

Ausnahme darstellt, da fast alle Kirchen einem Kloster inkorporiert waren, so daß die Pfründen für adelige Weltgeistliche kaum mehr zugänglich waren. Enge Beziehungen lassen sich jeweils zu den Bettelorden nachweisen, deren Klöster entweder auf Stiftungen des Stadtherrn bzw. des stadtsässigen Adels zurückgingen; dazu erfolgten viele weitere Stiftungen, und auch die Nutzung einer Bettelordenskirche als Grablege ist im 15. Jahrhundert häufig zu finden. Die Konvente selbst rekrutierten sich allerdings nur zu einem unbedeutenden Teil aus Adeligen. Auch Klöster anderer Orden unterhielten enge Beziehungen zum Adel, die sich in der Zusammensetzung der Konvente und in Stiftungen niederschlugen.

Für dieses umfangreiche Buch hätte man sich ein deutlicheres Eingehen nicht nur auf die Beziehungen zwischen Adel und Stadt bzw. kirchlichen Institutionen in der Stadt, sondern auch zwischen Adel und einzelnen Bürgern gewünscht. Dennoch wird durch diese minutiöse Untersuchung deutlich, daß der Adel auch nach seinem teilweisen Rückzug weiterhin auf vielen Ebenen Verbindungen zur Stadt aufrechterhielt und daß regional abweichende Rahmenbedingungen zum Teil frappierend unterschiedliche Verhaltensmuster hervorbringen können. Den Band beschließen einige Verzeichnisse, Quellauszüge, Karten und Abbildungen sowie ein Orts- und Personenregister.

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Gerd Pircher, Verwaltung und Politik in Tirol im Ersten Weltkrieg

*(Tirol im Ersten Weltkrieg. Militär, Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft 1), Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner 1995, 252 Seiten, 4 Abbildungen.*

Anyone familiar with the frequently quoted comment by the German General Krafft von Dellmensingen on the bravery of Tirolian troops during the First World War<sup>1</sup> is likely to feel an uncomfortable shudder upon being greeted with it yet again at the very start of Richard Schober's brief introduction to this study of the administration in Tirol during the period 1914–18. Given that von Dellmensingen's words regularly crop up in the kind of books which seem to take an almost perverse and macabre pleasure in devoting their entire attention to the grim and bloody battles on the Habsburg Monarchy's South-West Front between 1915–18, it would be no surprise to find this work carrying on in the same vein. Fortunately, that is not the case. As the author's foreword points out, whereas the vast majority of literature on the First World War in Tirol only looks at events on the battlefield, this work focuses on the political administration of the province between 1914–1918. For that reason alone, Pircher's study is a welcome relief. But that is as far as it goes: in virtually all other respects the book scarcely represents a break with tradition. The obsessive concentration on administrative sources, the utter lack of comparative analysis, the almost exclusive use of German-language documents and literature, and the total absence of any explanatory framework place the

book all too firmly within the seemingly impregnable walls of conventional Tirolian historiography. Beginning from the outbreak of the war, Pircher describes the various measures enacted by the central government to facilitate a more efficient mobilisation of the war effort and then recounts in greater detail the use made by the local administration in Tirol of those legal provisions. Initially, it was the regular civilian administration which was still ultimately responsible for implementing the measures necessary for the conduct of the war, despite the fact that the influence of the military in administrative affairs had undoubtedly increased in relation to peace-time. With the entry of Italy into the war in spring 1915, the situation in Tirol was significantly altered by the provisions of an imperial decree (*keiserliche Verordnung*) issued on 23. May 1915. As was the case in Galicia and Bukowina, this decree enabled the military to take over the control of local administration and placed the civilian authorities in a subordinate position. The evidence presented by Pircher leaves little doubt that the military had been itching to get full control of the provincial government for some time, and thus immediately made extensive use of the powers granted them. By far the largest section of the book (Section II, S. 45–149) shows how the military officials heavy-handedly went about creating a buffer zone in the southern part of Tirol, from which large numbers of civilians were removed. The author describes the rapid evacuation of Italian-speaking Tirolians and their internment and/or confinement in other parts of the Monarchy (mainly Upper and Lower

Austria) and indicates the restrictions on political and associative life (particularly as regards Italian national associations such as the *Lega Nazionale*). As the war progressed and the military embedded itself more firmly in the provincial administration, the area command (*Kommando der Südwestfront*) began to implement a campaign against what it saw to be irredentist elements in Trentine Tirol, putting into practice the ideas expressed in a series of memorandums advocating a Germanisation of the Italian-speaking part of the Land (ideas which had clearly been current in military circles well before the outbreak of the war). Aside from interfering in the lower levels of administration in such a way that the local autonomy of towns and parishes was severely compromised, the military officials began to issue decrees requiring the use of German place-names for towns and villages in Italian-Tirol in official documents and even went so far as to start ordering German-language signs to be erected in Italian-speaking localities. At the same time, Pircher details how the military's deep-rooted and widespread suspicion of the Italian-speaking population meant that both civilians and soldiers were mistreated, and that the local clergy and politicians (including *Landtag* deputies and the Prince-Bishop of Trento, Cölestin Endrici) were constantly under observation, if they were not already under arrest or in internment camps.

The author's main concern is to show, firstly, that the initiatives taken by the *Südwestkommando* ran ahead of the intentions and aims of the overall *Armeeoberkommando*, and at the same

time blatantly ignored the advice and warnings of the civilian authorities. The often arrogant actions of the military led to constant disputes with the *Stattbalterei* and *Ministerium des Inneren* over spheres of competence, but even in instances where the government felt obliged to intervene at the highest level, this did not automatically lead to a reversal of army policy on the ground. For example, after the *Kaiser* intervened with official decisions on issues such as requests by Italian-Tirolians to return to their home villages, or the use of German place-names, army officials were slow to comply: in the early months of 1918, well over half the requests to return home were dismissively refused, despite the fact that the central government was increasingly worried about the effects such actions were having on the mood of the population. Secondly, Pircher indicates that the overall effect of these policies amounted to a military occupation of southernmost Tirol, much as if it was enemy territory, with the result that the majority of the Italian-speaking population felt increasingly alienated and lost all enthusiasm for the "Austrian idea". The cumulative effect of the arrests of leading figures in Trentino (such as the former *Landtag* deputy von Bertolini), the evacuations, growing economic difficulties and the antagonistic attitude of the German-speaking population meant that the initially patriotic and loyal stance of the Italian-Tirolians was rapidly eroded from 1917 onwards.

The author then goes on to describe the military's – never fully realised – plans for a thoroughgoing reform of the constitutional and administrative struc-

ture, both at the level of the state and that of the province (Section III, S. 150–196). The intention behind these plans followed the logic of what was in many ways already starting to be put into practice: an exclusion of unreliable elements from the administration (in the eyes of the military, unreliable was usually always equated with "Italian-speaking"), the enforced use of German within the bureaucratic apparatus, a closer control of schools and local administration, changes in voting procedures (which were designed to favour the German-speaking population) and a nationalisation of much of the economy. Again, it is suggested that the *Südwestkommando* was more radical than other parts of the army command structure and that a number of conflicts arose with civilian officials about these proposals, although there was a certain amount of agreement in some areas (such as the exclusion of Italian-speakers from most parts of the bureaucracy, or the use of German as the language of instruction in schools).

Only at the very end of the book does Pircher think of talking about the situation in German-speaking Tirol (Section IV, S. 197–237). He describes what seems to have been the most contentious issue in this area during the early part of the war, namely the treatment of the *Standschützen* at the hands of the military. Faced with numerous complaints about the consistent mistreatment, rough handling and abuse dealt out by the professional military, committees of *Landtag* deputies from German-Tirol – acting without the involvement of their Italian-speaking colleagues – attempted to intervene

with the military authorities and put pressure on the central government to remedy the situation. Already a sensitive issue at the outset of the war, due to the provisions allowing deployment outside the provincial borders and because of the extent of the call-up (to include all males from 18–50 years of age), the situation was exacerbated by the patronising attitude of many officers, who considered the Tirolian *Landsturm* to be of little use as a fighting force. The Tirolian deputies and *Landeshauptmann* Kathrein found themselves in regular conflict with *Landesverteidigungskommandant* Dankl, who consistently rejected many of the accusations brought forward and even managed to resist the efforts by *Landesverteidigungsminister* Georgi to arbitrate the situation. In retaliation, military officials began to cast aspersions on the integrity of some of the members of the civilian administration, particularly *Statthalter* Toggenburg. Only after the suspension in early 1917 of the imperial decree of May 1915, which had imposed military rule, did the tensions start to ease a little; however, the return of a limited degree of political activity, hunger demonstrations and the increasing radicalisation of the *Mittelstand* demands for closer cooperation with Germany, meant that other issues came to dominate the political agenda.

It cannot be denied that much of the evidence presented here is new and of considerable interest, but the manner in which it is presented and the use which is made of it leaves much to be desired. The main problems are twofold: firstly, the book's woeful failure to transcend the traditional ethnocentricity of much

German-language Tirolian historiography, and secondly, the lamentable absence of a critical analysis of the material being presented. Pircher has worked in a methodological vacuum, with the end result being that this book in many ways amounts to little more than a transcription of archive sources – an achievement not without its uses, but of limited merit.

Considering the amount of attention devoted to the activities of the military administration in Trentino, it is quite astonishing that Pircher makes virtually no use of Italian-language literature or documents. So far as I could ascertain, there is only one instance (S. 41) where Italian literature is cited, but those works relate only to the entry of the Kingdom of Italy into the war. There does not seem to be any use whatsoever of literature on Trentino: there are certainly none mentioned in the bibliography. When briefly discussing the question of Trentine autonomy, for example, rather than drawing on a range of works on the subject (which would ideally include some of the relevant Italian-language literature)<sup>2</sup>, Pircher relies exclusively on the viewpoint of German-language historians. Among those cited are the politician Michael Mayr and the activist Wilhelm Rohmeder, both of whom were influential members of the German-National *Tiroler Volksbund*, which since its foundation in 1905 had been conducting a campaign aimed at the creeping Germanisation of parts of Trentino.<sup>3</sup> Admittedly, the author does elsewhere point out the radical nature of Mayr's activities, but that only makes it all the more strange that he should rely on

such works to provide the background to a discussion of the Trentino in the period before 1914.

In other words, what we have here is a study that looks at Tirolian administration and politics exclusively from the standpoint of the German-dominated authorities. This is made abundantly clear in the choice of material: Pircher employs sources located in the *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv* and *Tiroler Landesarchiv*. Given that his concern is to look at the political and military administration of Tirol, that could not be otherwise, but the failure to use alternative material to balance the overall picture makes the whole work narrow in scope. It is unclear why Pircher did not make a convincing attempt to use material from the military tribunal in Trento. The explanation given for this is rather puzzling: "Wenig brauchbar waren die Akten des Militärgerichtes Trient aus dem Militärgerichtsarchiv für diese Arbeit, da die Akten bezüglich der Irredentistenprozesse nach dem Krieg an Italien abgetreten worden sind" (S. 13). If the material in question has been lost or destroyed, then obviously nothing can be done about it – but if it has not been used because it simply now happens to be in Italy, this is fairly inexcusable. Equally disappointing is the lack of supporting material to try and balance or critically analyse the viewpoint of the main administrative sources. The justification for this one-sided view of the situation in Trentino is provided in Schober's introduction: "Während die italienische Geschichtsschreibung zur Ausarbeitung dieses Themas beinahe ausschließlich naturgemäß subjektiv gefärbte Briefe und Tagebücher von

Inhaftierten und Konfinierten ausgewertet, gewinnt Pircher seine Erkenntnisse aus dem Studium umfangreichen Quellenmaterials" (S. 6). Quite aside from the fact that the source material is not as extensive as is claimed, the implication that some types of sources (such as private correspondence or diaries) are biased (*subjektiv gefärbt*) but others (such as administrative documents) are not, is utterly ludicrous. Why can it be assumed that administrative documents produced by military officials highly sympathetic to radical German-National ideas are less *gefärbt* and give a truer, more objective picture of the ideas and sentiments of Italian-Tirolians, who were evacuated, confined or interned in camps, when it was those very officials who sent them there in the first place? As the author makes no effort to look at the Italian-language press, the records of Italian-Tirolian politicians or material produced by the people who were directly affected by the policies of the military administration, his explanation of the end of the "Austrian idea" looks very insubstantial and compares poorly with other recent work on popular opinion in Tirol during this period.<sup>4</sup>

Given the amount of space devoted to the attempts by the military to combat what they saw as the irredentist threat, Pircher seems to imply that this was the main "problem" in Tirol during this period, such that the book nearly always fails to look significantly beyond the paradigms and viewpoints of the people writing the documents upon which the study is based. Thus there is far too little discussion of social and political differences within the Italian-

Tirolian population, not enough discussion of social and economic problems, almost no attention paid to the role of the Church during this period, and unequal weight given to the situation in German-speaking Tirol. By failing to go into more detail on the attitudes and activities of the dominant German-Tirolians, particularly those of national groups, we get an extremely unbalanced picture of the nature of ethnic and social relations during this period. Pircher certainly makes it clear that the behaviour of the military was arrogant and usually an over-reaction in relation to the requirements of the situation, but it would have been useful to have this put into context, in terms of to what extent the attitudes of the military were shared by German-Tirolian society. Above all, there is no analysis of who the military were or where they came from: Pircher does not even attempt to explain why the military administration was so strongly interested in Germanisation policies. From which parts of the Monarchy did these officers come, and what was their social background? The evidence in István Deák's book on the Habsburg Officer Corps makes it clear that the recruitment of officers was becoming ever more open to bourgeois groups<sup>5</sup> – a tendency which the losses incurred on the battlefield would have sharpened. Because of the dominant role of the Germans as an ethnic group, within the Monarchy as a whole and in the army in particular, it would surely have been worth looking at the evidence in the light of the increasing influence of German-speaking bourgeois officers, given that the German bourgeoisie was particularly con-

cerned with national issues and was now in a position to put some of their thoughts into action, thus disturbing the allegedly supranational character of the Officer Corps as a whole. This would also imply the need for a comparison of the situation in Tirol with that in other parts of the Monarchy, which were also placed under military rule. The lack of any comparative discussion – at the very least of the cases of Galicia and Bukowina – means that the evidence here is left hanging in a void.

If the book is to be judged on the terms ambitiously proclaimed in the foreword and introduction, namely that of providing a contribution to the "bilaterale geschichtswissenschaftliche Diskussion" (S. 12), then the result is extremely disappointing. Certainly, Pircher has done a service in looking at aspects of the war-time administration, which have long been ignored by German and Italian-language historiography, but the manner in which this has been done has little to recommend it. The first in a series of studies which is intended to fill in some of the gaps in research on Tirol in the First World War, it is regrettable that this book is so narrow in focus and ignores many of the other issues mentioned elsewhere by one of the project directors, Richard Schober (in an article which indicates a willingness to look at a broader range of problems and certainly does include a discussion of some of the relevant Italian-language literature)<sup>6</sup>. If this is to set the standard for the rest of the series, the prospects look poor indeed.

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- 1 For those less familiar with the quote, here it is one more time: "Ich neige mich vor dem Opfermut des Tiroler Volkes, etwas Größeres gibt es nicht auf Erden."
- 2 Above all, see: Sergio BENVENUTI, *L'autonomia trentina al Landtag di Innsbruck e al Reichsrat di Vienna. Proposte e progetti 1848–1914*, Trento 1978. Also of interest: Angelo ARA, *Proposte di riforma nel Trentino sul finire dell'Ottocento*. In: Angelo ARA, *Ricerche sugli Austro-Italiani e l'ultima Austria*, Roma 1974, pp. 229–245.
- 3 On the *Volksbund*, see: Alois THALER, *Der Tiroler Volksbund. Wollen und Wirken*, phil. Diss., Innsbruck 1962.
- 4 Hans HEISS, *Andere Fronten. Volksstimmung und Volkserfahrung in Tirol während des Ersten Weltkrieges*. In: Klaus EISTERER/Rolf STEININGER (Hgg.), *Tirol und der Erste Weltkrieg (Innsbrucker Forschungen zur Zeitgeschichte 12)*, Innsbruck/Wien 1995, S. 139–177.
- 5 István DEÁK, *Beyond nationalism: a social and political history of the Habsburg Officer Corps 1848–1918*, Oxford 1990.
- 6 Richard SCHÖBER, *Tirol und der Erste Weltkrieg. Weiße Flecken in der Geschichtsschreibung*. In: Klaus EISTERER/Rolf STEININGER (Hgg.), *Tirol und der Erste Weltkrieg (Innsbrucker Forschungen zur Zeitgeschichte 12)*, Innsbruck/Wien 1995, S. 307–327.

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### Salzburg zur Gründerzeit. Vereinswesen und Partizipation im liberalen Zeitalter.

Hg. von Hanns Haas unter Mitarbeit von Thomas Hellmuth (*Salzburg Archiv 17. Schriften des Vereines „Freunde der Salzburger Geschichte“*), Salzburg 1994.

„Disjoined partners“ – so lautete, auf eine prägnante Formel gebracht, P. J. Katzensteins Resümee seiner Untersuchung *Austria and Germany since 1815*, in der die kommunikative Ver- und Entflechtung im deutschsprachigen Raum nachgezeichnet wird, die nach 1945 in die Nationswerdung Österreichs mündete. Manchmal hat es den Anschein, als ob die staatliche Trennung auch zu Kommunikationsbarrieren zwischen

der universitär verankerten Geschichtswissenschaft beider Länder geführt hat. Anfang 1995 erschien als Beiheft der *Historischen Zeitschrift* der von Dieter Langewiesche und Lothar Gall herausgegebene Sammelband *Liberalismus und Region*. In seiner Einleitung mahnt Langewiesche an, viel stärker als bisher „von der Region auf die Nation zu blicken“, um den Prozeß der Nationsbildung von den Verengungen des „immer noch dominierenden preußisch-zentralstaatlichen Bildes der deutschen Nationalgeschichte“ zu befreien.<sup>1</sup> Keiner der folgenden Beiträge nimmt freilich eine der deutschösterreichischen Provinzen/Kronländer/Territorien/„Regionen“ in den Blick, die bis 1866 dem Deutschen Bund angehörten und auch danach nicht umstandslos aus einer „deutschen“ Geschichte verschwanden.<sup>2</sup> Mit keiner Zeile wird dieser „Ausschluß“ einer Begründung für wert befunden – und dies, obwohl die jüngeren Gesamtdarstellungen J. J. Sheehans<sup>3</sup> und W. Siemanns<sup>4</sup> die Tendenz zur „Föderalisierung“ der „deutschen“ Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert – zu Recht, wie ich meine – unterstrichen haben.<sup>5</sup> Die von Langewiesche vorgeschlagenen Untersuchungskategorien der regionalen Liberalismen: „Nation“, „Staat“, „Konfession“, „Gemeinde“ und „Geschlecht“ sind nun durchaus (unter anderen) auch jene Leitbegriffe, die explizit oder implizit den Band *Salzburg zur Gründerzeit. Vereinswesen und politische Partizipation im liberalen Zeitalter* durchziehen, der im Sommer 1994 im Selbstverlag der *Schriften des Vereines „Freunde der Salzburger Geschichte“* erschienen ist. Die einzelnen Studien erweitern und vertiefen die Ausführungen des Herausgebers, des