

Fremde im Heiligen Land. Außen-seiter/innenblicken auf Tirol

Summary: the paper reviews four recent publications on Tyrolian history and culture, which have mainly been written by non-Tyrolians. After discussing the arguments raised by each work, the paper suggests their collective significance in relation to dominant tendencies in Tyrolian historiography. Both the subjects of research and the methodologies used in the books under review are noteworthy for their innovative approaches, when compared to the prevailing tradition since 1918 of a *Heimatgeschichte* written exclusively by Tyrolian historians, which combines a neo-historicist investigation of uncontroversial aspects of the Tyrol's past with more strongly assertive uses of history as propaganda.

The following article reviews four recent books on Tyrolian history and culture, which all demand attention for one or more of the following reasons: (i) they have been written by non-Tyrolian historians; (ii) they discuss subjects that have until very recently been more or less ignored by mainstream, institutional historiography in Tyrol; (iii) they employ theoretical perspectives and practical methodologies that have – again, until recently – not been much used by historians of the Tyrol. I will look at the specific arguments raised by each book in turn, before assessing the relevance of the four as a whole for historical research on the Tyrol.

1. Miriam J. Levy: Governance and Grievance: Habsburg Policy and Italian Tyrol in the Eighteenth Century

West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1988; pp. x, 231.

The main subject of Levy's book is the relationship between the policies of the Habsburg rulers in the late 18th century, and the interests of the part of the princely County of Tyrol then known as the „Welschen Confinen“. Levy carefully examines from the standpoint of the province, rather than that of the imperial government, one of the central problems of the reformist Empire – the *implementation* of the policies of 'Enlightened absolutism'. It is here that the principal merit of the book lies. Unlike many studies of the Monarchy in the 18th century, Levy avoids privileging the role of the enactors of reforms by concentrating her attention on the effects of those policies on the ground. The result is a detailed analysis of the complaints of the Italian-speaking population in the Tyrol against Habsburg reforms and the German-dominated Estates in Innsbruck, the presentation of these *Domande* at the *Gesamtlandtag* of 1790 (the first of its kind since 1720), and their reception by the new Emperor Leopold II (1790–2). Of all the considerable problems facing Leopold upon his accession, the situation in the Tyrol ranked behind the Austrian Netherlands, Hungary and Galicia in terms of its gravity and urgency. The three-cornered struggle involving the monarch and his reforming bureaucracy, the

German-Tyrolians (protesting about half a century of reforms by the Habsburg state), and the marginalized Confinants, was indicative of what was happening elsewhere in the Empire, and of the problems of creating a centralized *Gesamtmonarchie*. Leopold had not created the uneasy situation that he confronted in 1790, and to a certain extent, genuinely sympathized with the complaints of his subjects. Levy argues that his basic strategy was to encourage complaints by marginalized or 'out' groups, in order to force the most troublesome, locally dominant groups to negotiate more readily; unlike his predecessors, he encouraged the consultative role of provincial assemblies, whilst (like them) retaining full legislative and executive powers for the central government. As his reign was so brief, Levy argues that the fact that the Tyrolian issues were for the most part resolved, allows for an understanding of what Leopold's overall intentions for the Empire were.

The Italian-speaking part of the Tyrol at this time constituted 16 % of the County's population,² and formed one of the most economically prosperous and intellectually active areas of the Monarchy, with the town of Rovereto its major commercial and cultural centre. The impact of Enlightenment thinking, and the influence of the other Habsburg territories of Lombardy and Tuscany contributed to a growing sense of *Italianità* amongst the social élite of priests, nobles and bourgeoisie in Rovereto. The forum for these cultural exchanges was provided by the *Accademia degli Agiati*, whose members held discussions on the importance of the Ital-

ian language and *patria*, and produced new maps and histories of the region. Levy concludes that: *The Confinants' sharpened sense of being Italian and their exclusion from participation in Tyrol's Estate assemblies would combine with their new economic position and with encouragement from their ruler to produce the 1790 Italian movement in Tyrol* (p. 45).

There were four principal grievances held by the Confinants: (i) since their incorporation into the Tyrol in the early 16th century, they had been excluded from estate membership. On the basis that they had since become full tax-paying subjects of the Emperor, they demanded corresponding rights of seat and vote in the Landtag and all other *ständische Aktivitäten*. As an alternative, the suggestion was made for the first time of a separation of the Italian-speaking part of the land from Innsbruck, either to form a new crownland, or part of a province attached to one of the Habsburgs' Italian dominions, such as Mantova; (ii) the Confinants asked for the right to import their wines freely into the rest of the Tyrol. Though they had in practice increased the amount of wine brought into the land during the 18th century, these were still treated as 'foreign wines', subject to higher taxes than those of the economically dominant Etsch, Eisack and Burggrafenamt *Viertel*; (iii) they requested the right to use their own language in schools, administration and the courts, thus rejecting the Josephinian attempts to harmonize the administration of the Empire through the use of German as the standard language; (iv) they sought guarantees for the maintenance of control over

property inherited by married daughters, in cases where they married into 'foreign' (non-Habsburg) areas (and particularly, Italian principalities). New inheritance laws introduced under Joseph II allowed equal inheritance of property by sons and daughters, and for continued control over that property after daughters had been married. In the absence of similar agreements in other countries, this created enormous potential problems for the running of family businesses or estates, if the new husband came from places where it was customary for the man to assume control over the wife's property.

The core of the book is a detailed narration of the articulation and presentation of these grievances at the *Landtag* and the counter-arguments and refutations on the part of the German-speaking majority, who rejected all the three major *Domande* (they had no real quarrel with the question of inheritance rights, and this was the only grievance to be accepted by the *Landtag*). The *Etschland* wine interests were anxious to restore their former monopoly on wine production and trade, and were unwilling to concede any representation to the Confinants. By close use of archive sources and personal records, Levy builds up an intriguing picture of the political manoeuvres and alliances amongst the different groups in the *Landtag*, and shows how the Kaiser managed to place two of his own supporters in each of the opposing camps. After the rejection of the demands in Innsbruck, the story moves on to Vienna, where the grievances of the Confinants and the general petition of the *Landtag* are re-submitted, and undergo examination by various bureau-

cratic commissions. The easiest problem to solve was that of inheritance rights, with a decision coming in the first half of 1791 exactly in accordance with what had been requested – the law would only be effective where there were equivalent legal provisions in the land into which the daughter was marrying. Resolution of the other issues took a while longer, with Leopold delaying a final verdict for as long as possible, and referring the complaints back to the competent institutions in Innsbruck in the hope that some sort of agreement would be reached. Towards the end of the year, Leopold conceded rights of representation to Rovereto, Arco and the rural jurisdictions in one form or another on all the *ständisch* assemblies. He had already removed the requirement of knowledge of German for attendance at a *Gymnasium*, and in the summer of 1791 made the concession that graduates of the University of Pavia could qualify as advocates and lawyers, rather than just graduates of the Monarchy's German-language universities. Levy thus argues that all the issues were more or less resolved, even if, in the case of the language issue, she does not sufficiently demonstrate that these general concessions were specific responses to the complaints from Southern Tyrol.

In that this monograph deals with an aspect of Habsburg government at a level that has not received enough attention, it undoubtedly represents an important addition to the literature. The workings of the Monarchy can only be understood by this kind of close examination of its constituent parts, and Levy has produced a good deal of new information on the workings of policy for-

mation and implementation. Other aspects, however, provoke a few reservations, including the general assumption that appears to be underlying the book. First, the work often lacks a wider perspective and becomes one-dimensional. The comparisons with the situation in other parts of the Monarchy that are suggested in the introduction disappear from the main sections of the book, and are only briefly picked up again in the conclusion. Many of the delays in Leopold's dealing with the problems in the Tyrol could have been better integrated into the other issues of foreign policy and internal rebellion that he faced. Equally, though Levy identifies what she describes as *the 1790 Italian movement in Tyrol*, she makes no reference whatsoever to the literature on nationalism or national movements. Whilst some potentially relevant studies such as those by Breuilly, Gellner or, most recently, Hobsbawm, have appeared after the author's research was completed, it is disappointing to see that the book works in such a theoretical void – at the very least, some reference could have been made to Hroch's study of national movements. Secondly, there is surprisingly little attention given to the role of the Church. The most powerful institution in Tyrolian society hardly features in the narrative: was it really so unimportant and unimportant at the 1790 *Landtag*, given that it was a leading opponent of the reforming process under Maria Theresia and Joseph II? The majority of Enlightenment writers were priests, and Levy also points out that the Fürstbischof of Trento claimed Rovereto as part of his fiefdom – the picture seems incomplete without a fuller dis-

cussion of these factors. Then there is the phenomenon of Freemasonry. Levy stresses the impact of Enlightenment thought (albeit in the absence of an examination of the role of the Church), and the useful 'thumbnail biographies' of the leading personalities at the *Landtag* (pp.153–70) make it clear that a significant number of them were members of masonic lodges, but there is no attempt made at analyzing the precise role of such groups in promoting liberal and democratic thought. Though published in 1988, the book constitutes the publication of the author's doctoral dissertation, which appeared in 1982, so Levy would not therefore have been able to benefit from Helmut Reinalter's important study of Freemasonic movements in the Tyrol,³ but one of the important features linking the protagonists in the story has nevertheless been neglected.

Underlying these minor points is a more fundamental criticism. The work seems to be another example of a widespread tendency within the historiography of the Habsburg Empire to analyze its entire history in the light of its eventual collapse in 1918, such that the main analytical paradigm is the isolation of 'integrating' or 'disintegrating' factors within the Monarchy. Within this general syndrome, pride of place is usually given to 'nationalism' or 'national forces', which are the centrifugal forces par excellence. The 'rise of nationalism' is seen as inevitable and irresistible, such that the Monarchy is given no chance of survival, but somehow manages to stumble on into the second decade of the 20th century. The effect of this approach means that the study of these 'national forces' becomes

an often nostalgic cataloguing of its unavoidable growth and the measuring of its rise.⁴ It is also assumed that 'national forces' automatically replace other senses of identity or allegiance (this being what makes them so dangerous to the monarchy's survival). As suggested, Levy has ignored religious issues; Rovereto also protested about the religious reforms of the 18th century, but it appears that the author's overall interpretative framework precludes a simultaneous appreciation of religious problems: this absence of attention implies that as soon as 'national forces' appear they dominate all other sentiments.

On several occasions, Levy seems to use an overly simplistic equation between economic growth, cultural identification and political mobilization automatically producing a 'disintegrating' nationalism. She argues, for example, that *by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, therefore, the Italians in Tyrol were economically prosperous, culturally developed, and had a strong sense of their italianità. They were ready for the politicization that Leopold II encouraged* (p. 3). Having thus located the necessary disintegrating factors, we are often reminded of their consequences: *by politicizing national feeling, yielding to local language grievances, and increasing the role of local government, Leopold [...] nurtured some of the forces that later would help bring down the Monarchy* (p. 3); or alternatively: *This was the first time but certainly not the last, that the idea of separation was advanced. It would be heard again and again with variants until 1918, when the irredentists achieved their goal ...* (p. 76). Thus we learn with re-

gard to the question of representation for the Italian-Tyrolean that, *the Welsch Tyroleans would continue to register their dissatisfaction; and with the increased assertion of national rights, the problem would prove insoluble within the Habsburg Monarchy* (p. 131). There is a similar inevitability with the question of language: *that problem was, in effect, insoluble not only in Tyrol but in almost all the Habsburg lands* (p. 138). The general conclusion is that Leopold unwittingly contributed to the formation of forces that within little more than a century, would lead to the break-up of the Monarchy (p. 147); his language concessions *did help the monarchy survive for another 130 years* (p. 140), but at the price of forsaking the unified state that his predecessors had wanted.

Aside from the anachronistic determinism that this approach implies, the precise ways in which all these forces work are not investigated. Having assumed the importance of language to the formation of Italianità, very little discussion is given to this subject in subsequent chapters. Levy shows that the language question came up only once at the Landtag, just before the presentation of grievances from the different parts of the land – the proceedings were conducted entirely in German, and the Confinants were not allowed to present their own grievances in Italian. These facts are mentioned only briefly (p. 96), and the majority of attention is devoted to the issues of representation and wine imports. So if language issues only played such a small part in the actual proceedings of the Landtag, in what way does it make sense to describe the political

activities of the Confinants as an 'Italian movement'? Her conclusion that *what had begun as a linguistically and historically based nationalism was by the time of the 1790 Diet a political movement with well-developed grievances to present* (p. 146) is not properly explained by her own evidence in the text. The way Levy narrates it, the transition from this 'linguistic nationalism' into a 'political movement' occurs without linguistic demands appearing to form a major part of that movement, and this seems rather curious. In general, Levy confusingly merges under the one heading of 'nationalism' four related phenomena, which for analytical purposes should be clearly distinguished: national or cultural identity (the overall cultural framework and area of discourse in which social groups try to define their sense of national identity), national movements (those social movements which participate in the identification and development of a national culture in terms of its language, literature, history and so on), state- or nation-building (the creation of a 'modern' integrated state structure, through such institutions as the bureaucracy, education system, or army, and including the mobilization of a patriotic identity), and nationalism (a specific political program or ideology which defines its goal and existence solely or primarily in terms of its national identity, and subordinates all other identities – of gender, occupation, region or whatever – to the idea of the nation). 'Nationalism' in Levy's work appears as a monolithic force which always tends towards the same end (disinte-

gration or collapse), and only varies in strength at particular times – it grows and grows until it reaches its goal.

The conclusion argues that the Habsburg policy of supporting cultural institutions and national cultures in the 18th century did not seem so contradictory to parallel attempts to enforce use of German in higher schools or the administration, though this eventually meant that the foundation for future problems and nationalist or separatist movements was laid; but this takes the norm of the relationship between the state and culture to be that every culture must have its own state – the 'norm' argued by nationalist propaganda. In practice, national cultural identity in the Habsburg Monarchy seems to have been perfectly compatible with status as subjects of the Emperor. A few recent works suggest that the historiography of the Habsburg Empire may be moving away from the 'break-up' paradigm. Alan Sked has stressed the fundamental coherence of the monarchy as a state, and argues that it was foreign policy mistakes and defeat on the battlefield (*not* domestic national conflicts) that led to the collapse of the Empire.⁵ Charles Ingrao has challenged the conventional notion that the Habsburg state and society were peculiarly backward by assessing its enormous military and cultural power in the 17th – 18th centuries, as well as its comparatively sizeable industrial base, and advanced judicial and educational systems. Ingrao argues that, despite its undoubted linguistic and geographical diversity, the monarchy was by 1789 beginning to successfully nurture a common, national identity that was not undermined by specific his-

toric cultural heritages.⁶ From another angle, Manfred Rauchensteiner's phenomenal study of the Monarchy during the 1914–18 war suggests that it was only at a relatively late stage that expressions of disloyalty were widespread amongst the Kaiser's peoples; sentiments of dynastic loyalty and Habsburg identity only began to weaken with the extended duration of the war, intense economic problems and military collapse.⁷ All these hypotheses run counter to Levy's approach (and that of many other works in the same field), and suggest that the whole way in which national and cultural identity worked in the Empire needs to be closely re-examined.

2. Martha C. Ward: *The Hidden Life of Tyrol*

Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc., 1993. Pp. x, 222.

In contrast to Levy's specialized study of one particular episode in Tyrolian history, Martha Ward's book represents a basic introduction to Tirolian culture, and is a product of the author's involvement in an annual Summer School program run by the University of New Orleans, and held in Innsbruck. The book has two main purposes: it is a simple English-language introduction to the Tyrol, intended as a guide for participants on the courses in Innsbruck, and it is also a basic introductory text-book to some of the concepts and methods used in anthropology. The style is chatty and eclectic, drawing on the author's own experience, and that of her students. It includes fairy-tales and legends, anecdotes told

by 'the locals', insights from friends and experts on the Tyrol, and is heavily influenced by American anthropological studies of 'peasant societies' in Europe. The technique is one of first-hand evidence gathering and collecting; some reference is made to published secondary works on the Tyrol, but the book makes no claims to use documentary evidence or archive sources. Ward thus tries to sketch a cultural outline of the Tyrol primarily for people who have never visited the region, know nothing about its history, and possibly very little about European history either. She includes a glossary of 'terms and words to know' and considerable sections of the book are straightforward descriptions of the Alpine climate, the antiquity of public buildings and churches or other things of use to the first-time visitor. Working within these limits, the range and scope of the book is necessarily curbed: whilst Ward comes across as a lively and enthusiastic teacher, for many more familiar with her subject the primary interest of the book will probably be to see what it is in Tyrolian culture that outsiders find unusual or significant, and – from the author's interpretations – the indirect picture it gives of the expectations and mentality of (American) visitors. Rather than being simply a potted history of the Tyrol, however, the book aims at an anthropological analysis of the 'real' Tyrol, the 'hidden ways of life' and patterns of behaviour that the ordinary tourist and traveller is unlikely or unable to see. Despite an unsystematic approach and comparatively informal style, it is nevertheless a serious effort at cultural analysis. Though it raises a few

interesting questions, it is often awkward to read and provokes several strong objections.

A lot of the difficulties in reading the book arise from the author's use of the 'ethnographic present', and the interpretation she makes of the relationship between anthropology and history (p. 35–6). For Ward, the ethnographic present means speaking of *habits and customs in the past as if they still exist*. Time is used unequally: *I am emphasising two historical moments. The first is a kind of baseline or ordinary peasant village culture which most historians believe stood fully rooted by the eighteenth century. This rural and communal life endured well into the twentieth century in most areas.*

The other historical moment I emphasise is what we call „modern times“, the places and experiences which you and other now-living people can feel. In Tyrol this period started after World War II. We will talk about other eras and other influences but these two points in time are privileged.

[...] *For example, peasants are often called backward or stuck in the past. This is because their life-style tends to persist as other worldviews change around them. For example, Tyrolean culture remained essentially as it was in the eighteenth century until halfway into the twentieth century (pp. 28–9).*

After apologizing to historians for rudely summarizing complicated events in an uneven fashion, Ward decides to ignore whole areas of European history, which – in her opinion – did not affect the Tyrol, in order to *keep in mind what ordinary people living in the high mountains are doing* (p. 29). At no point, however, does she offer us any statistical

information about the society she studies – she talks about the Tyrol as if it were still a predominantly rural society with most of the population engaged in agriculture. Obviously, it is complete nonsense to do this when today only a minority of the population are involved in (a highly technified) agriculture; it is also questionable to describe the Tyrol in this way from mid-century onwards, for the proportion of the population involved in agriculture was by then already around 50 % and falling. Not only is there no detail about changes in the structure of the population over time, but there is rarely any elaboration of class or status distinctions within the agricultural population. Given that Ward places such a strong emphasis on the relationship between ecological environment and population, this is a major weakness. The general tendency to view the Tyrol as an 'untouched folk culture', whilst obviously being erroneous for the present time, quite probably also represents a misleading interpretation of the situation of mountain cultures in the past. As Pier Paolo Viazzo has argued, *the interpretation of rural areas [has] probably been severely affected by insidiously anachronistic attitudes. It can scarcely be denied that mountain areas are socially, culturally and economically marginal – now. But what about the past? [...] It is unfair and incorrect to compare the mountains with the plains, when what is meant by 'the plains' is actually a sophisticated urban environment. Clearly, comparison should be made with rural areas. Indeed, if we consider that Alpine emigration was largely oriented towards the cities in the plains, it might be argued that mountain emigrants were more likely to*

come into contact with [...] 'great men and ideas' [...] than the plain dwellers living in the countryside.⁸

This deliberately indiscriminate use of the 'ethnographic present' may partly be to create an interactive situation for her students, which – combined with the author's personal voice – is meant to bring the culture 'alive', but in practice only creates confusion.

The author concedes the presumption of treating the whole region as an anthropological unit, and readily points out that her study is not a traditional ethnography, in that she does not participate in an integrated living in the community under study. On the other hand, she claims that her outsider status – as a traveller in a foreign land, a woman in a patriarchal culture, a non-Catholic in a Catholic country – allows her greater insight into what she sees. The opposite is the case. Ward writes as if the culture is one static, monolithic entity, hopping around from one century to another, committing some basic factual errors, and producing interpretations which can only be the result of sheer academic laziness or intellectual naivety. She describes the centuries after the peasant revolts and economic changes of the 16th century in the following way: *As villages and folk religion grew powerful, Tirol as a political entity waned [...]. Tiroleans were minor players in the wars of succession sweeping Austria. Few invaded them or wanted to exploit them. They were an economic backwater. Such woes as heavy taxes, military conscription, loss of land holdings, serfdom, industrialisation and economic bondage to one's betters affected the rest of Europe but left Tirol strangely untouched* (p. 49).

Even as a crude summary, 'untouched' does not seem to be a particularly good description of a period that saw such dramatic changes and events as the Counter-Reformation, 'enlightened' reforms of the eighteenth century, French invasions and Bavarian occupation in the period 1795–1814 (including the uprising of 1809), repeated invasion attempts in 1848–9, 1859 and 1866, and an acute demographic and economic crisis. On other occasions there are plain factual errors. A chronology of the Südtirol conflict (pp. 168–9) states that Mussolini took power in Italy in 1920 (rather than 1922). More particularly, I find the following descriptions of the era of National Socialism completely unacceptable: *One form of resistance came from the growing Nazi movement in Austria and the northern half of Tirol. This part of regional history has some understandable sore points and many may be tempted to judge Tiroleans harshly. For them, the growth of national socialism meant a focus for patriotism and resistance to Italian domination ... [...] Tiroleans living in Austria had their own reasons for an attraction to this ideology* (p. 55); *The severed halves of Tirol were briefly reunited. True, it was a unification imposed by the Nazis under the gathering clouds of German defeat. But this short burst of sunshine revived Tirolean spirits. Patriotism surged once again* (p. 56).

Then there is a problem with Ward's overall interpretation of culture, which seems at least, to accept that culture is a dynamic process, but this is then contradicted by her use of the ethnographic present. She also sets up an implicit opposition between the 'authenticity' of the genuine culture that is being visited

and the superficial, manufactured cultural images that are produced for the visitors, thereby assuming that there is somewhere a 'genuine' culture behind this manufactured one, which is the real, 'hidden' life of the Tyrol. But given that all cultures are the results of the daily experience and interactions of social groups and individuals, it is not clear how the nature and form of these supposedly superficial experiences – which are no less real in the sense that they too happen anyway – differ from the 'genuine' culture. The attribution of significance to specific things (cultural symbols, foods, whatever) is always one of construction. So what exactly is being 'hidden'? Is 'genuine culture' simply a matter of hard work and muddy hands? In this context, 'reality' is only a series of cultural expectations – the really interesting question is much more why this search for the 'real' occurs, though the answer to this question will probably say very little about the host culture, and a lot more about the cultural expectations of the traveller, tourist or anthropologist.⁹ Ward often hints at a fascination with 'the Old World': *The study of European folk life and cohesive communal societies has particular relevance for us. We are drawn to traditions, rootedness and the community life we feel in places like Tirol ...* (p. 1). But the way this is expressed, it amounts to mere wish-fulfilment, based on out-dated sociological assumptions about the 'cohesive communities' that existed in 'traditional' times. She states that, *I am always amazed by the depth of time in Tyrol* (p. 36). This is in fact all that most of what Ward calls the 'hidden life' of the Tyrol really amounts to – things are 'hidden' until

they are 'revealed' by a knowledge of their history and changing roles and functions in time. Where Ward does give examples of cultural practices that potentially have 'hidden', as well as overt meanings (such as the 'deep play' and 'male bonding' aspects of Schützen activities), her insights are never fully or systematically developed.

The author candidly admits that on her first trip to the Tyrol (seemingly in 1979), she *naively assumed that we would bake bread regularly, eat what we had produced and thus participate in traditional life* (p. 64), which must be the cultural equivalent of landing at JFK airport and expecting to be met by a Sioux warrior in full battle-dress, mounted on his fastest stallion. This mixture of naivety and wish-fulfilment is never really overcome, and makes the whole book very limited in value. It is not that the problem is unrecognized; she states that, *our knowledge of what homesteads and farms are like in America or our fantasies about European customs may obscure the true state of affairs in Tyrol* (p. 82). Though she recognizes the dangers involved, the necessary revision or qualification of the descriptions given are not made, and Ward still insists on the continuing power of the 'hidden patterns' from the past: *Since the end of World War II [...] the stark picture that I painted in this chapter has softened [...]. However, as long as there are land, babies and finite resources, there will be inheritance, households and weddings. The hidden patterns remain.* (p. 109). She is thus left lamenting *the row upon row of Christmas artefacts on sale*, disappointed to realize that these are not the 'richness' of a traditional culture, but just some-

thing else that is *staged for tourists* (p. 112).

Much of the early chapters are descriptions of agricultural life for someone who has never been on a farm or knows nothing about the daily routines of agricultural life. Simple descriptions of ecological conditions are given that would be true of many agricultural regions. The following statement, which purports to be saying something specific about the Tyrol, could also be said about many different kinds of societies and for many different periods of time: *Families are really work units. It is no wonder that major ceremonies in Tirol are family-oriented: weddings, funerals, births and transfers of property* (p. 89). She often talks about *the special environment and history that is Tirol* (p. 29), but offers little explanation of what makes the Tyrol different or why. There are few comparisons, certainly none of a systematic nature, and the result is a kind of ecological determinism where human culture represents a direct product of the ecological environment in which it is located, and there is no substantial analysis of the political and ideological processes that create and establish cultural difference.

Moreover, the general scientific basis of the book seems fairly narrow. There is only one untranslated German text cited in the bibliography, and no Italian work. 'Tyrolian culture' in the past seems in practice to be interpreted exclusively as German. The secondary works that are quoted from are always in English (usually fellow travellers and anthropologists). It may be that Ward compiled the bibliography exclusively with her American students in mind, and therefore cited only literature writ-

ten in or translated into English. There is nothing wrong with that, but reading the book, it seems that Ward has herself only used works on the Tyrol in English, which – given that there are few works of this type in existence – gives her a very slender basis for understanding what is going on and interpreting the culture she is trying to study. She complains about the lack of teaching materials she could use with her students, apart from a few classic studies of peasant societies in Europe. Whilst it is true that there are few works in English on the Tyrol, that is not a reason for the author to rely on that material alone, nor for quoting works on other Alpine societies as if their conclusions are automatically valid for the Tyrol (it may be that they are, but this is assumed, rather than proven). In general, the book shows the minefield of problems encountered when trying to comprehend a 'complex', well-documented literate culture, using anthropological techniques that were developed for the study of areas whose whole cultural framework and past existed orally.

Rather than being an actual analysis of Tyrolian culture, therefore, the book is instead an account of something different, which Ward describes in the most interesting chapter in the book, concerned with tourism. In talking about the experience of travelling, she points out that it is necessary to consider the culture that is being visited, the culture of the visitor (with all its expectations and preconceptions), but also a third culture, which is the interaction between these first two cultures, and constitutes the temporary culture in which the visitor is located – neither at

home nor integrated into the place that is being visited (pp. 163–5). In practice, it is this third sub-culture that Ward is describing in the book, a mixture of traveller's impressions and reproductions of cultural symbols or rituals that have lost their substantive resonance, but are now re-packaged for the tourist market. If the book had in fact been a serious and extended study of this phenomenon – a permanent situation of tourism in the host culture, the impact of tourists, and the changes which the tourists themselves undergo through their experience – then it would have been a lot more interesting and worthwhile. As it is, the book remains disappointing and confusing (even allowing for the fact that it is an introductory textbook), the more so because the author's own enthusiasm and curiosity seem to have been frustratingly under-used.

3. Reinhard Johler/Ludwig Paulmichl/Barbara Plankensteiner [Hg.]: Südtirol. Im Auge der Ethnographen

Wien/Lana: Edition per procura, 1991; pp. 213.

This collection brings together papers from a conference held from May 5th – 7th May, 1989 in Lana, *Im Auge der Ethnographen. Volkskultur und Südtirol*. Aside from two general papers by Peter Alter and John W. Cole, all the contributions deal with questions of cultural identity in the South Tyrol in the period 1918–45, with particular attention being given to the impact of Fascism in the region and the activities of the SS-*Ahnenerbe* during the period of

the war. Even though the inevitably brief nature of these studies means that the book raises as many questions as it answers, it constitutes one of the more important publications on Tyrolian history in the past 10 – 15 years. In the first place, this is simply because it does actually ask a series of questions about Tyrolian society in the period of the Fascist and National-Socialist regimes that mainstream Austrian and Italian historiography has refused to ask for most of the post-1945 era. Secondly, the book represents an important move away from the long-standing use of academic *Volkskunde* in the Tyrol as a form of ideological adulation of the peasantry and the soil, and towards the establishment of a modern (anthropological) social science discipline. From a slightly wider perspective, it also represents the advance of *Kulturgeschichte* and *Alltagsgeschichte* within an Austrian historiography that has generally reacted only slowly and late to methodological innovations coming from other historical traditions.

The basic theme running through the contributions is the ideological and political engagement of the relatively young discipline of *Volkskunde*/Arte popolari within the Fascist and National Socialist regimes, the importance of which is summed up by Christoph Gasser: *Volkskultur und Volkskunde standen in Südtirol zwischen faschistischen Unterdrückungsstrebungen und kolonialem Forscherinteresse, während sich von einheimischer bzw. privater Seite das Interesse an Volkskultur und die Pflege von Bräuchen und Überlieferungen immer stärker zur Bewahrung des ethnischen Selbstbewusstseins der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung*

Südtirols bis hin zu einer öffentlichen Protesthaltung ausformten (S. 207). The introductory paper by Alter (*Nation und Nationalbewusstsein in der deutschen Geschichte*) represents a brief overview of the emergence of the idea of the German nation from the 19th century onwards, stressing in particular its cultural, rather than political, connotations. Cole's contribution (*Ethnische Prozesse und kapitalistische Entwicklung*) is an abbreviated translation of an earlier article which discussed the relationship between culture and economic development in 'peripheral' regions of Europe, and adopted a skeptical stance towards universal definitions of ethnicity.¹⁰ Cole suggests that fascism and related movements constitute a response to economic and political disadvantage within the capitalist world-system; he also stresses the importance of examining the workings of symbolic systems within ethnic groups, because the problem of ethnicity is one of forging a unified identity out of a situation of diversity. Emanuela Renzetti picks up on this last point by illustrating the changing political and cultural meanings of the term 'Volk', taking the work of a Jesuit priest from the mid-19th-century and a book written by an Italian academic in the 1920s as examples. Two other papers suggest how ethnic and cultural differences are essentially processes of construction and imagination, rather than historic or natural 'givens'. Brunamaria Dal Lago Veneri does this by describing the fluidity of cultural boundaries in a description of folk-tales from the Trentino and the South Tyrol. Likewise, Umberto Raffaelli's overview of material culture in the two areas argues for the similarities in such things as

objects in daily use and economic responses to ecological conditions.

The most interesting contributions are those which look either at the activities of the Kulturkommission of the SS-Ahnenerbe in the Tyrol in the period 1940–3, or the cultural strategies of the Fascist regime in the South Tyrol. Anka Oesterle outlines the overall role of the *SS-Ahnenerbe* in the Hitler regime, and indicates some of its activities in the South Tyrol, which later papers then look at from differing angles. The Ahnenerbe was meant to provide the ideological and scientific basis for the policies of National Socialism and the *neu-germanische Weltanschauung*. This involved investigations by academics into ancient history, settlement patterns and the collection and organization of the material traces and objects of the German people. On the one hand, this meant collecting the material culture from areas inhabited by *Volksdeutschen* outside the Reich, and on the other, eradication of the existence of non-Germanic cultures in areas outlined for new settlement by Himmler, who was responsible for the regime's population policies; activities in the South Tyrol formed part of the first category, as part of the planned removal of German people after the 'Option'. Peter Schwinn's paper looks at some of these activities during the period 1940–43, and in particular, the departments of *Hausforschung* and *Liedaufnahme*. Efforts were made to collect folk songs, music, dances, tales and sayings, as well as to take photographs of buildings and farmhouses, though sometimes this produced minor conflicts with the local Italian officials. Plans were made for the compilation of

an *Ortsbuch* for each new settlement, which would be kept in a *Haus der Heimat*, the new centre of village life, and substitute for a local church. Olaf Bockhorn takes the example of the photographic activities of Richard Wolfram, who was responsible for recording folk activities in the South Tyrol. Wolfram had worked for the *Ahnenerbe* as early as 1938, and Bockhorn follows closely his efforts to record a range of processions, ceremonies and customs, as recorded in his diary. Significantly, little of this involved the spontaneous recording of still practised ceremonies; many were stage-managed recreations, sometimes of 'customs' that had not been observed for twenty, fifty or more years – a fact which serves to underpin the nature of the ideological role of 'Volkskunde' during this period. Aside from the fact that these three contributions present a lot of new material, two features are particularly interesting. Firstly, all three papers rely on material held in the Bundesarchiv of the Federal Republic of Germany in Koblenz, which is indicative of the lack of access to sources for this period within Austria. There is no material from the Tiroler Landesarchiv or the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Secondly, all three authors point out that many of those involved in these activities went on to publish their material as serious academic work in the post war era (Wolfram as recently as 1987), without a word about the context in which their 'research' was carried out. This is symptomatic of the general failure to confront the National Socialist past in Austrian society and politics, as well as the ease with which those closely involved in the activities of the regime were able

to continue their careers after the war. In Tyrol, the most well-known historian of the post-1945 era – Franz Huter – belongs to this category, a fact that has only publicly been discussed in the last 2–3 years, albeit in a journal not published in Tyrol¹¹.

The remaining four papers look at the same issues from a different perspective – the propaganda, re-settlement and 'italianizing' strategies of the Mussolini regime in the South Tyrol. The authors effectively demonstrate how many academics were directly involved in processes of 'italianization' in the South Tyrol. Gunther Waibl shows how photography formed part of the propaganda offensive of the Italian dictatorship, attempting to legitimate their presence in the region; for the German-speaking minority photographic images were part of a *geistige Landesverteidigung*, that attempted to secure their way of life against the efforts to dismantle it. Martina Steiner analyzes the local impact of the Italian presence and the attitudes of the new Italian authorities. She suggests that at the local level, the military authorities were primarily concerned to secure a respect for the state amongst the population, but the German-speaking Tyroleans kept a considerable distance between themselves and the state authorities. Particularly influential here was the existence of a large number of subsistence farmers, as the means of production was the main determinant of identity in an area where ethnicity had previously been less visible. The occupational separation between German-speakers in the agricultural sector and Italians in the new industries made ethnic dis-

tinctions strikingly clear. Stefano Cavazza and Christoph Gasser both provide studies of the part played by Italian Volkskunde and the 'Comitato per le arti popolari', in promoting the nationalist policies of the Fascist regime in the newly-annexed region. Cavazza points out that, aside from the work of Ettore Tolomei, there were few Italian works in the 1920s concerned with the 'Alto Adige', because Italian claims on the region were of such recent origin. Only in the 1930s did these begin to appear in greater numbers, along the lines of Amy Bernardy's 1929 book *Venezia Tridentina*, which claimed the existence of a 'Roman substrata' to cultural traditions in the South Tyrol. Gasser's paper underlines the same point, and describes the nationalist involvement of Italian Volkskunde in the aims of the Fascist regime. Significantly, however, there was again a divergence at the local level between official policy or the demands of academics, and actual practice. Official intervention to prevent such things as the wearing of Tracht at local ceremonies was often not that strict, as it was thought that such manifestations could serve to demonstrate approval for Fascist policies and the Italian presence in the area.

All these studies outline particular issues connected to the central theme of the ideological role of Volkskunde, and given the nature of the book, understandably do not have the space to elaborate these questions in more detail. Nevertheless, it would have been worthwhile considering more generally a comparison between the ideological use of Volkskultur by both Italian and German academics relative to the sym-

bolic value attached to the peasantry within the respective national discourses and myths. Cole and Wolf have suggested that there was a fundamental difference between Italian and German representations of the peasantry as a social group: for Italians, status as a peasant was demeaning and an essentially negative experience – national culture was located in the civilized urban centres; for Germans, a romantic view of the peasantry, closely tied to the soil, was dominant. Some of the evidence presented suggests how this might have been the case – the Fascist use of photography, for example, was stylistically innovative and concentrated on dynamic technological projects (such as electricity). German photography tended to use traditional formats and concentrated on landscapes and folk customs. It would have been interesting to examine this hypothesis with reference to the 1920s–30s, perhaps by opening up comparisons with the situation in other areas of Germany, Austria and Italy.

4. John W. Cole/Eric R. Wolf: La frontiera nascosta. Ecologia e etnicità fra Trentino e Sudtirolo

San Michele all'Adige/Trento: Museo degli Usi e Costumi della Gente Trentina, 1993, P. xiv, 353; 40 Fot.

This book by two leading American anthropologists represents a welcome translation of their long out-of-print *The Hidden Frontier. Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley* (Academic Press Inc.; New York, 1974), the text of which has been translated by Giuliana

Cuberli and Pier Paolo Viazzo. It is presented here with a foreword by Andrea Leonardi, a short introduction to the work of Cole and Wolf by Cesare Poppi, and comes with the added bonus of an enlarged selection of (mainly colour) photographs. Their study, now recognized as a classic of its kind, is the result of field-work carried out in two high-lying villages of the Nonstal in the 1960s. The authors lived in one of the villages, and the location was deliberately chosen for its comparative isolation and the fact that it was not usually frequented by tourists. They examine the interaction of the microcosmic worlds of German-speaking St. Felix and Romance-speaking (*Nònes*) Tret, with the macrocosmic imperatives of their common ecological situation, their location within larger political systems, and their existence on a cultural border heavily contested by competing nationalisms. Interpreting the relationship between ecology and politics as a *complessa dialettica, piuttosto che come una somma meccanica di variabili significative* (p. 21), the authors stress the dynamic aspects of cultural interaction, avoiding a rigid separation between conceptions of 'traditional' and 'modern' societies: *la comunità non è né un sistema chiuso né una macchina omeostatica. Soggiacenti ad ogni processo diretto all'adattamento o alla convergenza ci sono impulsi causali che provengono dagli imperativi dell'ambiente fisico da una parte, e dalle forze all'opera nel mondo esterno dall'altra. Nelle società complesse queste forze più grande ed „esterne“ spesso dominano e rimodellano le forze ad opera nel creare l'ecologia locale* (p. 22–3).

The background to this situation – a short history of the Tyrol, an account of economic development in the rural sector, and more particularly of the Nonstal – is carefully outlined. Full village communities had emerged by the mid-14th century; from the 19th century onwards there had been only a very weak penetration of capitalist market forces – new economic alternatives emerged only in the mid-20th century. Little ethnic conflict arose between the two villages in the 19th century, but they came under increasing pressure from urban centres. Both communities were relatively poor compared to centres of population in the lowland valleys, and lacked the richness of cultural forms, art and rituals that characterized the more prosperous peasantry. The ecological conditions and situation are the same for both communities, and have produced virtually identical technological responses (characterized by the system of transhumance pastoralism). On a daily basis, co-operation and frequent exchanges between the two villages are both necessary and desirable, with communication facilitated by the presence of speakers of both languages.

Despite visible similarities, Cole and Wolf observed a 'hidden frontier' separating the two communities in cultural terms, differences which were located at the core of their value-systems. The three significant cultural markers were the family structures within each village (rights to own or manage land were the crucial issues in village life until the mid-20th century), the nature of the relationship between the village and the wider political and economic system, and their participation in differ-

ent symbolic complexes and national myths. St. Felix, the German-speaking village, is a dispersed settlement, with estates spread at uneven distances from the small village centre. The household community coincides with that of the family – extended kinship groups live and work under one roof, and the name of the Hof is constitutive of the owner's identity. The properties are large and practice mixed agriculture (crop, pasture and forest). Like most of the German-speaking communities in the South Tyrol, St. Felix is a self-governing community, and had its own priest, who participated fully in village life. Tret, by way of contrast, was locally governed from the municipal seat of Fondo, and the *frazione* possessed a number of seats on the district council; a priest was shared with other villages. Unlike its neighbour, Tret is a concentrated nuclear settlement, where the houses are divided between households of unrelated families; the properties are smaller, the fields are at a greater distance from the houses and tend to specialize their agricultural activity to the use of one particular crop.

The authors argue that the key to the differences between the two communities is the formal observance of different systems of inheritance. In St. Felix, the social ideal was the system of impartible primogeniture, though in practice, estate division occurred to the extent that in 1879, the number of homesteads in the village was 3 times that in 1600 (p. 154). German settlement in the higher valleys had been part of the general colonization of the upland areas in the search for expanded pasturage, and the impartibility of 'ge-

schlossene Höfe' had been encouraged by Tyrolian law from at least 1404, and was fully institutionalised between 1779–85. Despite attempts at liberalization by the Habsburgs in 1868, the system was confirmed by Tyrolian law in 1900. In 1929, the Fascist regime in Italy made estate division obligatory, but primogeniture returned with a provincial law of 1954. The first son of the family inherits the whole property, with the remaining sibling part of the household oriented towards the maintenance of the system. Even 'disinherited' siblings see their life-goal as the management of an undivided estate – those who do not like it have the 'choice' of leaving home (nearly 40 % of those born after 1800 and surviving into adulthood left their village for good, another 24 % did not marry and never achieved total independence from the family holding, despite attempts to find work elsewhere). The family is organized in a highly patriarchal form, with the head of the household playing an uncontested role as leader of the estate and representative of the household in village affairs. His authority is extended by contact with formal institutions such as the Gemeinde, Schützen or the Church. With the loss of rights to carry arms and of political self-government in the 19th century, the German-speakers institutionalized their identity around the cult of the Heart of Jesus, inheritance laws, the Schützen and the Church. This 'myth of the Tyrol' rose in parallel with German romantic and nationalist glorifications of the peasantry, and contained many similar elements, and this allowed for their mutual convergence after the First World War.

Only a few kilometres away in Tret, there existed a comparatively egalitarian system of partible inheritance and a segmented family organization. The farmer is more a 'manager' of the land than owner and master. Secondary occupations – leather-working, carpentry or such like – are important to the household economy, and the position of women and children relative to the head of the household is much stronger than in St. Felix. Trettners rely on a social network of relatives, acquaintances and middle-men for the representation of political interests. The town is seen as a social ideal, rather than the Hof, with agriculture being seen in an essentially negative way: it is a compulsion to be escaped from, preferably for the real centre of life, the town, thus reflecting the dominant position of towns in the history of 'Italian civilization' and the preponderance of urban symbols within the discourse of Italian national identity. The state exists above and beyond social relations. The villagers identify themselves as Italians (unlike their German-speaking neighbours), but this is simply in contrast to Germanhood, having little substantive reality of its own (Nönes usually remained the family language, whilst standard Italian would be spoken for transactions or communication elsewhere). This form of organization reflects the fact that the Italian-speakers were never able to create a politically strong, dominant unit within the valley and thereby develop an independent cultural identity. The greater power of outside Counts or Bishops meant a reliance on social relations to hold the community together. The German colonists, by way of contrast, had the

support of the Tyrolian political structure behind them, and were able to remain in close linkage with that system.

Cole and Wolf argue that the decisive forces maintaining ethnic and cultural distinctions were less dependent on the different cultural origins of the two settlements, than the nature of their ongoing integration into the larger world. The practices envisaged by the ideal inheritance systems were not always realized, so their formal observance was a question of ideology and power legitimation (pp. 275–6). It was sometimes not possible to divide land in Tret, whilst it was often unavoidable in St. Felix: *Così, mentre l'ideologia dell'eredità fornisce una cornice cognitiva entro la quale il processo de facto deve operare, tanto la meccanica del processo quanto i suoi risultati sono in ultima analisi determinati dalle forze dell'ambiente e del mercato, anche a dispetto delle ideologie* (p. 213). To explain the cultural differences that consistently reappear, Cole and Wolf emphasize the impact of three major transformations in Tyrolian history – (1) the creation of the political unit of Tyrol through invasions by Bavarian tribes, followed by political consolidation under the Counts of Tyrol; (2) in the 15th and 16th centuries, loyalty to the autonomous domain of Tyrol was transformed into loyalty towards Tyrol as an integral part of the expanding Habsburg Empire; (3) the conflict between the Tyrolian role as bearers of an autonomous political and cultural tradition, and their role as Germans: during the rise of nationalist conflicts in the Empire in the 19th century, many Tyrolians came under the sway of the myth of Germany as a peasant nation,

dilemma was at its most acute during the period of National Socialism. There was, however, a significant line of continuity within these transformations: *Ogni transizione a un nuovo livello di integrazione politica fu accompagnata da una parallela trasformazione dei sentimenti di fedeltà politica. Tuttavia, ogni movimento verso l'incorporazione in un sistema più ampio rafforzò la continuità del Tirolo come entità politica e ideologica. Gli interessi dei tirolesi in quanto tali concisero con gli interessi del sistema più ampio in misura sufficiente da permettere al Tirolo di conservare la sua autonomia e la sua identità* (p. 279).

After 1918, the South Tyrolians were annexed to a state created in the 19th century primarily by urban élites, who had imposed their rule upon various rural populations, vowing to turn them into Italians. Under the Fascist regime, the measures enacted by the Italian state were more extreme, and this led to a „re-tribalization“ of ethnic identities in the region, producing a solidification of peasant identity in the South Tyrol. In 1939–43 the imposition of ‘Die Option’ created major divisions within social and family relationships; since 1945, a variety of factors favoured a rapprochement between the Südtiroler and the Italian government – the confirmation of the boundaries fixed in 1919 encouraged the realization that compromise was the best way forward, a less forcible acculturation policy was adopted by the Italian government, and economic recovery, particularly the boom in tourism, eased social tensions. The confrontation between the two cultures does not occur on a daily basis – practical communication and ex-

changes are the norm, but this is only true of the *public sphere*: *all'interno della propria comunità, gli abitanti di ciascun paese comunicano tra loro facendo ricorso a un insieme di immagini rigide dell'altra popolazione. Questi stereotipi possono non riferirsi a nessun membro in particolare della popolazione così caratterizzata, ma riflettono esperienze storiche che ciascun gruppo ha avuto dell'altro* (p. 285). Individual encounters readily pass over the ethnic boundary, but the ever-present stereotype readily re-establishes it in private. Ethnic boundaries persist beyond the context of personal and social relations because of the role of politics – ethnicity *is* politics, and its importance is elaborated to define or off-set relative political impotence. The cultural differences are not ‘inherent’, but continuing constructions and re-negotiations.

One of the contributions that Cole and Wolf make is that of recognizing the political element of the state in ‘complex’ societies, which creates a *political* economy, even if that is ecologically grounded. Whilst the microcosmic analysis is always carefully argued and intelligently placed within a broader political context, there are places where the general conclusions are less convincing. At times, the relationship between ethnicity and culture verges on becoming an overly deterministic one, in which there is a sub-marxian dialectic between the economic environment and the cultural identification of the population. Too often it seems as if the local populations are passive onlookers within a political and economic environment over which they have no control and in which they do not participate as de-

cision-making actors. Despite the equation between ethnicity and politics, the details of political and, just as importantly, religious life are subordinated to the description of ecological imperatives. Though the authors stress that the relationship is *not* deterministic, in practice their analysis leans in that direction. In addition, these micro-economic worlds are left rather isolated, without any elaboration of how their integration into the wider political structures takes place during the annual cycle. This seems particularly relevant in relation to the importance the authors attach to the respective national myths in which the two villages are located. Whilst there is a good deal of plausibility in the distinction between peasant symbols in Germany and a national discourse dominated by urban élites in Italy for the 19th century, there is less explanation of exactly how these should have come to be subsequently received in the areas under study, considering that Italy was in many ways just as much a peasant nation long into the 20th century, and Germany was likewise a series of regions with a number of important urban centres. The timing and pace of economic change and industrialization, as well as the nature of the groups involved in the respective processes of national unification is acknowledged – but how did this change, and in what ways were they relevant in the 1960s? Moreover, this ‘peasant myth’ was also a cultural production emanating from *within* the Tyrol, so it is not enough to simply refer to it as a force influencing the region from outside – it is also necessary to show which social groups

contributed to its formation in the Tyrol and how this worked in the localities.

5. Tyrolian historiography

In order to appreciate the significance of these books, it is necessary to recall certain general characteristics of Tyrolian historiography in the period from 1918 to the present day. Though a full critical study remains to be written, this issue has received some attention elsewhere, so here I shall simply try and summarize one or two salient points. In general, the historiography of Tyrol has – until the last ten or fifteen years – been characterized by two features: a conservative antiquarianism with nostalgic leanings towards the Habsburg Empire; a German-Tyrolian nationalism with strong elements of *Blut und Boden* thinking (anti-urbanism, glorification of the peasantry, anti-liberalism, anti-intellectualism, celebration of battle myths, anti-semitism). During the First Austrian Republic, the writing of history formed an integral part of the *Anschluss* movement,¹² and the University of Innsbruck was an important centre for the *Anschlussbewegung*.¹³ Many leading academics were openly involved in pro-*Anschluss* propaganda and historians were heavily involved in the right-wing *völkisch* movement. In addition, Tyrolian historiography was a central part of the defence of the German-speaking minority in the South Tyrol, with two prominent Tyrolian historians – Hermann Wopfner (1875–1963) and Otto Stolz (1881–1957) – taking a leading role in this activity. After 1945, within the prevailing *Nicht-Sehen-Wol-*

len atmosphere of Austrian society and politics, there was a retreat from open German nationalism and appearances underwent cosmetic alterations, but there was no fundamental questioning of research methods or priorities: *als für die Historiker 1945 der Moment gekommen war, Irrtum und Mitschuld offen und beherzt einzubekennen, blieben sie wie so viele andere stumm*¹⁴. The public soul-searching which came to be conducted in West Germany was barely emulated in Austria; many issues connected with the National Socialist past were taboo in public discourse until the emergence of the Waldheim affair.¹⁵ More specifically, academics avoided the theme of the role the universities had played in the period 1918–45. With one exception, research in this area only began in the 1980s. For most of the post-war period, the discipline did nothing to distinguish or distance itself from past associations, and only relatively recently have modern social science methodologies succeeded in penetrating the prevailing conservative antiquarianism. It is also noticeable how little mutual attention is paid between German- and Italian-language literature, a situation which reflects a long-standing exclusion of Italian culture on the part of German-speaking Tyrolians, dating from the Habsburg period. The tendency for German-speaking Tyrolian historians has been to nostalgically interpret the period of 'Alttirol' as a lost golden era, whilst Italian-language writing often continues to confine itself almost exclusively to the study of the area within the borders of today's province of Trentino. Irre-
dentist assumptions coloured much

Italian writing until comparatively recently, and traces of this are still discernible.¹⁶ The German-Tyrolian failure to address the issue of National Socialism has been emulated by the basic absence of Italian-language analysis of the phenomenon of Fascism in Südtirol.¹⁷

There has been a basic absence of historiographical pluralism, with 'alternative' interpretations of Tyrolian history few and far between.¹⁸ Symptomatic of the widespread conformity has been the absolute lack of controversy or genuine debate about historically important issues until perhaps the 1980s. For most of the period after 1945, the historicist method has been dominant, characterized by *eine unkritische Orientierung an Fakten, die Überbewertung schriftlicher Quellen, ideologisch-politisch Tendenzen bei deren Interpretation wie das Überwiegen personalisierter Geschichtsperspektiven*¹⁹. One of the most recent attempts at giving an overview of Tyrolian historiography confirms that these tendencies still flourish – the phenomenon of National Socialism is portrayed as essentially being something arriving from outside, rather than as an ideological movement which existed inside Tyrol. All the usual stalwarts – Otto Stolz, Hermann Wopfner and Franz Huter – are paraded as honest defenders of the *Heimat*, and there is a general failure to question the fundamental aims and methodological basis to the writing of history in Tyrol: *Nach dem Ende des „1000jährigen“ Reiches bestand – wohl aus nachvollziehbaren Gründen – offenbar nicht das Bedürfnis im Land im Gebirge ein völlig neues historisches Bewußtsein zu entwickeln*²⁰.

At the institutional level, this climate of silence has tended to produce bureaucratic obstructionism as regards access to sources and archives on contemporary history. In comparison with other Western European countries, Austria's archives – including the Tiroler Landesarchiv – have been closed to historical researchers wanting to study certain aspects of 20th century history, but even after access was granted to the archives of the period 1938–45 in other Austrian lands, that did not happen in the Tyrol. Despite continued institutional bias towards an 'official' type of history, it is nevertheless possible to see the beginnings of a re-assessment of historical aims and methods from around 1980 onwards.²¹ Some of the necessary questions about Tyrol's past have at last begun to be asked, and receive answers. The previous absence of gender, social, cultural and economic history has yet to be fully overcome, but methodological and theoretical innovation and receptiveness is at least evident in the study of contemporary history. Whilst accepting that the most urgent problems requiring investigation in the short-term *are* those relating to National Socialism, there is nevertheless a potential weakness in the current interest for this topic in that it ignores the more fundamental and long term problem of the overall 'medievalization' in Tyrolian historiography.²² For the most part, pre-20th century Tyrolian history continues to be dominated by a (overwhelmingly male) group of historians perpetuating the methods and aims of the old school – *abgesehen von der Tonart handelt es sich [...] um eine Historiographie, die keine Erkenntnisse anstrebt, sondern insistie-*

*rend darum bemüht ist, unablässig ihre Sicht der Dinge – unabhängig von neuen wissenschaftlichen Ergebnissen – vorzutragen*²³.

Given this overall situation, the unusualness of these four works under review will already be apparent. Whatever their individual merits, their potential importance is considerable in relation to an area of research that has been almost exclusively dominated by historians from the Tyrol, writing only on Tyrolian issues, with little interest or concern for comparison with other areas or participation in a wider academic dialogue at the national – let alone international – level, and without displaying any interest in methodological innovation or discussion. Two American studies, one American work now translated into Italian, and one joint Austro-Italian project represents a major breakthrough in overcoming the self-willed isolation of Tyrolian historiography. Though the chances of these books receiving much notice in the traditional academic journals *Tiroler Heimat*, *Tiroler Heimatblätter* and *Der Schlern* cannot be assumed to be very high, it can at least be hoped that the appearance of these books constitutes a confirmation and progression of the opening up of Tyrolian historiography. Miriam Levy has looked at an area of 'Alttirol' that has rarely been included within the attention of German-language history (other than in the form of anti-Italian polemics). Whatever the weaknesses of Martha Ward's study, it does constitute a modern anthropological study that seeks to ask questions about the meanings within Tyrolian culture, rather than simply to catalogue the material life of the peasant popula-

tion. The same is true for Cole and Wolf's study, which even now, still brings a wholly new perspective and approach to the socio-economic analysis of Tyrolian history at the micro-level. The book edited by Reinhard Johler and others represents a long-overdue engagement with a crucial period of 20th century history. Lastly, even if the topics chosen by the 2 Americans, Ward and Levy, or the 4 women contributing to the *Volkskunde* project cannot be reckoned to be examples of gender history, it is significant that such a large female participation is evident in an unusually male-dominated area of historiography.

Laurence Cole

- 1 For those interested, I would like to point out that I am no relative of John W. Cole, author of some of the contributions under review.
- 2 Until their secularization in 1803, the Fürstbistümer of Brixen and Trento were not included in the population of Tirol.
- 3 Helmut REINALTER, *Geheimbünde in Tirol. Von der Aufklärung bis zur Französischen Revolution*, Bozen 1982.
- 4 A prime example of this mode of analysis is the work of Robert A. KANN, e. g. his „A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526–1918“, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1974.
- 5 Alan SKED, *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire 1815–1918*, London 1989.
- 6 Charles INGRAO, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1815*, Cambridge 1994.
- 7 Manfred RAUCHENSTEINER, *Der Tod des Doppeladlers. Österreich-Ungarn und der Erste Weltkrieg*, Graz/Wien/Köln 1993.
- 8 Pier Paolo VIAZZO, *Upland Communities. Environment, Population and Social Structure in the Alps since the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1989, p.13.
- 9 Relevant discussions of the research of anthropologists in Europe can be found in: John W. COLE, *Anthropology Comes Part Way Home: Community Studies in Europe*. In: *Annual Review of Anthropology* 6, 1977, 349–378; Norbert ORTMAYR, *Amerikaner in den Alpen. Historisch-kulturanthropologische Studien über die alpenländische Gesellschaft*. In: Karl KASER/Karl STOCKER, (Hg.): *Clios Rache. Neue Aspekte strukturgeschichtlicher und theoriegeleiteter Geschichtsforschung in Österreich*, Wien 1992, S.131–150.

- 10 John W. COLE, *Culture and Economy in Peripheral Europe*. In: *Ethnologia Europaea* XV/1, 1985: 3–26.
- 11 On Huter's activities, see the controversial exchanges in: M. GEHLER, *Der Hitler-Mythos in den „nationalen“ Eliten Tirols, dargestellt an Hand ausgewählter Biographien am Beispiel der Südtirolfrage und Umsiedlung*. In: *Geschichte und Gegenwart* H. 4, Jg. 9, 1990: 279–315; *IBID.*: *Zur Kulturkommission des SS-„Ahnenerbes“ in Südtirol 1940–43 und Geschichte des „Tolomei-Archivs“ 1943–45: Entgegnungen zu Franz Hutters „Feststellungen“*. In: *Geschichte und Gegenwart* H. 3, Jg. 11, 1992: 208–35; and replies by F. HUTER, *Feststellungen*. In: *G.u.G. H. 4, Jg. 10, 1991: 319–20; Neue Feststellungen*. In: *G.u.G. H. 3 Jg. 11, 1992: 236–8*.
- 12 H. DACHS, *Österreichische Geschichtswissenschaft und Anschluß*, Wien/Salzburg, 1974; G. FELLNER, *Die österreichische Geschichtswissenschaft vom Anschluß zum Wiederaufbau*. In: *Unterdrückung und Emanzipation. Festschrift Erika WEINZIERL zum 60. Geburtstag* [Hg. v. R. G. ARDELT u. a.] Wien/Salzburg 1985, S. 321–39; G. FELLNER, *Die Emigration Österreichischer Historiker. Ein ungeschriebenes Kapitel in der Zeitgeschichte ihres Faches* [In: F. STADLER (Hg.) – *Vertriebene Vernunft II.*, Wien/München 1988]; E. WEINZIERL/K. SKALNIK, *Österreich 1918–38. Geschichte der Ersten Republik*, Graz/Wien/Köln 1983. See also: D. LOW, *The Anschluß Movement, 1931–38. An Annotated Bibliography of German and Austrian Nationalism*, New York/London 1984.
- 13 Skolast 1/2 34, 1990, „politisch zuverlässig, rein arisch. Deutscher Wissenschaft verpflichtet“; T. ALBRICH et al. (Hg.): *Tirol und der Anschluß. Voraussetzungen, Entwicklungen, Rahmenbedingungen 1918–38*, Innsbruck 1988.
- 14 G. FELLNER, op. cit., S. 331.
- 15 See: A. PELINKA, *Zur österreichischen Identität*, Wien 1990; M. SULLY, *A Contemporary History of Austria*, London 1990.
- 16 G. PALLAVER, *Alto Adige o Südtirol? Neueste italienische Publikationen über Südtirol*. In: *Zeitgeschichte* H. 5, Jg. 17, 1989: 180–7.
- 17 M. GEHLER, „Regionale“ *Zeitgeschichte als „Geschichte überschaubarer Räume“*. Von Grenzen, Möglichkeiten, Aufgaben und Fragen einer Forschungsrichtung. In: *Geschichte und Region/Storia e regione* H. 2 Jg. 1, 1992: 85–120.
- 18 For a rare attempt at a critical summary of Tyrolian history, see: „Ein schwerer Weg. Streiflichter auf Tirols Geschichte“, Michael Gaismair-Gesellschaft, Innsbruck 1984.
- 19 GEHLER, op. cit., S. 90.
- 20 J. RIEDMANN, *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewußtsein in Tirol, vornehmlich in*

- der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jhs. Ein Versuch. In: *Tiroler Heimat* 57, 1993: 291–304.
- 21 See the series „Innsbrucker Forschungen zur Zeitgeschichte“ by the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Universität Innsbruck.
- 22 This is a feature of Tyrolian historiography currently being studied by Giuseppe ALBERTONI, within the framework of a dissertation provisionally entitled, „Società e mondo rurale nel Tyrolo medievale. Secoli VIII–XII“, and to whom I am grateful for seeing draft versions of that work.
- 23 GEHLER, op. cit., S. 96.

Stefan Schumacher, *Die Rätischen Inschriften. Geschichte und heutiger Stand der Forschung*

Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Innsbruck 1992, pp. 291.

Il volume si apre con un'introduzione in cui vengono illustrati i due contributi dell'A.: una disamina accurata degli studi e un corpus delle iscrizioni "retiche" rinvenute fino al 1991. L'ambito geografico per gli addetti ai lavori è scontato: Trentino-Alto Adige, Valle dell'Inn, Veneto nord-occidentale.

La storia della ricerca occupa la prima parte, cioè le pp. 19–108. Nel capitolo iniziale, comprendente una discussione critica degli studi fino al 1918, viene dato spazio all'antiquaria: sono citati due scritti del conte B. Giovanelli, "Trento città de' Rezi e colonia romana", 1825, e "Dei Rezi, dell'origine de' popoli d'Italia e d'una iscrizione rezio-etrusca", 1844, con il quale l'allora Podestà di Trento illustrava la situla di Cembra ("situla Giovanelli").

Da rilevare il costante riferimento alle fonti latine e greche, che permette all'A. di trattare le principali questioni pervenute dalla tradizione sui popoli "retici", rimasti pressoché sconosciuti al mondo latino.

Segue la discussione su T. Mommsen "Die nordetruskischen Alphabete auf Inschriften und Münzen", 1853; forse non sarebbe stata inutile la citazione dell'altro articolo del Mommsen "Edict des Kaisers Claudius über das römische Bürgerrecht der Anauner", apparso in "Hermes" 1869 e, nello stesso anno, in un supplemento straordinario del "Trentino" (si veda "La Tavola Clesiana portante un editto dell'imperatore Claudio dell'anno 46 dopo Cristo, riguardante la cittadinanza romana degli Anauni". Dissertazione. Trento 1890, di pp. 27).

Dopo aver citato i contributi di C. Schneller, Fabretti, Corssen, Oberziner, l'A. dedica diverse pagine alle "Altitalische Forschungen" di C. Pauli (1885–91), e ne sottolinea giustamente l'importanza, in quanto l'essenziale punto di partenza per le successive ricerche sulle iscrizioni venetiche e lepontiche, delle quali ultime il Pauli evidenziò le caratteristiche celtoidi. Al Pauli va certamente attribuito il merito di avere teorizzato in modo nuovo – pur non sempre da condividere – i rapporti tra gli alfabeti detti "nordetruschi" dell'Italia settentrionale: l'"alfabeto di Bolzano" (nel terzo vol. dell'opera, 1891), lo stesso Pauli proponeva senza successo il termine "alfabeto di Trento") e l'"alfabeto di Lugano", che considerava derivati direttamente dagli Etruschi; l'"alfabeto di Sondrio" e l'"alfabeto di Este" che mise invece in relazione con i Greci e definiva "adriatici" dalla città di Adria. La rassegna prosegue con la critica dei contributi di F. Stolz, O. Menghin, F. Haug.

Il cap. 2 valuta le ricerche condotte tra il 1918 e la seconda guerra mondia-