers and may take away dramatic potential from the telling.

Another object text that I want to direct attention to is that accompanying a thirty-eight-centimetre grenade. “Granaten vom Kaliber 38 cm konnten von den beiden Schlachtschiffen BISMARCK und TIRPITZ verschossen werden. Panzerbrechende Sprenggranaten wogen bis zu 800 Kilo und hatten eine Reichweite von ca. 36 km. DMM 2009-086-001. Stahl”<sup>132</sup>. Even though the described museal object is physical and right next to the text, the level of description stays abstract and connects the battleships only indirectly with the exhibited grenade. The text does not say “the ships shot these kinds of grenades” but “these grenades could be shot” and thereby adds a small nuance of vagueness to the description. There is no absolute “they were”, but rather an indefinite “they could” to reflect the overall strategy in the exhibition part about World War II at the Deutsches Marinemuseum. At the same time, this is a scientific strategy to be able to display objects, which are not linked to the actual event, but were indirectly connected to it. When looking carefully, one can sense a constant caution and attempts to keep specific historical events at a distance. Both examples from chapter 2.3 *Original Footage and Original Objects* and 2.5 *Eyewitnesses* support the observation made here with regard to the exhibition text. This in itself might be no surprise; however, it is important to point at the stylistic devices and strategies that are used to mediate this impression. The *absence* of affective tools, encounters with personal stories, or detailed accounts of historical events to immerse the audience into the presented narrative will have some effect on what audiences remember from this exhibition. Many most certainly will not even create a connection between their own history as German citizens and the presented events because the exhibition is matter-of-fact and does not try to engage with its

<sup>131</sup> “The battleship SCHARNHORST was lost there at the end of 1943, followed by the TIRPITZ in November 1944.”, translated in the exhibition.

<sup>132</sup> “38 cm calibre grenades could be shot from the two battleships BISMARCK and TIRPITZ. Armour-destroying, exploding grenades weighed up to 800 kilos and had a range of about 36 km. DMM 2009-086-001. Steel”, translated in the exhibition.

audiences on a personal level. One might wonder whether this is a beneficial way to go, especially with regard to stories about World War II. Might this be a reaction to a certain “tiredness” in the German public of talking about World War II and about German guilt (Kansteiner 2006), and to the aforementioned “non-relationship” of Germans with their history (Assmann 2007: 182)? I assume this museum’s potential audience to be mostly interested in ships, technique, and German naval history; they might not want to be educated on ethics. A look back to chapter 2.1.5 and to the vision of the Deutsches Marinemuseum Wilhelmshaven may provide reasons for the choice of text in the exhibition about World War II.

Wir bieten mit unserer Ausstellung [...].

Wir sammeln und bewahren [...].

Wir wollen das Verständnis für die historische Rolle der deutschen Marine entwickeln, fördern und erhalten.

Wir sehen es als unsere Aufgabe an, auf die maritimen Abhängigkeiten Deutschlands hinzuweisen und die Notwendigkeit von demokratisch kontrollierten Seestreitkräften zur Verteidigung und zur Wahrnehmung von Aufgaben im Rahmen internationaler Bündnisse zu vermitteln. [...]

(Deutsches Marinemuseum 2020b)

The vision establishes an including “we” by repetitively starting their sentences with the same word. The text highlights the traditional tasks of a museum institution and the only formulation that can have an abstractly reflective or critical tone is “develop [...] the understanding for the historical role of the German Navy” (“Verständnis für die historische Rolle der deutschen Marine entwickeln”). “Develop” can imply a modification of understanding, of attitudes, and pre-conclusions about a certain topic. However, when addressing the more contemporary contexts of the German Navy, the focus lies on “maritime dependencies of Germany” (“maritimen Abhängigkeiten Deutschlands”) and “necessity of democratically controlled naval forces” (“Notwendigkeit von demokratisch kontrollierten Seestreitkräften”). One can argue that this spotlight might invite audiences to rather identify through the inclusive “we” in order to maintain a traditional view on German naval history and consider the present and future as something somehow detached from historical events.

### **Tirpitz Museum Alta**

The Tirpitz Museum in Alta exhibits a model of the *Tirpitz* in its entrance area (Figure 48). A look at the label text of the object gives interesting insights in the information strategies and a potential effect on visiting audiences.

The object text in the left lower corner of the photograph says “Tirpitz model scale 1/32. Biggest Tirpitz model in the world. 8 meter [sic] long and 1,12 meter [sic] wide. The



Figure 48: Model of the *Tirpitz* at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta. Photograph taken by Mathias Bockwoldt, 2017.

model was build [sic] by a modeller in Tromsø and will be completed by the Tirpitz Museum in the future.” The model seems not yet to be finished since it “will be completed”. It is remarkable that the mediators decided to exhibit an incomplete model. So, the fact of being the “[b]iggest Tirpitz model in the world” justifies the value of exhibiting the object. The text does not inform when the model was given to the museum nor when it will be completed. The absence of this information leaves space for the mediators to complete the model in their own timeframe without being committed to any fixed date. The name of the modeller is not given, even though one would assume that being named in an exhibition would be good publicity for a modeller. Numbers belong to the little information that is given in the text and mediate some impression of factuality and objectivity. The plural form for “meter” does not appear, which contradicts the mediated professionalism of numbers.

The information given about the model is fragmentary, as is the way the little information is presented. Except for the last sentence of the object text, the first three parts are incomplete sentences. Even though many of the audiences will not be able to relate to the scale “1/32” they might accept the numbers as proving the “[b]iggest model” with-

out any information on the actual size of the ship. The last sentence contains a grammatical mistake, which evokes an impression of carelessness or the lack of proofreading the object text due to a lack of resources such as time or staff. Presenting an English object text suggests that the mediators wanted to make the object and the little information accessible to international audiences, fitting the strategy at the website of the Tirpitz Museum, which is completely in English. The use of the text on this object label reflects the lay character of the exhibition, handling editing tasks with limited resources and with an acceptance of grammatical flaws.

The website of the Tirpitz Museum is also remarkable when setting the spotlight on the use of text (Blomkvist ITK AS 2020; Figure 49). First, the whole text is in English and thereby potentially directed to international audiences. Even though the focus in the exhibition and on the website is on the local events about the *Tirpitz*, outreach is aimed at non-Norwegian speakers as well. The crest in the upper left corner of the website is the crest listed as the one distinctly for the battleship *Tirpitz* and it is reproduced in other publications about the topic (Asmussen and Åkra 2015). It shows the colours of the Third Reich, black, white, and red, and a head of a Viking longboat. After the crest, the title of the website, and a horizontal list of the subchapters of this website, the first paragraph appears next to a photograph of the *Tirpitz* moored in the Kåfjord.

The text in Figure 49 says

Kåfjord. The giant German warship was moored in Kåfjord because this gave it a perfect starting point to threaten merchant ships on their way to Murmansk, the Soviet city by the Barents Sea, with supplies for the eastern front. In fact, Altafjorden was Germany's largest naval base outside Germany, in the WW2.

The first paragraph anchors the story of the *Tirpitz* and the topic of the museum to the space where the museum is situated, Kåfjord. The name of the fjord as a subtitle, mentioned in the text, and a reference to the larger fjord to which Kåfjord belongs, Altafjord, are highlighted. The adjectives “giant”, “perfect”, and “largest” frame the crucial elements of the most important message in this short text. It says that the ship was big and thereby a potential threat, that the place it was situated at was uniquely suited for this special ship, and that the larger fjord in itself had an important role for the whole of World War II. Information about the ship's years of activity, that it was under constant attack of Allied forces, or that the ship was sunk in Tromsø by the British in 1944, does not appear. Instead, the local anchoring of the *Tirpitz* being “moored in Kåfjord” to threaten Allied convoys was chosen as the necessary information to introduce the Tirpitz Museum in Alta on this website.

The selection of the following subtopics on the website fit the significant focus on Northern Norway. After a short subtitle emphasising “A great collection of items from

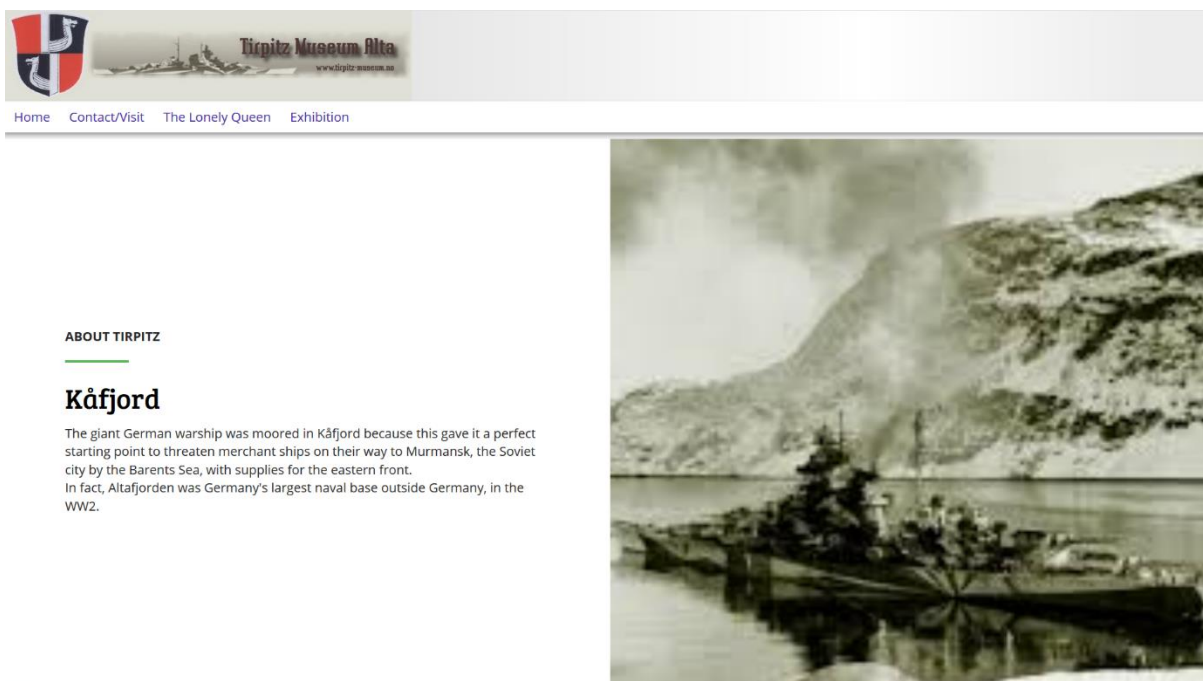


Figure 49: Top of the website of the Tirpitz Museum (Blomkvist ITK AS 2020). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt, 1 April 2020.

Tirpitz!”, the next paragraph exclaims “The fight in North Norway and the Narvik region. Victory and capitulation followed by five years of occupation [sic] which ends with evacuation and burned earth tactics. A tremendous impact on the people of the north.. [sic]”. The incomplete sentences with slips of the pen announce the topic of a struggle in Northern Norway. Interestingly, World War II is not mentioned here, but merely assumed from the previous paragraph. Northern Norway and the region around Narvik stand in the spotlight without providing clear information on history, politics, or culture. The text gives keywords that might trigger intended audiences’ interest: “fight”, “[v]ictory and capitulation”, “occupation”, and “burned earth”. Even without distinct details on which fight or which victory, audiences interested in war may be invited to engage with the topic through this announcement. Furthermore, informed audiences that know about Northern Norwegian history in World War II may be the main target for this local museum in the Northern Norwegian countryside. English texting might evoke an impression of internationality; however, even international audiences may already be knowledgeable about the topic itself. For an uninformed audience, the website of the Tirpitz Museum in Alta does not deliver sufficient material.

In an exclamatory title style, the extensive collections of photographs and of “unique” ship models are announced. Short paragraphs with incomplete sentences about “The Russian Role” and “Ida and Lyra” provide information about Russian activities in Northern Norway at the end of World War II and about Norwegian resistance move-

ments in Alta investigating against the *Tirpitz*. Photographs from the respective exhibition parts accompany the texts and give proof that museal objects will support the announced topics. Only the subtitle for the exhibition of photographs is supported by a photograph that is not from the Tirpitz Museum, but seems to be generic for a clean and sterile art exhibition experience in blurry black and white. No names of photographers, photographed persons, or dates appear on the website. Text and photographs on this website provide each other with reciprocal trustworthiness, even more so coming from a museum that is on the spot where some of the historical events occurred. As Aleida Assmann points out below, spaces can store and activate memories to a larger degree than memories kept and transferred by people and objects.

Selbst wenn Orten kein immanentes Gedächtnis innewohnt, so sind sie doch für die Konstruktion kultureller Erinnerungsräume von hervorragender Bedeutung. Nicht nur, dass sie die Erinnerung festigen und beglaubigen, indem sie sie lokal im Boden verankern, sie verkörpern auch eine Kontinuität der Dauer, die die vergleichsweise kurzphasige Erinnerung von Individuen, Epochen und auch Kulturen, die in Artefakten konkretisiert ist, übersteigt. (1999: 299)<sup>133</sup>

The space where the Tirpitz Museum in Alta is located is textually present in the examined examples. Northern Norway, Alta, Kåfjord and the events in that region receive attention instead of the bigger picture of World War II. The aspect of space is what constitutes the status and memorial value of the Tirpitz Museum: the *Tirpitz* was moored in Kåfjord and that is probably why objects were gathered in this small town in the first place. Without the historical space, the objects might have been collected and exhibited somewhere else. As it is now, the space provided the ground for the collection to grow and the objects now help to substantiate and to illustrate the story of the *Tirpitz* that had impact on this particular region.

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<sup>133</sup> “Even though spaces do not have an immanent memory, they are of extraordinary importance for the construction of cultural memory spaces. They not only stabilize and confirm memory by anchoring them locally in the ground, but they also embody a continuity of durability that exceeds comparatively brief memories of individuals, epochs, and even cultures concretized in artefacts” (A. Assmann 1999: 299), my translation.



### 2.6.3 The Most Powerful Stabiliser of Memory

By exploring the words and images we have used over time to talk about war, we disclose some surprising trajectories of what I term languages of memory, and thereby deepen our understanding of how we have tried to make sense of armed conflict since the first fully industrialized war broke out in 1914. (Winter 2017: 5)

Supported by Jay Winter's formulation of "languages of memory", my aim in this chapter was to show which verbal tools and patterns appear in the selected multi-medial documents to tell "the same" story. The "words and images", often re-mediated and with ancient-like origin, form narratives that can capture audiences' attention and can contribute to different memory potentials. Even though Winter states that languages of memory are flexible (*ibid.*) the observations in the material show a snapshot of contemporary presentation of a historical topic—and its uniformly reiterated patterns and moods within some groups; narrators, eyewitnesses, object and website texts. The voices of the narrators and of the eyewitnesses appear to contribute their individual and particular value to the representations, the first providing an authoritative "Voice of God" (Rotha 1939: 209) and the latter a nearness through the unique voice of a historical, real, and living person. Whereas audiences, in these examples, never see the narrator but perhaps know him from other programs and accept his voice as trustworthy, eyewitnesses appear to be credible already by their age, which makes them a believable and authentic part of the past. Written text on paper or on screen at a documentary, or object text on a label at a museum exhibition, can add an official, temporarily final, or also authoritative note to the historical presentation. In addition to the form of who is speaking or in what manner the text is presented, the content of the text is of great importance for its memory potentials. The ductus, the choice of words and their use, the keywords and phrases that help to frame the main narrative and the plot being pursued in the selected documentaries and museum exhibitions display the different approaches to the same topic. Winter claims that "each language carries its own lexicon about war, in which are imprinted traces of the experience of armed conflict." (2017: 1) The examined documents distinctly reveal these different languages comparing British, German, and Norwegian diction about the events about the *Tirpitz*. The national, cultural, and linguistic differences may point to different potential influence on the respective audiences and their attitudes. Attitudes that can be directed towards contemporary political developments and decisions.

The opening sequence in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* establishes "the beast" in the first seconds and throughout the whole sequence. The fifth filter, anti-ism, is elaborated on the level of speech as well as on the levels of image and sound, and it prepares the

ground for the outline of the overall narrative of the documentary: protagonist versus antagonist, man versus machine. The opening sequence and its speech paratextually prepare audiences for the story they are confronted with. "Ultimately, the ideology of screen entertainment is driven mainly by the amorphous fifth filter—the cultural milieu, which, of course, is itself generated largely by the news media." (Alford 2015: 160) What news media contribute to the definition of anti-ism for the discourse about current events, multi-medial documents such as historical documentary and museum exhibition can help to form and formulate good and evil of the past. The scene of the launch continues in this tradition and sets the frame for the point of departure of the story of the *Tirpitz* and the relation between the British and the German Reich. The comparison between "Hitler's most powerful killing machine" that strikes a weather station and apparently has the power to affect "the whole war", and the "outgunned" British fleet, clarifies the sides and the odds at the beginning of the story. The scenes of the spy Jacobsen, of the attack on convoy PQ-17, and of the attack on the *Tirpitz* with a stopover in Arkhangelsk, seem to establish categories and labelling that audiences can easily follow and identify as good and bad, accepting a presented anti-ism. The speech of both narrator and eyewitnesses mediate suspense and danger, constitute the narrative of justification for later attacks against the battleship, and reiterate an unquestionable myth about the Dam-busters that might fascinate audiences today. Furthermore, the texts by the narrator and the eyewitness Knights revive old prejudices about the Russian ally and make apparent that these seem to be accepted in the setting of a modern documentary, supported by an eyewitness expert. The textual analysis of the scene of the sinking in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* explicitly demonstrates how speech can emphasise the minor timeframe and frame of opportunity for the pilots to succeed. In a suspenseful manner, Iveson colloquially shares his excitement of the moment in this historical event, which might help audiences to engage affectively with the event themselves. The speech of Iveson and Helleendoorn represents, almost comically, the two sides of these two eyewitnesses and their two moods: looking at the *Tirpitz* as a military target versus looking at it as a human tragedy. In contrast, the Norwegian eyewitness Mathisen expresses empathy upon seeing a tragedy from the outside, perceiving the men on board as dying people rather than only dying occupying soldiers. One could argue that Iveson's distance to the actual event on the ground and the lives on board helps to illustrate the necessity of the destruction of this apparent threat. His personal narration of the story can hint at a strategy of emotional self-protection to avoid dealing mentally with the consequences of his actions, and his narration could be a message to others: As a soldier, be a bold professional and do not think about the lives you just destroyed but rather about your mission and the cause of your mission. The phrase "the end justifies the means" may be narratively mirrored in the speech of the pilot Iveson in this scene and be a substitute for a large part of the narrative in the documentary. The last sentences in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*

play with the remediation of the well-nourished pattern of British heroism in the narrative of the documentary. Moreover, the *Tirpitz* has literally been *tamed* from being a “beast” to being a “thing”. “Expository documentaries rely heavily on an informing logic carried by the spoken word. In a reversal of the tradition emphasis in film, images serve a supporting role. They illustrate, illuminate, evoke, or act in counterpoint to what is said.” (Nichols 2001: 107) Bringing up this quote by Nichols, I am pointing to the importance of the “carried logic by the spoken word” in the last scene of *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*. The visuals show a battleship steaming away from the camera; however, the text by the narrator establishes an absolute ending point in a dramatic narrative. The footage only illustrates in a broad sense what is being said, that the story was about a battleship, yet it does not show devastation and chaos after the sinking. The text by the narrator is what transports the distinct message of this last scene, not the visuals of the documentary. The speech by the narrator has a guiding function in these last sentences, mediating the defeat of the *Tirpitz*, on military and narrative levels. Yet, the comparison to the German version of this documentary *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* shows that the same illustrative visuals can help to transport a different message with different text.

Some of the differences in text between the British and the German documentary are remarkable and can bring a different mood to the same narrative patterns. In the opening sequence of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, for instance, the *Tirpitz* is termed as “lonely queen” (“Einsame Königin”) and the term “beast”, which is prominent in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*, does not appear. This choice of words alone provides the opening scene with a melancholic rather than aggressive tone and takes away the connotation of a relentless hunt for an evil “beast”. Furthermore, the opening sequence already gives the word to eyewitnesses, who only appear visually in the opening sequence of the British documentary. In *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* instead, audiences hear utterances by British and German eyewitnesses in the opening sequence, which can give it and the narrative outline a personal and experiential character. Starting the documentary with fragments of eyewitness accounts make their stories part of the overall narrative, in contrast to sober facts and numbers. This observation opposes other analysis results that follow below, especially in the German museums, where the German ductus suggests a distanced and passive attitude towards the events of World War II. Yet, the intimacy and personality of the opening sequence of this documentary may add more humanity to a group of people who fought against each other in a world war. The spoken text by Ilse von Hassel and the text sung by a male choir off-screen in the scene of the launch gives orientation in the time and mood of the situation. Von Hassel’s drum roll pronunciation of “Tirpitz” and the first verse of the *Deutschlandlied* can be recognisable for German-speaking audiences and help to classify the scene in a time and lifeworld. The male voices singing the characteristic verse of the Third Reich may serve as an allegory

to strength and power in prospect of war. Earlier analyses of the scene of the sinking in the chapters 2.2 and 2.3 revealed that the same text in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* transported different moods when embedded differently (Hellendoorn: "It was horrific." Iveson: "There was no great emotion, really."). Nonetheless, a look at the translation of Iveson's speech, for example, makes apparent that much of the English text by the eyewitness was translated to German directly and mediates the same mood as it does in the British documentary. "She was doomed to be destroyed" is translated word-for-word to "Sie war dazu verdammt, zerstört zu werden" and brings about the same message in both documentaries; that the battleship was meant to sink anyway. In the last sentences of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*, the term "beast" appears narratively when "the beast" is destroyed and is no longer a threat. The placement of this categorising term may give an impression of a decrease in importance, a diminishment of the threat that is produced through the narrative of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, but is weakened in the message of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. The focus on the grieving eyewitnesses, old human beings, and the passive tense of "wurde versenkt" (was sunk) without an actor to blame leads to the end point of the insanity of the concept of war. "Ohne je ein Gefecht geführt zu haben" strongly questions the whole point of "the beast" as ultimate threat and may leave audiences with the question of whether this whole arms race, military hunt, and symbolic destruction was of any use. The end of the documentaries needs to satisfy the expectation for closure.

To survive, to take public space and attention, it has had to borrow all kinds of structural and strategic devices from fiction in order to achieve what I would call 'satisfying form', that is, to send the audience out of the theater (and/or off to bed) feeling complete, whole, and untroubled. One of those borrowed devices is narrative—which entails sentiment and closure. General audiences seek and expect closure, even from documentary films. (Godmilow and Shapiro 1997: 84)

The satisfying form that Godmilow and Shapiro name above may be highly individual to various audiences of such historical documentaries. The closure in the case of *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* is, ironically, an open one, ending with fixed and understandable factors such as the elderly survivors and the report by the British who sunk the ship, but also with an open question about the meaning of war. Whereas *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* ends with an absolute answer of heroism and defeat of evil, *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* comes to a close still figuring out how to grasp war as a phenomenon.

The Norwegian documentary about the story of the *Tirpitz*, *Det siste slaget*, has two main focal points expressed through narrative and speech that do not matter in either *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* or *Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*. The one is the emphasis on Northern Norwegian nature and Tromsø as crucial spaces in the narrative, and the

other is the story surrounding the German pilot Heinrich Ehrler and the investigation into whether he was to blame for the destruction of the *Tirpitz*. In the short opening sequence of *Det siste slaget*, the illustrative “på sjøbunnen ved Tromsø” (on the seabed close to Tromsø) might indicate a potential reference to Norway as a seafaring nation. The image of a sunk ship and people who died on the bottom of the sea may pose a possibility for identification and immersion of Norwegian-speaking audiences. The documentary has a question-driven narrative that follows the leading question “Var han den skyldige? Hva skjedde virkelig den 12. november 1944?”<sup>134</sup> This specialised angle could point to the crime genre, which is popular in Norway in pop culture. The investigative mood of the narrative may integrate audiences to solve the riddle in the documentary and might challenge audiences in a creative way that the British and the German documentaries do not. The German speech by von Trotha in the scene of the launch of the *Tirpitz* in *Det siste slaget* demonstrates that tone and mood alone are important, rather than the content of the speech. The characteristic “Sieg-Heil” yelled by the crowds may just as well provide orientation in the timeframe and may enhance a moment of recognition for non-German-speaking audiences. The slow and calm style of *Det siste slaget* can evoke the impression that historical documents appear “without make-up”, directly, and affective in a different way. The documentary dares to show speeches, faces, and long-shot footage without covering it with drama and without avoidance strategies. One might consider this attitude towards difficult historical topics naïve, yet in a positive connotation, this shows what there is without an implicit agenda. In the scene of the sinking, the strong textual connection to Northern Norwegian nature comes through when Iveson talks about “your mountains”, abolishing the negation of the documentary medium.

The Norwegian eyewitness Haugen emotionally shares her thoughts of the moment of the sinking with the audiences and renders the narrative of *The Battle for Hitler's Super-ship* obsolete: it is not “man versus machine”, but rather people dying on this ship. With her eyewitness account, Haugen plays out a self-reflective and clarifying moment about the sinking of the *Tirpitz*. An intense meeting with two historical persons is represented in the present when Schuck retells Ehrler's last words. Reproduced in a calm way by Schuck, and by building the connection between the historical persons Ehrler and Schuck and the audiences, the impression of the last words is strongly affective and authentic. The goodbye “Wiedersehen in Valhall” can convey the mood, speech, and ideology of that era, which was also the era of the interviewed eyewitness.

The special position of Ehrler as German anti-hero gives the narrative an extraordinary angle that may open up for differently directed perspectives on the story of the *Tirpitz*.

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<sup>134</sup> “Was he guilty? What happened on 12 November 1944?”, my translation.

I would like to draw upon Aleida Assmann, who reflected on a study in which participants reacted stronger to images connected to a dramatic story and also remembered these better (Schacter 1997). “Obwohl in diesem Beispiel gerade nicht die Bilder, sondern der Text Träger des Affekts ist, bestätigt das psychologische Experiment doch die Bedeutung des Affekts für die Einprägsamkeit von Erinnerungen.” (1999: 251)<sup>135</sup> The quote supports my hypothesis that text can have influence on how images, and footage, can be perceived by audiences and that affective text can have crucial influence on what is remembered. In this particular example, neither the visuals of Schuck’s interview scene nor the re-enactment of Ehrler’s last flight have great dramatic value. However, with Schuck’s spoken text, the ensemble can be charged with startling affect towards the fates of Ehrler and Schuck and can therefore have vital memory potential for this story connected to the *Tirpitz*.

The last sentences of *Det siste slaget* lead back to the beginning, to Tromsø and the wrecking of the battleship. The narrator’s text stays distinctly unspecific about the rebuilding of Norway and the reusage of materials from the *Tirpitz*. He does not mention that it was a battleship owned by the German occupants. He does not mention that it was sunk by the British. The focus is on Tromsø and on moving on. Both narrative and text seem to be directed to the future and not backwards to “a world war”, which is left aside and not formulated as a specific conflict. It does not seem to matter. What matters is that it is over.

The analysis of the use of text in the selected exhibitions revealed strong parallels to the text used in the selected documentaries. On the website of the Royal Air Force Museum, it even pointed to a reference of the second filter of the *propaganda model* when the museum advertises with “moms who love aircrafts”. The text used on the label with the bulkhead at the Royal Air Force Museum reproduces the same narrative and patterns that appear in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership*. The quote by Churchill provides the text with authority due to the historical person’s status as political expert and his credibility. Superlatives such as “fastest” and “largest” help to frame a threatening evil that stands in an almost emotional connection to Hitler and that can represent a re-mediation of a beautiful, female evil – a personification of the *Tirpitz*. The justification pattern through the story about the attack on convoy PQ-17 is prominent in the label text and serves as a frame for the list of attacks on the *Tirpitz* by the British. Although the battleship “sank no ships”, it poses a dangerous *enough* threat. The last sentence in the object text evokes the impression of having control over the story of the *Tirpitz* and the war: “The Tirpitz threat was over.” It can insinuate the same perception of closure led by the Allies that is

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<sup>135</sup> “Although in this example it is not the images but the text that carry the affect, the psychological experiment confirms the importance of the affect for the memorability of memories.” (A. Assmann 1999: 251), my translation.

conveyed at the end of *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*, "Tirpitz, pride of the German Navy, scourge of convoys, was a thing of the past." The spoken and written text suggests a dominant world view on the events about the *Tirpitz*, reproduced in the two examples above, that can recall the "[...] one particular narrative as a quasi-natural universality and delegitimises alternative forms of reasoning" (2016: 126) observed by Molden when identifying a mnemonic hegemony. "But in many parts of the world the geometry of memory was and remains dialogic, confronting and mixing the vertical, the language of hope and pride, with the horizontal, the language of mourning and loss." (Winter 2017: 144f.) The elements of the label text of the bulkhead answer to this geometry of memory, introducing the attack on PQ-17 and the losses that were connected to it and using it as a justifying factor for raids against the *Tirpitz*. The vertical of hope and pride approaches a crescendo, listing the attacks on the battleship and thereby demonstrating capability and effort, and reaches its climax in explicit pride with the last sentence of the object text: "The Tirpitz threat was over."

The visually broken text at the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr in Dresden, perhaps symbolic for broken German history in relation to the insignificant label text found in the showcase mentioning the *Tirpitz*, points to differences in ambition in form and content. Whereas one can observe a wish for progressiveness on the level of form in architecture and design (chapter 2.1.4), on the level of content the chosen strategy seems to be an innocuous one. One reason for that could be that the mediators would like audiences to think independently when confronted with unchallenging and uncritical texts connected to their exhibitions, and to discover and reflect on the exhibitions. The German Bundeswehr's ownership of the museum may additionally contribute to specific texts being chosen carefully and formulated modestly.

As mentioned in chapter 2.3.2, the Deutsches Marinemuseum in Wilhelmshaven does not address the connection between the town and the launch of the battleship in 1939, and the analysis of the text in the exhibition parts about the *Tirpitz* supports a seemingly evasive attitude towards difficult heritage. The passive voice and indefinite forms in the object texts may point to giving up agency and responsibility for events connected to the *Tirpitz*. Formulations such as "Tirpitz was lost" ("Tirpitz ging verloren") even omit to mention an actor who sunk the battleship, which could again be interpreted as an avoidance strategy. Reflecting on reasons for such choices leads back to the vision of the Deutsches Marinemuseum (see also chapter 2.1.5), which could be directed toward a particular audience group who might expect a traditional rather than critical approach to the topic in the exhibition. This strategy, represented explicitly in the texts of this museum, may evoke an impression of a vision of a future without identifying a past because it is unpleasant. The presentation of history in Germany is a continuous topic for debate.

An einigen dieser Beispiele haben sich hitzige Debatten entfacht, die deutlich vor Augen führen, dass bei individuellen Produzenten und Rezipienten, innerhalb von und zwischen kulturellen Kontexten teilweise stark divergierende Vorstellungen davon herrschen, wie Geschichte darzustellen sei. (Pirker and Rüdiger 2010: 12)<sup>136</sup>

The differing ideas about how to present history in Germany seem to become partly apparent in the examples addressed in this thesis as a whole.<sup>137</sup> Are eyewitness accounts the way to speak about World War II? Is a direct or indirect manner of talking about the atrocities of the Third Reich what might bring a realistic public consciousness about the past? How should museums deal with personal and collective guilt in historical exhibitions? When looking at how museums from other national contexts solve parts of these questions, the differences between attitudes towards history and its participants become obvious.

Just as the text and narrative in *Det siste slaget*, the example texts at the Tirpitz Museum in Alta direct the spotlight to the importance of the place Northern Norway and Kåfjord within the story of the battleship. The superlative of the “biggest Tirpitz model in the world” demonstrates a strategy to highlight the particularity of this object and, through its placement in the museum at the very location, to constitute it as relevant enough to be important. No additional information seems to be necessary, just the paratexts of the museum as institution and the place of Kåfjord appear to justify the objects presence and its authenticating claim. The text at the website of the Tirpitz Museum portrays the strong focus on Northern Norway and an omission of a greater war context. Keywords such as “fight”, “victory and capitulation”, and “occupation” may trigger broader audiences interested in war topics. The all-English set-up evokes the impression of aiming at attracting international audiences, yet the clear connection to the place may rather appeal to local interested groups with a relation to Northern Norway. As in *Det siste slaget*, the location and surroundings of the historical events around the *Tirpitz* seem to play a large and important role, which the narrative circles around and in the end returns to. Following the thought by Aleida Assmann, Kåfjord would not have its own embodied memory. “Selbst wenn Orten kein immanentes Gedächtnis innewohnt, so sind sie doch für die Konstruktion kultureller Erinnerungsräume von hervorragender Bedeutung.“ (1999: 299)<sup>138</sup> However, the location and it being charged both with the historical events

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<sup>136</sup> “Some of these examples have sparked heated debates, which clearly show that individual producers and recipients, within and between cultural contexts, have strongly divergent ideas about how history should be represented.” (Pirker and Rüdiger 2010: 12), my translation.

<sup>137</sup> The question can be extended to which *media types* are suitable to present history.

<sup>138</sup> “Even though spaces do not have an immanent memory, they are of extraordinary importance for the construction of cultural memory spaces.” (A. Assmann 1999: 299), my translation.



of the 1940s and with the memories of the inhabitants contributes crucially to the construction of a cultural memory space, materialised through the Tirpitz Museum.

Even though documentaries and museum exhibitions use differing strategies in mediating their messages, and images, footage, and sound can have different purposes and functions, the text—spoken and written—seems to mirror the similarity, differences, and relationship of these multi-medial documents.

The British documentary leans on the narratives of justification, necessity, and heroism in the same way the object text accompanying the bulkhead does. Both the British documentary and the examined museum exhibitions reiterate the anti-ism of “the beast” and they may mediate an unconditional and “quasi-natural” (Molden 2016: 126) truth which the memory potentials might adapt.

*Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* explicitly gives voice to participants of the war and gives audiences the opportunity to re-feel the grief of the eyewitnesses. Yet, personal motivations and utterances about the reasons and consequences of war are safely omitted. In the same avoiding manner, but without concrete personal voices, the museum in Wilhelmshaven uses passive and indistinctive language to mediate the story of the *Tirpitz*. Reasons might be found in the production background of the documentary and the museum exhibition: The documentary is supposed to captivate audiences on the broadcasting channel, inviting them to engage with the personal drama of the eyewitnesses, whereas the formulated vision of the museum on the website seems to advertise for a traditional, historical exhibition without progressive or reflective angle.

This distinction of narrative mediation possibly based in the production background may also be visible in the Norwegian media types. The Norwegian documentary draws on a crime narrative with a personal angle as leading theme to unfold the story of the *Tirpitz*, which could have been a strategic decision to offer television audiences a creative approach to the story. In contrast, the Tirpitz Museum does not need such a catching narrative because it captivates through its historical location and its richness of items. However, both the documentary and the museum exhibition heavily rely on the connection to the local region in their texts of the documentary narrator and on the museum website. Even though the story about the *Tirpitz* is highly transnational, the focus on the Norwegian cultural expressions is strongly regional.

The text brings most explicitly to the fore which categories are produced and reproduced in the respective narratives and which sides and stances are established. The text also confirms observations from the chapters before that the narratives being told are those that can be expected by genre-knowledgeable audiences and that the narratives do not contradict accepted patterns. Winter’s premise “[...] that language frames memory” (2017: 2) appears to be fulfilled through the findings in the examined material.



### 3 Discussing Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to offer a cumulative, comparative, and explorative approach to generate understanding and raise awareness about the representation of a historical event in European documentaries and museum exhibitions. The research question concerned how the various stories in the selected media types create and shape different cultural memories about World War II and especially about the events around the battleship *Tirpitz*. What stylistic tools do these media use to produce their narratives? What can these stylistic devices say about potential contemporary attitudes towards history in different nations? To find out about this, I examined the selected media by looking at their paratexts, sound and music, original footage and objects, re-enactments, eyewitness accounts, and their written and spoken text. Examining fewer research objects would have made a difference regarding the depth of analysis. The inclusion of receptive data would have generated interesting new insights and could have contributed immensely to the understanding of memory potentials. However, the breadth of media and analytical elements that I chose for this study gives a comparative insight into how historical documentaries and museum exhibitions from different countries can tell one story in different ways.

The analytical chapters showed that the multi-medial character of the documents makes them comparable and the absence or weak presence of some stylistic tools in one documentary or museum exhibition, but their strong presence in others, may point to insights into how history is presented. Yet, a completely balanced comparison between the documentaries and the museum exhibitions was not possible. This was the case either because of the difference in the stylistic tools that were used in the selected multi-medial documents, which hindered comparison, or because one medium used a stylistic tool to a much greater extent than the other. The re-enactment is one example that appears often in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership* and in a different form also in *Det siste slaget*. Eyewitness accounts are of great importance for the mediations at the selected documentaries, yet the British and German exhibition elements about the *Tirpitz* do not work with direct eyewitness accounts. The reasons for the different use can be manifold and can be based in the extent of the multi-medial document, in the document's affordances, or in different national media and institutional traditions.

When planning and conducting an extensive research project, many directions are possible. Also, the presentation of results can be structured in different ways. I considered, for instance, structuring the project in the British, German, and Norwegian contexts, which would have made it possible to look more thoroughly at the respective national traditions of the multi-medial documents. I pondered to structure the project in significant events such as the launch or the PQ-17 attack, which would have given

insights in the difference in the mediation of concrete events. Another possibility was to structure the thesis in documentary and museum exhibitions, contrasting the multi-medial documents in two large blocks. However, the solution I chose for this thesis enables me to depart from analytical focal points that are well researched in the one and overlooked in the other multi-medial documents because also the absence of an element might give valuable insight into strategies involved. The comparative approach made me aware of the significance that paratexts and sound have for museum exhibitions, and the comparison of documentary and museum exhibition was able to inform the analyses of each other.

At the end of every main chapter, I gave an inter-discussion of the results of the respective chapter in correspondence with the introduced memory approach. This last section of the thesis, 3 *Discussing Conclusion*, is intended to serve as a platform to take another step back from the specific material, the individual documentaries and museum exhibitions, and meet this thesis' research questions in encounter with the broad genres of historical documentary and museum exhibition. Finally, the purpose of this last chapter is to lift my results to a higher level of abstraction and to highlight their relevance for media and documentation studies in general and for the mediation of this historical topic in particular.

A possible answer to my two first research questions could be found in a threefold categorisation. The analysis' focus on the selected analytical elements brought to the fore that three concepts are predominantly recurring and that they are comprehensive to all analytical focal points: authority, authenticity, and affect. Their appearance in the analyses showed that all three concepts are highly relevant for the mediation of historical topics in documentaries and museum exhibitions. They are, however, formed differently in the selected multi-medial documents, are more dominant in the one and more reluctant in the other, and use different strategies to mediate the message of the respective medium.

I could observe that the authoritative character of documentary and museum exhibition can be predisposed through their trustworthy genre in general and through the satisfaction of four of the filters of Herman and Chomsky's *propaganda model* (Herman and Chomsky 2002). The correct ownership promises trustworthiness, accurateness, and reliability, represented by publicly owned television channels or museal institutions. In chapter 2.1.1 and 2.2, I highlighted that ownership can be marked in various ways. It can be marked through the paratexts in the respective genre and is fixed in title and credits and through the frame of a collecting. However, it can also be marked through the conserving, researching, and mediating institution, such as a museum with a mission to educate. Even the sounds that surround an exhibition space and may categorise the museum in a certain context, such as its belonging to the British Royal Air Force, can give a hint at the ownership.

The acknowledged experts, fulfilling the third filter, represent an authoritative voice, literally represented in the spoken text by narrators through their “Voice of God” (Rotha 1939: 209) and by eyewitnesses through their personal account, and by written object and website text that gives presumably objective and professional information on a presented object or topic. As Aleida Assmann states, “[o]nce the event is established as factual by historical discourse and common knowledge, the accuracy of the testimony becomes less important than the fact that the witnesses tell what they have actually experienced.” (2006: 269) The appearance of an eyewitness in a professional documentary or an institutional museum may provide their account with credibility and can make it automatically a part of historical discourse. Their concrete words and correctness are not crucial, as long as they are reasonable and fit the established knowledge, but their presence in and confirmation of the status of the medium is.

The fourth, the flak filter, may be inherent in the genres due to their predisposed authority, wherein the narratives of the documentaries and museum exhibitions seem to give well-researched answers in professional forms that only uninformed or even hostile parties would question or object to. The fulfilment of the anti-ism filter, at last, reproduces and confirms the medium’s authoritative character; the authority of the medium assures that the narrative frames the correct and acknowledged antagonist, and the narratively intra- and inter-medial establishment of an acceptable evil may conversely strengthen the authoritative status of the medium.

Many of the narratives connected to historical topics are directed against an evil that audiences can agree on and its defeat can unite many of the audiences. “Ultimately, the ideology of screen entertainment is driven mainly by the amorphous fifth filter—the cultural milieu, which, of course, is itself generated largely by the news media.” (Alford 2015: 160) The inclusion of the term propaganda and the *propaganda model* by Herman and Chomsky did not have the purpose of categorising documentaries and museum exhibitions as ideological misinformation. The inclusion of these terms can help to raise awareness of a directedness of fact-based, authoritative media. The six analytical elements chosen, the six main chapters, can benefit to show how, with which strategies, and in which way the selected media may direct their narratives towards a certain angle. The concept of political economy as a whole added a hint about the *why*, based on the results in the analyses. *Why* are paratexts shaped the way they are? Because they need to fulfil filters to become a part of the respective public discourse. Public discourses accept different approaches, as my results show. *Why* do different audiences accept different approaches? Because they have different self-perceptions of their historical roles and their contemporary attitudes. While my results do not prove this, they do point to it.

Looking at this short list of authoritative strategies above, the reader might notice that the relationship between the authority of the genres and the strategies they use is reciprocal. The genre has a certain authority, yet its authority is constantly re-affirmed

through the aspects that I listed above. The experts are not only seen as experts because they have a professional or personal connection to the topic, but also because they appear in an authoritative medium. The experts provide the medium with an authoritative character through their appearance and their sharing of their story. The authority of documentary and museum exhibition may invite audiences to immerse themselves into the presented story because of the credibility of the media as official source coming from a trustworthy genre and using acknowledged strategies to tell their story. On intra- and inter-medial levels, the strategies employed confirm that audiences are watching a historical documentary and are visiting a museum exhibition. The media may generate various memory potentials for the story about the *Tirpitz* since audiences may tend to believe the source that is assumed to be trustworthy and acknowledged. As pointed out by Lethen, authenticity depends to a larger degree on the authority audiences ascribe to a document or a person:

Dinge werden authentisch gemacht und, solange die Autorität unbestritten ist, von einem Publikum, das diese Autorität akzeptiert, auch für authentisch gehalten. Dinge, Haltungen und Kunstwerke werden so lange für authentisch gehalten, wie die Autorität ihrer *sozialen Inszenierung* als unproblematisch erscheint. (Lethen 1996: 228; italics in original)<sup>139</sup>

The authenticating strategies of both documentary and museum exhibition proved pivotal in establishing memory potentials in the selected media. Not only obviously inter- but also intra-medial tools helped to create authentic impressions of accepted narrative patterns such as antagonistic and experiential modes of a rhetoric of collective memory.

Whenever the past is represented, the choice of media and forms has an effect on the kind of memory that is created: For example, a war which is orally represented, in an anecdote told by an old neighbor, seems to become part of lived, contemporary history; but as an object of a Wagnerian opera, the same war can be transformed into an apparently timeless, mythical event. (Erl1 2008b: 390)

Intra-medial choices, such as the presentation of an eyewitness as hero or as spy in the British documentary, manifested antagonistic modes, whereas the strong presence of eyewitnesses in the opening sequence of the German documentary prepared an experiential mode for audiences. The Norwegian documentary created an intensely experiential and parallel investigative mode, which may have motivated audiences to accept the

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<sup>139</sup> “Things are made authentic and, as long as the authority is undisputed, they are also considered to be authentic by an audience that accepts this authority. Things, attitudes and works of art are held to be authentic as long as the authority of their *social staging* appears to be unproblematic. (Lethen 1996: 228; italics in original), my translation.

story being told. Text also contributed to the creation of modes of rhetoric, such as heroic, passive, and locally focused in the museum exhibitions in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway.

The observations revealed that intra- and inter-medial strategies are not clearly separated from each other and that they rather flow into each other. An intra-medially constructed narrative also benefits and draws its credibility from inter-medial elements and referential authenticating strategies. Re-mediation of acknowledged and familiar narrative patterns and stylistic tools may evoke a recognising moment for audiences and may set the current medium in relation to other known media.

The ownership and expertise presented with a documentary or museum exhibition may intensify its claim for authenticity. The publicly owned television channel presenting participants in World War II, and the museum exhibiting presumably knowledgeable selected historical objects, might contribute to the authentic appearance of the message. Intra-medially, the use of correct elements may help audiences to accept and immerse into the constructed mode of rhetoric, and such elements can fortify an in-narrative enemy assured through intertextual references to other media and genres. Placing “the real thing” (Latham 2015: 5) in a plausible context and giving simple answers, embedding it in fitting music and confirming the narrator’s speech, or accompanying it with authoritative object text in a museal institution, may enhance the authentic appearance of a documentary or a museum exhibition. The factor of affect in connection with authenticity is not to be underestimated.

Assuming a contradiction or at least a disjoint between affect and authenticity at the beginning of this project, my results display that affect can play a decisive role in the authentic mediation of a historical event. Again, experts who are portrayed as such in the paratexts of a medium, and who are introduced as historical persons who have experienced the thematised event, can contribute to an affective authenticity for audiences. Eyewitnesses’ personal accounts, their expressions, and the sound and accentuation in their voices may invite audiences to immerse into the emotions of the respective person. Honest accounts such as that of Liv Haugen in *Det siste slaget*, where she retells her inner struggle between her joy at the defeat of the occupying force and her compassion for the fallen soldiers, can open up for ambivalent perspectives. A single eyewitness can demonstrate the many nuances in a narrative between good and bad. Sound effects and music, re-enactments that re-mediate familiar and fitting moods for the narrative, and archival footage can help to establish a mode of rhetoric that may affectively captivate audiences, establish bias, and draw them emotionally into the historical event. Audiences might believe the presented narrative because they are given an impression how it felt to be at the historical event.

What does it feel like to be an eyewitness to the Civil War, World War II, or the Holocaust? What does it feel like to be a victim, a bystander, or a perpetrator of war or genocide? The shift from why to how corresponds to the shift from history to memory, and more specifically from academic history to visually supported memory. (Kansteiner 2018: 4)

The renarration of familiar plots, such as that of a justifying deed, can invite audiences to accept affectively the hunt for a ship and the deaths of about 1000 men. Seemingly objective numbers and sizes at museums can confront audiences with the dimensions of the battleship and its firepower and may make them feel insignificant and powerless. Encountering materials and objects touched or created by a historical person, such as dishes and plates or a handwritten letter, can make audiences aware of the material connection between the past and the present and may make them conscious about the real people who were affected in the historical event. Everyday items such as the dishes at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum contrasted with the dominant narrative of “the beast” in *The Battle for Hitler’s Supership* can demonstrate the differences in the mediated meaning of the *Tirpitz* in two media; everyday life on board with meatloaf, put into perspective with the threatening beast. If audiences allow themselves to get involved with the fates they are encountering, there might be postmemory potential power in the confrontation.

Postmemorial work, I want to suggest—and this is the central point of my argument in this essay—strives to *reactivate* and *reembody* more distant social/national and archival/cultural memorial structures by reinvesting them with resonant individual and familial forms of mediation and aesthetic expression. Thus less-directly affected participants can become engaged in the generation of postmemory, which can thus persist even after all participants and even their familial descendants are gone. (Hirsch 2008: 111; italics in original)

The *reactivation* and *re-embodiment* of memory structures invites audiences to engage on an authoritative, authentic, and affective level and help to create memory potentials for the respective events. However, my chain of thought nourished by the examined material circles back to the questions of who is revealing their memory, who is framing an antagonist, and who is this antagonist in the end.

The three filters of the *propaganda model* – ownership, experts, and anti-ism – lead to the ubiquitously underlying condition of mnemonic hegemony, a set of memories that is accepted to mediate in certain environments.

In terms of memory studies, hegemony is built by prioritizing some memories over others according to the specific power constellations of a given so-



ciety. There is no one history because every historical event can have different meanings, can be ignored, or interpreted from radically different perspectives. (Molden 2016: 128)

Molden's observation seems to confirm that there is no one *History*, but that histories are chosen and told with regard to the intended audiences of a medium. Via the assumption of the prioritisation of some memories over others, I would like to attempt to answer my last research question. What can these stylistic devices say about potential contemporary attitudes towards history? My analyses show that the strategies used in the selected media are predominantly about the invitation to audiences to immerse into the presented story: immerse because it is an authoritative source that presents the story to audiences, immerse because the presentation seems to be authentic to audiences, and immerse because audiences can feel what historical persons felt. What my results display is that the selected media invite audiences to immerse into suggested narratives about good and bad, about duty and sacrifice, about passivity and agency. By immersing into these narratives, audiences' judgement about their own and other's positions in the past, their perception of the present, and their attitudes towards contemporary circumstances, conflicts, and consequences can potentially be influenced. My results show that the applied symbolics in the documentaries and museum exhibitions still seem to work. Even though the United Kingdom, Germany, and Norway tend to see themselves as enlightened societies, the symbolism of heroes, beasts, and patriotism appears to attract audiences and can be used to create memory potentials. The presentation of history is crucial in a group's self-image. "Denn die Geschichte ist eine wesentliche Dimension, in der eine demokratische Nation ihr Selbstbild konstruiert und sich der eigenen Identität vergewissert." (A. Assmann 2007: 181)<sup>140</sup> Based on my study, presentations of important events in history can have a strong impact on how audiences are invited to perceive the role of their group in history, their status because of the presented event, and their understanding of the necessity of political measures, of justification of these measures, and of accepting an unconditional, discursively established enemy. The narratological and cinematic observations by White, Nichols, and Rosenstone, and what they say about the relationship between history and cultural memory, help to clarify my results in the analyses. The representation of a historical event in documentaries and museum exhibitions is about telling a story—a coherent and plausible story. The total historical accuracy of the representation is not important, but its backup through certain proven factors needs to be in place. Stories—authoritative, authentic, and affective stories—are remembered, not factors.

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<sup>140</sup> "Because history is a crucial dimension wherein a democratic nation constructs its self-image and assures itself of its identity." (A. Assmann 2007: 181), my translation.

The analyses have shown that both documentaries and museum exhibitions are influenced by the filters of the *propaganda model* by Herman and Chomsky (2002). Especially the filters of experts and anti-ism are dominant and provide the examined documents with potential status in the public discourse. To attract and to keep audiences at the TV program, the mediators of the documentaries had to choose catching overall narratives for their documentaries that appear to be within the accepted mnemonic hegemony of the respective audience. The narrative of the threatening beast was chosen to satisfy expectations of British audiences of hero-stories, mirroring well-established protagonist-antagonist narratives about Britain at war. In comparison, the exhibition text accompanying the bulkhead at the RAF Museum re-iterates a narrative of attack by the enemy and counter-attack by the British, which may appeal to audiences' perception of righteous martial actions against an evil enemy.

Despite the clear presentation of an enemy in both the documentary and the museum exhibition, the presentation of victims takes a remarkable turn in the re-enactment of the sinking of the battleship in *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*. During the re-enactment scene, the German soldiers in the bow of the *Tirpitz* are presented as vulnerable victims who fight for their lives in the water. Both visuals and sound mediate danger for the soldiers, showing bare skin, being unprotected, accompanied with frightened screams and gurgling water. Although this choice of scene probably is a strategy to add drama to the narrative, it nevertheless switches the perspective from the Germans as enemies to the Germans as victims and therefore transports the possibility to immerse into the fate of 'the other'. Only in a short sequence, the documentary opens up for plurality in modes of rhetoric of collective memory in contrast to the preponderant dominance of the antagonistic mode in the rest of the documentary (Erll 2008b).

Asking how the British multi-medial documents might convey potentials of prosthetic memory (Landsberg 2004), they invite audiences for the most part to feel rage with the British for the Germans' attack on convoy PQ-17. Additionally, they may invite audiences to feel the need to revenge and to protect the world against Nazi Germany, to be excited with the British pilots when they approach the battleship to sink it. Furthermore, they invite audiences to comprehend and accept the duty of the British to destroy the *Tirpitz* as an act of necessity. Still, multi-medial documents can mediate memories that do not evoke imminent activism and reflection, but rather cement dominant perceptions of the past and a society's position in the present.

In the German documentary, eyewitnesses serve as experts who fulfil the potential wish of audiences to hear and see people who experienced the events, but only to a comfortable degree. Utterances about political and ideological motivation are safely circumnavigated and may therefore keep audiences watching the documentary. Yet, the film invites audiences to engage with the grief of the eyewitnesses, who still are part of the aggressor in the overall narrative of World War II. The age of the eyewitnesses invites audiences

to direct their awareness towards the temporal distance, the events that happened in the past, and that directly affected these people. Their presentation as human beings in this film directed to German audiences, without glorifying their commitment to the Third Reich, might point to a potential for broadening of the perspective to them being active war participants, but also people.

In contrast, the exhibition in Wilhelmshaven does not present eyewitness experts directly, but through their memories fixed on canvas in an abstract way. That way, the mediators of the museum tell about World War II and the *Tirpitz* in a distancing fashion, where audiences are not challenged to immerse into their own complicated and uncomfortable pasts. The development of postmemories (Hirsch 2008) for audiences seems to be avoided actively and therefore audiences will not connect their national pasts to the abstractly presented past on the *Tirpitz* in the paintings. Potentials for cosmopolitan memory (Beck, Levy, and Sznaider 2009), in the sense of widened understanding for conflicts because of the past, cannot be observed in Wilhelmshaven. Instead, national encapsulation of national narratives and avoiding tone seems to be reiterated, satisfying the audiences' wish for information in a non-moralising and self-unconscious manner. In Dresden however, the bold choice of architecture that breaks with the historical building might point to that some of Germany's museal landscape tries to find new ways to display history and to engage with difficult pasts. In the case of the Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr, the content and verbal expression of the museum exhibitions does not keep up to the daring promise that the architecture is giving. Nonetheless, in the future, such an architectural framework can provide museum spaces with the hint of bravery that is needed to go new ways, also in presenting own difficult pasts.

The Norwegian documentary creates a more nuanced set of antagonists in its narrative. On the one hand, there is the occupying force Nazi Germany with the *Tirpitz* and on the other hand, there is the judging authority of the German Reich that first convicts and then restores Heinrich Ehrler for his failure to defend the *Tirpitz*. As a consequence of the dishonouring investigation on Ehrler, the anti-hero kills himself in battle, which is recounted by his peer Schuck. *Det siste slaget* dares to try a perspective that would be impossible whether in the British or in the German documentary, while it still stays within the mnemonic hegemony that is appropriate in Norway. It exemplifies that small changes in perspective within the established dominant narrative are possible and highly valuable. The film enables audiences to immerse into the fate of the anti-hero Ehrler without glorifying him or the Third Reich. Contrary to the film, none of the museum exhibitions in Norway create a clear antagonist in their narratives, but they present items, photographs, and written documents as auratic conglomerates of history. Experts appear at the Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum in a very personal way through handwritten letters, which break with the strong local focus of the museum exhibition at first sight. At

second sight, the museum exhibition manages to open up the locally anchored cultural memory and integrates the voice of a member of the occupying forces. These findings in both the Norwegian documentary and the museum exhibitions could point to the development of a multi-directional memory that is not competitive, but reciprocally informing and acknowledging (Rothberg 2009)<sup>141</sup>. The voice of the Austrian soldier seems to be important for the local cultural memory, the letters were acquired through international cooperation as a donation from the family, and they convey a private and personal tone of the historical event. The letter collection was seen as valuable and was exhibited, even though there is no equal counterpart from Norwegian side in the museum exhibition. The exhibition could be an example on how to display memories without having to fear that one memory diminishes the other. Rothberg's ambitious endeavour to plead for a global and solidary rather than a politically instrumentalised memory appears in this museum exhibition off museal high culture and potentially sparks curiosity, empathy, and self-reflectivity.

What does this summary of findings regarding the *propaganda model* in my media analyses say? It says that the examined multi-medial documents mostly show content that does not confront or challenge established dominant narratives. They stay in a comfortable zone for mediators and in a zone that is comfortable for audiences. Investors in the documentaries and the museum exhibitions can be certain that the conform presentations will probably leave audiences with a confirmation of their earlier perceptions about World War II, learned at school, or watched on major television programs and in blockbuster motion pictures. The multi-medial documents incorporate no risk and they ensure safe investment in the mediation of history on television or in the museum space. The observations show furthermore that the filters operate towards national traditions and expectations, rather than towards a transnational understanding of World War II. Therefore, the filters of the *propaganda model* are highly relevant for the production of multi-medial documents with historical topics.

A current debate in Norway about the TV production *Frontkjempere* (A. Kristiansen 2018)<sup>142</sup> highlights the massive influence that the ownership and distribution plans have on the content that is presented. Advising historians claim that they have been used as alibi to legitimise the series' historical accuracy, while many of their recommendations and concerns have been ignored (Sørli et al. 2021). The debate exemplifies the public importance of expert backup in historical productions and at the same time the choice

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<sup>141</sup> Sparked by the debate about Achille Mbembe's book *Politik der Feindschaft* (2017) on colonialism and the accusation of it being antisemitic, Michael Rothberg published the German translation of *Multidirectional Memory* in 2021.

<sup>142</sup> The four part series tells the story of Norwegians who fought for the Nazi German Waffen SS during World War II that is available on the website of NRK, the public national Norwegian television.

of narrative-friendly choices and dramatisations over historically accurate and contextually supplementing ones, for the sake of the product that needs to attract audiences.

Aleida Assmann calls the current generation, which is also the audience of my research objects, a transnational one (A. Assmann 2007: 65). She and Schüle (2006: 30) mean audiences that are used to and familiar with medial and virtual mediations of significant historical events. I supplement this understanding of a transnational generation with their ability to access information across borders and that their sources are not limited to their own nationality and mother tongue. Even though young audiences probably were targeted through a dramatised mediation of historical events, the actual audiences are assumed to be older groups more attracted to the format of television. The events around the battleship *Tirpitz* were transnational because they were critical for Great Britain, Germany, and Norway and many more countries and involved their citizens. British, German, and Norwegian film teams and historians worked together to create the examined documentaries and museums received donations of objects from other countries. However, might the selected material present transnational points of view and transnational narratives? Are these transnational events in transnational productions articulated transnationally?

My study has shown that transnational events are predominantly articulated nationally. Multi-medial documents such as the documentaries and museum exhibitions are produced in transnational networks and cooperation, yet the final product has a dominant national tone. The inclusion of Herman and Chomsky's *propaganda model* helps to comprehend why multi-medial documents articulate themselves in national frameworks. Contents of documentaries and museum exhibitions are adapted to national audiences, their expectations, and to national standards. The multi-medial documents do not tell the exact same stories even though they are based on the same historical events. The observations above exemplify that different stylistic tools are supposed to attract different types of audiences, dependent on what kind of national standards they are used to. As a consequence, transnational memory potentials were expected to be found in the multi-medial documents but could not be proven through my analyses.

Looking at my research project from a transnational perspective, it displays the openness for transnational research on a transnational topic with national cultural expressions. The fact that a German researcher gets the possibility to dive into Norwegian and British cultural memory and to challenge German cultural memory that she grew up with, gives this study the potential to become part of a cosmopolitan and multi-directional memory. Through the highlighting of the different ways of telling about the same historical topic, some mnemonic hegemonic and dominant national narratives might become tested.

A comparison of documentaries and museum exhibitions through their multi-medial character and their use of image, sound, and text to mediate the story of the *Tirpitz* from

a British, German, and Norwegian perspective that I did here, has not been done before. My findings reveal that, for instance, small changes in the soundscape, a different choice of re-enactments, or a different final sentence by the narrator of a documentary can provide a multi-medial document with a different mood and message. The strong significance of paratexts and sound for museums and their memory potentials has been shown through the analyses. The direct comparison of the presentation of eyewitnesses in documentaries and museum exhibitions revealed that they convey personal intimacy to different degrees and invite audiences in a different manner to engage with the presented fates.

I found that in documentary, motion-picture like dramatisations seem to be acceptable whereas in the museum exhibitions the presentations are toned down. A reason for that could be the distance that is created through the respective multi-medial document: In the documentary, audiences are ‘only’ watching and are safe outside of the mediation. Whereas in a museum exhibition, the audiences are in the exhibition with their body, they chose to go there, and are surrounded by texts, images, items, and other people. The distance through documentary may allow stronger dramatisation than the material and bodily presentation in a museum exhibition would. The analysis of the interplay of image, sound, and text and how these give an authoritative, authentic or affective impression of the presented narrative and also why these might do it driven by political economy, helps to comprehend how the documents generate the story of a beast, a lonely queen, or of an investigative endeavour.

“To be certain, this study may have generated more questions than it answered.” (2015: 18) Kiersten Latham puts words to my impression of this thesis that you have in hand; however, the purpose of the study was not only to get an understanding of how documentaries and museum exhibitions retell a past event, but also to raise awareness for the tools that mediate history and potentially generate memories. I want the last sentences of this thesis to be an encouragement to passionately watch movies, actively play engaging games, dive into museum exhibitions, and get carried away with personal and breath-taking documentaries about historical themes with pleasant and unpleasant topics, topics that are close to us and that we imagine do not concern us in the first place, boring and exciting topics, topics about former enemies and future friends. I want this thesis to be an invitation to ask questions to all these manifold representations of the past, whatever their origin and ownerships, their ideological background, whatever good and evil is created in the cultural expression. What is it with dramatical presentations of past events that are offered to us and that may stay in our memory and why?

Was heute auf dem Geschichtsmarkt angeboten wird, präsentiert sich im Rahmen einer ‘Aufmerksamkeitskultur’ mit kurzen Konjunktoren, Impulsen und Effekten. Ob auf diese Weise Geschichte überhaupt, und wenn ja, was

von ihr ins Gedächtnis gelangt, ist nicht so leicht überprüfbar. Die Präsentationsstrategien sind nicht selten an marktgängige Formate angepasst, wobei historische Rekonstruktion oft nahtlos in affektive Re-Imagination übergeht. (A. Assmann 2007: 191f.)<sup>143</sup>

In depending on Aleida Assmann's observation, I want to motivate you to immerse into a medium, to take a step back from it, and ask yourself *Do I believe this story? Why? What makes it seem authentic to me?* Ask questions that are uncomfortable for you and for the mediators of the respective medium. Periodic media events such as the seventy-fifth anniversary of the sinking of the *Tirpitz* on 12 November 2019 help to revive anecdotes, stories, and myths—such as “the beast” that was sunk close to Tromsø. A number of newspaper articles in the local press dragged stories old and new about the *Tirpitz* out onto the stage, published interviews with local Norwegians who experienced the event from a distance and with descendants of former Allied pilots who never have experienced it. The media attention on an event that happened seventy-five years ago brings awareness of its importance for today's understanding of history and of the mediation of historical events for a broad audience, which is starting to depend on the mediation of these events. My results point to the battleship *Tirpitz* perhaps being rather a mystical symbol than an actual overpowering threat, a symbolism that not only still works in the present day and beyond professional mediations, but also one that is present in the local memory. These observations are not intended to banalise history, but they are meant to direct the spotlight to discrepancies and inconsistencies within the narrative of the *Tirpitz*' story. Perhaps this study can attempt to be a counterbalance to dominant narratives.

One main aim of this thesis was to highlight the strategies that are used to mediate a historical topic in a plausible way. One answer can be that *true* materials, objects, documents, and footage, can be utilised differently. The questions of what it is I see, and of what this presentation is evidence of, can be a starting point for every incidence of media consumption to facilitate critical media knowledgeability and to gain a better understanding of the presence of the past in our time.

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<sup>143</sup> “What is offered on the history market today is presented in the context of a ‘culture of attention’ with short economic cycles, impulses and effects. Whether history reaches memory this way at all, and if so which parts, is not so easy to check. The presentation strategies are often adapted to standard formats, with historical reconstruction often merging seamlessly into affective re-imagination.” (A. Assmann 2007: 191f.), my translation.





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# Appendix

## Filmography

### *The Battle for Hitler's Supership*

Year: 2005

Length: 70 minutes

Director: James Quinn

Producer: Ana-Paula Lloyd

First assistant director: Alex Rendall

Associate Producer: Steffan Boje

Executive Producers: Gary Johnstone, Jeremy Bradshaw, Stephen Phelps

Director of photography: Robin Cox

Additional camera: Steve Organ, Simon Difazio

Film editor: Ben Chanan

Online editors: Fred Baillod, Nick Arthur, Chris Reynolds

Narrator: Piers Gibbon

Production coordinator: Rebecca Tolley

Archive researcher: Steve Bergson

Production runner: Alex Leithead

Associate producer (Germany): Jurgen Bruhns

Production designer: Imogen Hammond

Art director: Simon McLoughlin

Pyrotechnics: Tony Lewis

Graphics: Red Vision

Sound: Bill Rudolph, Sean Poe

Music: Glenn Keiles, Iain Carnegie (arranger, German cabaret music)

Dubbing mixer: Graham Kirkman

Colourists: Alan Bishop, Nick Adams

Production company: Tigress Production for five/The History Channel/Channel 4 International and NDR

### *Die Tirpitz—Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff*

Year: 2005

Length: 58 minutes

Director: James Quinn

Producer: Ana-Paula Lloyd

Executive Producers: Jeremy Bradshaw, Stephen Phelps

Director of photography: Robin Cox

Sound: Bill Rudolph, Sean Poe

Music: Glenn Keiles

Graphics: Red Vision

Film editors: Chris Reynolds, Juris Eksts, Ben Chanan

Narrator: Frank Glaubrecht

German editing: Jürgen Brühns, Volker Zielke

Production company: Tigress Productions and NDR for five/The History Channel and Channel 4 International

***Tirpitz—Det siste slaget***

Year: 2007

Length: 53 minutes

Director and producer: Roald E. Hansen

Screenplay: Roald E. Hansen, Skule Eriksen

Director of photography: Frode Kristiansen, Roald E. Hansen

Editor: Skule Eriksen

Sound: Aurora Filmlyd A/S

Narrator: Nils Johnson

Music: Gudmund R. Østgård, Gaute Barlindhaug

Assistant: Helle Thrane

Production company: Byrå 13

## Supplements to Analysis

## To chapter 2.1.3

[HOME](#) | [NEWS](#) | [PRODUCTIONS](#) | [SHOWREEL](#) | [PRESS & AWARDS](#) | [CONTACT](#)



**tigress**  
PRODUCTIONS  
part of EndemolShineGroup

## SINK THE TIRPITZ



---

**CREDITS**

Channel:  
Channel 5

Transmission date:  
06 June 2005

Commissioned by:  
Channel 5/NDR/History Channel

Executive Producer:  
Jeremy Bradshaw, Stephen Phelps, Gary Johnstone

Producer:  
Ana-Paula Lloyd

Director:  
James Quinn

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**PRODUCTION DETAILS**

The Tirpitz was the Third Reich's ultimate weapon. Sister ship to the Bismarck, she was the most successful German battleship of WWII. She alone had the power to destroy an entire convoy, and from 1939-44 she terrified Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin and Allied Naval Forces throughout the Atlantic and Arctic seaways. It took 36 attempts over five years to finally sink her.

'Sink the Tirpitz' recreates the five-year struggle to destroy Hitler's biggest battleship, brought to life by American Canadian and British survivors working alongside their counterparts in the Forces today.

Figure 50: Screenshot of Tigress website for *Sink the Tirpitz* (Tigress Productions 2020). Screenshot taken by Juliane Bockwoldt.

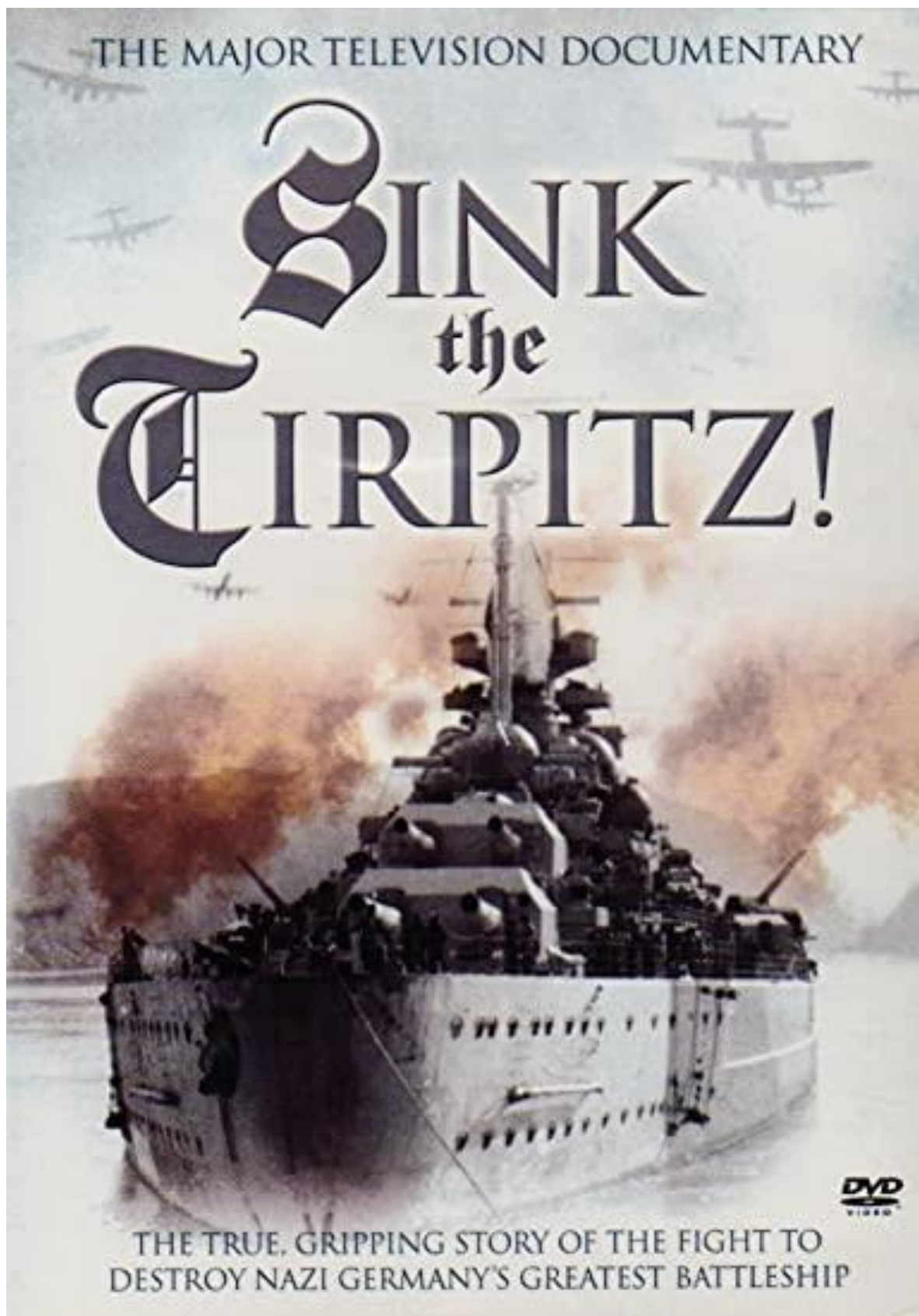


Figure 51: DVD cover for *Sink the Tirpitz!* (Amazon 2020).



Figure 52: DVD booklet for amongst others *Die Tirpitz—Hitlers letztes Schlachtschiff* (Amazon 2020).



Figure 53: DVD cover front of *Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007)



**Tirpitz, den andre verdenskrigs mest avanserte slagskip, var britenes viktigste bombemål i Norge fordi skipet truet de allierte konvoiene til Murmansk. Til slutt greide britiske bombefly å senke skipet ved Tromsø den 12. november 1944. Nær tusen tyske soldater omkom.**

Filmen forteller den dramatiske historien til Tirpitz; om de som bombet, de som ble bombet og de som var vitner. Filmen forteller også den ukjente historien til major Heinrich Ehrler som fikk skylda for at skipet ble senket.

Ehrler var en av Tysklands beste jagerpiloter og skulle ha forhindret bombingene, mente krigsledelsen i Berlin. Derfor stilte de ham for krigsrett!




Walter Schuck hadde i likhet med Ehrler over 200 nedskytinger. Det var han som var årsaken til at Ehrler's ære ble gjenopprettet.



Major Heinrich Ehrler fløy som regel i sin gule Messerschmitt 109 med kjennetegn 12.

**Tirpitz -  
Det siste slaget**

Produksjon: Byrå 13  
Produksjonsår 2004-2006, premiere 2007  
Produksjon og regi: Roald E. Hansen  
Manus: Roald E. Hansen, Skule Eriksen  
Foto: Frode Kristiansen, Roald E. Hansen  
Klipp: Skule Eriksen  
Lydarbeid: Aurora Filmiyd A/S  
Kommentarlesning: Nils Johnson  
Originalmusikk: Gudmund R. Østgård, Gaute Barlindhaug  
Produksjonsassistent: Helle Thrane

Byrå 13 © 2007   
Kvaløysveien 300, 9016 Tromsø, roald.e.hansen@hitos.no, tlf 99 50 57 93  
Cover: Fagtrykk Ide, Tromsø

Spilletid 53 minutter, norske undertekster

Forsidebilde: Tirpitz i Kålfjord, april 1943.  
Bilde side 2: Tirpitz i Fættensfjord ved Trondheim med et Heinkel He II bombefly over.

Figure 54: DVD cover backside of *Det siste slaget* (Hansen 2007).

## To chapter 2.5.2

Transcription of the letters by Moser and his mother

Den 12.11.44

Meine lieben Eltern

Ihr werdet euch inzwischen schon große Sorgen um mich gemacht haben. Aber ich hatte großes Glück. Mir geht es gut, bin gesund und munter was ja schließlich die Hauptsache ist. Gerettet habe ich nur mein eigenes Leben. Es ist sehr schade um die Kameraden, die dabei ihr Leben lassen mussten.

Als ich an Land war, dachte ich mir, was werdet ihr jetzt wohl zu Hause tun. Ob ihr [nun?] gerade lacht oder ob meine Siglinde gerade [unleserlich]. Auch an Frau Direktor dachte ich, denn sie sagte mir im November 41, dass ich Glück haben werde. Sie schloss das aus dem Sitz meiner Augenbrauen. Es ist vielleicht töricht, so etwas zu denken, aber es fiel mir eben ein. Ihr glaubt nicht, was ein Mensch leisten kann, wenn es um sein Leben geht. Ich habe es an mir selbst erfahren. Einen kleinen Augenblick hatte ich mich aufgegeben, aber dann schoss es mir durch den Kopf. Sepp, du bist doch noch jung, reiß dich zusammen, und ich habe es mit der letzten Kraftanstrengung geschafft. Dann fielen wir uns in die Arme und beglückwünschten uns. Alles haben sie uns genommen, unser schönes Schiff, das ja unsere zweite Heimat war, aber den Humor haben wir [behalten?]. Als wir uns einigermaßen erholt hatten, konnten wir sogar wieder lachen. Diesen Tag werde ich niemals in meinem Leben vergessen.

Nun viele Grüße  
an euch, Siglinde,  
und alle Verwandten  
und Bekannten  
Euer Sohn

Moos 23. Nov 44.

Mein liebster Sepperl!

Gestern Deinen Brief von deiner wunderbaren Rettung erhalten. Was das für Pappa u. mich war, kann ich Dir nicht begreiflich machen, es war für mich kaum zum tragen, doch eine kleine Hoffnung hielt mich aufrecht. Es wäre das furchtbarste was über uns kommen hätte können. Ich dachte an Mütter u. Väter, Sie werden der Fürbitten bei unserem Herrgott [vorreßen] sein, Dich Sepperl hat Dich Dein Schutzengel nicht verlassen, den sonst wäre sowas nicht möglich gewesen, daß du so großes Glück hattest. Sieglinde die kleine Trösterin, war selbst den ersten Tag von Dienstag abends bis Mittwoch abends tot krank [auch als] Sie uns keinen [bison], doch tröstete Sie mich innich u. sagte Sepperl lebt [Vante weinen nicht], Sepperl lebt, und das sagte Sie immer u. immer, [was muß das Kind] war in dießer Zeit, werde ich Dir erzählen. Frau Gräfin ließ mich am dritten Tag zu sich kommen und machte mir Hoffnung, da Ihr auch Herr Graf telefonierte u. sagte Ihr seit auf dem Wege runter, u. er [vourd] Dich [au=lorelern,], Sie redete viel u. gute Worte. Wenigstens hatte ich heute Nacht eine ruhige Nacht, doch fand ich wenig Schlaf. Ja, Sepperl wie sollen wir das unserem Herrgott danken.

Vielleicht gibt es nun schon bald ein Wiedersehen - .

Wir werden uns viel zu erzählen haben, die gute Frau Wildfeuer [lerich] als erste an mich, [Moruner Lomal] als zweite u. sow. Hoffentl. Kommt ihr gut runter und wir erhalten wieder bald Post von Dir, Ich danke Dir für Deine schnelle Antwort, denn das warten war fürchterlich [hier], viel viel Glück! Mit Tausend Innigen Grüßen D. Mama und Pappa

Siegl. schläft [schon/noch]

## List of Contacts

### Museums

#### United Kingdom

Lincolnshire Aviation Heritage Centre  
Bomber Command Museum  
East Kirkby, Lincolnshire, PE23 4DE  
Telephone: + 44 179 076 3207  
[www.lincsaviation.co.uk](http://www.lincsaviation.co.uk)  
Contact: Andrew Panton

Lossie Fisheries & Community Museum  
2 Pitgaveny Quay, Lossiemouth IV31 6TW  
Telephone: +44 134 381 3772  
[www.lossiemuseum.co.uk](http://www.lossiemuseum.co.uk)  
Contact: Jim Campbell

RAF Museum London  
Grahame Park Way, London, NW9 5LL  
Telephone: +44 208 205 2266  
[www.rafmuseum.org.uk/london](http://www.rafmuseum.org.uk/london)  
Contact: Andrew Simpson

#### Germany

Deutsches Marinemuseum  
Südstrand 125, 26382 Wilhelmshaven  
Telephone: +49 442 140 0840  
[www.marinemuseum.de](http://www.marinemuseum.de)

Internationales Maritimes Museum Hamburg  
Peter Tamm Senior Stiftung  
Kaispeicher B, Koreastraße 1, 20457 Hamburg  
Telephone: +49 403 009 2300  
[www.imm-hamburg.de](http://www.imm-hamburg.de)  
Contact: Gerrit Menzel

Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr

Olbrichtplatz 2, 01099 Dresden

Telephone: +49 351 823 2803

[www.mhmbw.de](http://www.mhmbw.de)

Contact: Dr. Gorch Pieken (scientific director), Jan Kindler (film historian), Jens Wehner (curator World War II)

### Norway

Tirpitz Museum

Kåfjord, 9518 Alta

Telephone: +47 920 923 70

[www.tirpitz-museum.no](http://www.tirpitz-museum.no)

Contact: Even Blomqvist

Tromsø Forsvarsmuseum

Postal address: Prestvannveien 4B, 9011 Tromsø

Telephone: + 47 776 554 40

[www.tromsoforsvarsmuseum.no](http://www.tromsoforsvarsmuseum.no)

Contact: Leif Arneberg

## **Archives**

### United Kingdom

Film Archive

Imperial War Museum London

All Saints building, Austral Street, London, SE 11 4SJ

Telephone: +44 207 416 5243

[www.iwm.org.uk/collections/film](http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/film)

Contact: Helen Upcraft

### Germany

Bundesarchiv – Filmarchiv

Referat FA 2 – Dokumentarfilm, Fehrbelliner Platz 3, 10707 Berlin

Telephone: +49 301 877 70935

[www.bundesarchiv.de](http://www.bundesarchiv.de)

Contact: Sabrina Bader

## Archival Material

### Bundesarchiv Berlin

The search term “Tirpitz” at Bundesarchiv/Film, Fehrbelliner Platz 3, 10707 Berlin, Germany, 8 January 2018 yielded the following results.

#### Schlachtschiff Tirpitz (1939), BSP 20238

- 463m, 35mm, Marine Hauptfilm- und Bildstelle
- *description:* Bau, Taufe und Stapellauf des Schlachtschiffes „Tirpitz“. Stapellauf des 35000 Tonnen großen Schlachtschiffs "Tirpitz" am 1.04.1939 in Wilhelmshaven und eine Parade der deutschen Kriegsmarine aus diesem Anlaß, die von Hitler abgenommen wird (460m) ... letzte Arbeiten vor dem Stapellauf: u.a. in Stahlwerk, an Anker und Rumpf, Anheben des Schiffsrumpfs auf Gleitschlitten. Generaladmiral Raeder, Oberbefehlshaber der deutschen Kriegsmarine, besichtigt das Schiff. Ankunft Hitlers. Taufrede des Vizeadmirals a.D. von Trotha. (O-Ton). Taufe durch die Tochter des Großadmirals Tirpitz, Frau von Hassel. Singen des Deutschlandliedes und des Horst-Wessel-Liedes. Stapellauf. ...Rumpf der „Tirpitz" wird zum Schwimmdock geschleppt

#### Schlachtschiff Tirpitz—Stapellauf (1939), M 1392\*

- 302m, 35mm, mute

#### Jahre der Entscheidung (1939), M 1238\*

- mute, music
- *description:* ...Deutsche Werft, Schiffsbau, Stapelläufe „Admiral Scheer“, „Bismarck“, „Tirpitz“, KdF-Schiff „Wilhelm Gustloff“ (ausführlich). (R.7)

#### Die Deutsche Kriegsmarine (1939), M 3119

- 228m, 16mm, mute (+VHS 3), Marine Hauptbild-, Filmstelle
- *description:* ...Stapelläufe der Schlachtschiffe „Bismarck“ und „Tirpitz“; der Kreuzer „Seydlitz“, „Lützow“, „Prinz Eugen“ und des Flugzeugträgers „Graf Zeppelin“.

**Tobis-Wochenschau 15/1939, BSP 16244**

- *description:* ...Bau des Schlachtschiffes „Tirpitz“ in Wilhelmshafen. Teile werden gewalzt und geschmiedet. (R.1) ...Stapellauf auf der Werft in Anwesenheit Hitlers. Die Tochter des Großadmirals, Frau von Hassel, tauft das Schiff. (R.2)

**4. Deutsche Monatsschau (1939), M99\***

- 503 m, 35mm
- *description:* ...Stapellauf des Schlachtschiffes „Tirpitz“ in Wilhelmshaven (01.04.1939). Hitler mit Gefolge, darunter Vizeadmiral von Trotha. Die Tochter von Großadmiral Tirpitz, Frau von Hassel, vollzieht den Taufakt. Stapellauf. Hafenerundfahrt Hitlers mit seinem Stab vorbei an einem Schulschiff. Kriegsmarineeinheiten in Paradedstellung. Hitler geht an Bord der „Scharnhorst“, wo er die Beförderung von Generaladmiral Raeder zum Großadmiral in Anwesenheit der gesamten Admiralität vornimmt (01.04.1939).

**Hafen (1939), M 16033**

- 206m, 16mm, Taunus Film Wiesbaden, Lex Film
- *description:* ...Der Schlepper „Krautsand“ fährt im Hamburger Hafen an verschiedenen Schiffen, u.a. der „Tirpitz“, vorbei.

**Ufa-Tonwoche 448/1939, UTW 448**

- (+DVD 3 + VHS 3)
- *description:* ... Stapellauf des neuen deutschen Schlachtschiffes „Tirpitz“

**Des Kaisers Hafen (1948), M2669**

- 410m, 35mm, Materialart kDP/PE, Walter Knoop und Co. GmbH
- *description:* ...Rückblick: Stapellauf des Schlachtschiffes „Tirpitz“ im April 1939 in Wilhelmshaven.

**Das große Netz (1940/41), M 3005\***

- VHS, mute
- *description:* ...Das Schlachtschiff „Tirpitz“ in einem Torpedo-Schutznetz Käfig (R.2)

**Die deutsche Festung Norwegen (ca.1942), M 567\***

- 573 m, 35mm, (+VHS 3)
- *description*: ...Das in einem Fjord liegende Schlachtschiff „Tirpitz“ wird eingenebelt.

**Die Deutsche Wochenschau 682/41/1943, DW 682**

- *description*: ...Überfall einer deutschen Kampfgruppe aus zwei Schlachtschiffen und neun Zerstörern gegen Ziele in Spitzbergen (Unternehmen „Sizilien“, 7.-9.9.43). Schlachtschiffe und Zerstörer auf See. Die Küste Spitzbergens. Die Schlachtschiffe „Scharnhorst“ und „Tirpitz“. Artilleriefeuer auf Landziele. Beiboote werden ausgesetzt. Grenadiere besteigen die Boote. Landung des Trupps. Sprengladungen werden an einem Mast angebracht. Rückkehr der Boote. Die Soldaten klettern über eine Jakobsleiter an Bord eines Schiffes.

**Schlachtschiff Tirpitz – Stapellauf, K 37044**

**Schlachtschiff Tirpitz – Stapellauf, K 175918**

- VHS, mute

**Imperial War Museum**

The search term “Tirpitz” at Film Archive, Imperial War Museums, Lambeth Road, London, SE1 6HZ, United Kingdom, 19 April 2017 yielded the following results.

**TIRPITZ AND HOMECOMING (1944), MGH 2083**

- Pathe Gazette (Production company)
- *description*: Tirpitz sunk. Home leave of a serviceman.

**UFA TONWOCHE 448, GWY 166**

- UFA (Production company) 1939-04-04
- *description*: Launch of Tirpitz and Hitler's review of fleet.

**DIE DEUTSCHE WOCHENSCHAU SEQUENCES – 11, GWY 1240**

- UFA (Production company)



- *description*: German newsreel items show sortie of Tirpitz in Norwegian waters and minor naval engagements off the Atlantic coast.

#### **WARWORK NEWS 61 (1944) S15 61**

- British Paramount News (Production company), Copyright CMXLIII Olympic Kinematograph laboratories LTD., London.

#### **R.A.F. SINK TIRPITZ**

- Warwork News

#### **DEUTSCHLAND - SCHLACHTSCHIFFE, SCHWERE UND LEICHTE KREUZER UND SCHULSCHIFFE (D), GWY 1353**

- 1942-12-01

#### **RAF BOMBER COMMAND ATTACK ON THE TIRPITZ**

- Air Ministry, Directorate of Public Relations (Production sponsor) 1944-11-12
- OPX 242
- *Object description*: Day attack by Avro Lancaster bombers of the RAAF 463 Squadron against the battleship Tirpitz, Norway. Filmed by on board cameras. Camera plane piloted by Flight Lieutenant Buckham.
- Creators:
  - Air Ministry, Directorate of Public Relations (Production sponsor)
  - RAF Bomber Command (Production company)
  - Loftus (Flight Lieutenant) (Production individual)
  - Rogers (Flying Officer) (Production individual)

#### **NEWSREEL ITEMS, RMY 67**

- Pathe (Production company) 1944-11

#### **BRITISH MOVIE TONE NEWS ISSUE 807 (20 NOVEMBER 1944), NMV 807**

- British Movietone News (Production company) 1944-11-20

#### **WAR PICTORIAL NEWS NO 189, WPN 189**

- Keating, Rex (Production cast) 1944-12-18

**AMERICAN NEWSREEL ITEMS ON RAF (1944), RMY 13-6**

- Thomas, Lowell (Production cast)

**DIE DEUTSCHE WOCHENSCHAU SEQUENCES – 10, GWY 1239**

- UFA (Production company)

**BRITISH MOVIEZONE NEWS ISSUE 812A (28 DECEMBER 1944), NMV 812A**

- British Movietone News (Production company) 1944-12-28

**AIRFRONT GEN OPERATIONAL SUPPLEMENT NO 5, GAF 5**

- RAF Film Production Unit (Production company) 1945-01

**WARWORK NEWS NO 62, S15 62**

- British Paramount News (Production company) 1944

**THE GEN NO 13: Battle of the Seas, GEN 13**

- RAF Film Production Unit (Production company) 1945-03

**THE BATTLESHIPS - INTERVIEW MATERIAL, TV 130X**

- Channel 4 (Sponsor) 2001

**SHIP RECOGNITION - GERMAN NAVY, PARTS 1-6, AMY 25**

- Brent Productions (Production company) 1940



