

# OF SONG AND SPONSORSHIP: AMATEUR FILMMAKING EXPERIMENTS WITH 16MM COLOR FILM BASE ON THE FRONTLINES OF THE ITALIAN FASCIST PROJECT

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In *Images in Spite of All*, Georges Didi-Huberman tells the story of “Four Pieces of Film Snatched from Hell.” Of the paltry four frames, only three show the incriminating activity of disposing of freshly gassed bodies, with only one clearly in focus. Didi-Huberman writes of the images stolen from the *real*, the framing and blurriness that tell of the stealthy, anonymous *sonderkommando* photographer’s hidden position, followed by sudden composure Huberman denotes as “business”: “It is as though fear had disappeared for an instant in the face of necessity, the business of snatching an image.”<sup>1</sup> It may seem strange to introduce Huberman’s observation about a brave and risky photograph snatched at Auschwitz to discuss *Il Friuli* (Giuseppe Francescato, Orama Lestuzzi, Fausto Magnani, Maurizio Sanvilli, 1936–1942), a silent 20-minute color 16mm film consisting of a series of placid, postcard-like views of landscapes and architectural sites, montages of agricultural traditions and progress, and a performative ethnographic dance sequence in the Italian border region by the same name.<sup>2</sup> What allows it and what it allows, is the recognition of a shared condition of sponsorship in material and photographic documents pertaining to WWII. In the first case, the Polish Resistance supplied the camera that “probably contained only a small piece of blank film,”<sup>3</sup> and in the second, the film producer Agfa (Aktien Gesellschaft für Anilinfabrikation) provided scarce but cutting-edge color film stock through the Fascist film institute Luce to amateurs in a contested border region.

This article proposes that the poetics of *Il Friuli* must be understood through its iconographic inheritances of a political Pictorialism from contemporary material and cinema culture from the region, as well as through a consideration of how the 16mm color film base overdetermined the reworking of this iconography. It seeks to comprehend how the film takes part in numerous frictions in the visual codification of the border region of Friuli—part of the Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region, autonomous since 1968—as Italian during the Fascist era (1922–1943). Reading the film through these lenses allows for a

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1 G. Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, trans. Shane B. Lillis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 13.

2 The film was reconstituted and released on DVD in 2006 by the Cineteca del Friuli.

3 Ibid., 11.

reinsertion of the raw film material into the history of a period known for its ideology, especially its peddling of “Marxism stripped of materialism,” with the aim, in the words of Jeffrey Schnapp referring to Susan Sontag, “to get inside fascism’s power of fascination in order to break the spell.”<sup>4</sup> It foregrounds how technical and aesthetic experimentation with Agfacolor 16mm film stock contributed to the modernization of the previous iconography. Though geographically and aesthetically removed from the Fascist-era avant-garde movement of futurism, *Il Friuli* provides indexical evidence of a technical experimentalism that was in dialogue and tension with Pictorialism and Fascist aesthetics. Tracing this background through the consumer magazine *Note fotografiche*, published by Agfa elucidates the business of making images in this contested border region and the amateur’s role in it during a fraught historical period in which existential rights depended on a highly codified symbolic order.

### *The Business of Amateur Filmmaking on the Eastern Frontier*

The equipment and supplies granted to four students operating under the auspices of the Cineguf of Udine, the local branch of the nationwide network of Fascist university film clubs, came from Mussolini’s Fascist government by way of Istituto Nazionale Luce (L’Unione Cinematografica Educativa, or the Educational Cinematographic Union), the state propaganda film institute. The students had access to the newly released Agfacolor film stock through an exclusive educational film contract between Luce and the German raw stock producer Agfa, a member of the IG Farben Consortium and an official supporter of the National Socialists in Germany.<sup>5</sup> It constitutes the first known color film shot in the region and shooting began the same year that Agfacolor film stock became available.<sup>6</sup> Shaped equally by the possibilities of 16mm and one of the first color film stocks for that camera as by the still prevalent Pictorialism of the era, the initially bucolic-seeming film *Il Friuli* bears the marks of its competing means and influences.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, a war looming just out of frame girds its gleeful technical experiments.

4 J. T. Schnapp, “Fascinating Fascism,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, no. 2 (April 1996): 237. S. Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism,” *The New York Review of Books*, February 6, 1975.

5 A. Mariani and S. Schneider, “16mm Standardization and Agfa’s Strategic Policies in Fascist Italy” in *16 AT 100: THE REMAKING OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY CINEMA*, Gregory A. Waller and Haidee Wasson, eds. (Oxford University Press, in production).

6 The second-place winner at the same national festival of small-format film where *Il Friuli* won first place was another color film, *In fondo al mare*, shot by the Gorizia branch of the Cineguf, see C. Gaberscek, *Il Paesaggio Friulano nel documentario cinematografico (1910-1969)*. La Cineteca del Friuli, 2006.

7 On amateur experiments with color film in the 1930s in North America, and the tensions between “traditional aesthetic strategies and experimental – occasionally even modernist – ones,” see C. Tepperman, “Color Unlimited: Amateur Color Cinema in the 1930’s.” In *Color and the Moving Image: History, Theory, Aesthetics, Archive*, edited by Simon Brown, Sarah Street, and Liz I. Watkins, 2013, 138–49. AFI Film Readers Series. New York: Routledge, p. 147.

Unlike other types of students, amateurs, or avant-gardists, Cineguf filmmakers were not entirely “removed from exchange relations.”<sup>8</sup> Through Luce’s agreement with Agfa, they were granted materials to shoot outside of the usual context for amateur film production—that is, of the privileged bourgeois or industrialist with time on his hands—in an effort to train future propagandists. In practice, however, the groups were managed locally, there was room for experimentation.<sup>9</sup> There is no record of exactly how the idea for *Il Friuli* came about or what, if any, strings were attached to the delivery of the precious and cutting-edge color technology; it is notable, however, that shooting went on for six years with four different filmmakers, as if the project had a life of its own. Upon the film’s first projection at the first *Mostra nazionale del passo ridotto* held in Udine from December 10–13, 1942 (Fascist year XXI), where it won first place, a dance troupe performed and live music with singing in Friulan—the regional dialect—accompanied the film. A booklet, *Villotte e canzoni friulane antiche e moderne nel film ‘Friuli’* provided the lyrics in Friulan and, for the out-of-town attendees, a facing page translation into standard Italian. This multi-media performance celebrating regional culture copied the release of the film *La sentinella della patria* (*Sentinel of the Homeland*, dir. Chino Ermacora, 1927), a 35mm propaganda film produced by Luce to simultaneously commemorate the losses of the region in WWI and promote the region as a tourism destination and for its strategic geographic location in the newly reconsolidated Italy. However, whereas Ermacora’s film had codified the region as Italian and sought to incorporate the periphery into the center by debuting the film in Rome and circulating it as an educational 9.5mm Pathé print, *Il Friuli* and its premiere at the *Mostra nazionale* meant to bring the attention and resources of the nation to the border at a time of increasing political instability.

### *Pictorialism and Friulan Identity as National Identity*

Women collect hay and carry it on their backs, farmers plow their fields, children walk mountain paths. The dance troupe “Danzerini di Aviano” twirls in medieval courtyards. Time stands still or seems to among immobile mountain peaks, at dusty architectural sites, castles and churches, bridges and aqueducts. Boats hang on cranes standing at attention in the shipyard in Aquileia or leisurely navigate the Grado lagoon. Inhabitants display their ingenuity and courage—weaving, felling trees, and carving picture frames tilling soil. The primarily rural, agrarian region of Friuli (of which Udine is the modern capital and Cividale di Friuli the historic one) serves as a setting for a seemingly anodyne lyricism based on the cyclicity of seasons and the romanticism of the pastoral.

8 P. R. Zimmermann, “The Amateur, the Avant-Garde, and Ideologies of Art,” *Journal of Film and Video* 38, no. 3/4 (Summer-Fall) (1986): 63–85, 63.

9 A. Mariani, *Gli anni del Cineguf. Il cinema sperimentale italiano dai cine-club al Neorealismo*, Mimesis, Udine-Milano 2017, pp. 149–155.

While many of the images in this shot list could come interchangeably from *Il Friuli* or *La sentinella della patria*, each shot is immediately identifiable.<sup>10</sup> Not only is the former in color, and the latter black and white or sometimes tinted, but the movement in the frame and the movement of the frame distinguish the fundamental stability of the images. Though *La sentinella della patria* was a reference, with its monumental camerawork by cinematographer Alfredo Lenci—known for *Messalina di Guazzoni* (1923) and *Ben Hur* (dir. Fred Niblo, 1925)—and dense poetic intertitles by Ermacora, the director, a poet and the chief editor of *La Panarie: Rivista Friulana d'arte e di coltura*, its primary visual modes of fixed shots, theatrical staging, and pastoral landscapes constitute a stark formal contrast with *Il Friuli*, which lacks intertitles and uses dynamic, handheld shots, naturalistic performance, and primarily agricultural landscapes (fig. 1 and 2).<sup>11</sup>



Fig. 1 and 2. A still from the dance sequence in *La Sentinella della Patria* ([2021] 1927) (left) and a still from the dance sequence in *Il Friuli* (1936–1942) (right). All film stills courtesy of the Cineteca del Friuli.

In *La sentinella della patria* appear within an elaborate and imposing frame with classical columns and laurels as well as the words “Edizione Propaganda Italica” or upon a backdrop of the Fascist eagle with wings spread in the middle of a garland, clutching a bundle of sticks (a *fascio* from which the word fascism comes) and at the end of it, an axe. In the background, the acronym Luce makes the text hard to read. Ermacora, was one of the greatest proponents of the Friulan language, which today enjoys official status, though only one repeated word “Mandi! Mandi!” appears in the intertitles with the gloss: “...is the typical Friulan salute, derived from the Latin, ‘mane diu.’” The intertitles indicate that the film was meant for non-Friulans, even as the images and accompanying brochure in Friulan were geared at preserving, or salvaging, already heavily codified traditions.

10 *La sentinella* was even edited and released under the title *Il Friuli* in 1941 in a 9.5mm Pathé Baby print for the educational market.

11 One of the students who filmed *Il Friuli*, Giuseppe Francescato, became a noted linguistic expert on the Friulan language. His interest in the visual and vernacular semiotics of the region made him the perfect collaborator as well as an actor committed to the regional culture, as Ermacora had been before him. Francescato was only 14 when filming began, so he may have joined the project later. It is to his son that we owe the conservation and donation of the film to the Cineteca del Friuli. “Dizionario biografico dei Friulani.” Accessed October 13, 2024. <https://www.dizionariobiograficodeifriulani.it/francescato-giuseppe/>.

Visually, Pictorialism had been important to the Friuli region since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and continued to prevail as the primary aesthetic mode longer than in other places, partly because of its distance from larger urban and more quickly industrializing centers.<sup>12</sup> Paolo Villa writes of the landscape that it endowed diverse ethnolinguistic communities present in the region with a sense of belonging, and therefore received a “noteworthy symbolic investment.”<sup>13</sup> In her field-shaping study of the overlaps and tensions of amateur film and the avant-garde tradition, Patricia Zimmermann underscores the ways in which the aesthetics of Pictorialism, Romanticism, and amateurism in photography, all associated with naturalism and authenticity, promoted focusing the camera on apolitical subjects “rather than towards an investigation of existing social relations, industry, factories, or more contemporary issues.”<sup>14</sup> Most content was subjective, domestic, or neutral, and as amateurs were encouraged in consumer magazines to mimic Pictorialism, they often missed the opportunity to explore and experiment with the affordances of new lightweight and portable amateur technologies. By the mid-thirties, some of this had changed, and montage offered a way for amateurs to break the conventions of Pictorialism to achieve a more critical view of everyday life.<sup>15</sup>

### *Pictorial Dissimulation and the Aesthetics of Agfa's Note fotografiche*

In addition to having *La Sentinella* and the iconography of *La Panarie* as precursors, other representational culture surrounding the Cineguf of Udine included the Pictorialism promoted in Agfa's consumer magazine *Note fotografiche*, one of the main forums for amateur and professional cinematographers, whose announcements often directly addressed Cineguf members. Many of the articles in *Note fotografiche* were translated from the German and came from central headquarters in Berlin, though local readers could send in their photographs for feedback from experts. This feedback loop established a hierarchical, authoritative model with the highest judges in Berlin, but Agfa also asked Italian photographers and critics to respond to these entries.<sup>16</sup> In content and matter, *Il Friuli* exemplifies several

12 On *La sentinella della patria*'s links with the photographic tradition of Pictorialism through the photographer Attilio Brisighelli, see P. Sacco, “La Sentinella Della Patria Tra Fotografia e Cinema.” *La Panarie: Rivista Friulana d'Arte e di Coltura*, vol. 30, no. 117 (June), 1998, pp. 83–93.

13 P. Villa, “Per una ‘documentazione poetica’ del paesaggio. Tra pittorialismo e documentarismo nella fotografia friulana del dopoguerra,” in *Paradigmi del fotografico*, ed. Claudio Marra and Daniel Borselli (Bologna: Pendragon, 2022), 321 (My translation).

14 P. R. Zimmermann, “The Amateur, the Avant-Garde, and Ideologies of Art,” *Journal of Film and Video* 38, no. 3/4 (Summer-Fall) (1986): 72.

15 Zimmermann references an essay by Harry Alan Potamkin entitled, “The Montage Film,” which first appeared in *Amateur Movie Makers* in 1930 (81).

16 For a history of the magazine and a timeline of its increasing Italianization, see E. Gipponi and C. Paollila, “‘Agfa Note fotografiche’ tra periodical studies e format theory” in this issue. For an account of Ubaldo Magnaghi's experimentation with Agfa products and his collaboration with *Note fotografiche*, see De Rosa, Miriam; Mariani, Andrea: “Experimenting in circles: Agfa, amateur cinema, and the art of R&D,” *NECSUS: European Journal of Media Studies*, Autumn 2023.

ways in which Agfa and the war effort shaped the pictorial landscape in the lead-up to and in the first years of the war without explicitly mentioning the war at all.

Aimed at capturing a burgeoning consumer market, Agfa's marketing emitted a sense of prosperity to stoke consumer spending; Perhaps subconsciously, if you had a camera, you, too, would see what the *Note fotografiche* was showing you cameras see, including peaceful, pastoral landscapes, cute children, and lush shop windows. As one Agfa advertising motto put it, "Photography enhances to life" ("*La fotografia valorizza la vita*"). Italy officially joined World War II in 1940. In a 1941 call for participants in *Note fotografiche*, the Cineguf of Napoli announced the distribution of "material supplies along with advice and technical and artistic assistance" to all those interested in making Fascist *cinegiornali*, or newsreels. These consisted primarily of views of Fascist events (*manifestazioni*) such as the Littorali—exhibitions of sporting events (mini-Olympics), art exhibitions—as well as of "life, industry, and landscape."<sup>17</sup> Join the ideological effort and you will receive supplies, it promised.

During the war, *Note fotografiche's* content displays a conspicuous lack of imagery explicitly referencing it. One must turn the pages of the magazine with a forensic eye to notice images of technological progress useful for the war machine, but nonetheless coded simply as scientific feats or that hint at submerged violence among serene landscapes under the newly nazi-red cover (previous issues had been entirely black and white). A cover image shows a projectile cutting through water and demonstrating the technical innovations of a high shutter speed able to shoot at 1/1,000,000 sec (fig. 3).

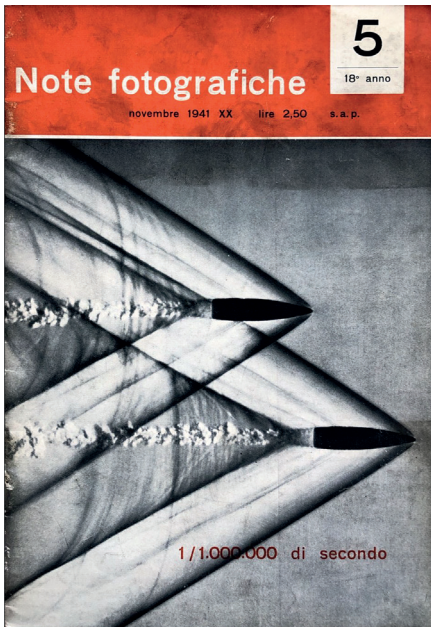


Fig. 3. Cover of *Note fotografiche*, November 1941.

<sup>17</sup> *Note fotografiche*, N. 5, 1941, 114.



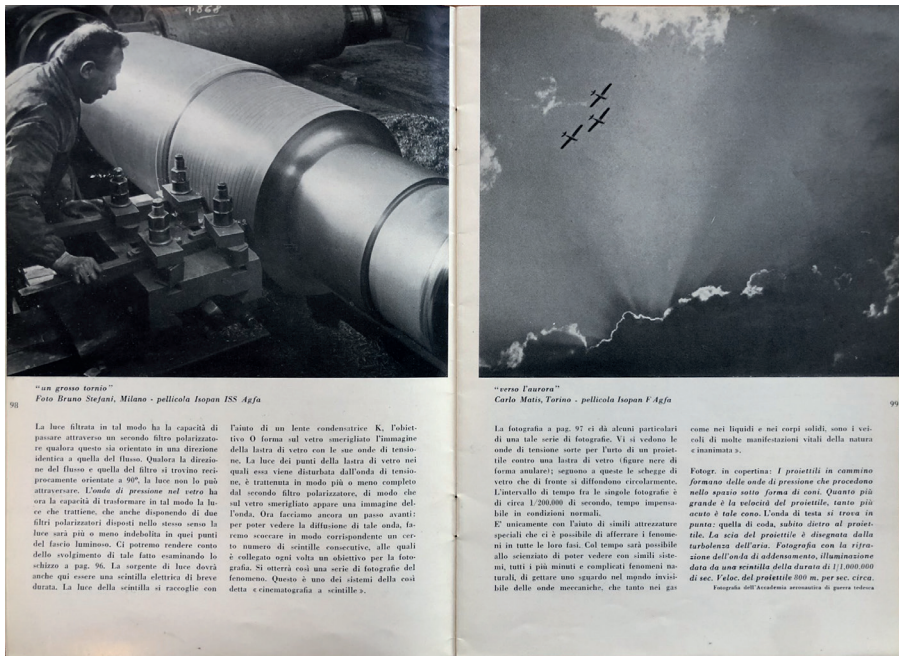


Fig. 4. The inside of *Note fotografiche*, November 1941, p. 98-99.

A spread of images shows those sent in by the magazine's readers. In Turin, a photograph capturing three fighter planes flying in formation towards rays emerging from behind black clouds is entitled *Verso l'aurora* ("Towards the Dawn"). The caption further showcases that the image was taken with Agfa's Isopan F, presumably to underscore the film's dynamic range. Though it is not surprising that Agfa would seek to present "apolitical," "timeless," or "lyrical" imagery in its pages, it is also important to see these images through the structuring absence of the war as a celebration of military technology and the bright future ahead for Germany and Italy, who had become allies the year before.

### *Experimenting with Agfacolor, Montage, and the Out-of-Frame*

The images in *Il Friuli* modernize the pursuits of Pictorialism, however, they also lend these experiments to territorial claims and nationalist narratives. The surviving copy had to be assembled from surviving sequences, and was reconstructed according to the idea that it had originally adhered to a logic of regional geographic integrity, which followed a "concatenation in the representation of the environment 'from the Alps to the sea'" that the journalist and politician Pacifico Valussi had coined in 1865 to justify the necessity of Trieste's inclusion in the Kingdom of Italy (fig. 5)<sup>18</sup>.

18 P. Valussi. *Dalla memoria d'un vecchio giornalista dell'epoca del Risorgimento italiano*. Udine: Pelligrini,

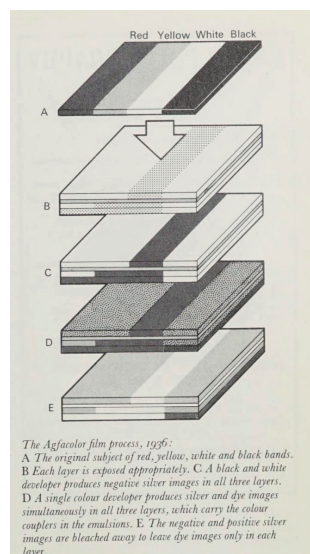


Fig 5 and 6. A shot of leisure activity at the end of the film follows the logic of Valussi's dictum "from the Alps to the sea" and aims to test the color capacities Agfacolor (left) and the Agfacolor film process in 1936. Coe, Brian. *Colour Photography : The First Hundred Years, 1840-1940*. London : Ash & Grant, 1978, p. 129 (right).

Color-forming developer reacted with couplers in each layer of substrate on the film base to form magenta (or its opposite, green), cyan, and yellow. The geographical climax of the film at the sea also marks the apotheosis of the color technology, with the warm colors present in dinghy's sails and the predominance of natural blues. Indeed, though the content and ethos of the images continued to pursue the Pictorialism of the region's symbolic investments with the added mission of exploring the affordances of the 16mm camera and Agfacolor film (fig. 6), these new attributes of the camera continued to be folded into a naturalist aesthetic through paratextual material. Framing *Il Friuli* within the rhetoric of a Vertovian "life caught unawares"<sup>19</sup> aesthetic approach for promotional purposes, the event listing in the Fascist organ *Il Popolo di Friuli* promised that the public would certainly show up in great numbers, not only for the above-mentioned reasons, but because "many will surprise themselves from the screen, caught furtively by an overly prying lens...though for once also an intelligent one."<sup>20</sup> This aspect is purely rhetorical, as even the group scenes are clearly staged and choreographed to be able to film close ups with particular musicians and dancers, who would have known they were being filmed.<sup>21</sup>

1967, p. 79, referenced in C. Gaberscek, *Il paesaggio friulano nel documentario cinematografico (1910-1969)* (La Cineteca del Friuli, 2006). Valussi writes of the necessity of a kind of maritime Switzerland in the sense of its necessary neutrality because of its strategic commercial position.

19 D. Vertov, *Kino-Eye: The Writings of Dziga Vertov*. Edited by Annette Michelson, Translated by Kevin O'Brien, University of California Press, 1984, 41.

20 "Friuli," *Il Popolo del Friuli*, Dec. 12, 1942.

21 As seen above in figure 1 and 2.



On the one hand, these handheld dynamic shots proving the stability of the color technology were coded as naturalistic, for instance when capturing dancers' movements or embodying a point-of-view shot admiring a mountain range or a church steeple. On the other hand, handheld pans over postcard-like landscapes challenge the sense of this iconography's stability, literally veering left midway through a horizontal pan or changing course to a vertical tilt to follow architectural features such as a tower. Though in some ways these movements seem to naturally follow the "sites", they also at times draw these bounded spaces as an image of what cannot be filmed. These movements treat imagery suited to the aesthetic tradition while simultaneously carving them away from traditional landscape representation. Close-ups showcasing the products of the land have a similar effect—as inserts, they fetishize food by isolating it and treating it as an object disconnected from its human use or meaning. These shots seem planned to test and celebrate the dynamic range of the color film stock as they capture clusters of red and white grapes in backlit and reflective lighting situations. Low angle shots of red wine against a white house and a man sharpening a steely blade against a blue sky abstract these subjects from the land and emphasize their color contrast or conformity while raising them to the status of icons (fig. 7, 8, 9 and 10). As with the single sharp photograph in the camp at Auschwitz, these explicitly composed shots evidence a concerted effort, the business of capturing the people and the land for the sponsoring entity.

The showcasing of color film as technological progress parallels the promotion of industrial, agricultural progress. A shot of yellow corn still in its green husk fades to naked ears of corn and finally to a loaf of polenta, which is in turn devoured by children in golden light (fig. 11 and 12). The effortless transformation of raw material to food creates a phantasmagorical commodity, conjured without hands or visible labor through color matches and associative montage.<sup>22</sup> The DVD, whose purpose is mainly to make the views in the film available, carries a relatively light, often unassuming soundtrack that helps to signal scene changes and hide cuts. A slow saxophone solo and soft brushes of the cymbal create a nostalgic atmosphere around the children eating the miraculously self-producing sustenance. However, in the tensions between the film's symbolic investments, its narrative of progress, and its experimentation with color, it is possible to read this sequence subversively. For instance, these few frames could also tell of how little film stock they had, or perhaps, how little corn. As filming for *Il Friuli* progressed, so did international shortages of both film and food. The majority of official resources during WWII went into documenting perceived glories and victories for newsreels or into amateur travel-films that were meant to contribute a perception of normalcy and ease.<sup>23</sup> The ambiguities and fragmentation of montage and its imperfect ellipses leave cracks through which to spot jealously guarded meanings.

22 This politically ambiguous "trick" is also one Dziga Vertov prized, such as in a sequence of pears packing themselves in *A Sixth Part of the World* (1926).

23 See F. Guerin, *Through Amateur Eyes: Film and Photography in Nazi Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).



Fig. 7, 8, 9 and 10. Stills from *Il Friuli*.



Fig. 11 and 12. Stills from *Il Friuli*.

The technical experiments prioritize an engagement with the magic of cinema through color film's affordances, at times to the detriment of linear narratives. *Il Friuli* as it was recently released has subtitles identifying locations and a few dates where they are known. One of the longest sequences of the film shows scenes with the subtitle, "Torviscosa in 1940 —

first plowing of the land reclaimed from the swamp” and ends with a man throwing up his hands in a “V” for victory. The original brochure accompanying the film included an introduction that attempts to overdetermine the film’s purpose as propaganda for the war, paralleling the zeal of this sequence:

In the welcome guests, who came to Udine from all over Italy for an art event that opens wider horizons to us and to the world, may the conviction be affirmed that this cinematic work, born in a wartime climate, is an act of the purest faith in Victory, which is being wrought as of now, in addition to on the battlefields, in the purifying workshops of the creative spirit.<sup>24</sup>

The sequence starts with handheld pans following the action of a modern plow and lingers on the thick materiality of the process. The camera pans left to right and tilts up to follow the mechanical tractors cleaving and tilling brown earth. The film then cuts in a montage to a pan over tall wheat in green fields (fig. 13, 14, 15 and 16). Another ellipsis reveals now golden fields and farmers reaping wheat with a horse-drawn vehicle and then to statuesque



Fig. 13, 14, 15 and 16. (clockwise from top left) A montage sequence from *Il Friuli*.

<sup>24</sup> Gruppo dei fascisti universitari friulani, Udine, *Villotte e canzoni friulane antiche e moderne nel film “Friuli”*, 1° Mostra nazionale del passo ridotto, 10-13 dicembre 1942-XXI, Udine.

hand-bundled haystacks. The reversal of time's arrow in terms of farming methods while maintaining continuity of time, seasons, and the colors that accompany of them, troubles a clear narrative of progress. The color progression highlights the cycle of the seasons from winter to spring to late summer and ends on the white shirt of the farmer, short of showing winter. Though the last image proclaims victory, within a lyrical logic provoked by the materiality of the film and of the land, it also suggests the new especially hard winter to come, which military-industrial progress would exacerbate, and to which color would not be crucial. Just as winter remains out of frame, so, too, does a prisoner of war camp, Campo 107, housed simultaneously at Torviscosa.

### *Conclusion*

*Il Friuli* must be seen as an attempt at an insistence on immanent abundance, bounty, and technical progress as epitomized by color film all thanks to a political and military alliance with Germany. This worldview would have been equally motivating to the German soldiers fighting to access precisely these abundant lands, which, during the war, were Germany's main supplier of wheat, rice, cheese, fruit and vegetables, as it was to Italian soldiers seeking to protect their land.<sup>25</sup> With the meager film stock available, all hands went towards amplifying a pastoral quiet harmoniously coupled with promises of technical and cinematic progress at precisely the moment when this basic premise could no longer hold. When Italy surrendered to the Allies almost ten months later, on September 8, 1943, Udine remained under German administration until April 1945, a fact that further shows the importance of this region to the German war effort. Luce and Agfa's sponsorship left its mark on the images, as Agfa's business became selling not only film but also a war. However, the subversive spirit of experimentation and the material agency of the film and the land exceed attempts at neat couplings of earth, culture, and ideology, just as they serve as evidence of the business of representation.

25 L. Collingham, "Managing Scarcity: Food and World War II in the Mediterranean," *Watch Letter*, no. 36, CIHEAM: International Center for Advanced Mediterranean Agronomic Studies, 2016.