

Music, Rhythm and Persuasion: Hitler's Oratory

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Abstract Hitler's oratory was powerful, awesome... As in 1930's Germany, nowadays, it attracts millions of people around the world. What is the source of this frightening power? How could a man have it? By the Ancient theory of rhythmic prose, this paper studies the importance of rhythm in some German phrases and a Hitler's speech and the role of their features in the persuasion process. The German language has long and short vowels, diphthongs and accents, like Latin and Greek; therefore, this article gives not only a syllabic and accentual analysis but also a quantitative one in connection with the political argument.

Keywords: Oratory, Hitler's Oratory, Rhythmic Prose, Aristotle, Rhetoric, German Language, Argument

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To Eugenia María Jiménez Soto (Maruja),
thanks for taking care of us.

0. Introduction

Nuremberg, on September 5th 1934, a sea of people with thousands of flags cheers *Sieg Heill, Sieg Heill* (Victory forever!, Victory forever!). It is not casual that the German journalist and musician Ernst Hanfstaengl (1887-1975) was its composer because Adolf Hitler impressed Hanfstaengl so much when he met him in 1922 (Hanfstaengl 2012: 169); in fact that night, he stayed awake for hours (*Ibidem*). The story of this cheer goes as follow:

Hanfstaengl composed a dozen or so marches for the party. He fascinated Hitler with his descriptions of the hypnotic effect marches and cheering had at Harvard sports events. He told him of thousands of spectators being whipped up with enthusiasm through cheers of "Harvard, Harvard, Harvard, rah, rah, rah!" Hanfstaengl played Sousa Marches and his own Falarah on the piano and showed Hitler how German tunes could sound when given a buoyant beat like American brass-band music. Hitler shouted with enthusiasm, "That is it, Hanfstaengl that is what we need for the movement, marvelous, and he pranced around the room like a drum majorette". He had the SA band practice the technique and Harvard's "rah, rah, rah!" became "Sieg Heill Sieg Heill!" (Zalampas 1990: 39-40).

Sieg Heill! is an example of rhythm perfection that Hitler and Hanfstaengl undoubtedly knew, one of the main aims of the ancient theory of rhythmic prose. From a quantitative point of view, it is made of two long syllables that metrically corresponds to the spondee (“x x”, each “x” represents a long syllable), but it also has two monosyllabic nouns, the accentual pattern of this foot. Why does it occur in this case? Cureton (Associate Professor Emeritus at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) offers an explanation, «short phrases with strong syntactic cohesion can have more than one stress or no stress at all» (1985: 249). Each word sounds like a regular drum beat in a perfect isomorphic correspondence between form and meaning. Here there is no other syntactic level but only one expression – a single truth, in a paratactic pattern.

Certainly, the spondee was the most appropriated structure for a rally because it is simple, strong, sonorous and beautiful. The spondee belongs, at the side of the dactyl (“x - -”, here the “-” represents a short syllable) and the anapest (“- - x”), to the group of solemn feet (Hermogenes 1993: 250-252). It is certain that the «dactyl is the noblest rhythm and makes for grandeur» (Longinus 1995: 287 and 289, XXXIX, 4); however, the spondee has the same duration as a dactyl and is part of the heroic verse pattern (it is located at the end of the verse). In fact, since the spondee can replace the fifth dactylic foot, in this case, the verse becomes a spondaic hexameter.

This phrase was made for a multitudinous chorus, which harmonious and melodic performance would invite everyone to take part on it. It would be almost impossible do not offer a sympathetic response to a mass of people cheering it. One of the best performances of this cheer is shown in the Nazi propaganda film *Triumph des Willens* (1935), “Triumph of the Will”, by the talented direction of the German film director and actress Leni Riefenstahl (1902-2003). Time after time, the crowd screams *Sieg Heill, Sieg Heill!* On a sheet music, the time signature is 3/4 and, a metronome confirms its tempo – one hundred ten beats per minute. The ictus of the compass is on a long *Heill!*, after, there is a pause on the third beat. In the film, a gigantic monster without beginning nor end repeats over and over the phrase (for instance at 41’18”, Riefenstahl 2001). It was the triumph of Hitler’s will – not for Germany.

The emotions at that stadium were very persuasives. They convince that there will be a *victory*, and this victory will last forever, could anybody say no? As Geoffrey Madell states «(...) that the experience aroused by music is an emotion, and that emotion is about the music» (1997: 158).

According to the Spanish writer and historian Ramón Gubern (2005: 251), Hitler himself had chosen the title for that film, *a masterpiece of evil* (*Ibidem*). Every detail of the production was carefully selected and built to seduce the mind of the audience and get the victory – victory forever.

As it is evident from *Mein Kampf*, Hitler knew the importance of the oratory to the National Socialist Movement,:

I know that fewer people are won over by the written word than by the spoken word and that every great movement on this earth owes its growth to great speakers and not to great writers (Hitler 1925, eng. trans.: 1).

Because of this movement could get «no one or two hundreds dare-devil conspirators but a hundred thousand devoted champions of our WELTANSCHAUNG» (*Ivz.* 442). Actually, the phrase in German was *fanatische Kämpfer* (1943: 608), which Murphy translated into “devoted champions”. Hitler acted and prepared himself for his future career politics [...]; «his voice sometimes was solemn, sometimes mocking, the exact and appropriate gestures» (Bergman 1987: 135), said the Swedish director, writer and producer Ingmar Bergman when he listened to Hitler’s speech for the first time in 1934

in Weimar. Then, the future director screamed like everyone... and loved like everyone (*Ibidem*), he was sixteen years old.

Another relevant instance of a spondaic scheme in addressing was *Heil, mein Führer* (x x / x x), the diagonal shows the end of a metrical foot), yet *Heil* was already a common greeting in Germany (Hanfstaengl 2012: 169). Hitler surely preferred the expression *Heil, mein Führer* (x x / x x) than *Heil, Hitler* (x -) because of its solemnity, diphthongs repetition, and authority acknowledgment. A dispondeo to a dactyl, the first one can be a clause, on the contrary, the second one is just a foot. Since the quantitative and accentual schemes match, each syllable gets an emphasis including the unaccented possessive pronoun *mein*. As a result, this expression became solemn among Nazis, it even had a religious taste – the religious field is one with an important incidence of music and rhythm – (Hitler himself speaks constantly of religion and politics (1943) while the famous American literary critic Kenneth Burke (1954) talks of *religious pattern* in his essay on *Mein Kampf* - My Struggle).

1. Rhythm, Pleasure and Argument

Paraphrasing the renowned philosopher of music Aaron Ridley, Aristotle's point is that our cognitive constitution is inseparable from our affective constitution (Madell and Ridley 1997: 173). It is possible to transfer this assertion of Ridley on Nietzsche's thinking to Aristotle since their roots are the same, the comprehension of the argument and the knowledge as a complex reality.

From a rhetorical point of view, an appropriate rhythm supports the argument, but a wrong rhythm undermines it. Why? Aristotle give us an answer, «it is not sufficient to know what one ought to say, but one must also know how to say it» (1403 b). One of the studies of how to do this is the aim of rhythmical prose in the Ancient Rhetoric. According to Cicero, Gorgias was the creator of this theory. In fact, on base of the lyric, Gorgias enriched his discourses by following one rule, «prose must be rhythmical, but not metrical» (*Rhet.* 1408b).

In the Third Book of the *Art of Rhetoric* Aristotle states that:

Now delivery is a matter of voice, as to the mode in which it should be used for each particular emotion; when I should be loud, when low, when intermediate; and how the tones, that is, shrill, deep, and intermediate, should be used; and what rhythms are adapted to each subject (*Ibidem*).

Truly, «in any language there are inherent rhythms which will inevitably recur without any conscious search on the part of the writer» (Shewring 1930: 167, despite their differences, Broadhead agree with this opinion 1932: 36). The reason is that the succession of sounds, accents, tones, and silences of oral speech create a rhythm. Everybody remembers teachers whose classes bored students, in contrast with teachers who light up their minds. How was this possible? The main reason was the teacher's voice.

But the rhythm is just one of the different moments of the rhetorical process which aim is the persuasion. λέξις, the diction, the style, includes the rhythm but also metaphors, alliterations, synonyms... and lot of sonorous properties of the words which can produce beauty of form, harmony, melody, expressive content... For an orator, there is an aesthetic reason for those sounds and their position in the speech (for the notion of aesthetic reason see Ridley 2012: 667) whose main goal is the persuasion. Aristotle says about this:

Appropriate style also makes the fact appear credible; for the mind of the hearer is imposed upon under the impression that the speaker is speaking the truth, because, in such circumstances, his feelings are the same, so that he thinks (even if it is not the case as the speaker puts it) that things are as he represents them; and the hearer always sympathizes with one who speaks emotionally, even though he really says nothing. This is why speakers often confound their hearers by mere noise (*Rhet.* 1408a).

Modern theories of rhythm include psychological faculties (Cureton 2004: 114), hierarchical cadences, linguistic levels (Cureton 1985), or *multisensory* experiences (Duncan 2011) as its possible basis. However, the cornerstones of the rhythm in Antiquity were the foot and the clause, which Cicero developed extensively. *De Oratore*, *Brutus*, and chiefly *Orator* are his main texts in this field, in which he explains different kinds and functions of metrical feet. The rhythm and all the features of a speech are not casual, but intentional in the addresses of the greatest orators.

It is necessary to take into account that the rhythm was right along all peroration. Cicero states that the most important moments are at the beginning and at the end of the sentence – these are the fields of the clause. The performance of the speech triggers feelings, emotions, passions – *res* and *uerba* are related to the process of argument (rhythms, tones, speeds, accents, sounds are characteristics which belong to *uerba*). As a result, the beauty of a speech supports its *λόγος* and orator's *ἥθος*.

According to Aristotle, *λόγος* and *ἥθος* are two of the three kinds of proofs furnished by a speech: *ἥθος* (orator's moral character, his credibility), *πάθος* (emotion of the speech), and *λόγος* (the speech itself) (*Rhet.* 1356a). These concepts are dialectically connected instead of being separated stages of an argument. The truth, or appearance of truth, of a speech is the base of the *λόγος*, and it is also the germ that produces and reinforces the *ἥθος*. Assuredly, the peroration builds the credibility of the orator, except that its roots are the logic and the truth, or its appearance at least. Moreover, when a speaker builds a good *ἥθος*, he also increases *λόγος* and *πάθος*. The consistent use of emotions along the performance not only has a strong/powerful effect on the audience but also on their perception of the speaker's credibility. Hence, *πάθος* reinforces *ἥθος* and *λόγος*.

The coherence, order, and structure of a discourse arouse emotions in the audience. Even though these are mainly logical properties, their value is also aesthetic and consequently emotional. The credibility is related to the logic and truth of the speech, - and its beauty and harmony as well. For instance, a syntactical mistake of an orator can cause laughs, shame, compassion, or anger, yet his precision and solemnity grant him respect and approval; such emotions have an argumentative worth.

An important aspect of oratory is the binary thinking – which is part of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. For instance, notions of truth, right, beauty, nobleness, purity belong to the same group of conceptions in a binary stereotype system – a system whose foundations are pairs of opposites, as right / wrong, beauty / ugliness, nobleness / meanness, purity / impurity. The three kinds of Rhetoric show how strong this conception is, so there are hortation / dissuasion, accusation / defense, praise / blame (*Rhet.* 1358b 3). Aristotle himself speaks as well of «virtue and vice, of the noble and the disgraceful, since they constitute the aim of one who praises and of one who blames» (*Rhet.* 1366a 9).

In the Aristotelian thinking, the beauty is associated with the good and the truth as well as the ugliness is related to the evil and falsity. The aesthetic is not separated from the truth neither from the logic because there is a strong relationship between all of them. The best synthesis of this associative connection of ideas in Greek *παιδεία* are the words *ἀρετή* and *καλοκάγαθία*, perfection and nobility; the complexity of this concepts

conjugates notions of different semantic fields but from the same group of the pair of opposites.

For Aristotle:

The emotions are all those affections which cause men to change their opinion in regard to their judgements, and are accompanied by pleasure and pain; such are anger, pity, fear, and all similar emotions and their contraries (*Rhet.* 1378a 8).

Even though ἡθός is the most important proof (*Rhet.* 1356a4), the Aristotelian rhetoric states that the pleasure is a very important part of the foundations of the persuasion since «all things that men do of themselves either are, or seem, good or pleasant» (*Rhet.* 1369b18); however, good things are also pleasant (*Rhet.* 1371b). None of the three kinds of rhetorical speeches nor their proofs are exempt from the influence of the pleasure. On one hand, the epideictic discourse is the closest genre to pleasure because it is related to the beauty; on the other, the act of doing the justice affords pleasure (relevant references are in 1378a and 1370a) and «the practice in the law courts and disputation are pleasant» (*Rhet.* 1371a15-16). In addition, the corresponding times of speeches (present, past, and future) have even implications in the order of pleasure (*Rhet.* 1370a7). Regarding rhetorical proofs, the first book of *Rhetoric* explains in detail the relationship between pleasure and πάθος (*Rhet.* 1370b13), which a recent research has confirmed (Jakson 2019: 1517). ἡθός is «honor and good repute [which] are among the most pleasant things» (*Rhet.* 1371a16); learning the truth, an epistemic experience allied with λόγος, is pleasant as well (*Rhet.* 1371b23). Finally, the pleasure is in the famous three duties of orator, *mouere, docere et delectare* (Quintiliano, *Inst. Or.* XII, 2, XI).

On the Sublime's author comes up with his theory of the sublime, in which pleasure and persuasion are the highest aspects of the sublime. This is not strange since delight is at the base of the notion of sublimity as well as joy and pride are its effects on a hearer (Longinus, *De Sub.* eng. tr.: 179) and «to please all people at all time» is its distinctive feature (*Ibidem*). In fact, it is part of the fifth cause of grandeur:

Men find in melody not only a natural instrument of persuasion and pleasure, but also a marvelous instrument of grandeur and emotion. [...] Must we not think, then, the composition, which is a kind of melody in words -words which are part of man's nature and reach not his ears only but his very soul-stirring as it does myriad of words, thoughts, things, beauty, musical charm, all of which are born and bred in us (*Ivi*: 285-287).

2. Hitler's Oratory

Hitler neither cites Aristotle nor «indicates the source of his knowledge of mass techniques» (Fishman 1964: 245); however, Greek and Roman culture influenced Hitler (Zalampas 1990: 86). For example, Rome and Demosthenes are present in *Mein Kampf*. Whether or not Hitler knew Aristotelian rhetoric, there is no doubt that his oratory, wherever it comes from, is one of the most frightening cases, in which a man takes advantage «of a method as an instrument of persuasion» (Burke 1957: 180).

As a statesman, Hitler's first address as Chancellor of Germany takes place at Sport Palace in Berlin on February 10th 1933. After a full minute in silence, while he stood looking at the audience, Hitler starts to speak, then his audience is a part of himself, he controls them all. The man whom lot of people called mad, racist, fool, now became a statesman, a man who had «gained the respect and cooperation of powerful and prestigious political figures such as Hindenburg» (Horn 2011: 101). At this moment,

Hitler was aware of his superior oratorical talent (Burke 1957: 183) and of the power of the spoken word, the word he talked about repeatedly in *Mein Kampf* (*gesprochenen Wortes, Rede...*), an experience that he called *Zauberkraft, magic power* (Hitler 1943: 116), the power of demagogue (Fishman 1964: 252).

This article focuses on the last four sections of this address, as they are included on a video on the internet (Hitler 2019). The base of the writing version is the work of Mark Domarus (1973), one of the most important sources of Hitler's speeches, but it has been emended by the author of this paper when necessary, according to the speech performed on the video.

The first section begins at 3:27 minutes:

Und nun sehen wir, wie Stand um Stand zusammenbricht, // wie allmählich verzweifelte Hunderttausende von Existenzen ausgelöscht werden, // Jahr für Jahr // Zehntausende // von Konkursen, Hunderttausende von wangsversteigerungen // stattfinden. // [...] und das Arbeitslosenheer beginnt anzuwachsen: Eine, zwei, drei Millionen, vier Millionen, fünf Millionen, sechs Millionen, // sieben Millionen, // heute mögen es sieben bis acht Millionen tatsächlich sein (Domarus 1973: 204, from now on, accented syllables are underlined, the bold font identifies long syllables, and the two diagonal lines show the pauses in the performance).

and now we see how class after class collapses, how desperate hundreds of thousands of livelihoods are gradually wiped out, tens of thousands of bankruptcies take place every year, hundreds of thousands of foreclosures take place. [...] And the unemployed army begins to grow: one, two, three million, four million, five million, six million, seven million, today it may actually be seven to eight million (the author has made this translation).

Here Hitler speaks slowly. Perhaps the most relevant part is the statistical section in which, by a kind of climax, he amplifies the social problem of unemployment while the numbers grow as the unemployment does. *drei Millionem* (x - - / x -) represents a clause made up of a dactyl and a trochee, sometimes quantitative other accentual, a pattern that *vier Millionen* (x - - / x -), *fünf Millionen* (x - - / x -), *sechs Millionen* (x - - / x -) and *acht Millionen* (x - - / x -), imitate. The repetition of the sound of a word (Millionem), its meaning, and the arithmetic increase of the data, advance side by side to show isomorphically how the unemployment grew.

Every instance beats the audience and reinforces the perception of the social conflict, even at the end *tatsächlich sein* (x - - / x) could be interpreted as a catalectic form of this model.

In the first part two parallel phrases *Stand und Stand* (x x x) / *Jahr für Jahr* (x x x) coincide, the first one follows an accentual model, while the second a quantitative one.

These phrases expand the spatial and temporal perception of the German problem.

At 4:07 minutes the second section starts.

(Es ist nur die Frage), wie lange noch? // Deshalb, // weil ich überzeugt bin, // daß man nun, wenn man nicht zu spät kommen will, // mit der Rettung einsetzen muß, // habe ich mich bereit erklärt, // am drei ßig Januar, // die unterdes von sieben Mann // zu zwölf Millionen emporgewachsene // Bewegung // einzusetzen // zur Rettung des deutschen Volkes und Vaterlandes (*Ibidem*).

It is just the question, for how much longer?

It is because I am convinced that if you do not want to be late you have to go to the rescue, I have agreed on 30th January to use the movement, which has grown

from seven men to twelve million, to save the German People and fatherland (the author has made this translation).

The introduction on the video is a rhetorical question, *wie lange noch?* (x - - -) For how much longer?, although in the Domarus's text Hitler says first *Es ist nur die Frage*, there is only a question. The inquiry assumes a quantitative paeonic pattern, the first one, a rhythm that for Cicero has sweet and complete harmony (*Ad Brutum Orator*: LVII, 192). It is the same foot at the end of the paragraph with the word *Vaterlandes* (x - - -), Fatherland, an annular composition. Is this just a coincidence or was a form sought for Hitler? It is difficult to know it, but, undoubtedly, since the last line shows three alliterations by "r" (zur Rettung), "d" (des deutschen) and "V" (Volkes und Vaterlandes), Hitler has created its own distinctive sound-world, as Ridley describes in a Dowson's poem (2004: 83).

Monosyllables predominate along the paragraph, most of them have short vowels, but there is accent on their words. This is an important difference. From a quantitative point of view, there are lot of short syllables, but from the accentual one, they are long. This last perspective shows a solemn spondaic configuration of the Hitler's style (x x / x x / x x...), in fact, every word has a remarkable emphasis.

The end of this part is particularly long, thirteen syllables, contrasting with two preceding single words, *Bewegung*, the movement, *einzusetzen*, to use, whose pauses prepared the conclusion, *zu Rettung*, to save. The corollary is apodictic, the audience applauds for a long time, many raise their arms, palm facing out, the Hitler's salute.

Hitler's style expresses emotions as Aristotle states:

A man speaks with anger of wanton outrage; with indignation and reserve, even in mentioning them, of things foul or impious; with admiration of things praiseworthy; with lowliness of things pitiable; and so in all other cases (*Rhet.* 1408a).

Burke (1957: 186) has remarked the importance of iteration for Hitler in his speeches, what Burke calls the power of endless repetition, the last two sections of the video are good examples of this.

(So) wie ich selbst // vierzehn Jahre nun gearbeitet habe, // unentwegt und ohne jemals schwankend zu werden // am Aufbau // dieser Bewegung, // und so wie es mir gelungen ist, // von sieben Mann // zu zwölf Millionen zu kommen, // so will ich und so wollen wir // bauen und arbeiten // an der Wiederaufrichtung unseres deutschen Volkes (Domarus 1973: 205).

As I have worked myself for fourteen years now, constantly and without ever fluctuating in the construction of this movement, and just as I have managed to get from seven men to twelve million, so I want and so we want to build and work on the realignment of our German people (the author has made this translation).

This is the third time that a part of the address begins and ends with the same quantitative foot, the first paeon (x - - -), whose first syllable is long, while the others threes are short, an annular composition again.

A spondaic rhythm lets Hitler stress every word in *so will ich und so wollen wir* as (x x / x x / x x / - x / x), then, two accentual dactyls (*bauen und arbeiten*, x - - / x - -) prepare the climax which comes at an unexpected speed, Hitler utters fourteen syllables in less than two seconds and a half (*its tempo* – one hundred twenty beats per minute). The contrast is clear since the precedent phrase with six syllables took two seconds (*its tempo* – seventy beats per minute), and the previous two seconds and a half (eight syllables).

How does Hitler get this? First, the preposition *an* and the article *der* have lost their stress, in addition, the main accent of *Wiederaufrichtung* is on the diphthong *au*, then he changes from dactyls to anapests. Eventually, the reaction of the audience is a short silence and then applause.

Duncan (2011) explains that some attributes of a text, such as its punctuation and the iteration of words, can give an idea about the existence of a rhythm, in spite of that, to hear Hitler confirms that this idea is really far from his electrifying style. For instance, the video shows how Hitler often suppresses the stress on prepositions, articles, conjunctions or adverbs; for instance, the conjunction *und* is not accented in *bauen und arbeiten*, to build and work, in which, in addition, there are two tonic dactyls. Hitler uses all musical qualities of each word, its metre, its sounds, the speed, alliteration in a great structure of sounds.

The last section of the address begins at 5:40 minutes:

Deutsches Volk, // gib uns vier Jahre, // und ich schwöre, // so wie wir // und so wie ich // in dieses Amt eintrete, // so will ich dann auch gehen. // Ich tat es nicht um Gehalt // und nicht um Lohn, // ich tat es um deiner selbst willen (Domarus 1973: 207).

German people, give us four years, and I swear, so we and I take this office, so I want to leave it.

I did it neither for salary nor money, I did it for your own sake (the author has made this translation).

The repetition is the main key of this section, the second one, its speed.

Although it is not on the video, the paragraph preceding the present is relevant: *Deutsches Volk, gib uns vier Jahre Zeit, dann richte und urteile über uns*, German people, give us four year, then judge and decide on us (Domarus 1973: 207). On the one hand, *Deutsches Volk* (x - -) is a quantitative dactyl, it coincides with *über uns* (x - -), a prepositional phrase that reminds symmetrically the national anthem of Germany, *Deutschland über alles*, Germany over everything. Here *Deutsches Volk* is *Deutschland*, and *uns* occupies the position of *alles*, a very clear sophism because German people could never judge Hitler. These are clauses that open and close perfectly the sentence, both coincide quantitatively and accentually, on the first criterion, a dactyl is formed, on the second one, a cretic. On the other hand, there are two sentences in the middle, the first one has six syllables, the second, seven, but they are prosodically equivalent.

Hitler employs *Deutsches Volk* twice, but only in this part of his address, its function is the same, to ask for four years and open those sentences.

This section of the video offers only ten atonic syllables, eight in bisyllabic words, one in a trisyllable, and a monosyllable. In contrast, the remaining forty three syllables are tonic, most of them, in monosyllabic words. This feature gives a solemn spondaic pattern along the text. The first five sequences have three or four syllables, but suddenly they grow to nine in the last one, simultaneously Hitler reduces pauses from half a second to a quarter or less while he repeats the adverb *so* three times. The last three segments are connected by reiteration of *Ich tat es* (x x / x), in the first and the last, and the repetition of the adverb *nicht* in the first sentence. Hitler is shouting from the commencement until the end, when he gets the climax, there is an explosion of applauses around him, the crowd roars.

3. Conclusions

The ancient theory of rhythmic prose is an useful tool for studying Hitler's style. The presence of spondees, dactyls and anapests confirm it was solemn far from every day speak. Nevertheless, this analysis has shown that his style was predominantly spondaic. The use of clauses at the beginning and at the end of paragraphs, as the ancient theory states, also is an important feature.

As it is usual in modern languages, the accentual patterns predominate over accentual ones. However, sometimes quantitative patterns takes an important role along the performance, something relevant in German, since there are long and short vowels in this language. In addition, Hitler has used the sound of every word he says to build an electrifying style in a impressive oratorical structure that captivates masses yesterday as nowadays.

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