

Province and Patriotism

German National Identity in Tirol, 1850–1914¹

1. Introduction

The following paper investigates the national identity of the German-speaking population in Tirol by looking at how a hegemonic definition of Tirolian identity emerged during the later 19th century, and examining the relationship of that identity to different social groups. This is done by focusing on two provincial festivals: the centenary celebration of the 1809 Tirolian up-rising against the French and Bavarians, held in Innsbruck at the end of August 1909, and a festival for the 500th anniversary of the union of Tirol with the House of Habsburg, in September 1863.

Braudel suggested in his last work that national identity „is a process, a self-induced conflict, destined to go on indefinitely“.² In other words, national identity must be seen as a complex and dynamic matrix, a process of social and cultural construction where rival social groups are competing to produce the dominant interpretation. „National identity“ – German, Austrian or Tirolian – is not a fixed

1 This article draws on a paper prepared for the ESTER seminar *Regional and national identities in Europe* in Halle, 2.–8. October 1993. I would like to thank Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, Josef Ehmer and Wolfgang Meixner for comments and suggestions made at various stages of my work over the last couple of years. Sources: Tiroler Landesarchiv, Landschaftliches Archiv – (LsA/1) A/II/2/1 Präsidualakten 1893–1925 Fz. 16. Nr. 1–13 Jahrhundertfeier 1909; (LsA/5) A/II/6/5 Landeshauptschießstand Innsbruck Fz. I Pos. 15; (LsA/6) A/II/2/6 Tiroler Landesoberstschützenmeisteramt Fz. 16; A/II/2/2 Landesausschußakten 1863/Stamm Zahl 147. Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum (TLF), Landeskundliches Museum Zeughaus (TLF/Zg. – Gemeinden-Kartons, Vereinswesen-Kartons). Stadtarchiv Innsbruck (ISA) – Ratsprotokolle 1909, Stadtmagistrat Innsbruck Communalakten 1909/1–7, Communalakten 1862/1.

2 Fernand Braudel, *The Identity of France*, vol. 1, London 1989, 23.

entity, but a ‚polylectical‘ area of cultural discourse, in which a plurality of different groups or individuals participate. In Tirol in the period 1850–1914 the ascendant party in Braudel’s ‚process of conflict‘ was the Catholic-Conservative, and ‚Tirolian identity‘ can be interpreted here as that identity developed by the leading social group.

2. Festival-building – the *Tiroler Jahrhundertfeier* 1909

The *Jahrhundertfeier* was designed to reinforce patriotic and dynastic sentiments in Tirol and culminated a process begun some years earlier, with a state-sponsored promotion of shooting-associations and the production of a cult of Andreas Hofer – the most important leader in the revolt – as the national hero.³ The 1909 festival was the paradigmatic highpoint of this process, and was intended to reflect the ideal social structure of Tirol, as conceived by the Conservative-dominated provincial government: religion and patriotism („Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland“) were the eternal values binding the peasant population to the existing social order; immense importance was attached to celebrating in the ‚traditional‘ manner, by holding a *Festschießen* and a parade of *Schützen* (local militia groups); the use of *Nationaltracht* was partially subsidised by the organising committee; the *Festzug* of *Schützen* (the embodiment of Tirolian values) was the centre-piece of the festival; Tirol in 1909 was to demonstrate itself to be exactly the same Tirol as it had been in 1809, loyal to Emperor and Church, with the whole social order in Deutsch- and Italienisch-Tirol rallying with the spirit of a hundred years before.⁴ In summary: aware of social, political and national tensions within the Empire in general, and Tirol in particular, the ruling elite in Tirol enacted positive measures aiming for patriotic social integration – „die Erinnerung an die Heldentaten und Opfer dieser Vorfahren im Kampfe gegen die Feinde der Dynastie und Oesterreichs soll bei Gelegenheit der Jahrhundertfeier wieder wachgerufen und lebendig erhalten werden. Der dynastische Gedanken soll vor allem in der Bevölkerung gestärkt werden“.⁵ The initiative for the festival came from within Tirol, but the Imperial Court and the government gave full support in ideological,

3 On this, see: Laurence Cole, *Andreas Hofer: the Social and Cultural Construction of a National Myth in Tirol, 1809–1909*, European Forum Working Paper, E.U.I., Florence 1995.

4 ‚Deutsch-Tirol‘ at this time consisted of the area covered today by the Bundesland Tirol in Austria and the autonomous province of Bozen, Südtirol, in Italy; ‚Italienisch-Tirol‘ was equivalent in area to Trentino today.

5 LsA/6: (F. IV) Kathrein an den Kanzler des Militär-Maria-Theresien-Ordens, 17. 5. 1906.

financial and logistical terms (the *Kaiser* agreed to be the patron of the festival in April 1906). The *Landesfest* enabled the Habsburgs to pose as protectors of the freedom of peoples, in opposition to accusations that the Austro-Hungarian Empire was the *Völkerkerker*, because the event recalled an uprising which had heralded the liberation of Europe from Napoleon. These basic aims received greater emphasis with the victory of the Christian-Social movement in the 1907 *Reichsrat* elections in Tirol – which challenged the previously hierarchical structures of social and political organisation – and with the consequences of Habsburg intervention in the Balkans in 1908. The festival was an exemplary display to the rest of the Habsburg Empire, and at the same time a demonstration of well-being and strength to foreign opinion (particularly, the alliance partner, the German Empire).

2.1. Patriots for Whom?

The festival in Innsbruck was the main official celebration in 1909, but virtually every place of any size conducted its own ceremony, usually involving the unveiling of a memorial to local heroes from 1809, followed by a parade of *Schützen*, and in the presence of some dignitary or other (sometimes a minor member of the Imperial family). Landeshauptmann Theodor Kathrein felt that the main event in Innsbruck had been a success when he passed on the *Kaiser's* thanks to the population: „Wir haben dadurch alle zusammen das Landesfest zu einem Ehrentage in der Geschichte Tirols im vollsten Sinn des Wortes gemacht“.⁶ Yet the 1909 celebrations took place during a period when public social conflicts in Tirol were more strident than they had ever been, so the apparent success of the *Landesfest* requires some explanation.

For certain social groups (Catholic-Conservatives, aristocracy, military, upper clergy, and the highest levels of Imperial government and bureaucracy), the festival was a ritual internal confirmation and external demonstration of the type of society they believed in and intended to maintain „ein Erinnerungsritual, das von oben initiiert, geplant und durchgeführt wird, das ein bestimmtes Geschichtsbewußtsein popularisieren und eine bestimmte Identität stiften möchte“.⁷ The didactic social model propagated by the elite established a framework to which the rest of society referred. In the first place, the public texts (welcoming speeches, songs for the

6 LsA/6: (F. XIII) Zirkular Kathreins, 15. 9. 1909.

7 Ingo Schneider, *Verordnete Gedächtniskultur. Das Tiroler Gedenkjahr 1984 zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit*, Göttingen 1989.

serenade of the *Kaiser* etc.) always avoided a discourse of nationality – the key words tend to be *Heimat*, *Land*, *Vaterland* and *Volk* („das Tiroler Volk“). The territorial words encompassed a range of meaning, though *Land* was the least emotionally-charged and the least flexible (the *Land* was always Tirol). *Heimat* essentially refers to a specific locality – (e. g. „Pustertal seine engere Heimat ist“); but in a broad context, it may refer to Tirol – „im Kampfe für Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland, für die teure Heimat“. *Vaterland* is the most ambiguous, because there were in a sense two Fatherlands – *Tirol* (possibly the more frequent usage) and *Österreich*. Tirol is thus more specifically „unser engeres Vaterland“. *Monarchie* is used to describe the Habsburg state more often than *Reich*. Nearly all the material relating to the various celebrations in 1909 uses language in this way, though perhaps with a greater emphasis on *Heimat* at the lower levels.

The *Landesfest* was essentially a neo-feudal homage ceremony between the *Land* and the *Kaiser*, in his capacity as ‚princely Count of Tirol‘. Prior to the rendering of homage by the people in the *Festzug*, the religious oath of obedience on the part of the *Land* was renewed. Spoken on the sanctified ground of the Berg Isel (scene of the battles in 1809) and repeating Hofer’s swearing of loyalty, the oath explicitly formulated an official interpretation of Tirolian history and stipulated the nature of the bond of loyalty. The structure of authority is clearly defined, but the authority is paternalistic and benevolent („das landesväterliche Herz unseres Jubelkaisers“; „Kaiser Franz Joseph (...) stets wie ein fürsorglicher Vater“; „treue Landeskinder“). Kathrein’s welcoming of the *Kaiser* in Innsbruck referred to the thousands „aus allen Tälern“ who had converged on the regional capital, a stress which indicated the predominantly rural tone of the festival. The organisers deliberately aimed the festival at the peasant population, whom they considered to be the most loyal of the *Kaiser*’s subjects. All the themes enunciated in the ceremonial texts were played out in front of wider audiences during the festival week in dramatic works, which narrated the story of 1809, the most important being the main *Volksschauspiel* in Innsbruck (unsurprisingly entitled ‚Andreas Hofer‘⁸).

More specifically, patriotism in the localities was encouraged, as a means of giving the locality an identity that was also definitely Tirolian – local figures from the 1809 uprising were used as focal points for relating the hegemonic interpretation of Tirolian identity: „Es liegt im patriotischen und dynastischen Interesse, diese Bewegung möglichst zu fördern, weil diese Denkmäler lautgreifende Zeugen sind von den Tugenden unserer Vorfahren, und gegenwärtige Generationen stets erin-

8 Carl Wolf, Andreas Hofer. Tirol im Jahre 1809, 8. Aufl., Meran 1908.

nern an die Pflichten gegen das Allerhöchste Herrscherhaus und das Vaterland“.⁹ The *Landes-Ausschuß* subsidised the erection of statues or plaques to the most prominent figures from 1809 in the various districts and villages of Tirol. Finally, the celebration itself was turned into an historical event („ein Ehrentag in der Geschichte Tirols“), thereby having its legitimacy and apparent truth validated. Commemorative medals were distributed, and reduced-price copies of the official festival album were offered to parishes and shooting associations. A cross used in the *Festzug* was later placed in a consecrated chapel on the Berg Isel. Tirolian history was promoted to the same end. Special attention was paid to „Tiroler Heimatkunde“ in teacher-training institutions, linked to remembrance of the festival. Souvenir coins were given as prizes to pupils who performed particularly well „in der vaterländischen Geschichte“¹⁰.

The society within which this festival took place, like any society, was able to confer social recognition and provide status rewards – the organisers could benefit from the prestige of the *Kaiser's* visit, donation of commemorative medals or watches, the importance of the social occasion and so on. This involves everyone, but particularly those identified with the state or public life. Kathrein issued circulars to the heads of shooting groups, parish councils, local state bureaucracy and the military, encouraging – and thus virtually obliging – officials at every level, as well as local associations to attend the events or contribute to the prize-fund for the *Festschießen*. The *Andreas Hofer-Denkmal-Komitee* in Meran indicates the coalition of interests involved in the patriotic enterprise – aside from four people involved solely in commercial affairs, all the members were involved with the state through direct employment, possessed some honorary attribution by the state or were members of the clergy. Four *Schützen* and *Veteranen* groups were also represented.

Orders of social precedence during the festival were carefully set out, albeit with slight changes in the choreography depending on the appropriate location, and dress requirements were also stipulated. The two biggest public events were a ceremony on the Berg Isel and the *Schützenzug*. The Berg Isel mass took place on the morning of the 29th of August, and here the social utopia depicted was that of a ‚ständisch‘ medieval society: *Klerus*, *Adel*, *Bürgertum* and *Bauerntum* were all represented. At the *Festzug*, the stands around the *Kaiser's* pavillion were occupied by *Honoratioren* – a definition which included the highest clergy, ministers of state, senior civil servants and the leading local dignitaries. Immediately surrounding the

9 LsA/6: (F. IV) Kathrein an den Kaiser, 1. 9. 1906.

10 LsA/6: (F. XXXIII) Kathrein an den k. k. Landes-Schulrat, 3. 6. 1910.

Kaiser were the military – generals, active and retired officers and officials. To his left were further members of the military, to his right, clergy and the highest members of the Imperial court. On the opposite side of the route sat *Reichsrat* and *Landtag* deputies in one stand, civil servants in another. The officially invited guests included the *Bürgermeister* of Tirol, parish leaders and civil servants from the local head-offices of the state railways, telegraph and so on. *Honoratioren* from Italienisch-Tirol also attended. The Catholic Italian *Landtag* deputies requested an audience with the Emperor to present various petitions. The only overt political rejection came from a few Italian Liberals and one Social-Democrat (a *Reichsrat* deputy for Innsbruck). The Liberals contended that official participation was incompatible with their demands for autonomy in Trentino, but nonetheless asked for an audience with the Emperor. The councils in Trento and Rovereto sent deputations to Innsbruck. All these aspects – spatial organisation, dress codes and also forms of address – underline the important role of institutions in forming identities and giving substance to 'tradition'.

The whole event had the character of a military operation. Aside from the obvious presence of the male members of the imperial family in military uniform, and of visiting generals or regimental bands, the manner in which the event was organised drew on military models as a form of social control. The main source of funding for the festival was the *Militär-Maria-Theresien-Orden*, embodiment of the highest values of the Habsburgs. The military ethos of the state implied important social disciplines: „Patriotism, fidelity to duty, victory over oneself, these are the weapons that matter in warfare.“¹¹ The metaphor of „Tirol in Waffen“, a unit bonded by loyalty and sacrifice, served as an ideal illustration of the structure of the Empire, which depended in this way on the reliability of its subjects: „Humbly report, sir, I'm awfully happy“, replied the good soldier Švejk. „It'll be really marvellous when we both fall dead together for His Imperial Majesty and the Royal Family...“¹²

The institution of the *Schützen* was at the core of the hegemonic version of Tirolian identity and their activities were consciously presented as traditional, „wie es [...] schon seit Jahrhunderten der Brauch war“¹³. In fact, many *Schützen* traditions had lapsed by the 19th century, with an upswing only observable in the second half of the century. The period before 1909 saw a spate of re-foundations

11 Jaroslav Hašek, *The Good Soldier Švejk*, London 1974, 752.

12 Hašek, *Švejk*, see footnote 11, 213.

13 Josef Emanuel Bauer, *Denkschrift der Tiroler Landes-Jahrhundertfeier in Innsbruck*, Innsbruck 1910, 15.

or the creation of new companies, some especially for the festival. The revival was accompanied by the codification of old uniforms and the invention of new ones. The *Schützen* were cultivated as an extensive folkloric tradition, celebrated in literature and painting. In that this overall process received official sponsorship, the *Schützen* acted as mediators of the official culture. The *Landeskomitee* arranged for the selection of representatives for the parade-committee, by the local heads of the various *Schützen* associations, to ensure the co-operation of the whole land in the event. However, the problem for the committee was that this was part of a definitely German cultural tradition. Attempts were therefore made to establish *Schützen* groups in Italienisch-Tirol, and the *Festzug* was meant to demonstrate how the Italian population had been incorporated into this tradition: „vogliamo mostrare che la tradizionale nostra devozione e fedeltà alla vita della nostra dinastia perdura ancora inconcussa in petto al popolo tirolese, così salda come le rocche dei nostri monti“.¹⁴ In addition to the general cultural difficulty, the *Schützen* tradition in Tirol was used during this period for specifically anti-Italian purposes. Defence of the land in 1848, 1859 and 1866 had been in response to threats from parts of Italy and it was always assumed that any threat to Tirol was going to come from the South. The policy of encouraging the erection of monuments in every community tended to produce identification with the uprising as one of Germans against French (and by extension, all ‘Latin’ cultures). And at the ground level, the *Schützen* tradition tended to form exclusively German identities: „Es gilt ‚Den Kaiser zu ehren‘ nach uraltem Tirolerbrauch (...) Mit treudeutschem Schützen- und Willkommengruß (...)“¹⁵.

2.2. A Triumphant Bourgeoisie?

In analysing the festival, it is necessary to distinguish between form and meanings. The meanings of the festival were in one sense infinite, but the official, intended meaning was dynastic, hierarchical, patriotic, religious and rural – a reflection of the ideals of the political elite. Yet the form of the festival was that of idealised and invented tradition, and this reflected the cultural hegemony of the bourgeoisie. The search for genealogical national stories, the writing of history through the decisive role of individuals, the erection of national monuments, romantic attitudes to

14 LsA/6: (F. VIII) Einladung zur Festzugsteilnahme der Schützen.

15 TLF/Zg.: Aufruf zum Kaiser-Jubiläum, Vorstehung des k. k. Hauptschießstandes Bozen, Dezember 1907.

nature, the use of costumes, songs and so on, all reflected bourgeois aspirations or values. The cultural form of the festival was actually an example of a wider process, emerging primarily from the bourgeois milieu during the 19th century, and whose distinctive features were (usually) political liberalism, a sense of national consciousness and the determination of ‚civilised values‘. The very idea of holding a centenary celebration can be associated with bourgeois notions of the ordering of time. Frykman and Löfgren have argued that peasant societies tend to celebrate cyclical, annual seasonal events, such as harvest feasts.¹⁶ In contrast to this is a future-oriented, careerist and linear ordering of time which is essentially the cultural product of a relatively narrow social strata – male, middle-class, urban-based professionals. Their highly rational and strictly formalised sense of time attaches great importance to personal landmarks and the ‚magic of numbers‘ (birthday celebrations were an almost exclusively bourgeois phenomenon until penetrating peasant and working-class lifestyles at the end of the 19th century). The corollary of this disciplined view of time – evident in industrial modes of production – is a nostalgic interpretation of the past, which crystallises peasant life into a colourful and unchanging lost age, rejoicing in its outwardly decorative features: „Die Tiroler sind keine Freunde der wechselnden Moden, welche sich um den Geist der Vergangenheit nicht kümmern und womöglich einem jeden neuen Jahre funkelneue Kostüme zurechtschneiden möchten...“¹⁷. The Tirolian *Heimat* movement¹⁸ was closely involved in the identification of the local national culture – collecting artefacts and rhymes in local dialect, founding municipal museums, writing history and forming scientific or cultural associations. Balls combined with a Trachtenfest became part of the urban social calendar, artificially imitating aspects of peasant life: „Liabi Leutlen! Jetzt warn miar halt a wieder da mit ünsern Ladschreib’n und tat’n Enk einlad’n Ös sollt’s zuawer giahn zun ünsern Ball.“¹⁹ During the festival, there was a *Trachtenschau* in the exhibition hall, together with a peasant wedding, examples of peasant sports and so on.

But the *Heimat* is not just wishful thinking, it is also a necessity. The real function of *Heimat* nostalgia was as a „defence against all that was foreign and changing“ – „what was recreated was not so much the landscape of peasant culture

16 Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren, *Culture builders. An historical anthropology of middle-class life*, Rutgers 1987.

17 *Interessantes Blatt* (Wien), 24. 6. 1909.

18 See: Wolfgang Meixner, *Mythos Tirol. Zur Tiroler Ethnizitätsbildung und Heimatschutzbewegung im 19. Jahrhundert*, in: *Geschichte und Region – Storia e regione 1* (1992), 88–106.

19 TLF/Zg.: *Tiroler Bergsteiger-Gesellschaft „Alpler“*, *Ladschreiben zum Alpler Ball*, Jänner 1907.

as the myth of the way it was and the dream of the way it ought to be (...) a secure society with no class conflicts and no outsiders".²⁰ In a society whose characteristic features were coming to be sustained, irreversible long-term economic growth, specialised production, occupational mobility and universal literacy, „the culture needs to be sustained as a culture, and not as the scarcely noticed accompaniment of a faith".²¹ A culture in which everybody participates, and where (in theory) anybody can fulfil any social and economic role (because of a standard education), consists of a framework of reference points. Even if the content of these references is nearly always in dispute, they must at least be recognised by everybody, and that is achieved by a process of identification and codification. It is in this sense that a nation is ‚created‘: a set of standard idioms and symbols are identified, based primarily on language, but determined also by political values, religion, distribution of power, social norms, the form and pace of economic change and so on.

In practice, the leading social group constructing this new use of culture tended to be the bourgeoisie – the social group which defined itself by its values and virtues, not by reference to a divinely-ordained social order. For them, nationality was an instinctive part of their cultural awareness. There was thus some difficulty in reconciling German cultural consciousness with recognition of the status of Italian culture within Tirol. In discussions by the festival committee, *Bürgermeister* Domanig (Sterzing) and Rohracher (Lienz) were in favour of a German (instead of Latin) inscription on the centenary coins. The neutral Latin had to be defended on the grounds that the coins were also to be presented to *Schützen* from Italienisch-Tirol. Concomitant with a sense of national consciousness was the expression of certain political and social values – religious toleration, secular education, the rule of law, freedom of trade, political pluralism etc. The main liberal newspaper in Innsbruck emphasised alternative values to those of the Conservatives in „Tirols Willkommengruß“ to the *Kaiser*. It celebrated 1809 „im geklärten Lichte der Geschichtsforschung“ and recalled the role of various Tiroler who had been involved in the fulfilment of liberal aims. The festival was „ein großes, schönes Familienfest“, a secular social occasion not part of the heavenly village of the Catholic-Conservatives²². For the leading bourgeois of Innsbruck and the main towns of Tirol, 1909 was an opportunity to demonstrate their position in the Monarchy, including their dynamic economic role. Tirol had suffered an extended economic crisis in the

20 Frykman and Löfgren, Culture builders, see footnote 16, 63.

21 Ernest Gellner, Nations and nationalism, Oxford 1983, 142.

22 Innsbrucker Nachrichten, 28. 8. 1909.

second half of the 19th century and only in the 20 or so years before 1909 did the situation begin to improve, and the urban elites felt that this was primarily their achievement. In welcoming the *Kaiser* at Innsbruck station, *Bürgermeister* Greil made direct reference to the recent upswing in the town's fortunes.

2.3. Sunny Tirol

A major factor in the economic upturn was tourism. The number of visitors expanded rapidly in the last quarter of the 19th century, and the whole operation became increasingly organised. Tourism is a major point of interest for several reasons. Firstly, there was a strong commercial motivation to the production of a Tirolian (peasant) identity – to create something ‚exotic‘ for foreign visitors and to provide something that was simultaneously culturally accessible, yet quaintly ‚different‘ for the rising numbers of German tourists. Images of Tirolian peasants were used in the marketing of tourist-related activities or for the promotion of products made in Tirol. In 1909, there were advertisements for Andreas Hofer soap in the local papers. In general terms, the festival was a big commercial opportunity (it was reckoned that around 25,000 visitors would be in Innsbruck over the festival weekend). The Huber travel agency in Innsbruck used the *Volksschauspiel* in Brixlegg as its advertising ploy for the 1909 season. Brochures from the *Landesverband für Fremdenverkehr* extensively employed peasant images. The marketing of tourism was in effect reproducing a lifestyle as a commodity.

This then has implications as to Tirolian identities amongst the local population, over 75 percent of whom were still employed in agriculture: what is the impact of this type of economic activity (the packaging of a cultural identity for foreign consumption) in a society emerging from economic stagnation, experiencing major structural dislocations (emigration, technological changes) and undergoing a period of mass political mobilisation? Arguably, it encourages xenophobic identities. The *Verein für Heimatschutz in Tirol* was founded in Innsbruck in 1908, and warned against the dangers of modernisation and misuse of the land by outsiders: „Schützet Tirol vor der Beraubung und Zerstörung dessen, was nur ihm zu eigen ist, was es uns teuer macht, das wir mit allen Fasern unserer Herzen an ihm hängen!“²³ Though a bourgeois-dominated association, this type of reaction is symptomatic of more general attitudes in Tirolian society. The *Verein* articulated the ambiguities of change – an acknowledgement of progress with a fear of the

23 TLF/Zg.: Verein für Heimatschutz in Tirol, Jahresbericht 1912/13, 3f.

consequences – and similar feelings can be observed in peasant associations; it contributed to the formation of a defensive and xenophobic political culture, and the involvement of the small-town *Mittelstand* was significant here.

Two points are important. First, many visitors thought that the peasants did not share their own sensibilities, because it did not appear that they matched the standards of civilised life: „Nothing could exceed the pleasant willingness of the people of the house; but both their accomodation and their cleanliness was limited; and besides a repulsive look, there was an unaccountable odour, about the beds, which made sleeping in them impossible“.²⁴ Second, the emergence of leisure in society was initially an urban phenomenon: peasants looked at the land for its productive rather than its aesthetic or recreative value. National identities were thus potentially in opposition to a specifically new phenomenon – large-scale tourism, where the tourists seem to represent all that is most sophisticated and modern in society. The tourist industry used images of peasants as a marketing technique, but simultaneously boasted about the availability of the conveniences of modern life – „Bahn-, Post-, Telegraphen- und Telefon-Station, hat elektrische Beleuchtung, Hochdruck-Wasseranlage, Lawn-Tennisplatz, Fremdenkonzerte, Omnibus-Verbindung mit dem Zillertale, Fahrgelegenheit nach allen Richtungen und jeden Tag ärztliche Ordination.“²⁵ All this kept peasant life at an attractively comfortable distance for the comparatively wealthy visitors. At the local level, however, it often introduced changes and confronted the population with different standards and modes of living (much to the chagrin of Conservatives and the upper clergy). The tourist board in Tirol issued a leaflet for rural guest-house owners, instructing them how to behave with visitors, lay tables and so on, and encouraged sanitary improvements, such as the installation of inside toilets. The influx of seasonal strangers also occurred when more of the local population than ever before were leaving the land on a permanent basis – a situation which arguably makes *Heimat*-based cultural identities more resonant.

2.4. Good Kaiser Franz Joseph

Despite the existence of constitutional institutions, the style of the Habsburg Empire remained that of an absolutist state. The Emperor retained important

24 Rachel Harriette Busk, *The valleys of Tirol. Their traditions and customs and how to visit them*, London 1874, 187.

25 ISA 1909/Communalakten 7: Werbung – Reisebureau Huber, Innsbruck.

powers, perhaps even increasing in significance with the paralysis in parliamentary decision-making in the years before 1914. This personalised power structure suggests that bonds of loyalty were formed with the person of the Emperor himself, rather than his imperial role. The *Kaiser's* arrival was eagerly awaited, and large crowds were reported at all the stations on his journey through Tirol. The co-ordinating committee for the *Schützen* from the Zillertal reported that, „der Großteil, dem es möglich ist, setzt sehr viel Gewicht darauf beim Empfange Sr. Majestät zu gegen zu sein“.²⁶ Anecdotal coverage in the popular press indicates that the general population identified with the *Kaiser* at a personal level („Wir sind ja schon alte Bekannte“), as in a basically ‚feudal‘ system of power-relations, i. e. a direct relationship with the immediate authority rather than an impersonalised association with the state structure: „Es ist bezeichnend, daß viele der alten Leute die Gelegenheit benützten, um dem Kaiser eine Bitte vorzutragen.“²⁷

At the political centre, however, it was realised that the role of the monarchy was in fact changing, and traditional characteristics were being carefully adapted to more modern requirements. The official festival album cultivated the image of the Imperial family, featuring lavish portraits in the opening pages. A new photograph of the *Kaiser* in the uniform of the *Tiroler Kaiserjäger* was specially supplied by the court. The central authorities attempted to promote the personality of the *Kaiser* – 50th and 60th (1898, 1908) jubilees were held by the government for this reason. The 50th jubilee was marked by celebrations throughout Tirol, with the inevitable *Festschießen* and patriotic church services, though in view of the forthcoming *Jahrhundertfeier*, the 60th jubilee was more low-key.

2.5. Peasants into Austrians?

There is little doubt about there having been a basic enthusiasm for the festival. A minimum of 20,000 German-speaking Tirolian men took part in the *Festzug* (the 1910 population in Tirol was 950,000, 57 percent German-speaking), but such a high attendance rate should not disguise the fact that there were challenges to the official interpretation of 1809. What can loosely be termed ‚criticism from below‘ came from two areas. The Social Democratic movement did not positively identify with the event, and argued that the clerical parties stressed the roles of religion and patriotism in the 1809 uprising because it allowed them to overlook

26 LsA/6: (F. XXII) Schützenhauptmann Zell an Landes-Obercommissär Bauer, 16. 6. 1909.

27 LsA/6: (F. II) Protokoll der Landes-Komitee-Sitzung, 4. 2. 1909

the political and economic injustices of the present (as well as the past). Protests against poverty in Innsbruck being ignored by the festival serve as a reminder that the Tirolian identities being propagated relied exclusively on agrarian utopias. Outside of the main towns of Tirol, however, and in terms of representation in the *Landtag*, the workers' movement was insignificant, and the main effective challenge thus came from the mobilised peasantry. Without disputing the general framework, there was resentment towards an elitist interpretation of events. The *Tiroler Bauernbund* paper accepted the basis of the official interpretation (religion and patriotism), but claimed the events for its own – „die Bewegung von anno neun doch in erster Linie eine Bauernbewegung war und auch das heurige Jubiläum vornehmlich unser Fest ist“. This is an assertion of an independent status within society, a demand for recognition, above all, a refusal to be written out of history: „Der Führer in den Tiroler Kämpfen vor hundert Jahren war ein Bauer. (...) Bauern waren es, die Andreas Hofer Folge geleistet haben, und wenn die Tiroler Bauern nicht vor 100 Jahren dem Rufe Andreas Hofers gefolgt wären, dann wären die Tiroler Freiheitskriege nicht möglich und ganz gewiß nicht siegreich gewesen“²⁸.

The interests of the rural population were articulated in the planning stages, forcing a postponement of the festival from the 15th of August (when Hofer had triumphantly entered Innsbruck after the third Berg Isel battle). The difference in timing was only two weeks, but the change represented a serious setback to the Conservative conception of the event: „Nun kommt zu meinem lebhaften Bedauern eine Agitation gegen diesen 15. August aus rein materiellen wirtschaftlichen Gründen, denen die grosse Idee der patriotischen und dynastischen Feier untergeordnet werden soll“²⁹. Responses by district shooting centres to confidential enquiries made in 1908 suggest how the final decision was reached. Not everyone believed that a change of date was appropriate, but Kufstein was unique in thinking that for historical reasons alone, 15. August should be adhered to. The clear majority did not hold the significant day as inviolable, the replies indicating that material considerations (the harvest, income from tourism) would be the first priority. Perhaps that is no great surprise, but it significantly shows that there were new political forces capable of determining what their own interests were – the festival in 1863 had been an ideological struggle exclusive to Conservative and Liberal elites.

More broadly, the efforts at securing social integration have to be viewed in the context of mass political mobilisation and economic change, because it does seem

28 *Tiroler Bauern-Zeitung*, 6. 8. 1909, 3. 9. 1909.

29 LsA/6: (F. XXXIII) Kathrein an den Generaladjutant des Kaisers, Februar 1909.

that for much of the German-speaking population, at least, a distinctive Tirolian identity was an effective means of social integration. Gellner has argued that „in stable self-contained communities culture is often quite invisible, but when mobility and context-free communication come to be the essence of social life, the culture in which one has been taught to communicate becomes the core of one's identity“³⁰. It is possible to accept the basic structure of these arguments concerning the type of changes involved in moving away from an essentially locally-identified agrarian society, whilst acknowledging that an appreciation of cultural definitions ‚from below‘ is a major weakness in Gellner's thesis.³¹ A transition-facilitating regional identity – the ‚myth of Tirol‘ – expressed a timeless confirmation of certain values, thereby implying that even if changes occurred, the essence of peasant life would not be taken away. Lewis has suggested that conservative agrarianism executes an important function in terms of integration into capitalist society: „traditionalist and anti-capitalist rhetoric appeals to and expresses the fear of social and economic change which the peasants (...) feel. But by doing so, it reassures the peasants that even if they evolve, they will remain a distinctive cultural group, and that in turn encourages them to evolve“.³² Formation of a Tirolian identity at the mass level seems to have functioned in a very similar way: „Die glaubens- und volksfeindlichen Geldmächte werden zwar alles daran setzen, um der aufstrebenden Bauernbewegung den Weg zu verlegen, doch wenn wir, wie unsere Väter vor hundert Jahren, stark sind im Glauben, kräftig in der Tat und einig im Kampfe, so wird der Erfolg sicher nicht ausbleiben.“³³

Certain other points can also be noted. Firstly, this process of identity-formation is not dependent on a process of secularisation. The more popular part of the festival was associated with the *Herz-Jesu*, a baroque religious cult that had come to be an annual celebration after 1796, and which assumed a prominent position in the calendar of church feasts performing an important regulative function in the agricultural work-cycle, as well as being the symbolic core around which Tirolian Catholicism became politicised in the 19th century. The fact that the *Herz-Jesu-Fest* was specifically chosen for the „kirchliche Jahrhundertfeier“ – when the *Herz-Jesu-Bund* was renewed at services held in every locality – suggests that a determining point was „[die] Wünsche[n] der Bevölkerung, die auch den

30 Gellner, Nations and nationalism, see footnote 21, 61.

31 Eric J. Hobsbawm, Nations and nationalism since 1780, Cambridge 1990, 11.

32 Gavin Lewis, The peasantry, rural change and conservative agrarianism: Lower Austria at the turn of the century, in: Past and Present 81 (1978), 119-143.

33 Tiroler Bauern-Zeitung, 6. 8. 1909.

kirchlichen Teil des Festes möglichst feierlich gehalten wissen will“.³⁴ For the formation of Tirolian identities, the retention of these elements of a baroque religious culture in popular attitudes proves influential. Late Counter-Reformation beliefs had sharply accentuated the divisions between good and evil, and Catholic priests still vigorously propagated the certainty of eternal damnation for those contemplating mixed marriages with Protestants. Continuing beliefs in the malevolent role of the Jews in the story of Christianity and celebrations of martyrs who were supposedly the child victims of Jewish ritual murders provided a functioning enemy-figure in the popular mind. With the mobilisation of the peasantry through the Christian Social movement, these attitudes were easily transmuted into political or economic anti-semitism, which was an intrinsic component within Tirolian identities. Peasant savings associations expressed this sentiment in barely coded form: „In getreuer Befolgung des obersten Grundsatzes der landwirtschaftlichen Kreditorganisationen, kapitalistische Bestrebungen zu bekämpfen...“.³⁵ The *Bauernbund* was more direct: „In (...) Hoffnungslosigkeit und Verzweiflung liegen die arbeitenden christlichen Stände Europas vor dem tyrannischen Eroberer der Neuzeit, vor dem jüdischen Großkapital auf dem Boden“³⁶. Attacks on „Jewish“ big capital were politically effective in a poor agricultural sector that was increasingly falling into debt. Because of the nature of this type of religious identity, an especially sharp distinction came to be drawn between the (good) *Tiroler* and the (bad) enemy/outsider in the emerging mass political culture in Tirol.

Secondly, construction of an identity on a larger level does not mean that previous identities (such as the valley) are discarded. When the organisers sought contributions for the *Festschießen*, they noticed that: „[es] macht sich in Tirol ein bedeutender Partikularismus bezüglich der Feste und Monumente geltend“.³⁷ Nor does this mean that occupational identities (e. g. status as *Bauer*) are unimportant. The rapid success of the *Tiroler Bauernbund*, which gathered together over 7,000 *Bauern* for its constituency meeting in 1904, testifies to the importance of this form of identity, even if there may be significant qualitative differences between various forms of identification: national identity „is always combined with identifications of another kind, even when it is felt to be superior to them“.³⁸ Lastly, the process of identity-formation is not just about increasing degrees of integration. It is

34 LsA/6: (F. XXXIII) Kathrein an Spiegelfeld, 7. 6. 1909.

35 Kundmachung der Zentralkasse der Raiffeisenvereine Deutschtirols, 5. 8. 1909.

36 *Tiroler Bauern-Zeitung*, 6. 8. 1909.

37 LsA/6: (F. IV) Memorandum Kathreins, Dezember 1907.

38 Hobsbawm, *Nations*, see footnote 31, 11.

also necessary to look at this process in the context of 'isolation'. Whilst there are forces creating social integration (involvement in wider economic markets, education, extension of suffrage, newspapers, military service), some of these same forces can also lead to isolation, in the sense of loss of individual control over affairs. Examples of this would be peasant control over resources (agricultural specialisation creates dependency on the market, and removes the self-sufficient aspects of economic organisation) and the professionalisation of politics (mass political parties destroying elements of personal contact). Reports by insurance associations stress difficulties in initially persuading peasants to join, because they feared the loss of their independence and self-sufficiency.

3. 1863: Culture, Politics and Bourgeois Movements

The 500th anniversary celebration of the accession of Tirol into the dominions of the House of Habsburg took place in September 1863. Unexpectedly graced by the presence of Franz Joseph, the celebration came to take on the appearance of a consensual homage ceremony. But the final form the festival took obscured a much more complex and controversial background, involving a direct ideological struggle between Liberalism and Catholic-Conservatism, at a time when the *Kulturkampf* in Tirol was in its intense opening stages.³⁹ The event was organised by the leading Liberals in Tirol (concentrated in Innsbruck, Meran and Bozen) and celebrated the newly-introduced constitutional system in the Monarchy (especially its protection of religious toleration). There was a major confrontation between centre and province, in which the Liberals identified with the centralising, 'progressive' aims of the government in Vienna. The Conservatives sought to defend the Catholic religious monopoly in the land (*Glaubenseinheit*) by invoking a specifically Tirolian concept of *Landesrechte*. The event also occurred against the background of Habsburg attempts to reform the *Deutscher Bund*, thus involving the issue of Austria's role within Germany, the more significant after the loss of Lombardy in 1859 and the gradual unification of Italy in 1860/61. For Conservatives, the festival was a simple restatement of dynastic loyalty, but the Liberal party in Tirol was part of a much broader movement of the German bourgeoisie, sympathetic to a *großdeutsche* solution to the German question (this relates back to the dispute over religion, because constitutionally-enshrined religious plurality was a prerequisite of Austria's possessing a credible role as leader of the whole of Germany). The 1863

39 Josef Fontana, *Der Kulturkampf in Tirol, 1861–1892*, Bozen 1978.

celebration was based on the organisation of a *Festschießen*, and the *Landeshaupt-schießstand* in Innsbruck was the emotional centre of the festival. In this respect, the festival took inspiration from similar types of event in other parts of Germany, and particularly identified itself with the *Frankfurter Nationalschießen* of 1862.

The festival was an essentially elitist struggle which took place within a still restricted political culture (no formally organised mass parties, no universal suffrage, no rights of free association), where the symbolic nuances of specific events were the means of expressing ideological positions. The German consciousness that was much in evidence at the festival was expressed through a primarily cultural pride in the region (the *Heimat*) and through a political identification with the *Kaiser* and his centralising government in Vienna. The associational and cultural movement for German unity was in the first place a political and ideological movement for Austrian 'state-building'. The ideas of a national civil society, a more liberal market and a secular, centralised government appeared to be Franz Joseph's common objectives for both the Habsburg Monarchy and the *Deutschen Bund*.

3.1. Jumping, Singing, Shooting. Bourgeois Associations and National Culture

1863 was primarily the achievement of an urban-based, bourgeois social group. Organisation was located in two main places: the *Vorsteherung* of the *Landeshaupt-schießstand* and the town-council of Innsbruck. The festival committees were dominated by the professional and independent bourgeoisie, but also by independent craftsmen, suggesting the positive links which could be forged between liberalism and that occupational group, particularly in the relatively expansive period of the 1860s. The Conservative-dominated *Landtag* confined itself to a purely non-interventionist role: „Die Festfeier dieses Tages wird mit voller Beruhigung den einzelnen Gemeinden überlassen.“⁴⁰ In this way the Conservatives hoped to decentralise the festival, preventing the rural population from being influenced by the Liberals, and to minimize its importance: „hiebei fiel es angenehm auf, daß das bureaukratische Kommandiren und Befehlen dadurch aufgehört hat (...)“.⁴¹

One of the central features of the festival was the voluntary involvement of associations. Most often run by bourgeois elites, such groups often fulfilled a

40 TLA 1863/Zl. 147: [Nr. 2616] Anträge des Landes-Ausschußes über die Feier der 500jährigen Vereinigung Tirols mit Österreich, 28. 3. 1863.

41 Tiroler Stimmen, 20. 8. 1863.

substitute political role where there were restricted rights of association (as well as possessing a genuine element of sociability).⁴² The most prominent activity within the festival was the shooting-competition, an activity which in itself had political connotations. One feature of the 1848–49 revolutions in Germany had been the assertion of the right to carry arms, representing a claim on citizenship and equality, i.e. the right to carry weapons should not be a noble privilege; also, voluntary consociational activity embodied a fulfilment of (exclusively male) conceptions of fraternity and individual liberty (as well as notions of responsibility and duty – elections were held to choose officers). The public invitation to the *Festschießen* spoke of *Schützenbrüder* and appealed to the *Schützen* of the *österreichischen Brüderländer* and *bundesgenössischen Deutschlands*. In the main towns, these groups tended to hold national-liberal beliefs, and the organisers made a big effort to encourage participation from other parts of Germany, even if the eventual success of this part of the event was mixed. At the shooting-competition only 162 *Schützen* – or 2.8 percent of the total – came from Germany to participate and of those, 151 came from Bavaria. From the purely regional perspective, however, it was a great success, constituting the largest event of its kind yet held in Tirol. The end of the festival turned into an anniversary celebration of the Battle of Leipzig in 1813, and the presence of *Schützen* groups, singing and gymnastic associations ensured a manifestation of *großdeutsche* sentiments – speeches, songs, telegrams of thanks and poems constantly invoked the German character of Austria, though this was always done within a framework of loyalty to the *Kaiser*. German flags were hung as a sign of support for reform of the *Bund*, but Tirolian and Austrian colours were everywhere as well. Franz Joseph was „der Erneuerer Deutschlands“ and portraits of the Habsburg dynasty took the place of honour in the new *Schießhalle*.

As in other German areas, identification with – and creation of – a literary national culture was part of a liberal movement that was also articulated through political and recreational sociability⁴³, which testifies to the importance of ‚culture‘ in the sense used by Gellner and Anderson, as a means of identifying with a community mainly beyond the direct experience of the individual⁴⁴. The commemorative literature drew on the German cultural tradition: a poem spoken at the festival ball on 29th of September began by invoking Walther von der Vogelweide,

42 Dieter Düding, *Die deutsche Nationalbewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts als Vereinsbewegung*, in: *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 42 (1991), 601–624.

43 James J. Sheehan, *German liberalism in the 19th century*, Chicago 1978; *German History 1770–1866*, Oxford 1990.

44 Gellner, *Nations and nationalism*, see footnote 21; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities*, London 1991.

the medieval lyric poet. The organisers imagined themselves to be speaking in the name of the whole land: „nun [feiert] das ganze Land Tirol das Landesfest“⁴⁵; yet 1863 was an entirely German cultural event, with no specific attempt made to involve Italienisch-Tirol in the celebrations. Of the 5,160 *Tiroler Schützen* participating in the *Festschießen*, only 34 (6.6 percent) came from Trentino (as against an approximately 40 percent share of the total population of Tirol) and it seems that some of these at least were basically German-speaking, quite possibly state bureaucrats from outside the area. The Liberals identified with the Habsburg state and a wider German-speaking community, attaching an extended importance to their event, but what is most striking is the importance of the local sphere. In the text of a concert given by the *Tiroler Sängerbund*, the most meaningful articulation of identity was the *Heimat*⁴⁶. *Vaterland* was also used to refer to Tirol („Tirol! mein schönes, theures Vaterland!“) and the Conservatives tended to use the term in this narrow sense. More often, it was extended to *Österreich*, as in „das Recht und die Ehre des Vaterlandes“. Only rarely – in the writings of liberal intellectuals – would the term be used to refer to Germany. *Vaterland* on its own obviously referred to Tirol or Austria; when it was to refer to Germany, that had to be precisely specified („unauflöselichen Zusammenhang mit dem großen deutschen Vaterlande“). There are repeated uses of the word *deutsch* as a form of self-identification (particularly by the *Schützen*, *Sänger* and *Turner*), but this is a subjective and descriptive term; there is no substantive sense to *Deutschland* – it is not a *Land*, nor a *Heimat*, nor in any real sense a *Vaterland*. *Deutschland* did not reflect a political or precise territorial reality, it was a cultural expression (even if there were strong national-political expectations implicit in its use).

3.2. Politics as Religion: the Conservatives and the Festival

The attitude of the Catholic-Conservatives to the festival was determined by the politics of the *Kulturkampf* and their identification with the Counter-Reformation tradition (the active enforcement of an authoritarian-patriarchal conception of the social order, in which the Catholic religion was the fundamental basis upon which life depended). Piety and obedience to the church were the distinctive features of the Tirolian people – it was these qualities which had protected Tirol from the anarchy of the French Revolution and the years 1848–49. The *Landtag*

45 ISA 1862/1 [Nr. 3430].

46 TLF FB560: Textbuch zum Fest-Concert des Tiroler Sängerbundes, 30. 9. 1863.

passed a decision for the maintenance of *Glaubenseinheit* (whereby the Roman Church was the only legal religious institution in Tirol) on 25th of February 1863, and in June, Conservatives held a festival to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the Council of Trento, the defining moment in the Counter-Reformation.

Initially discouraging any type of involvement, tactics changed after it became clear that large numbers of *Schützen* were registering to take part; so long as no high-ranking member of the imperial family was going to attend – and the *Landtag* refrained from making any such invitation – the Conservatives could risk boycotting the festival, but this position altered when sources in Vienna made it clear that an *Erzherzog* would be present. So the Conservatives now tried to endorse participation in the hope of providing a dominantly religious tone to the event, and to counteract the stridently *großdeutsch* imperial-political tone of the Liberals. Where the Conservative position in relation to imperial politics was federalist ('feudalist', as the Liberals termed it) in the sense of rejecting interference from the central government, on the German question they adopted the appearance of supporting *Großdeutschland*, arguing in favour of the *Kaiser's* reforming initiative. Yet within that, they were constantly anti-Prussian, with increasing vehemence after 1859 and throughout the early 1860s (within Germany, the liberal movement was often strongest in Protestant areas and the liberal *Nationalverein* came to support the creation of a Germany under Prussian leadership). For Conservatives, Germany had gone wrong at the Reformation: disunity was a result of religious dissent and *Uneinigkeit* was the „Ersünde der Deutschen“⁴⁷. It would, however, be wrong to suggest that this amounted to indifference as to the question of Germany. Quite the opposite: the romantic Catholic dream of a united Germany under the House of Austria was widespread within the Austrian and Tirolian Church in the mid-19th-century, and Tirolian clerics had gone to the Paulskirche in Frankfurt in 1848 fervently believing that a national and religious rebirth of the Empire was possible⁴⁸, though the experience of the 1848–49 revolutions severely checked such optimism and Catholic ambitions.

47 *Tiroler Stimmen*, 3.–5. 9. 1863.

48 Gottfried Mayer, *Österreich als katholische Großmacht. Ein Traum zwischen Revolution und liberaler Ära*, Wien 1989.

4. Preliminary conclusions

1. The 1863 festival in Tirol was organised by a liberal bourgeois grouping who identified with the progressive ideology of the Austrian government in the early 1860s; it was primarily a movement for Austrian 'state-building', and only secondarily an expression of national aspirations for Germany. Desire for the closer inclusion of Austria into Germany was an extension – not a contradiction – of Austrian patriotism. Identification of the bourgeoisie grouping with Germany was cultural, and found expression in associational and literary activity; politically, it was a liberal, state-reforming movement against the prevailing social order in Tirol and in favour of what seemed to be a new direction in the style of Habsburg government. What this suggests is the importance of monarchical conceptions of the nation, something often ignored by theories of nationalism.⁴⁹ Within the context of Tirolian and Habsburg politics, the *großdeutsche* sentiments of the Liberals are readily apparent; but from a broader perspective, there is a strong suggestion of the local context and regional nature of German liberalism. Despite a consciousness of a wider cultural entity or desire for national unity, it is the regional differences and divergences which are in practice the most noticeable aspects of the movement⁵⁰. The liberal version of Tirolian identity was in 1863 in direct ideological confrontation with a Conservative, specifically anti-modern political philosophy. Conservative opposition to the festival represented the attempt to maintain political and social hegemony within Tirol at a time when they appeared to be marginalised in the Habsburg Monarchy and the *Deutscher Bund*, and they formulated a narrow, exclusive and essentially xenophobic Tirolian identity in defence of their position.

2. In 1909, the Conservatives in the Habsburg Empire were attempting to mobilise the loyalties of the population by using national identity as an alternative to an openly populist or democratic vision of society. It has been argued that the form which this *Kulturstiftung* took was in fact a product of bourgeois society. Conservatives were primarily using specific cultural forms to honour religion-

49 Manfred Hanisch, *Nationalisierung der Dynastien oder Monarchisierung der Nation?*, in: Adolf Birke and Lothar Kettenacker, Hg., *Bürgertum, Adel und Monarchie*, München 1989, 71-91.

50 Sheehan, *German liberalism*, see footnote 43; Sheehan, *German history*, see footnote 43; Celia Applegate, *A nation of provincials. The German idea of Heimat*, Los Angeles 1990; John Breuilly, *State-building, modernisation and liberalism from the late 18th century to German unification: German peculiarities*, in: *European History Quarterly* 22 (1992), 257-84, 431-38; C. Tacke, *Denkmal im sozialen Raum. Nationale Symbole in Deutschland und Frankreich*, Göttingen 1995.

centered values (dynastical patriotism and obedience to the church). The bourgeoisie was worshipping the culture itself. In Gellner's terminology, the bourgeoisie had made the culture 'visible', whilst the organising elite was using it 'invisibly'.

In comparing the two festivals, it is possible to see that despite a defeat at the constitutional level of the *Kulturkampf*, the Conservatives were to succeed in defining the hegemonial version of Tirolian identity – such that by the turn of the century, the 1863 festival was being interpreted by the Conservative elite as a purely Tirolian patriotic manifestation, with no reference to its wider context.⁵¹ Explanation of the difference between the two festivals is facilitated by recognition of the fact that nationality was still primarily a cultural concern in the 1860s, with the main political issue being the specific ideology of liberalism; only in the 1870s and 1880s did nationality become the determining political concern⁵². With a shift in the discourse of politics in the Habsburg Empire, such that national identity became the primary political form of participation for national liberals, there was an intensification of the cultural (and later racial) importance of being German. It was possible for liberals to accept the universal validity of their vision in the 1860s, but this was only feasible within an elitist political structure. Liberalism operated from a comparatively narrow social base and that barely changed in the later part of the century. The difference between 1909 and 1863 was not the 'failure of liberalism' – politically and constitutionally it had largely achieved its aims – but the emergence of a new structure of politics and a mass society. 1909, to take Carl Schorske's phrase, was to be an illustration of 'politics in a new key'. A shift in central policy towards a conservative-based government after 1879 created the possibility of a coalition of interests between the political centre and the Conservative elite in Tirol. This enabled the Conservatives to expand the defensive vision of Tirolian identity formulated in the 1860s and 1870s into a hegemonic religious-patriotic (though still xenophobic) identity in the period 1880–1914.

3. Was this culture regional or national? How does Tirol relate to the by now famous 'collapse of the Habsburg Empire'? Firstly, as Hroch has argued, it is probably incorrect to assume that national movements automatically have state-formation as their aim. The sense of *Nation* or *Volk* is primarily cultural.⁵³ Secondly, to employ Applegate's useful phrase, the German nation was 'a nation of provincials'. In other words, national identity is achieved through the region (*Hei-*

51 Josef Emanuel Bauer, *Innsbrucker Schützenwesen und Schützenfeste*, Innsbruck 1903.

52 Pieter Judson, *National identity and liberal politics in 19th century Austria*, in: *Austrian History Yearbook* 1991, 76–95.

53 Miroslav Hroch, *Social preconditions of national revival in Europe*, Cambridge 1985.

mat).⁵⁴ There is no reason why national consciousness should affect dynastic loyalty – it actually enhanced it for Germans within the Habsburg Empire. Lastly, Tirolian identities occupied an important function for the mass of the German-speaking population in Tirol during a particularly intense period of social and economic change. *Landesbewußtsein* was an integral part of that process, and Tirol was identified primarily as a German land, with consciousness of the monarchy being articulated through the framework of patriotic loyalty to the person of the *Kaiser*.

⁵⁴ Applegate, *Nation of provincials*, see footnote 50.