

PASSIVE FASCISM?
THE POLITICS OF AUSTRIAN HEIMAT PHOTOGRAPHY

by

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Abstract

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This dissertation focuses on Austrian Heimat [homeland] photography during the 1930s. Seemingly apolitical, this regional and popular photography of bucolic landscapes, quaint villages, peasants in traditional dress, skiers, and mountaineers was fundamental in shaping Austrian identity. Both the pre-war fascist and the postwar democratic governments easily appropriated and encouraged its dissemination. It fully fit within the vision of building a new Austrian nation comprised of distinct regional identities.

Of central importance to my dissertation is the question of how the preference for the local, which is strongly visible in these photographs, intersects with the desire to be part of a nation. It permeated people's lives during the 1930s and again in the 1950s, helping to establish the image of Austria as a peaceful Alpine nation. Examining a little-recognized, yet highly influential movement within Austria not only offers a new perspective on the development of modern Austrian identity, but also stresses the importance of including regional movements in histories of photography.

Chapter One provides the political context for Austrian Heimat photography during the 1930s, bringing to light how the Austrian government encouraged Heimat photography and tried to unify Austria through a policy of cultural superiority and an image of an Alpine ideal. Chapter Two examines the beginnings of Heimat photography in the Heimat preservation movement and

the development of Heimat photography in Germany and Austria during the 1920s and 1930s. Chapter Three considers Austrian Heimat photography as an integral part of government-supported tourism that promoted the country as an Alpine haven and a winter sports paradise. Chapter Four examines several different Heimat photobooks published during the 1930s as a basis for comparing the political attitudes of Heimat photographers towards the Austrian government and National Socialists. Chapter Five is a reflection on how the National Socialist government was able to appropriate the nationalist sentiment and romanticized viewpoints seen in the Austrian Heimat, transforming them into representation of the German Heimat. Chapter Six concentrates on post-War Austrian Heimat photobooks which featured much of the same traditional subject matter from pre-War Alpine Heimat. Amidst a cultural atmosphere of denial and victimhood the Heimat remained popular. Finally, the conclusion stresses the importance of cultural histories of photography and suggests further areas research.

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- Fig. 135 Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Aus St. Veit a. D. Glan / Kärnten* [From St. Veit a. d. Glan / Carinthia] and *Aus Maria Straßengel / Steiermark* [From Maria Strassengel / Styria] in Kruckenhauser, *Verborgene Schönheit*, 256-257.
- Fig. 136 Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Vom Stift Nonnberg / Salzburg* [From Stift Nonnberg] and *Aus St. Veit a. d. Glan / Kärnten* [From St. Veit a. d. Glan / Carinthia] in Kruckenhauser, *Verborgene Schönheit*, 258-259.
- Fig. 137 Dust jacket for Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Das Meisterwerk von Kefermarkt* (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1941)
- Fig. 138 Dust jacket for Simon Moser, *Deutsche Bergbauern* (Innsbruck: Deutscher Alpenverlag, 1940)
- Fig. 139 Simon Moser, *...blond und ernst ... mit länglichen Zügen* [Blond and earnest ... with longish features] in Moser, *Deutsche Bergbauern*, 37.
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- Fig. 143 Erna Lendvai-Dirksen, *Bäuerinnen aus dem hinteren Bregenzer Wald* [Peasant woman from deep in the Bregenz Forest], in Lendvai-Dirksen, *Tirol und Vorarlberg*, n.p.

Fig. 144 Simon Moser, *Kirchhofratsch* [Gossip in the church courtyard] and *ein müder Sonnenstrahl* [A soft ray of light] in Moser, *Deutsche Bergbauern*, 130 and 133.

Fig. 145 Rudolf Koppitz, *Osttiroler Bäuerin* [East Tyrolean peasant], in Josef Leitgeb, *Tirol und Vorarlberg. Das Land im Gebirge*, ed. Clotildis Thiede (Berlin: Bong & Co., 1939), 104-105.

Fig. 146 Rudolf Koppitz, *Hedy Pfundmayr*, in *Die Bühne* no. 377 (June 1934): 12.

Fig. 147 Dust jacket for Hans Angerer, *Tirol wie es ist: Berg und Mensch* (Innsbruck: Deutscher Alpenverlag, 1939).

Fig. 148 Hans Angerer, *Am Elfer* [On Elfer] and *Im Wildlahnertal* [In Wildlahn valley], in Angerer, *Tirol wie es ist*, 58-59.

Fig. 149 Hans Angerer, *Tirol wie es ist*, 62-63.

Fig. 150 Enno Folkerts, *Tirol: Volk, Heimat, Brauchtum* (Innsbruck: NS-gauverlag Tirol-Vorarlberg, 1940), 158-159.

Fig. 151 Enno Folkerts, *Tirol: Volk, Heimat, Brauchtum*, 16-17.

Fig. 152 Wilhelm Angerer, *Des Winters Einsam Große Heimat* [The Desolate Great Hearth of Winter], in Angerer, *Ein Leid rauscht durch den Bergen* (Innsbruck: Gauverlag, 1942), n.p.

Fig. 153 Wilhelm Angerer, *Frühlingserwachen* [Spring's Awakening] in Angerer, *Ein Leid rauscht durch den Bergen*, n.p.

Fig. 154 Wilhelm Angerer, *Nordens Recken* [Northern Heroes] in Angerer, *Ein Leid rauscht durch den Bergen*, n.p.

Fig. 155 Simon Moser, *Ein Gemäuer, von Ahnen erbaut* [A wall, built from forefathers] in Moser, *Das Land in den Bergen* (Innsbruck: Deutscher Alpenverlag, 1942), 41.

Fig. 156 Simon Moser, *Auch der Halbwüchsige greift zur Sense* [Even the child grabs the scythe] in Moser, *Das Land in den Bergen*, 70.

Fig. 157 Simon Moser, *Lust und Liebe zeigt alt und jung beim Schießen* [Young and old love and delight in shooting] in Moser, *Das Land in den Bergen*, 102.

Fig. 158 Simon Moser, *Nebel fällt an den Felsen ein* [Fog descends on the cliffs] in Moser, *Das Land in den Bergen*, 168.

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Fig. 160 Dust jacket for Wilhelm Angerer and Ernst Sturmmair, *Die Einheit Tirols* [The Unity of Tyrol] (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche, 1946)

Fig. 161 Wilhelm Angerer, *Blick vom Gipfel des Grossvenediger auf die Berge Ost- und Südtirols* [View from the peak of the Grossvenediger toward the mountains of East and South Tyrol] in Angerer, *Die Einheit Tirols*, n.p.

Fig. 162 Wilhelm Angerer, *Inntal vom Weerberg* and *Das Eisacktal von Villanders* in Angerer, *Die Einheit Tirols*, n.p.

Fig. 164 Wilhelm Angerer, *Bäuerin aus dem Unterinntal* [Peasant from the Lower Inn valley] and *Bauer aus der Gegend Bozen* [Peasant from the area around Bozen] in Angerer, *Die Einheit Tirols*, n.p.

Fig. 165 Wilhelm Angerer, *Untitled*, in Angerer, *Die Einheit Tirols*, n.p.

Fig. 166 Dust jacket for Simon Moser, *Lebendiges Tirol* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1946).

Fig. 167 Installation views of “Lebendiges Tirol” exhibition as published in *Ruf der Heimat* (March 1937): 89.

Fig. 168 Simon Moser, *Heuarbeit auf dem Hochmahd* [Working with on the high swath] and *Furtschagl* in Moser, *Lebendiges Tirol*, 36-37.

Fig. 169 Simon Moser, *Die Pfarrkirche von Hall* [The parish church of Hall] and *Am Rathaus von Hall* [On the city hall of Hall], in Moser, *Lebendiges Tirol*, 44-45.

Fig. 170 Simon Moser, *Stilfser-Joch-Straße* [Stilfser-Joch Street], in Moser, *Lebendiges Tirol*, 127.

Fig. 171 Simon Moser, *Am Stripsenjoch. Blick gegen das Inntal* [On Stripsenjoch. View of the Inn valley], *Lebendiges Tirol*, 14-15.

Fig. 172 Simon Moser, *Sarnerinnen* and *Sarner*, in *Lebendiges Tirol*, 120-121.

Fig. 173 Simon Moser, *Sommerlicher Tanz in Alpbachtal* [Summer dance in Alpbach valley] and *Zwei aus dem alten Einbergergeschlecht* [Two from the old Einberger family], in Moser, *Lebendiges Tirol*, 22-23.

Fig. 174 Simon Moser, *Unter dem Gerlospañ* [Below the Gerlos pass] and *Blick vom Verbindungsgrat Reichenspitze – Wildgerlosspitze nach Süden* [View to the South from the ridge access Reichenspitze – Wildgerlosspitze] in Moser, *Zillertal und Alpbachtal* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1956): 30-31.

Fig. 175 Anna Koppitz, *Kinder* [Children], in *Der österreichische Bauer* (Vienna: Sator, 1949), 152.

Fig. 176 Rudolf Koppitz, *Aus Prägraten in Osttirol* [From Prägraten in East Tyrol], in *Die Pause* (April 1935): 4.

Fig. 177 Anna Koppitz, *Die Ernte* [The Harvest], in *Der österreichische Bauer*, 224.

Fig. 178 Anna Koppitz, *Model* [Pattern block], in *Der österreichische Bauer*, 196.

Fig. 179 Dust jacket to Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Verborgene Schönheit: Bauwerk und Plastik der Ostmark*, 5th expanded ed. (Berlin: Müller, 1954).

Fig. 180 Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Stuben Vorarlberg* and *Bartholomäberg Vorarlberg*, in Kruckenhauser, *Verborgene Schönheit*, 36-37.

Fig. 181 Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Mauer Nied. Österr.* [Mauer Lower Austria], in Kruckenhauser, *Verborgene Schönheit*, 227.

Fig. 182 Adalbert Defner, “Rattenberg on the Inn, the smallest city in Austria...” and Stefan Kruckenhauser, “...whose fine old houses retain the atmosphere of the past,” in *Schönes Tirol: Landschaft, Mensch und Kultur*, 56-57.

Fig. 183 map of Austria in *Österreich: Landschaft, Mensch und Kultur* (Frankfurt am Main: Umschau and St. Johann, Tirol: Pinguin, 1954).

Fig. 184 Padelt-Bavaria, “The most modern Alpine highway of Austria, the Glockner Highway, climbs up to a height of 7725 feet in innumerable serpentine” and G. Rossmannith, “The first village in Carinthia which greets the traveller to the South along this road is Heiligenblut high above sea level,” in *Österreich*, 62-63.

Fig. 185 Stefan Kruckenhauser, “In one of these narrow streets of the old city of Salzburg W.A. Mozart was born in 1756,” in *Österreich*, 47.

Fig. 186 Alfred Straberger, “Summer joys in Velden on Lake Woerthersee...” and Hermann Brühlmeyer, “Dreamy Lake Ossiacher is also one of the treasures of Carinthia,” in *Österreich*, 66-67.

Fig. 187 Sketh Foto, “From time immemorial Mt. Erzberg (Ore Mountain) has parted with its bountiful precious iron ore...” and Fritz Fürtz, “...which is smelted in Donawitz,” in *Österreich*, 72-73.

Fig. 188 Rudolf Koppitz, “East Tyrolian peasant women in church” and “Simple but nourishing meals unite the whole family of the mountain farmer around one table,” in *Österreich*, 56-57.

Fig. 189 Albert Rastl, “Beauty and grace blend harmoniously in the costumes of the Aussee region” and Erika Schmachtenberger, “Folk dancing, an expression of joy of living and regional pride,” in *Österreich*, 80-81.

Fig. 190 Erika Schmachtenberger, “Austria, especially Burgenland, believes in the enjoyment of life,” in *Österreich*, 112.

Fig. 191 “Auf der Alm – da gibt’s ka Sünd’. – Stubaital” [There’s no sin in the Alpine pasture – Stubai Valley], In *Schönes Tirol*, 72.

Heimat, ein Wort, das niemand erschöpfend definieren kann, dessen erste Wurzeln auf der Mutter Schoß Boden gefaßt haben! [Heimat, a word that has defied any adequate definition and whose first roots grasped at the womb of mother earth.]¹

INTRODUCTION

The August 1934 cover of the Viennese cultural magazine *Die Bühne: Zeitschrift für Theater und Gesellschaft* [The Stage: Magazine for Theater and Society] features a photograph by an anonymous author depicting three women dressed in traditional Dirndl's ascending the stairs of a Salzburg palatial garden (Fig. 1). To our contemporary eyes the photograph at first may seem nice but also rather uninteresting. The view is touristy and it does not say anything other than “this is Salzburg.” This issue of the magazine showcases Salzburg as one of Austria's historically rich towns and encourages the urban dweller of Vienna (where the magazine was based) to visit. Like all cover illustrations, this photograph is meant to entice the viewer to read the magazine and in this case, to discover Salzburg. The photograph, however, is more than just an appealing advertisement; underneath, its surface manifests the cultural and political ideology of 1930s Austria.

The cover photograph can be categorized in a genre known as *Heimatfotografie*. The term translates as “homeland photography” but this literal interpretation eschews the conceptual notion of Heimat.² For Shearer West, Heimat is “another one of those vague words,” about which early twentieth-century Germans spent a lot of time writing, continuously trying to describe its elusive ideals.³ Indeed, Heimat is difficult to explain. Heimat has many connotations

¹ Hans Seidlmayer, “Lichtbildner und Heimatkunde,” *Photofreund* 8, no. 19 (1928): 359.

² Within the English-language literature on Heimat it is common practice to not italicize the word. Since there is no adequate English translation it is simply carried over into English as is. For more on Heimat translations and meanings, see Peter Blickle, *Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002), 2-6.

³ Shearer West, “Rural and Urban: Seeking the *Heimat*,” chap. 2 in *The Visual Arts in Germany, 1890-1937: Utopia and Despair* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 42.

and depictions of it are no less problematic. Generally, Heimat is imaginatively linked to a certain geographic sphere defined according to any individual's perception. It is where one feels at home, whether it be the environment of a small city, town, or an entire country. But Heimat is more than just a physical place or geographical space. Heimat also carries with it inextricable and deeply personal feelings. The intimate relationship each individual has with the Heimat is of course variable, but because it is linked to geography, it is also a concept that is generalized and shared. Heimat is home to many people. They embellish and idealize it as a place that is familiar, communal and warm. Conceived of as a traditional home, Heimat provides security and shelter from the outside world and because of this, it can have rejuvenating and redemptive qualities.

Heimat photographs may not be that persuasive as single images to foreigners, even in an advertising context. My study, however, places the cover illustration among many other types of Heimat photographs and argues for the political importance of this seemingly apolitical commonplace imagery in society. My study of Austrian Heimat photography seeks to demonstrate the ways in which even the most seemingly ordinary photographs are part of a larger political economy. As a whole, local Heimat photographs of 1930s Austria present a new and more homogeneous portrayal of the land and its people. They suggest a schema of common traits with which Austrians could learn to identify and of which they could be proud.

The popularization of the public idea of Heimat began in the nineteenth century with the German Heimat protection [*Heimatschutz*] movement, which aimed to preserve the aesthetic beauty of nature. Throughout its history, Heimat has tended to signify rural areas that are closely connected to the natural landscape and depictions of it mostly show bucolic landscapes, humble peasants, and pre-industrial ways of life. Heimat photographs can depict city views, but only when they include historical buildings that have long distinguished the city from others and are

sources of pride for its people. The cover photograph mentioned, for example, depicts the gardens of the seventeenth-century Baroque palace Schloss Mirabell and the medieval Hohensalzburg castle. Only occasionally, and much later in the twentieth century, did the understanding of Heimat come to include large urban centers. Larger cities were not considered Heimat because they were too far removed from nature and origin. As a human-built center of mass-industry, the modern metropolis emphatically stood in the eyes of the middle classes and the workers against the personal and natural and it was in no way rejuvenating. The quotidian and quaint character of rural regions on the other hand was thought of as calming. The small-town Heimat provided security as it rarely changed in its appearance or routine, and thus it remained familiar and safe as a home.

Few historians and literary scholars looked critically at the Heimat movement and its ideas as a whole before the 1970s.⁴ After this, a handful produced the first studies on Heimat in which they considered the urban rural dichotomy as a largely middle and upper-class reaction to increasing modernization.⁵ In this reading, the changing role of women, the population migration to urban centers, the industrialization of the landscape, and the threat of socialism all made the simple and traditional rural life associated with the Heimat attractive.⁶ For the middle class it

⁴ Ernst Waldinger, "Von der Heimatkunst zur Blut-und-Boden-Dichtung," *German Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (1940): 83-87; Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand, "Heimatkunst," in *Stilkunst um 1900*, ed. Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand (Berlin: Akademie, 1967), 364-94.

⁵ Klaus Bergmann, *Agrarromantik und Grossstadtfeindlichkeit* (Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain, 1970). Alexander Mitscherlich and Gert Kalow, *Hauptworte, Hauptsachen. Zwei Gespräche: Heimat, Nation* (Munich: R. Piper, 1971). Dietmar Kramer, "Die politische und ökonomische Funktionalisierung von Heimat im deutschen Imperialismus und Faschismus," *Diskurs*, no. 6/7 (1973): 3-22. Karlheinz Roszbacher, *Heimatkunstabewegung und Heimatkunst: Zu einer Literatursoziologie der Jahrhundertwende* (Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1975). Hermann Bausinger, "Heimat und Identität," in *Heimat und Identität: Probleme regionaler Kultur*, ed. Konrad Köstlin and Hermann Bausinger (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1980), 9-24.

⁶ This phenomenon was not specific to Germany. For studies on artists and the urban/rural dichotomy in France, see Frances Fowle and Richard Thomson, *Soil and Stone: Impressionism, Urbanism, Environment* (Burlington, VT:

functioned in two ways. Heimat was a rural paradise signifying travel and escape from the troubles of urban life but it was also a far-away place where peasants and locals appeared to be content with their lives and families. Within their own environment, the peasants remained at a distance and this hindered them from interfering with the life of the middle and upper classes.

This early interpretation of Heimat, which remained highly influential, is not entirely false, but it does not account for inconsistencies and exceptions. Viewing Heimat as a bourgeois phenomenon which rejected industry and sought an idyllic life divorces the movement from modernism. More recent scholarship explains that there are other viewpoints from which to look at the meaning of Heimat and argues that Heimat is much more complex in its social and historical roles.⁷ Rudy Koshar, for example, makes a case for the variable opinions on nationalism present in Heimat preservation, which were sometimes at odds with the goals of the broader Heimat discourse.⁸ His research offers an important refutation of the idea that there was ever a natural evolution from Heimat protection to hypernationalism or Nazism.⁹ Other scholarship emphasizes that the polarity of urban and rural does not necessarily mean that Heimat is backward, escapist, or ‘anti-modern.’ In his study of Heimat film in Germany, Johannes von Moltke warns against the temptation to consider Heimat and its romantic, local and rural spaces as antimodern.¹⁰ A binary conception of Heimat leads to an intransigent logic. Instead von Moltke suggests Heimat’s paradoxical nature should be viewed dialectically, as its

Varie; Ashgate, 2003) and Robyn Roslak, *Neo-Impressionism and Anarchism in Fin-de-Siècle France: Painting, Politics and Landscapes*.

⁷ A 1991 collection of essays on Heimat edited by Edeltraud Klueting was the first to steer away from the general antimodernist impulse, see Edeltraud Klueting, ed. *Antimodernismus und Reform: Zur Geschichte der deutschen Heimatbewegung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991).

⁸ Rudy Koshar, “The Antinomies of Heimat: Homeland, History, Nazism,” in *Heimat, Nation, Fatherland: The German Sense of Belonging*, ed. Jost Hermand and James D. Steakley (New York: P. Lang, 1996), 113-36.

⁹ Koshar, “The Antinomies of Heimat,” 130.

¹⁰ Johannes von Moltke, *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 12-16.

polarities depend on each other.¹¹ Indeed, Heimat developed as a phenomenon of modernity and it depended on modernity to develop and popularize its appreciation and preservation. In turn, modernity can be seen as relying upon Heimat to provide a sense of leisure and simplicity amidst the hustle and bustle of modern day life.

Peter Blickle shows just how multifaceted the concept of Heimat is as he traces the historical development of the understanding and use of Heimat. He writes the most informative study of Heimat's theoretical underpinnings.¹² Blickle's analysis, which draws on the work of Kant, Nietzsche, Fichte, Freud, Heidegger, Adorno and many others, demonstrates the critical role of Heimat in concepts related to it – modernity, identity, gender, nature and religion – and he further explicates how this has played out in German culture and identity. Other historians and literary scholars examine Heimat empirically as a theme in specific works of literature and film.¹³ Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, for example, examine environmental issues, class politics, gender, and ethnicity in various novels and films from the early to the late-twentieth century in order to discuss how Heimat has intervened in the cultural construction of regional and national identity in Germany.¹⁴ In their analyses they show that conceptions of Heimat are most often ambiguous, partly because of the constant dialectic of Heimat with history and politics. Social historians have also looked at Heimat because of its relationship to identity and the sense of belonging to a community. In examining the Heimat protection movement, for example, William Rollins explains that Heimat linked disparate elements, subverting

¹¹ Ibid, 12.

¹² Blickle, *Heimat*.

¹³ Two recent examples are Jennifer Kapczynski, "Postwar Ghosts: Heimatfilm and the Specter of Male Violence. Returning to the Scene of the Crime," *German Studies Review* 33, no. 2 (May 2010): 305-330 and Heidi M. Schlipphacke, *Nostalgia after Nazism: History, Home, and Affect in German and Austrian Literature and Film* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2010).

¹⁴ Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, *Heimat: A German Dream: Regional Loyalties and National Identity in German Culture, 1890-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

individualistic foundations of bourgeois society to produce a larger aesthetic community.¹⁵ All of these studies point to the malleable concept of Heimat in which the zeitgeist always plays a formative role.

The local and regional photography that visually permeated people's lives encouraged pride in the local Heimat. Both Alon Confino and Celia Applegate have demonstrated in groundbreaking studies on Heimat in Germany how this local pride gradually contributed to and became a source of national Heimat pride.¹⁶ Applegate's examination of the Rhineland Palatinate demonstrates that in the nineteenth century provincials thought of Heimat as a local concept and it thus became a conduit to understanding the nation. In researching how the region of Württemberg perceived Heimat, Confino supplements Applegate's approach by arguing that Heimat did more than mediate between local and national; it became an actual representation of nation. The stereotypical from each area coalesced to represent the idea of a nation as a whole, so that nationhood was conceived of in local terms.¹⁷ In my study of Heimat photography, I supplement and build upon these ideas as I examine Heimat in a different geographical sphere and during a later and arguably, more nationally contentious period.

Mostly historians and literary scholars have undertaken the study of Heimat but very few have considered the implications of static Heimat imagery, even though this imagery and photography especially, were powerful tools that spread the ideas of and popularized Heimat. The cultural environment and political situation surrounding its creation were also formative, but since Heimat has appeared in the past to be antithetical to modernism, its connection to art has

¹⁵ William H. Rollins, "Heimat, Modernity, and Nation: The Early Heimatschutz Movement," in *Heimat, Nation, Fatherland: The German Sense of Belonging*, ed. Jost Hermand and James D. Steakley (New York: P. Lang, 1996), 87-112.

¹⁶ Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: the German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) and Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina, 1997).

¹⁷ Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, 97 and 121.

been largely neglected. This is because Heimat imagery is associated with conservatism and National Socialist art (two subjects which have only recently been considered worthy of serious study) or the neglect stems paradoxically, from its supposed lack of a radical political agenda.¹⁸ Second, Heimat imagery has been ignored because it does not fit within a traditional positivist, modernist discourse of art history. Heimat art was not seen as modern because it was not avant-garde and did not contribute to the progression of modern art. In 2007 Jennifer Jenkins rightfully challenged this notion. She pointed out that Heimat art, like the works of German naturalism and impressionism – which are accepted in German histories of Modernism – focused on everyday life and rural places.¹⁹ Furthermore, the Worspswede artist Heinrich Vogeler and many other Heimat artists considered themselves to be modernists.²⁰

The Heimat photograph consists of what is ideally characteristic for a certain locale. As conceptions of Heimat are widespread and their visual representation depends upon typicalities and ideals, they often appear kitschy.²¹ The term kitsch is generally assumed to have first been used in the late nineteenth century to describe quickly painted works to sell to travelers.²² Since then the term has been used to connote a variety of commonplace and appealing things. Tomas Kulka defines kitsch as images that use familiar and universal subjects and are emotionally charged and satisfying, and thereby appeal to the masses.²³ Boa and Palfreyman reason that the

¹⁸ Rolf Sachsse notes the lack of research on photography during National Socialism as he writes its extensive history, which includes a brief discussion of Heimat photography, in *Die Erziehung zum Wegsehen: Fotografie im NS-Staat* (Dresden: Philo Fine Arts, 2003). In his discussion of Heimat iconography, Alon Confino argues that Heimat imagery is neutral because its point was exactly to avoid social confrontation, see *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, 169-170.

¹⁹ Jennifer Jenkins made this point about art in “Heimat Art, Modernism, Modernity,” in *Localism, Landscape and the Ambiguities of Place*, ed. David Blackburn and James Retallack, 60-75 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 2007).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ One only needs to think of Clement Greenberg’s infamous 1939 essay “Avant-Garde and Kitsch” to understand how Heimat imagery has been pushed aside; see Clement Greenberg, “Avant-Garde and Kitsch,” in vol. 1 of *The Collected Essays and Criticism*, ed. John O’Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 5-22.

²² Tomás Kulka, *Kitsch and Art* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University 1996), 18-19.

²³ Ibid.

lack of a presence of time and reality in Heimat film and literature creates Heimat kitsch. They suggest that the most successful portrayal of Heimat allows for time to pass so that the Heimat develops without falling into sentimental kitsch.²⁴ Perhaps this is partially why, in contrast to Heimat film and literature, Heimat photography has failed to attract contemporary scholarly interest.²⁵ According to their definition, a Heimat postcard or photograph of a woman in her traditional costume posing before her village landscape would be kitsch because the image is both static and commonplace. Given the lack of study of Heimat imagery, their opinion seems to be shared by others. I believe, however, that the banality and prevalence of Heimat photography are precisely what make it so revealing. The individual images may not reveal the effects of time but seen as a whole, the images offer a fascinating narration of history. Heimat photographs, furthermore, exude the presence of reality. As Kulka argues, photography's mechanical closeness to reality limits the degree to which it can be called kitsch; for reality itself cannot be kitsch.²⁶ Heimat photography certainly borders on kitsch because of its popularity, sentimental appeal and use of familiar tropes, but Heimat photography can also be personal and artfully composed. Its simultaneous relationship to reality and an imagined ideal alone make it worthy of study.

Photography's undeniable relationship with the real validates the idealized home that was or is imagined to be. Heimat photography proves the existence of the Heimat, even though the idea of Heimat is itself an altered ideal form. This is the paradox of Heimat photography.

Although its physical form is real, it is in essence, fictional, for Heimat is not one object or one

²⁴ Boa and Palfreyman, *Heimat*, 25.

²⁵ In contrast, there have been many studies on Heimat in German cinema and literature. See, for example, G. Steiner, "Vom Bergfilm zum neuen Heimatfilm: Wie ideologisch ist der Heimatfilm?," *Modern Austrian Literature* 30, no. 3/4 (1997): 253-64, Manuela Fiedler, *Heimat im deutschen Film: Ein Mythos zwischen Regression und Utopie* (Alfeld/Leine: Coppi-Verlag, 1995), and Roszbacher, *Heimatkunstabewegung und Heimatkunst*.

²⁶ Kulka, *Kitsch and Art*, 90-93.

place, but rather an environment that induces an emotional feeling of attachment. Heimat photography marries an affecting idea with physical objects in order to create a justification of that idea. In their study of Heimat, Boa and Palfreyman astutely explain, “Nothing is intrinsically Heimat: only when a piece of countryside becomes a landscape, when it is perceived as an image, does it turn into Heimat.”²⁷ For one person, Heimat can be represented by the woods nearby, for another, by a row of half-timbered houses on a cobblestone street.

A photograph depicting Heimat is both generalizing and distinctive. A landscape of a mountain with a wayside cross allows the Heimat to speak to a broad audience as there are many such places within the Alps. The same general landscape can, however, also build personal memories for those who know its exact location. Heimat photography endows Heimat with something tangible, an image of an existing place. The photograph thus plays an important role in the development of the Heimat idea. In order to believe in and experience something that has been idealized – the Heimat – part of it has to be true. Photography puts real timed moments in a tangible form and in doing so it creates another way of experiencing reality – a way to look back on a past moment that happened. As a consequence, Heimat photography can be more than an important tool of remembering. It can create associations and fabricate memories. In showing the iconography of Heimat, Heimat photography aims to trigger memories of Heimat, whether they are embellished fiction or not. Confino explains memory as a malleable understanding of the past which converges with history, a discipline founded on evidence.²⁸ In the Heimat photograph, the idea of Heimat is compliant to one’s memory and the photograph is the historical evidence of a

²⁷ Boa and Palfreyman, *Heimat*, 24.

²⁸ Alon Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance: Promises and Limits of Writing History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 75.

specific time and place. Regardless of the context, Heimat photographs and the ideas they project appear to be just and believable because of the medium of photography.

Heimat imagery is political and engages modernism. The popularity and quantity of depictions, their changing iconography and context, and their application certainly say much about the culture from which they stem. Furthermore, Heimat artists and photographers created thoughtful and visually compelling compositions which merit attention and study.

Heimat photographs were shared, published and distributed and because of this, the public idea of Heimat began to develop certain visual tropes. These image associations became intertwined with memories of the people. Popular familiarity with the ideas and associations of Heimat as represented in the photographs established a collective memory, shaping the identity of a region. As knowledge of the Heimat spread, each geographical region became associated with a certain type of visual image which meant that specific Heimat.

Heimat photographs most often did not derive from the experimentation of progressive photography schools. They stemmed from hobby and amateur photographers as well as from professionals who acquired their skills in studio apprenticeships or the more conservative photography training programs. Schools in Munich and Vienna were pioneering in their teaching of photography but neither school focused on modernity or embraced the kind of experimentation present at the Bauhaus or Burg Giebichenstein.²⁹ Many of these young photographers chose not to migrate to artistic centers and metropolises such as Paris or Berlin – where many jobs in press and professional photography were based. Instead, they stayed within

²⁹ For a history of the Bayerische Staatslehranstalt für Lichtbildwesen see, *Lehrjahre, Lichtjahre: Die Münchner Fotoschule 1900-2000* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel, 2000). For Vienna see, Astrid Lechner, “Fine Arts Photography at the Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt in Vienna,” in *The Eye and the Camera: The Albertina Collection of Photographs*, ed. Monika Faber et al. (Paris: Seuil, 2003), 172-182. Jeannine Fiedler, ed, *Photography at the Bauhaus* (Cambridge, MA: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1990). Katja Schneider, *Burg Giebichenstein: Die Kunstgewerbeschule unter Leitung von Paul Thiersch und Gerhard Marcks 1915 bis 1933* (Weinheim: Acta humaniora, 1992).

their native regions where they opened local photography studios and occasionally contributed to photo agencies such as *Dephot (Deutsche Photo-Agentur)* and *Wiener Photo-Kurier* or publishing houses like *Tiroler Kunstverlag*. Remaining within their local environments, they photographed the subjects they had at hand – the landscape and the locals. They focused on regional subjects and views that sold and were in high demand.

Heimat photographs were seen in exhibitions, books, and illustrated magazines like *Die Bühne*, where they were appeared alongside many other kinds of photographs. Some were pictorialist images with soft focus and painterly qualities, while others were more documentary and straightforward in style. Of the many photographs in the 1934 *Die Bühne* issue, one is by the celebrated experimental photographer Umbo. His photograph, *Nächtliches Salzburg* [Salzburg at night], depicts an abstracted night view of narrow and winding streets from a bird's eye perspective (Fig. 2). The photograph is representative of German 'new vision' photography, which scholars have celebrated because its avant-garde use of unconventional perspectives and its abstraction of visual form, both of which defined modernity. Scholars emphasize the presence of experimental and new vision photographs but, 1930s visual culture in Germany and Austria included many kinds of photographs and they too filled the pages of popular illustrated magazines, photography journals, and books.³⁰ The German yearbook *Das Deutsche Lichtbild*, for example, portrays sappy pictorial views, cute animals, and babies right alongside photomontages and abstractions. Aesthetically speaking, these other types are less imaginative and hackneyed in their compositions and viewpoints. But, experimental photographers produced these trite and boring images as well, and scholars conveniently overlook that they are a part of

³⁰ They discuss select individual practitioners, their influence among other members of the avant-garde, works with striking formal qualities, and any relationship to leftist politics For a comprehensive list of publications pertaining to photography and Weimar, see the Germany section of the bibliography in Matthew Witkovsky, *Foto: Modernity in Central Europe, 1918-1945* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2007), 262-264.

the quotidian market to which all photographers were catering. I have yet to locate a study on these other more conventional yet highly popular photographs, even though this neglected side of interwar photography, I argue, is just as influential and crucial to defining modernity. These other types of photographs say much about modern culture because they were widespread and beloved and they formed a context in which the avant-garde images were viewed. Heimat photographs were not only part of this diverse conglomeration of visual imagery, but many photographers known for their experimental work participated in the creation of photography of and for the Heimat. Heimat photographs are additionally important and especially crucial to consider because of their veiled political importance and their relationship to nationalism within this multifaceted cultural context.

My study focuses on Austrian Heimat photography for several reasons. Currently most studies on Heimat focus on Germany, hardly mentioning photography or Austria, if at all.³¹ Austria, though, provides a particularly convincing example of how Heimat photography contributed to shaping the idea and image of Austria. The idea of a distinctive Austrian Heimat and what this meant is complicated because of Austria's precarious political history. During the interwar period Austria desired to both bond and separate itself from its German neighbor. Little consensus on what Austria meant or what it desired to become existed.

³¹ A few exceptions to this are a handful of articles and an MA thesis: Horst Jarka, "Austrofaschismus und Heimatkunst," *Modern Austrian Literature*, no. 2 (1982): 65-71; Karl Sierek, "Idyll, Heimat, Western: Einige Beobachtungen zum Heimatfilm der 50er Jahre in Österreich und darüber hinaus," *Medien Journal* 19, no. 3 (1995): 38-46; Elizabeth Cronin, "Lost Somewhere in the Mountains: Wilhelm Angerer and Austrian Heimat Photography," *History of photography* 32, no. 3 (2008): 248-59; Shane D. Peterson, "A Palimpsest of Discourses: The Heimatfilm *Echo der Berge* (Der Forster vom Silberwald) (1954), Modernity, and the Search for Postwar Austrian Alpine Heimat" M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 2006.

During the *Ständestaat*, or corporate state government,³² officially in place from 1934-38, a Heimat photograph of a strong young farmer stood for the new man of an antiliberal idealist Germanic culture, regardless of the individual photographer's intent or political conviction. Since Heimat photographs depicted the rural and local, their traditional thematic emphases fit within the blood and soil doctrine of the National Socialist party that capitalized on a growing contempt for urbanism and cosmopolitanism. Yet, because the Heimat photographs were of local surroundings and the simple life, their non-confrontational themes were also perfectly suited to a similar, albeit 'new,' post-War image of Austria. After the War, the same young farmer became the local individual who worked hard for his land, rebuilding his Austrian Heimat.

The turbulent politics and shifting borders did little to support a coherent idea of Austria and much less to instill a sense of commonality in its peoples. The sense of identity which existed for many in the interwar years emphasized traits that were generally considered Germanic, and not specific to Austria. I will show that Austrian Heimat photography of the 1930s, however, aimed to work against this as it began to differentiate Austria from Germany through its portrayal of the Alpine landscape. It presented Alpine landscapes of quaint mountain villages, peasants in traditional costume, farmers, mountaineers, and skiers. The seemingly apolitical, pretty and appealing pictures found favor with a broad Austrian audience and generated a ledger of recognizable commonalities among the mountain folk. The popular themes were refreshingly idyllic and they attracted nationalists and fascists alike. Only slowly, though, did these photographs begin to shape the public's perception of what was contained within the new borders. Through focusing on local identities and those of Heimat photographers, I will

³² *Ständestaat* is either translated as corporate or corporative state. Although the term is politically laden in its German form, I have chosen to use it because I do not want the reader to associate this with modern-day corporate systems and I also believe the German emphasizes the peculiarity of the Austrian government at this time.

demonstrate that Heimat photography was gradually able to form an idea of what it meant to be Austrian.

The continued practice and usage of Heimat photography after the Second World War makes the genre's relationship to identity and nationalism highly problematic. On one hand it suggests a refusal of the Austrians to let go of their blatant attachment to the past. On the other hand, however, the persistent usage provided the post-War population with something familiar to believe in that was redeeming as a place of origin and growth. Heimat photography's change in ascribed meaning from the 1930s through the 1950s confirms the malleability and adaptability of photographic imagery. This study, therefore, emphasizes a history of photography in which the medium's relationship to reality and its versatility as a reproducible visual form are crucial for defining the image of a nation.

Within the potentially boundless field of Austrian Heimat photography, I am examining a specific niche. A great many amateurs and professionals practiced Heimat photography and including all of its manifestations would prove an enormous and perhaps even unfruitful task. In order to obtain a sense of what the movement contained, I am choosing to look most closely at six photographers, all of whom earned a significant degree of success in the interwar period and many of them afterward as well. The photographers Peter Paul Atzwanger, Wilhelm Angerer, Adalbert Defner, Simon Moser, Rudolf Koppitz, and Stefan Kruckenhauser provide an exemplary sampling of the variety of Heimat photography. They emerged from different regions and social backgrounds and were involved in politics to varying degrees. Their productivity and involvement in exhibitions, journals, magazines, and teaching point to their popularity and presence. Commonalities in their subject matter and compositions indicate the tastes and needs of the time. Although only some were trained artistically, all of the photographers fused elements

of pictorialist art photography with a modernist way of seeing. This all-male selection of photographers points to the male-dominated genre of Heimat photography. Although women Heimat photographers did exist, they were a minority and most were by no means as productive or publically present.

Very few studies on Heimat photography, either in Germany or Austria exist.³³ Writing in the early 1980s, Otto Hochreiter was the first to consider Austrian Heimat photography critically.³⁴ For Hochreiter, Heimat photography depicts ‘exotic’ peasants in a Romantic world, far away from the politically charged metropolis.³⁵ Although his view points to indisputable aspects within Heimat photography and recognizes the merits of some of its photographers, it remains a product of early Heimat scholarship as it fails to mention the political complexities inherent within their work.³⁶ Furthermore, despite writing for a volume entitled, “History of Austrian Photography,” Hochreiter neglects to discuss the continuation of Heimat photography by the same pre-War photographers into the 1950s. In 1995, Monika Faber co-authored a monograph on Austrian photographer Rudolf Koppitz and in it she briefly discussed and recognized the need for more research on his involvement with Heimat photography.³⁷ In 2007, Matthew Witkovsky positioned Austrian Heimat photography within the broader central

³³ In regards to Germany, Rolf Sachsse has considered Heimat photography in Germany and its relation to tourism see Rolf Sachsse, “Heimat als Reiseland,” in *Ansichten der Ferne: Reisephotographie 1850-Heute*, ed. Klaus Pohl (Giessen: Anabas, 1983), 129-50 and Sabine Allweier has written briefly on Heimat photography in Baden-Württemberg, see “Fotografie und Heimat,” in *Gut Licht!: Fotografie in Baden 1840-1930*, ed. Elisabeth Haug (Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, 2003), 23-5.

³⁴ Otto Hochreiter, “Ländliches Leben: zur Darstellung des Bauern und der Alpenen Landschaft,” in *Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich*, ed. Otto Hochreiter and Timm Starl (Bad Ischl: Verein zur Erarbeitung der Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich, 1983), 413-23, 438-56. He also briefly discussed Austrian Heimat photography a year earlier in Otto Hochreiter, “Bäuerliches Leben in fotografischen Bildern” *Fotogeschichte 2*, no. 5 (1982): 51.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 414.

³⁶ Hochreiter writes misleadingly that in Austria (as compared to Germany) there was not as much of a *völkisch* (racial) propaganda. While *Ständestaat* did not emphasize race, it certainly did endorse an exclusive view of society and furthermore, Hochreiter fails to mention the intense political involvement of any of the Heimat photographers. *Ibid.*, 415.

³⁷ Monika Faber, “Land und Leute,” in *Rudolf Koppitz*, ed. Joann Conklin and Monika Faber (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 1995), 106-121.

European trend of nationalist photography, which, as he noted, both the left and right variously supported.³⁸ Anton Holzer and Ulrike Matzer have most recently contributed to informative and critical, yet general articles concerning Austrian Heimat photography.³⁹ Other less critical writings, mostly in the form of illustrative German-language monographs from the late 1970s onward, provide some biographical information on the most successful Heimat photographers but they do so without acknowledging the shape and multifariousness of Heimat photography as a whole.⁴⁰

In addition to the lacunae of studies on Heimat photography, the culture of interwar Austria during the *Ständestaat* has only begun to have been researched within recent years. What has been completed is confined to German-language publications only: a book on literary life, another on a government film series, an exhibition catalog on art and dictatorships, and a few German-language graduate student theses, none of which have been published or pursued any further.⁴¹ Thus, by examining a little-recognized, yet highly influential trend, my dissertation

³⁸ Witkovsky, *Foto*.

³⁹ Anton Holzer, "Bilder der Heimat" *Wiener Zeitung*, 14. August 2010, <http://www.wienerzeitung.at/Desktopdefault.aspx?tabID=3946&alias=wzo&lexikon=Foto&letter=F&cob=512129>; Ulrike Matzer, "Zwischen Heimatfotografie und Medienkunst: Fotografie in Österreich 1939 bis 1970" *Fotogeschichte* 30, no. 117 (2010): 27-40.

⁴⁰ Wolfgang Pflaunder, *Simon Moser. Tirol: Menschen & Landschaften, 1925-50* (Vienna: Molden, 1978); Otto Hochreiter and Peter Weiermair, eds. *Peter Paul Atzwanger* (Innsbruck: Allerheiligenpresse, 1981); Josef Unterer, *Hugo Atzwanger 1883-1960* (Bozen: Athesia, 1981); Rupert Larl and Gunter Waibl, eds. *Adalbert Defner. Lichte Landschaft: Photographien 1910-1969* (Innsbruck, Bozen: Haymon, 1999); Peter Weiermair, *Wilhelm Angerer, 1904-1982: Retrospektive des photographischen Werks* (Schwarz: Museumverein Rabalderhaus, 1999); Kurt Kaindl, Maria Emberger, and Clemens M. Hutter, *Stefan Kruckenhauser: In weiten Linien...: Das fotografische Lebenswerk* (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 2003).

⁴¹ Friedbert Aspetsberger, *Literarisches Leben im Austrofaschismus: Der Staatspreis* (Königstein/Ts.: Hain, 1980); Michael Achenbach and Karin Moser, eds., *Österreich in Bild und Ton: Die Filmwochenschau des Austrofaschistischen Ständestaates* (Vienna: Filmarchiv Austria, 2002); Jan Tabor, ed., *Kunst und Diktatur: Architektur, Bildhauerei und Malerei in Österreich, Deutschland, Italien und der Sowjetunion 1922-1956*, 2 vols. (Baden: Grasl, 1994); Heinrich Busshoff, "Das Dollfuß-Regime in Österreich in Geistesgeschichtlicher Perspektive unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung der 'Schöneren Zukunft' und 'Reichspost'" (Doctoral thesis, Julius Maximilians University, 1964); Rainer Schubert, "Das Vaterländische - Frontwerk 'Neues Leben': Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kulturpolitik der Vaterländischen Front" (Doctoral thesis, University of Vienna, 1978); Bernhard Natter, "Die 'Heimat' und die 'Tiefen Der Seele:' Volksbildungsliteratur im 'Ständestaat' am Beispiel der Zeitschrift 'Ruf Der Heimat' (1935-1938)" (Doctoral thesis, University of Innsbruck, 1984); Maria Margarethe Lasinger, "'Die Pause'

opens up a chapter of Austrian history, which has been conveniently ignored until now because of its tenuous relationship to right-wing politics. This study of Heimat photography offers a new perspective on the development of modern Austrian identity as it stresses the importance of including regional and popular cultural movements in histories of photography.

Austrian interwar history is a topic unfamiliar to most. Since I am arguing that Austrian Heimat photography intertwines with politics of the period, it is necessary to provide an overview of the political history. Chapter One thus examines the complexities of the period, which include the *Ständestaat*'s relationship to fascism and its idealistic ideology. In providing the historical context for Austrian Heimat photography during the 1930s, the chapter pays particular attention to the how the government defined itself in practice and what its cultural policy was. It brings to light how the *Ständestaat* encouraged Heimat photography and tried to unify Austria through a policy of cultural superiority and an image of an Alpine ideal.

In order to obtain a salient view of Heimat photography in the late 1920s and 1930s, Chapter Two begins by examining its beginnings and relation to the Heimat preservation movement during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Cultural preservation and leisure movements realized photography's potential to document, preserve, and promote traditional culture as locals gained a sense of their own identity and nationality in this celebration of preserving cultural history. Only during the interwar period does Heimat photography become a topic of discussion among amateur photographers. The chapter thus focuses on the development of Heimat photography during this time as it traces the ways in which the movement became a unified cultural product of its time, developing differently in Austria and Germany. I consider

und andere Kulturzeitschriften zur Zeit des Austrofaschismus" (Diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 1994); Anna Schmitz, "Propagandafotografie des 'Ständestaates'. Die Darstellung Österreichs im austrofaschistischen Bild" (Diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 2002).

what motifs were common and how the Austrian Heimat was defined. Photography journals regularly featured Heimat photography and included practical advice on how to take Heimat photographs. An examination of the photographers' participation in amateur clubs, journals, and exhibitions shows the paradoxical nature of the Heimat – oscillating between modern and traditional. It also elucidates the increasingly politicized cultural context in which they found themselves working.

Heimat photography extended beyond amateur shows and into popular media culture. Chapter Three considers Heimat photography as an integral part of government-supported Austrian tourism. Through tourism, Heimat photography publicly contributed to the formation of Austria's identity as an Alpine nation. Many Heimat photographers earned their living by supplying the tourist industry with postcards and posters promoting the country as an Alpine haven and a winter sports paradise.⁴² Heimat photographs were influential and part of a broader Alpine visual culture, which included similar works in other media. The Austrian painters Albin Egger-Lienz and Alfons Walde worked in a similar manner as they too further propagated the Alpine Heimat. In addition, highly popular and fictional *Bergfilme* [mountain films] of the time resonated with the views found in Heimat photographs and further influenced the creation of an Alpine identity for Austria.⁴³

Chapter Four traces the production of several different Heimat photobooks published during the 1930s as a basis for comparing the political attitudes of Heimat photographers towards the *Ständestaat* and National Socialist ideologies. It closely examines the image and text combinations to see how the photobooks portrayed Alpine communities and the peasant as an

⁴² Many of these can be found in the Austrian National Library's extensive poster collection.

⁴³ Eric Rentschler, "Mountains and Modernity: Relocating the *Bergfilm*," *New German Critique* no. 51 (Autumn 1990): 137-161.

exemplary part of the Heimat. It reveals that while some books were more neutral and vague in their portrayal of the Austrian Heimat, others manifested exactly what the *Ständestaat* promoted as the Heimat.

Chapter Five is a reflection on how the National Socialist government was able to appropriate the nationalist sentiment and romanticized viewpoints seen in Austrian Heimat photography. It points to significant changes in context and photographic style that were made in order to absorb and re-use the photographs. An explicit longing for a racial utopian ideal, for example, is seen in the photographs when they were reproduced alongside written texts that speak of a Nordic way of life and Aryan appearances. In revisiting the careers of individual Heimat photographers, the chapter also underscores the chameleon-like identities of the Austrian photographers who complied with National Socialist Germany.

The final chapter, “A New and Lasting Austrian Heimat,” concentrates on the work of Austrian Heimat photographers after the Second World War. Many re-issued their photobooks or published new volumes of similar work presenting Austria as an alpine haven.⁴⁴ The traditional subject matter featuring the Alpine Heimat remained popular amidst a cultural atmosphere of denial and victimhood. The phenomenon of a continued interest in regional themes is a clear sign of Heimat photography’s malleability. It suggests the high degree to which passive visual imagery can be molded and interpreted to conform to the dominant political discourse and popular desire. The return to the Heimat was not only seen in photography, but also in Austrian Heimat film which emerged as a dominant genre in the 1950s.⁴⁵ The concluding chapter also clarifies and considers the differences between pre- and immediate post-War visual concepts of

⁴⁴ For example: Wilhelm Angerer and Ernst Sturmmair, *Die Einheit Tirols* (Innsbruck: 1946) and Simon Moser, *Lebendiges Tirol* 3rd ed. (Innsbruck: Verlagsanstalt Tyrolia, 1951).

⁴⁵ Johannes von Moltke discusses this in Moltke, *No Place Like Home*.

Heimat. It proposes answers to the questions of how Austrians saw and portrayed themselves and how their current identity has been shaped by the history of Austrian Heimat photography.

CHAPTER ONE

Political Context: The Austrian *Ständestaat* and its Flawed Ideals

Austrian Heimat photography peaked in the 1930s and 1950s. In the 1950s, this popularity was tied to a postwar desire to escape to an idyllic Alpine life, but what about the 1930s? Why was Heimat photography important and popular then? The answer lies within the politics of the 1930s, when the *Ständestaat* was in place. This influential period of history directly and indirectly affected the popularity and meaning of Heimat photography. The *Ständestaat*, however, is a topic unknown to most because it has been historically ignored or dismissed as unimportant when seen in relation to the Austrian participation in the Second World War. In recent years, the attitude towards the *Ständestaat* has begun to change remarkably and this chapter makes an additional effort at justifying its significance for the history of Austria.⁴⁶ In recounting this unfamiliar and multifaceted history in a manner that is relevant to the study of Austrian Heimat photography, this chapter offers a sense of how the *Ständestaat* came to be, what its ideals were, where it came from, and how it operated in the realm of culture.

The aftermath of the First World War posed political and economic problems to the small and newly-founded country. The government of the First Republic, which was composed of many former monarchists, struggled and had little popular support. Conflicts developed among the parliamentary parties and pointed to the need for a stronger presidential role. By 1929, the economy worsened to such an extent that the powerful *Creditanstalt* [Credit Association]

⁴⁶ Some more recent works are: Johannes Messner, *Dollfuss: An Austrian Patriot* (Norfolk, VA: Gates of Vienna Books, 2004); Günter Bischof, Anton Pelinka and Alexander Lassner, *The Dollfuss/Schuschnigg Era in Austria: A Reassessment* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2003); Günter Bischof and Anton Pelinka, *Austro-Corporatism: Past, Present, Future* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996); Werner Suppanz, *Österreichische Geschichtsbilder: Historische Legitimationen in Ständestaat und Zweiter Republik* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1998); Lucian O. Meysels, *Der Austrofaschismus: Das Ende der Ersten Republik und Ihr Letzter Kanzler* (Vienna and Munich: Amalthea, 1992).

collapsed.⁴⁷ This bank was the largest in Austria and it was tied to banks and industries in other countries as well. Within the next three years, unemployment more than doubled, rising from 243,000 in 1930 to 557,000 in 1933.⁴⁸ The subsequent taxes which were imposed to restore the economy only resulted in discontent with the current government and growing support for the Austrian branch of the National Socialist party. Meanwhile, the *Heimwehr* [Home Guard], a paramilitary organization with a fascist corporatist ideology was flourishing in the southern Austrian states of Styria and Lower Austria. The rise of these two right-wing factions weakened the already volatile Christian Social party that had formerly held the majority of seats in Parliament. Furthermore, the tension between the Christian Socials and Socialist and German National parties often prevented smooth paramilitary operations. All of this created a complete lack of consensus in the government.

By March of 1933 and just months after Adolf Hitler seized control of Germany, the tense situation in parliament became ripe for Engelbert Dollfuss (1892-1934). A debacle over voting procedures resulted in the already troubled parliament's immediate dissolution, causing a complete shutdown of the government. Dollfuss acted upon the weak state effectively to proclaim himself chancellor. In doing so he had the support of the Christian Social party, the Home Guard, and the Church. He also received immediate advice and unwavering support from Mussolini, who was interested in Austria because it could serve as a buffer against National Socialist Germany. To establish some sense of order and agreement, Dollfuss first eliminated the immediate threat of the most radical political factions. In June of 1933 he banned the Austrian

⁴⁷ Several recent books describe the economic crisis and the rise of Austrofascism; see for example Kenneth Segar and John Warren, eds., *Austria in the Thirties: Culture and Politics* (Riverside, CA: Ariadne, 1991); Emmerich Tálos and Wolfgang Neugebauer, eds., *Austrofascismus: Politik, Ökonomie, Kultur, 1933-1938*, 5th revised ed. (Vienna: Lit, 2005); Manfred Scheuch, *Der Weg zum Heldenplatz: Eine Geschichte der österreichischen Diktatur 1933-1938* (Vienna: Kremayr & Scheriau, 2005).

⁴⁸ By 1937 unemployment had only gone down to 464,000. See Dieter Stiefel, *Arbeitslosigkeit: soziale, politische und wirtschaftliche Auswirkungen am Beispiel Österreichs, 1918-1938* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1979), 29.

section of the National Socialist party and then he did the same with the Communist party. In September, Dollfuss used the occasion of a newly created *Katholikentag* [Catholic Day] to declare his government officially as a *Ständestaat*. Dollfuss made it clear that he desired a German Christian social state that would be a strong dictatorship, but one that (unlike the National Socialists) did not use terror or *Gleichschaltung* [forcing the consolidation of institutional powers].⁴⁹ What he desired, however, was not possible. His government became increasingly authoritarian as it needed to secure more power in order to survive. Dollfuss thus removed the Agrarian League's participation in the government and reinstated the death penalty. And, after bloody civil uprisings in February of 1934, Dollfuss outlawed the trade unions and Social Democratic party, which were fighting to uphold democracy.

In eliminating the Social Democratic party, Dollfuss successfully generated a one-party dictatorship. The only major party remaining was the traditionally bourgeois Christian Social party. The radical right-wing Home Guard remained extant since it was already in a coalition with the Christian Social party, but also because Dollfuss needed its practical support as a paramilitary force (Fig. 3).⁵⁰ During this year, Dollfuss also created the *Vaterländische Front* [Fatherland Front], which became the rallying point and supporting organ of his rightist monopolistic government. Like his infamous stature of just under five feet tall, the reign of Dollfuss was short. On July 25, 1934 the Austrian National Socialists attempted a putsch and murdered the chancellor.⁵¹ Shortly thereafter, the Tyrolean-born Kurt Schuschnigg (1897-1977), who had previously been the minister of education, became the second chancellor.

⁴⁹ Emmerich Tálos, "Austrofaschistische Diktatur 1933-1938," in Achenbach and Moser, *Österreich in Bild und Ton*, 11.

⁵⁰ For more on the Home Guard see, John T. Lauridsen, *Nazism and the Radical Right in Austria 1918-1934* (Copenhagen: The Royal Library and Museum Tusulanum, 2007).

⁵¹ There is considerable debate about whether Hitler endorsed this move, but as Bruce F. Pauley explains he most likely knew of it. See Bruce F. Pauley, "The Austrian Nazi Party before 1938: Some Recent Revelations" in

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Officially, the *Ständestaat* lasted in Austria from 1934 to 1938, even though its seeds were sown in 1933. Despite the brevity of its tenure, the period as a whole is complex and difficult to define neatly. The term *Ständestaat* literally means a state organized according to different *Stände* [social classes, which are determined by social status, rather than wealth].⁵² It basically refers to governing system like medieval feudalism in which one's born social status is the sole factor in determining one's rights. More often though, the *Ständestaat* is translated as corporative state and is associated with fascist or authoritarian corporatism, in which the structure of society is divided according to non-competitive professional and industrial corporations. Each corporation then represents the collective political interests of the employers and their employees to the state. Fascist corporatism is against worker class struggle because decisions are made in the interest of the corporation and not the individuals.

Catholics and aristocrats developed corporatist thought in the nineteenth century because they had not profited from industrial capitalism and liberal politics.⁵³ They sought to alleviate this tension by transferring the bonding social structure between peasant and landlord to the relationship between capitalist and worker. In this way, it was thought, moral order would return to society.

Corporatist theory attracted attention during the First Republic⁵⁴ because it was seen as an alternative to a democratic or socialist government. It was especially popular among former

Conquering the Past: Austrian Nazism Yesterday & Today, ed. F. Parkinson (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 34-56.

⁵² It can also be literally translated as state of the estates.

⁵³ Peter J. Williamson, *Corporatism in Perspective: An Introductory Guide to Corporatist Theory* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989), 25.

⁵⁴ The term First Republic is unfortunately problematic. The term usually refers to the period after the First World War in which Austria had a parliamentary democracy. However, the term is often also defined as the period from 1918-1938 and includes the *Ständestaat* (Most recently the celebratory exhibition that took place in Vienna's

monarchists and conservative Catholics. Even the former chancellor of the parliamentary First Republic, Ignaz Seipel (1876-1932), who was also a Catholic priest, supported corporatist ideas and helped acquaint the Home Guard with its ideals. Part of the organizational theory behind the *Ständestaat* was based on Catholic social teaching that was against communism, liberalism, and unrestrained capitalism. The encyclical “Quadragesimo Anno” issued by Pope Pius XI in 1931 proclaimed these social views officially. Austria was a historically Catholic state and it is no surprise that the *Ständestaat* tried to govern according to its ideals and because of this, the *Ständestaat* is often called clerico-fascist.

In 1933, the Austrian Heimat Service published a book on occupational class order according to the “Quadragesimo Anno.” The book reinforced corporatist ideas and emphasized, among other things, how a new social order based on groups of occupational classes would function to mediate between the individual and the state, so that the state – a separate social entity – would not be bothered with the individual.⁵⁵ In addition to Catholic social teaching, corporatism was espoused by the Viennese intellectual Othmar Spann (1878-1950) who lectured often and to large audiences about his ideas concerning an anti-parliamentarian *Ständestaat*.⁵⁶

On account of the *Ständestaat*'s association with fascist corporatism, it is often characterized as Austrofascist, but the constitution of the *Ständestaat* proclaimed on May 1, 1934, contained little concrete information concerning the fascist corporatist ideology that was to

parliament building titled: Republik Österreich 1918-2008 defined the First Republic in this manner). The characterization of course obscures the fascist corporatist nature of *Ständestaat*.

⁵⁵ Hans Schmitz, *Die berufständische Ordnung nach der 'Quadragesimo Anno'* (Vienna: Schriftenreihe des Österreichischen Heimatdienstes, 1933).

⁵⁶ For more on Spann's teaching, see Klaus-Jörg Siegfried, “Universalismus und Faschismus: das Gesellschaftsbild Othmar Spanns; zur politischen Funktion seiner Gesellschaftslehre und Ständestaatskonzeption,” Dissertation (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1974). For an English-language analysis of Spann and his role within intellectual Vienna, see Chapter four of Janek Wasserman, “Black Vienna, Red Vienna: the struggle for intellectual and political hegemony in interwar Vienna, 1918-1938” (PhD thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, 2010).

characterize it in practice.⁵⁷ This is one of the reasons why within the still limited scholarship on the *Ständestaat*, considerable debate exists about whether the term *Ständestaat* is even an accurate characterization. Historically, defenders of the *Ständestaat* (both during and after its existence) used the term, while its opponents questioned its validity. Helmut Wahnout, for example, argues against its use exactly because it was a propagandistic description during the 1930s.⁵⁸ Using this logic, however, undermines the theory behind the *Ständestaat*, which even if it was not entirely put into practice, it still remained an ideological goal. The established corporations of the *Ständestaat* were, furthermore, like those in Italy and Portugal during the 1930s; namely, showpieces that played a minimal role within the authoritarian government.⁵⁹

Scholars also dispute whether or not the *Ständestaat* can truly be called fascist and about the appropriateness of the different nomenclatures Austrofascism and clerico-fascism.⁶⁰ John Lauridsen, for example, argues against using these two specific terms because he believes they skirt the issue by singling out an Austrian version of fascism as a special case, when, in the interwar period, it was no more complex or unique than in many other countries.⁶¹ He argues therefore for the importance of seeing Austria's political situation in a comparative context. Jill

⁵⁷ Emmerich Tálos and Walter Manoschek, "Austrofascismus, Halbfascismus, Ständestaat: Herrschaftssysteme in Österreich und Italien im Vergleich," in Tabor, *Kunst und Diktatur*, 115; Tálos, though, points out that many of the Italian proclamations were likewise not put into practice, see Tálos, "Austrofascistische Diktatur 1933-1938," 21.

⁵⁸ Helmut Wahnout, "Im Zeichen des Ständestaates: Bedingungen Staatlicher Kulturpolitik im Autoritären Österreich 1933-1938," in Tabor, *Kunst und Diktatur*, 140.

⁵⁹ For introductory information on corporatism in Italy and Portugal, see Williamson, *Corporatism in Perspective*, 34-41.

⁶⁰ Tim Kirk, "Fascism and Austrofascism," in Bischof, Pelinka, and Lassner, *The Dollfuß/Schuschnigg Era in Austria*, 10-31; For a good German-language summary of the defining concerns on the question of fascism, see Tálos and Manoschek, "Austrofascismus, Halbfascismus, Ständestaat," 112-23; Wahnout, "Im Zeichen des Ständestaates," 140-41.

⁶¹ Lauridsen, *Nazism and the Radical Right in Austria 1918-1934*, 64.

Lewis, however, explains that rejecting the term Austrofascism is too limiting and obscures the role that Catholic populism played in its development.⁶²

In comparison to Italy and Germany, an extant fascist party of the masses did not suddenly gain power in Austria (instead, the Fatherland Front was created afterward from scratch). The anti-religious ‘political religion’ that characterizes fascism and manifests itself in fanaticism and liturgical political style, did not apply to Austria where the Catholic Church remained powerful and exerted a significant influence on society.⁶³ According to historian Ernst Hanisch, Catholicism’s role in the *Ständestaat* was so critical that it prevented the government from being fully fascist.⁶⁴ The *Ständestaat*, furthermore, was not as openly restrictive or repressive as other fascisms, even though in February of 1934, the Austrofascists brutally crushed the Socialists in a brief civil war and outlawed their existence. The country also lacked the economic strength and momentum that its neighbors possessed and because of this, it could not develop itself in the fascist corporatist way that it proposed. The problem with the question of fascism and in using Italy and Germany as comparisons is that the Austrian version of fascism inevitably seems watered down and less oppressive. This misleading impression is just one of many reasons why Austria has received less attention.

In explaining the historiography of characterizing the *Ständestaat*, Lewis criticizes the comparative typological approach as it does not account for the economics of the home-grown ideology of Austrofascism, which existed independently of the actual manifestation of the

⁶² Jill Lewis, “Conservatives and Fascists in Austria, 1918-1934,” in *Fascists and Conservatives: The Radical Right and the Establishment in Twentieth-Century Europe*, ed. Martin Blinkhorn (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 98.

⁶³ Roger Eatwell, “The Nature of Fascism: Or Essentialism by Another Name?” in *Fascism Past and Present, West and East: An International Debate on Concepts and Cases in the Comparative Study of the Extreme Right*, ed. Roger Griffin, Werner Loh and Andreas Umland (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2006), 104. For more on Catholic Church’s role in the *Ständestaat*, see Ernst Hanisch, “Der politische Katholizismus als ideologischer Träger des ‘Austrofascismus,’” in Tálos and Neugebauer, *Austrofascismus*, 68-86; Franz X. Rohrhofer, *Fronten und Brüche 1933 - 1938: Ständestaat und Katholische Kirche* (Linz: Wagner, 2007).

⁶⁴ Hanisch, “Der politische Katholizismus als ideologischer Träger des ‘Austrofascismus,’” 70.

political state.⁶⁵ She considers the birth of the ideology that created Austrofascism to be in the Christian Social party, whose bourgeois members defended anti-capitalist corporatist populism and had the backing of the Church and the military.⁶⁶ Historian Emmerich Tálos justly reasons that even though the *Ständestaat* aspired to be much more than it was and did not always achieve its desired results, this is by no means a reason to overlook or even downplay its intentions and the broad degree to which it operated efficiently.⁶⁷ I agree that Austria should still indeed be considered for what it was in theory and in practice; namely, a controlling and repressive militant authoritarian state. The *Ständestaat* was antidemocratic and antisocialist. It eliminated its opposition and forced political alignment and the consolidation of institutions.

AN AUSTRIAN GERMAN IDENTITY?

From 1933 to 1938 the *Ständestaat* tried to propagate a very specific identity for Austria. It aimed to create a semblance of unity in a country that was (and had been ever since the end of World War One) divided on social, economic and political matters.⁶⁸ At that time there was absolutely no sense of a national identity and if any sentiment towards Austria existed, then it came in the form of Habsburg nostalgia. Yet, even during Habsburg rule, which was formative for the development of Austrian national identity, to speak of the existence of a national identity is tenuous.⁶⁹ During that time, the term Austria was associated with the Habsburg dynasty,

⁶⁵ Lewis cites Klaus-Jörg Siegfried's approach that examines internal economic factors as a way to understand Austrofascism. See Lewis "Conservatives and Fascists in Austria, 1918-1934," 100-103.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁶⁷ Tálos, "Austrofaschistische Diktatur 1933-1938," 22.

⁶⁸ Disunity was due to many factors, from ideological reasons such as lingering Hapsburg nostalgia, to more practical considerations such as the economy and restrictions on political freedoms. For more on the *Ständestaat*, see Bischof, Pelinka and Lassner, *The Dollfuss/Schuschnigg Era in Austria: A Reassessment*.

⁶⁹ This is a commonly shared view among historians. For a concise introduction to Austrian national identity, see Lonnie R. Johnson, "Austria," in *Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview*, ed. Guntram Henrik Herb and David H. Kaplan, vol. 2, 1880-1945 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 539-54.

known as the House of Austria, which had been in place since 1278. *Ostarrichi* [Austria] as it was first documented in 996 referred to land within Lower Austria ruled by the Babenbergs. By the thirteenth century, when the Habsburgs took control, the term also included Upper Austria. Over the years as each of the subsequent Alpine lands of Carinthia, Tyrol, and Salzburg became part of the Habsburg domain, they were not associated with Austria per se, but with the Habsburg dynasty and more importantly, they remained largely concerned with and in control of their own individual territory.⁷⁰ Loyalties in the lands were directed towards the emperor but identities were based on regions and local customs. Ethnicity also played a significant part in these identities. In this regard, the inhabitants of the Alpine lands considered themselves Germans.

The fall of the monarchy after the First World War did nothing to unite the states and creating a modern national identity for Austria was not one of the First Republic's main concerns. It had more immediate concerns, such as building a republic and establishing a democratic government. World War I and its outcome increased and stirred up feelings of loyalty to Germany and this prevented any idea of Austrian nationalism from emerging. Austrians believed they were Germans and they wanted to be called *Deutsch-Österreich* (German-Austria) but the Allied Powers rejected this name. They also prohibited unification in the Versailles Treaty. Nevertheless, the Austrian allegiance with Germany was pervasive and it posed a serious threat to the establishment, unity, and viability of an independent Austria during both the Republic and the *Ständestaat*. Both Germans and Austrians continued to refer to Austria as German-Austria and the Austro-German Popular League, which vigorously promoted the joining

⁷⁰ For an introduction to the history of Austria and the Hapsburgs see, Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

of the two nations, had over a million members in 1930.⁷¹ Austrians did not want to deny their Germanic heritage and customs and this posed a huge identity problem for the development of an independent Austria.

The *Ständestaat* emerged against this background of disunity. It could not build a unified and separate Austria unless it secured basic popular backing. In order to do this, the government relied upon authoritarian tactics as it tried to justify and promote the existence of Austria as a rightfully independent country. After all, any perceived harmony with National Socialist Germany could encourage annexation, and destroy the *Ständestaat*.⁷² The government thus decided to write its own history of Austria in which select historical leaders, influential individuals, important towns, and historical sites would be seen as sources of validation for the *Ständestaat*.⁷³ Each part of the constructed history conformed in some way to the ideology of the *Ständestaat* and this meant that liberal topics such as the Enlightenment, French Revolution, and Marxism were not looked upon favorably. The history mythologized a non-Christian enemy from the East to protect Austria and Christian Europe, but most importantly, it blamed the Prussians for going astray and leaving Austria with the sole responsibility to lead the way as last

⁷¹ Numerous publications were titled German-Austria. See, for example, Karl Brockhausen and Maria L. Klausberger, eds. *Deutsch-Oesterreich: Kultur, Politik, Wirtschaft* (Halberstadt: H. Meyer, 1927) and Carl Walter Schmidt, *Deutsch-Österreich: Voralberg, Tirol, Salzburg, Nieder- und Oberösterreich, Wien, Burgenland, Steiermark, Kärnten*. 2 ed. (Berlin: Karl Voegel, 1931). Regarding the German popular League, see Walter Wiltschegg, *Österreich. Der 'Zweite deutsche Staat'?* (Graz: Stocker, 1992), 201-02. Regarding the pre-World War I pan-German movement, see Roger Chickering, *We Men Who Feel Most German: a Cultural Study of the Pan-German League, 1886-1914* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1984).

⁷² Annexation was of course not favored by the Christian Socials, the ruling and only lawful party under the Fatherland Front, because among other things, it meant their subjugation to Prussian rule. For more on annexation see, Norbert Schausberger, 'Österreich und die Deutsche Frage nach 1918: Anschlussideologie und Wirtschaftsinteressen 1918-1938', in *Österreich und die deutsche Frage im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Probleme der politisch-staatlichen und soziokulturellen Differenzierung im deutschen Mitteleuropa*, ed. Heinrich Lutz and Helmut Rumpler (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1982), 282-99.

⁷³ Werner Suppanz wonderfully explicates the symbolism of the selected historical events and figures around which the *Ständestaat* built its legitimacy, see Suppanz, *Österreichische Geschichtsbilder*.

bulwark of German spirit.⁷⁴ The history stressed that the new Austria was not a nation but rather an idea of culture and that this idea, which sprang from German spirit and character, was the only way to establish the true empire.⁷⁵

The *Ständestaat*'s historically-grounded "idea" of culture was meant to distinguish and elevate Austrians above their German ethnicity. It did this in part through endorsing and promulgating a Christian Empire that was Catholic. Catholicism was a commonality shared by all "Austrians,"⁷⁶ that was unlike German culture, which was associated with Prussian Protestantism. The *Ständestaat*, therefore, worked in tandem with the Catholic clergy to make sure that religion played a dominant part in the public sphere. The celebratory declaration of Catholic Day on September 11, 1933 made this role immediately apparent.⁷⁷ A spread of photographs in the illustrated magazine *Die Bühne* (which was not particularly tendentious and especially not in 1933) depicted the event. Its two-page spread highlights the symbols of Catholicism – the crucifix and cardinals – and the people of Austria who are celebrating (Fig. 4). The "Ur-Austrians" in traditional garb are most prevalently displayed in large photos. Already, preference was being given to the traditional conservative culture of the Alpine lands.

Within the *Ständestaat*, Catholicism was a defining aspect of Austria's past and formed an integral part of its plan for the future. The 1934 constitution proclaimed in essence that

⁷⁴ Who exactly the non-Christian enemy was, was never explicitly defined. However, it most definitely included the Turks. The historic siege and battle of Vienna in 1683, in which the Hapsburgs drove out the Turkish forces and eliminated their threat was constantly emphasized in *Ständestaat* propaganda. Werner Suppanz, "'Österreicher, lernt eure Geschichte' - Historische Legitimation und Identitätspolitik im Ständestaat," in *Österreich in Bild und Ton: Die Filmwochenschau des Austrofaschistischen Ständestaates*, ed. Michael Achenbach and Karin Moser (Vienna: Filmarchiv Austria, 2002), 171.

⁷⁵ Hugo Hantsch, "Österreichische Staatsidee und die Reichsidee" *Österreichische Rundschau* 1, no. 1 (1934): 6-15.

⁷⁶ This Catholic image of course left no room for Jews and non-Christians and it left little room for Slavs who were Christians, but were Eastern Orthodox. The *Ständestaat* was ambiguous in this regard because it constantly proclaimed itself as Christian rather than Catholic.

⁷⁷ The whole program of Catholic Day lasted several days, from September 7 through the 12th.

Austria had a mission in the name of God to be Catholic and defend the cross.⁷⁸ The flag of the *Ständestaat* and of the Fatherland Front proclaimed this calling. It featured a *Kruckenkreuz* [cross potent]⁷⁹ against a background of the traditional Austrian color scheme of red-white-red (Fig. 5). The Christian cross potent was a simplified form of Jerusalem cross that medieval knights carried in the Crusades.⁸⁰ The chosen symbol was to be viewed in direct contrast to the German *Hakenkreuz* [swastika]. The *Ständestaat* used the general idea of the Crusades as its basic plan for the future, which meant to coercing “others”⁸¹ into a Western and Christian rule. It imagined itself as literally continuing the tradition of the Holy Roman Empire and, as the formative Western Christian state, leading by example. It envisioned a Catholic Austria that would create and be the center of a new holy empire of the Christian West.⁸² Because of this, historian Werner Suppanz has described the *Ständestaat* as trying to establish an *übernationale* identity, rather than a national one.⁸³ Their effort to be more “inclusive” in their identity, however, led to contradictions within the construction of Austrian Germanness.⁸⁴

The idea and rhetoric of the new holy empire of Austria was of course competing with the alternative vision offered by Germany’s Third Reich. Austria even had ideas for imperial expansion, which included South Tyrol and sections of western Hungary. However, the dire economic situation of both the 1920s and 30s prevented Austria from seriously considering and planning growth; instead, Austria focused on itself. The major caveat to the *Ständestaat*’s idea

⁷⁸ Werner Suppanz, “‘Österreicher, lernt eure Geschichte,’ 167-168.

⁷⁹ Potent is an old word for crutch.

⁸⁰ Konrad Josef Heilig, *Österreichs neues Symbol: Geschichte, Entwicklung und Bedeutung des Kruckenkreuzes*, 2nd rev. ed. (Vienna: Gsur, 1936).

⁸¹ The *Ständestaat* never clearly defined who these “others” were, but basically they implied any group of people in the non-Christian East.

⁸² Anton Staudinger discusses the facets of this idea in his article “Austrofaschistische ‘Österreich’ – Ideologie,” in Tálós and Neugebauer, *Austrofaschismus*, 28-52.

⁸³ Suppanz, “‘Österreicher, lernt eure Geschichte,’” 166.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

regarding a new holy empire was always present: it believed Germanic culture was superior and that it would be a guiding force. Austrians could not break free from their Germanness, so they simply projected themselves as the better, cultured Germans. This self-conception, it believed, legitimized the existence of a second German state, but it brought with it a slew of problems as many Austrians looked longingly toward the German empire and especially, toward its recovering economy.

The *Ständestaat* thought that by concentrating on specifically Austrian cultural programs and Heimat propaganda, it could increase love for the Austrian Heimat and Fatherland, and this would then cause feelings of Austrian pride to emerge. But, of course the concept of Heimat has been in general tied to German culture. The discourse of Heimat was already familiar due to the preservation movement and popular Heimat literature that emerged in late nineteenth-century Germany. Nonetheless, the *Ständestaat* relied on the concept to unite an otherwise fragmented Austrian people. Since the Heimat was personal as well as shared, commonalities in perceptions of Heimat among Austrians would be deemed as Austrian and conversely, the meaning of Austria as Heimat would acquire a personal resonance.

In order to create the desired patriotism, the *Ständestaat* first needed to answer what the Austrian Heimat was. Heimat is bound to the land. The most obvious and characteristic geographic feature the physical and geographical Heimat of Austria is the Alps. The mountain range made up over sixty percent of the nascent country's territory. The concept of an Alpine Austrian Heimat was expedient because it distinguished Austria from Germany, which was not nearly as mountainous. To equate the Alps with the Austrian Heimat, they had to conjure positive associations and could not be seen as foreign, wild, and terrifying. The Alps needed to

be a home in an ideal sense, a place one would imagine and long to return to and a place about which one would feel strong emotions.

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN ALPINE HEIMAT

The Alpine landscape lent itself perfectly to the concept of Heimat. During the Enlightenment, the Alps were venerated for the first time because they were wild, dangerous and sublime. Experiencing their grandeur put one's life into perspective and because of this they also began to be associated with spiritual renewal for the modern individual. In 1728, the Swiss polymath Albrecht von Haller (1708-1777) wrote a poem titled "The Alps," which he published four years later in German.⁸⁵ Eleven editions of "The Alps" were published during Haller's lifetime and it quickly spread across Europe (and later also in translated form) as a highly influential and beloved work.⁸⁶ Haller's lengthy and didactic poem centers on the nature of Alpine inhabitants and their relationship to the environment. It does not subscribe to the view of the mountains as terrifying, but rather it heralds the natural beauty of their rugged terrain. Haller writes how the Alps' aesthetic beauty and purity create a formative impression on the individual, positing him against something greater, a pure nature, which keeps its inhabitants humble, content, and hardworking. The Alps, furthermore, protect and ensure that the lives of its inhabitants, who struggle for their existence, are virtuous. In the mountains and green pastures they find everything necessary for nourishment. Both the beginning and end of Haller's poem contrast this real idyll with the immoral luxuries of city life and greed of French courtly

⁸⁵ Only in the second edition of 1734 did Haller identify himself as the author, see Karl S. Guthke, introduction to *The Alps / Die Alpen*, by Albrecht von Haller, trans. Stanley Mason (Dübendorf: Walter Amstutz De Clivo 1987), 17.

⁸⁶ An English prose edition appeared in 1794, *The Alps / Die Alpen*, 83. For more on Haller, see Hubert Steinke, Urs Boschung and Wolfgang Pross, *Albrecht von Haller: Leben - Werk - Epoche* (Bern: Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, 2008).

absolutism. As a whole, Haller's poem downplays the hard life of the Alpine inhabitants in order to praise their moral virtues and it suggests that returning to the Alps is like returning to arcadia.

More often cited as being influential for propagating a new redemptive view of the mountain landscape is the work of the Geneva-born Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Almost thirty years later, in 1761, he published his lengthy novel *Julie, ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*. This did even more than Haller's poem to increase the interest in the majestic and precipitous rocky terrain that promised to provide a sensible and just life. Rousseau's epistolary is a work about the individual's search for happiness, love, and familial approval. The two protagonists are drawn to nature, Julie to the lake and Saint-Preux to the mountains. Although Rousseau does not focus on extolling nature per se, nature is presented in opposition to urban society as a symbolic and sensual place.⁸⁷ The novel's immense popularity – read by both the nobility and bourgeoisie – amplified the awareness of its meaningful mountain setting. Well-off tourists began traveling to Switzerland in order to become – like the characters – overwhelmed by the beauty and power of nature. They also hoped to obtain a sense of their own individuality and moral judgment.

Haller's view of the Alps as a place of humble people and Rousseau's treatment of the Alpine landscape as a site for self-reflection have parallels with the modern concept of Heimat that is grounded in the individual's special relationship to nature. Even though these two Swiss figures seem far-removed, their views are essentially the same as those put forth by later Heimat authors and the *Ständestaat*. Both similarly espoused the hard work and moral piety of Alpine inhabitants. Furthermore, their views formed the basis for an enthusiasm for the landscape which began to be politicized in the nineteenth century as the newfound fashion for the Alps and the

⁸⁷ For more on Rousseau's use of the alpine community, see Mark S. Cladis, "Rousseau and the Redemptive Mountain Village: The Way of Family, Work, Community, and Love," *Interpretation: A Journal of Political Philosophy* 29, no. 1 (2001): 35-54.

Romantic nationalist sentiment invested in a sublime landscape had not escaped the political interests of the Austrian monarchy. Archduke Johann (1782-1859) was keenly interested in the aesthetic of the Alps and actively supported its cultivation. He found solace in Alpine Styria, where he discovered true contentment in nature.⁸⁸ Depictions of the Archduke often show him against the background of the Alps, or in the traditional Styrian hunting costume looking out to the landscape before him (Fig. 6). He praised the honesty and virtue in the mountain folk and used his authority to promote their folk culture as part of Austria's culture.⁸⁹

Archduke Johann endorsed Thomas Ender (1793-1875) as his *Kammermaler* [court painter] and desired him to create a complete illustrated volume of the monarchy's Alpine lands. Ender traveled throughout the regions completing watercolors and sketches that he later used as the basis for his paintings. *Der Großglockner mit der Pasterze* [The Grossglockner with the Pasterze] from 1832 shows the Pasterze, Austria's largest glacier, in summer as it pushes through the rocky terrain with powerful force (Fig. 7). The first climbing of the 3798 m (12,461 ft.) high mountain was in 1800. It is Austria's highest peak, which is no doubt why the Carinthian painter Markus Pernhart (1824-1871) was also attracted to its magnificence. Within the years 1857 and 1860, Pernhart made an astounding total of eleven ascents of the Grossglockner and a dozen paintings of the mountain. One of his resulting images was a panorama 52.7 feet long, which the Austrian Alpine Club purchased and exhibited in Graz in 1862 and in Vienna three years later.⁹⁰ Pernhart did not strive for complete topographic accuracy in these paintings. Rather he singled out the mountain peak above all else, so that none of the surrounding mountains in its proximity

⁸⁸ In many ways he embodied the characters found within Rousseau's novel, for in addition to feeling an emotional attachment to the simplicity of Alpine villages, he also struggled with class differences since he married a middle-class woman.

⁸⁹ Walter Koschatzky, *Thomas Ender, 1793-1875, Kammermaler Erzherzog Johanns* (Graz: Leykam-Verlag, 1982), 54.

⁹⁰ Werner Telesko, *Kulturraum Österreich: Die Identität der Regionen in der bildenden Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 411-2.

would lessen its magnitude (Fig. 8). Historian Arnulf Rohsmann believes Pernhart's goal became to create imagery that would increase the importance of this mountain, which had been stylized into a national symbol.⁹¹ Indeed, the mountain attracted much attention during this time. In 1863, the Austrian photographer alpinist Gustav Jägermayer (1834-1901) also climbed the Grossglockner, along with his 'artistic director,' the Alpine painter Adolf Obermüllner (1833-1898).

Jägermayer's photographic expedition was a direct reaction to the French Bisson brother's photographic series depicting Mont Blanc, which was exhibited at the founding convocation of the Alpine Club in Vienna the previous year and was in all likelihood put together by Jägermayer, who was a club member.⁹² Jägermayer must have seen the expedition as a chance for personal fame, but the project also had importance at a national level.⁹³ The journey and resulting photographs would put the Austro-Hungarian Empire on par with France. High altitude Alpine photography was one way to publicize that Austrians were not lagging far behind the scientific advancements of the French in their abilities and pursuits.⁹⁴ Further evidence to support the nationalistic aims of his endeavor was the fact that Jägermayer photographed not only the Grossglockner, but the rest of the Austrian Alps as well. In this way he differentiated his project from that of the Bisson brothers and aimed to supersede them. He showed that not only did Austria have the Grossglockner, but it also had scores of other high peaks and impressive

⁹¹ Arnulf Rohsmann and Friedrich W. Leitner, *Markus Pernhart: Landschaft und Gesellschaft* (Klagenfurt: Landesmuseum Kärnten, 2004), 11.

⁹² Anton Holzer, "Hinauf! Fotografie im Hochgebirge (1849-1914)," in *Berge im Kasten: Fotografien aus der Sammlung des deutschen Alpenvereins, 1870-1914* (Munich: Deutscher Alpenverein, 2006), 17.

⁹³ The same goes for Italian photographer Alberto Luigi Vialardi, who photographed Monte Viso in the Turin Alps during the summer of 1863. See Holzer, "Hinauf! Fotografie im Hochgebirge (1849-1914)," 18 and Giuseppe Garimoldi, *Fotografia e alpinismo: Storie parallele; La fotografia di montagna dai pionieri all'arrampicata sportiva* (Ivrea: Priuli & Verlucca, 1995), 20.

⁹⁴ For a survey of some of these French alpine photographers, see Françoise Guichon, *Montagne: Photographies de 1845 à 1914* (Paris: Musées de Chambéry; Denoël, 1984).

glaciers. The photographs selected for his 1864 publication *Österreichische Alpen* [Austrian Alps] included views of prominent mountains and glaciers, dramatic waterfalls, pristine lakes, and Alpine villages situated in monumental valleys (Fig. 9).⁹⁵ Unfortunately, Jägermayer's project never advertised Austria's Alps in the way he had envisioned. The publication was both a journalistic and commercial failure. Maren Gröning attributes this partially to the costs of the expedition and publication, but also to the album's lack of narrative and the austere formalism which characterizes Jägermayer's photographs.⁹⁶ This combination made publication uninteresting and unattractive and therefore, also unpopular. The popularity of the paintings though suggests that Jägermayer had indeed chosen a good topic, but the photographic album did not correspond to the public's tastes. It simply could not compete with the more aesthetically pleasing and romantically idealized paintings of the Grossglockner. Nevertheless, both demonstrate an earnest and competitive desire to showcase the Austrian Alps existed and this reflects a growing interest in them.

The popularity of idyllic and Romantic Alpine images made an Austrian identity based on the Alpine Heimat advantageous. But, this association was beneficial for other reasons as well. First, the beauty of the Alps provided an attractive and memorable visual image, whereas the low-lying and flat regions were, arguably, less visually impressive. They lacked the drama and geological history that the massive rock formations of the Alps provided. Second, the isolated and conservative Alpine communities were more or less harmless in relation to national politics. An identity that included Vienna and other major cities with industry was dangerous for

⁹⁵ The ambitious volume also, and seemingly randomly, includes a photograph of the choir inside a church and two of a recently remodeled neo-gothic castle. All of the photographs from *Österreichische Alpen* are cataloged and can be searched online in the Albertina's *Bilddatenbank*, see <http://gallery.albertina.at/eMuseum/code/emuseum.asp>.

⁹⁶ Maren Gröning, "Aus der Frühzeit von Fotografie und Alpinismus in Österreich / from the Early Days of Photography and Alpinism in Austria" *Camera Austria*, no. 79 (2002): 39-40. See also, Anton Holzer who cites among other reasons the sheer cost of purchasing such an ambitious large-format album, see Holzer, "Hinauf! Fotografie im Hochgebirge (1849-1914)," 21-22.

the *Ständestaat*, which had been struggling with the urban worker population. “Red Vienna,” the time from 1918-1934 in which the Social Democrats had the majority and ruled the city, was not something that the *Ständestaat* wanted to remind its citizens of.⁹⁷

The *Ständestaat* viewed and presented the Alpine communities and peasants as bastions of cultural tradition. The conservatism of the Alpine peoples corresponded well with the conservative values of the government. In developing the *Ständestaat*, Dollfuss had expressed more interest in creating a government based on a rural environment-oriented system of governing classes than one with strict authoritarian rule.⁹⁸ His preference for a romantic ideal was symptomatic of the already extant rural Heimat sentiment. In an article delineating the goals of rural education published in 1925 – during the First Republic – Franz Vogl explained the importance of the peasantry. He praised peasants and their lifestyle because they have families, work hard, lead a humble existence, and are Catholic.⁹⁹ In addition, they are appreciative of nature and satisfied with life. Vogl described the peasant class as the root of the people; for not only do they supply the country with food, but they are also the source of a healthy, strong, and resilient people.¹⁰⁰ In short, they are of paramount importance for the people and state of Austria.¹⁰¹ According to Vogl, the peasant has what others grapple to find: Heimat.¹⁰² Other Heimat activists and preservationists similarly championed rural life and its traditions. On the

⁹⁷ For more on Red Vienna, see Judith Beniston and Robert Vilain, eds. “Culture and Politics in Red Vienna” *Austrian Studies* 14 (2006); Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁹⁸ Wohnout, “Im Zeichen des Ständestaates,” 135.

⁹⁹ Franz Vogl, “Ziele ländlicher Volksbildungsarbeit,” *Volksbildung* 5, no. 1 (1925): 13-15. Franz Vogl (1873-1939) was Heimat activist and active politician in the Christian Social Party.

¹⁰⁰ “Die Bedeutung des Bauernstandes für die Allgemeinheit, ...wird noch klarer, wenn man bedenkt, daß er nicht nur den Großteil der unbedingt nötigen Lebensmittel liefert, sondern daß er auch eine der wesentlichen natürlichen Kraftquellen für sein Volk ist, gesunden, kräftigen, widerstandsfähigen Menschennachwuchs schafft.... Er ist wirklich der Wurzelstock.” *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰¹ “Daraus ergibt sich von selbst die überragende Bedeutung, die der Bauerstand in Österreich für Volk und Staat hat.” *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰² “Der Bauer hat das, worum andere schwer ringen: er hat Heimat.” *Ibid.*, 13.

surface, the mountain population seemed peaceful and non-threatening. They were perceived as hard-working, simple and humble and these positive virtues were posited as an attractive identity to assume. The Heimat photobooks of the 1930s, which will be discussed in Chapter Four, portrayed these virtues while also encouraging the kind of discovery and self-reflection that Haller and the characters in Rousseau's novel were experiencing. The *Ständestaat* was thus able to take advantage of an attitude that was present especially among adherents to Austria's conservative parties.

The Alpine image also ensured stability and promised opportunity in the realm of tourism and recreation.¹⁰³ For the image of Austria to be successful, the urban and more distant rural populations first had to become familiar with it and made to long to return to it. The *Ständestaat*, therefore, had to encourage travellers to relax in nature where they could marvel from a distance at the quaint lifestyle of mountain inhabitants and to seek adventure as amateur mountaineers. The Alpine Heimat was designed to guarantee a peaceful and cultural image of Austria. While no official doctrine was delegated to Alpine Heimat propaganda, the state was, consciously or not, creating a specifically Austrian Heimat, a place that was conceived as idyllic and Alpine.

ADVERTISING THE ALPS AND THE CULTURAL POLICY OF THE *STÄNDESTAAT*

The *Ständestaat* ambitiously promoted its ideology through policies in education, cultural organizations and churches in rural areas. The strong local presence of churches made it easy to exert an influence through clerical functionaries in the area of education. Already in December of 1933, *Ständestaat* mandated prayer in schools and began developing educational

¹⁰³ Austria must have seen Switzerland as the model, as it was the first country to develop alpine tourism. See Werner Bätzing, *Die Alpen. Geschichte und Zukunft einer europäischen Kulturlandschaft*, 2nd ed (Munich: Beck, 2003).

programming to further the ideals of the state.¹⁰⁴ A year later it established the national commission for Heimat Service, which, like many of its other initiatives, was modeled after a German prototype.

Through the Fatherland Front the *Ständestaat* attempted to infiltrate all areas of life. The Department of Culture included cultural attachés who watched over the activities of cultural clubs, organizations, and businesses in the area of literature, film, fine arts, and music. They were called “to preserve German culture in Austria as it saturates the spirit of the Fatherland. Through appropriate cultural policy, their primary task [is] to restructure and enforce a combination of culture and national feeling.”¹⁰⁵ To increase the appeal of the Fatherland Front in July of 1936, it created a highly structured and hierarchical sub-organization called *Neues Leben* (“New Life”), which called for Austrians to do their part and feel their bond with the Heimat and other Austrians.¹⁰⁶ It also professed to preserve cultural heritage and support new technology as much as it is healthy and natural.¹⁰⁷

A further example of the *Ständestaat*'s ideological program is seen in the society *Jung-Österreich* [Young-Austria]. In 1936 they organized a symposium on the renewal of Austrian culture.¹⁰⁸ Its participants were poets, writers, painters, folklorists, teachers, publicists, priests, and students. Their mission was to keep the western Christian cultural heritage of Austria alive

¹⁰⁴ Johann Holzner, “Die österreichische Hochschulgermanistik I: Postivismus als Strategie der Anpassung, zur Neugermanistik in Innsbruck,” in *Österreichische Literatur der dreißiger Jahre. Ideologische Verhältnisse, Institutionelle Voraussetzungen, Fallstudien*, ed. Klaus Amann (Vienna: Böhlau, 1990), 99-108; Johann Sturtz, “Die österreichische Hochschulgermanistik II: Neugermanistik und Deutsche Volkskunde an der Universität Graz in den dreißiger Jahren,” in *Ibid.*, 109-129; Sebastian Meissl, “Zur Wiener Neugermanistik der dreißiger Jahre: *Stamm, Volk, Rasse, Reich*, über *Josef Nadlers* literaturwissenschaftliche Position,” in *Ibid.*, 130-146.

¹⁰⁵ “Sinn und Zweck des Kulturreferents (Kulturamt) ist die Erhaltung deutscher Kulture in Österreich und ihre Durchdringung mit vaterländischem Geiste. Seine oberste Aufgabe ist, die Vereinigung von Kultur und Staatsgefühl durch geeignete Kulturpolitische Maßnahmen umzubauen und durchzusetzen” (AVA – VF – 37: Richtlinien für sämtliche Kulturreferenten der VF § 1) as quoted in Schubert, “Das Vaterländische - Frontwerk ‘Neues Leben,’” 13.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Young Austria was founded in 1933 to create educational publications for the youth of Austria.

and well through supporting culture.¹⁰⁹ This meant recognizing the present “areas of danger” in Austrian culture so that they could be reformed.¹¹⁰

The government also monitored and promoted culture through the creation of annual state prizes awarded for exemplary literature, music, and the fine arts. The literature prize, for example, was awarded for great achievement in literature that possessed a German-Austrian form and content as well as contributing to the enriching of German-Austrian culture.¹¹¹ Friedbert Aspetsberger considers the state prizes as just one of the ways in which the *Ständestaat* attempted to put some kind of credibility into its otherwise postulate character.¹¹² All of the jury members shared a preference for works with Catholic values. In 1934 the prize of 1000 Schilling went to Karl Heinrich Waggerl (1897-1973), one of the best known authors of the period, for his entire literary work, the narratives of which demonstrate his “echter Naturverbundenheit” [true bond with nature].¹¹³ Waggerl’s literature told of children, mothers, and father figures as they spoke about nature, seasons, and peasant life. They are stories of the Heimat that are meant to make a reader of any age feel good.¹¹⁴

To acquaint the public with its doctrine the *Ständestaat* hosted ceremonial mass gatherings in Vienna, which often had a proselytizing Catholic tone. It celebrated historical events that were relevant to the ideology of the state such as the 500th anniversary of the building of the Cathedral or the 250th anniversary of defeating the Turks and defending Western Christian

¹⁰⁹ “Die Front des Geistes: Thesen und Aufriß der Vorträge; Alpbacher Kulturtagung” *Ruf der Heimat*, no. 7/8 (1936), 28-29.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹¹¹ Aspetsberger, *Literarisches Leben im Austrofaschismus*, 3; Horst Jarka, “Austrofaschismus und Heimatkunst,” 69.

¹¹² Aspetsberger, *Literarisches Leben im Austrofaschismus*, 3.

¹¹³ In particular the jury cited his works *Brot* [Bread], *Schweres Blut* [Heavy Blood], *Das Jahr des Herrn* [The Year of the Man] and *Wiesenbuch* [Meadow Book]. *Ibid.*, 156. For a complete list of the jury members and prize winners from 1934-37, see *Ibid.*, 92-93.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 159.

culture. Relying heavily on historical traditions, the *Ständestaat* used these gatherings to engrain a symbolic aesthetic of Austria. Participants appeared wearing folk costumes and historical dress. For the proclamation of the new constitution, which was purposefully announced on the former day of the workers, May 1, 1934, the *Ständestaat* held an array of celebrations, including an event at the stadium recognizing the children as the future of Austria (Fig. 10)¹¹⁵ Part of the festivities included a parade called “*Huldigung der Stände*” [Homage to the classes], in which the representatives of each of the eight predetermined *Berufsstände* [social occupational classes] marched from the Votive Church to the city hall (Fig. 11). This symbolic parade and its route emphasized the medieval aspect of the *Ständestaat*. Not only was the government trying to revive a medieval class structure, but the event took place at two neo-Gothic buildings.¹¹⁶ To suggest historical continuity, the *Ständestaat* went to great lengths to develop the parameters of the new classes. For the parade, they created a symbolic medieval atmosphere, complete with guilds, costumes, and knights.¹¹⁷ The government also assigned a specific visual symbol to each one of the classes. These representations unfortunately appeared more cryptic than they were legible (Fig. 12). Despite the efforts and all the fanfare, only two of the classes ever functioned as such; they were the farmers and the civil bureaucrats.¹¹⁸

The *Ständestaat* relied heavily on the media and press to promote these events and to spread its ideology. Alone in the area of culture, the great number of ideological magazines that appeared is significant. The content of many of these magazines overlapped and all of them

¹¹⁵ Siegfried Matzl discusses the youth event, which was repeated in 1935, within the context of the “new” Austria, see “Der Tag des neuen Österreich – Der Ständestaat als Folkloreunternehmen” in Achenbach and Moser, *Österreich in Bild und Ton*, 183-193.

¹¹⁶ The Votive Church was consecrated in 1879 and the city hall was finished in 1883.

¹¹⁷ Suppanz, ““Österreicher, lernt eure Geschichte,”” 175.

¹¹⁸ The eight classes were: *Landwirtschaft* (Farming), *Industrie und Bergbau* (Industry and Mining), *Gewerbe* (Business), *Handel und Verkehr* (Trade and Transport), *Geld, Kredit und Versicherungswesen* (Banking and Insurance), *Freie Berufe* (Self-Employed), *Öffentliche Dienst* (Civil Servants), *Kulturelles Schaffen* (Culture).

published Heimat photographs by prominent amateur and professional photographers. The central office for *Volksbildung* [national education] in the federal ministry for education, for example, published the cultural magazine *Österreichische Rundschau: Land, Volk, Kultur* [Austrian Review: Land, People, Culture] which contained lengthy articles on topics such as Austria's mission in history, folk culture, and Heimat preservation as well as book reviews and relevant cultural listings. In contrast, *Österreichische Woche* [Austrian Weekly] catered to a less literary audience and in 1936, it became the primary news source for "New Life".¹¹⁹ This eight-page weekly consisted solely of propagandistic illustrations and captions, which were either of *Ständestaat* officials and political events or of the Heimat. The last page of each issue was devoted to promoting the Alpine Heimat. The section "Das schöne Österreich" [Beautiful Austria] featured several photographs advertising for different scenic areas of Austria (Fig. 13).

Other more substantial and yet easy to read cultural magazines were *Ruf der Heimat* [Call of the Heimat] and *die Pause* [The Break]. Both continually dedicated issues to important historical figures such as Metternich, Prince Eugene, Marco d'Aviano, and Andreas Hofer.¹²⁰ They also placed an emphasis on Heimat literature, Austrian art, and Catholicism. *Ruf der Heimat* publicized the Austrian Heimat by offering stories on traditional folk themes such as medieval Austrian art and a typical Styrian wedding, but it also featured stories on contemporary developments such as the tank maneuvers of the border patrol and the building of the Grossglockner High Alpine Street, both of which were important parts of the government's efforts to create jobs and modernize the nation. It even included a topical section in each issue

¹¹⁹ Edmund Weber (1900-1949), the publisher of the magazine was appointed by Dollfuss to the position of the director of the *Amtlichen Nachrichtenstelle* (News Bureau).

¹²⁰ Both of these magazines have been studied in depth in Austrian graduate student theses, see Natter, "Die 'Heimat' und die 'Tiefen Der Seele:'" and Lasinger, "'Die Pause' und andere Kulturzeitschriften zur Zeit des Austrofaschismus." Karl Pawek, the editor of *die Pause*, is better known for his work after the Second World War as he is one of the founders of *Magnum*.

titled “Heimat in Danger” that highlighted wars in Austria’s history which defended the idea of Austria.¹²¹ The magazine supplemented this propaganda by printing official statements from Schuschnigg and other political leaders regarding Austria’s cultural mission. According to the editor Franz Braumann, *Ruf der Heimat* had 10,000 subscribers.¹²²

One of the most propagandistic magazines was first published in late 1937 as Austria’s political situation was in dire straits. At this point, the Heimat Service replaced the propagandistic magazines *Wir bauen auf* [We are building] and *Zeitschau* [Times] with a large-format monthly called *Österreich in Wort und Bild* [Austria in Word and Image]. The magazine promised to deliver news from all areas of Austrian culture, politics, and business to those young and old. An advertisement in the magazine shows an audience of curious young readers looking at various state-endorsed magazines (Fig. 14).¹²³ All of these cultural magazines only reported on current news if it was favorable to the image of *Ständestaat*.

Despite its ambitions and promotion, the *Ständestaat* was also highly ambivalent about its control.¹²⁴ Unlike Germany, it did not succeed in invading every aspect of culture, or, at least, it was not as restrictive. The press, film, art, and theater were all censored but modern art, for example, was not publicly shunned. Some of it may have been viewed with contempt, but it was tolerated, and especially if it was seen as being particularly Austrian.¹²⁵ Instead of disgracing modern art movements, which were minor anyway, the government spent its efforts and money

¹²¹ Natter, “Die ‘Heimat’ und die ‘Tiefen Der Seele,’” 104.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 76.

¹²³ *Österreich in Wort und Bild* 1, no. 1 (1937): n.p., back of cover page.

¹²⁴ Many historians, including Maria Lasinger, Peter Thaler and Klaus Amann, have characterized the corporate state as ambivalent.

¹²⁵ Elisabeth Klamper, “Die Böse Geistlosigkeit: Die Kulturpolitik des Ständestaates,” in Tabor, *Kunst und Diktatur*, 127.

on encouraging Austrian pride.¹²⁶ More pressing was asserting the sovereignty of Austria and fostering respect and love for the Austrian Heimat.

The *Ständestaat*'s desire to be culturally superior and distinct was, like many of its ambitions, flawed. The government constantly looked to Germany and Italy as examples. The *Ständestaat* created mass gatherings with a similar ominous style (Fig. 15). When the government began censoring films, they had to work closely with Germany and its film industry. Furthermore, the Fatherland Front organization "New Life" was more or less a copy of Germany's *Kraft durch Freude* and Italy's *Dopolavoro*, even though it strove to differentiate itself from them. "New Life" did not share the same success because it suffered from leadership problems and it could never implement the complex and large-scale structure it envisioned. "New Life" proclaimed that one of its tasks was to elevate and enliven peasant traditions, such as folk costumes and folk dances, in order to better understand the peasant population and their life and work.¹²⁷ It explained that this task would be accomplished through educational film, radio, press, excursions, and trips.¹²⁸ But, this ambitious program needed the support of the *Bauernbünde* [Peasant League], which "New Life" did not have.¹²⁹

Another flaw was in the *Ständestaat*'s promotion of an Alpine Heimat. The government looked towards peasant culture for its social structure and its idyllic setting, but their idea of an idyllic setting could not have been further from the truth. At the start of the 1930s, the economic

¹²⁶ For more on Austrian art during this time, see Tabor, *Kunst und Diktatur*.

¹²⁷ "Besonders will das Neue Leben zur Hebung und Belebung das bäuerlichen Brauchtums und der Volkstumspflege nach Jahresfestkreis, der Volkstracht, das Volktanzes, ... wesentlich beitragen. Auch sollen die alte bäuerlichen Kraft- und Geschicklichkeitsübungen und -spiele wieder zu Ehren kommen und ... in Bildungs- und Lehrfilmen, Rundfunk und Presse, ... durch Reisen, Exkursionen und Vorträge der Landbevölkerung das Herleben und Berufverstehen nahegebracht werden." (AVA 33 – Brief an Bundeswirtschaftsrat Leo Figl – Reichssekretariat F. Eckert 26.11.1936 Z 1.10.023 – A/36) as quoted in Schubert, "Das Vaterländische - Frontwerk 'Neues Leben,'" 76.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

situation of the peasants and landholders was serious. High unemployment reduced consumer demand for agricultural products and prices plummeted.¹³⁰ Many were forced to take out loans and to offer accommodations to tourists. This solution, however, came to a full stop in 1933 when Hitler rebelled against Dollfuss' outlawing of the NDSAP by imposing a 1,000 Mark tax on any Germans who wanted to enter Austria. The German tourists who stayed in Alpine inns were exactly the tourists who could not afford the high tax because of their low-wage incomes. Although the situation improved slightly for the peasants during the *Ständestaat* it was not enough to make the image of hard-working but joyfully content peasants a reality.

How the political and cultural program of the *Ständestaat* was exactly to function was, despite the celebrations and efforts, never very clear. The *Ständestaat*'s idea was vague and idealistic. When ideological plans were actually spelled out, other problems plagued their success and these problems were chronically organizational and financial.¹³¹ The work of deciding on and implementing the changes that were to apply the ideals of the *Ständestaat* dragged in practice. In regards to the Department of Culture, historian Rainer Schubert points out that there was a serious lack of qualified individuals, much confusion, and meager funds, all of which hampered putting anything into practice and allowed the individual states' to remain relatively autonomous.¹³²

The *Ständestaat* also faced a fair amount of conflict and resistance from within. The organizational idea of a corporatist state, for example, was met with some sharp critique, even within the Church. One of the social consultants of the organization Catholic Austria complained

¹³⁰ Net profits went from 65 Schillings per cultivated hectare in 1928 to minus nine in 1931 and they only rose back to twenty-nine in 1933. Lauridsen, *Nazism and the Radical Right in Austria 1918-1934*, 386.

¹³¹ Schubert constantly cites the problem of money when discussing the various cultural programs of the *Ständestaat*, see "Das Vaterländische - Frontwerk 'Neues Leben.'"

¹³² *Ibid.*, 21.

in the paper *Volkswahl* that a government based on occupational class was inadequate and especially because it did not account for the unemployed.¹³³

All of these problems were detrimental to creating a unified Austrian cultural state. Nevertheless, the *Ständestaat* believed in the idealized life that it promoted and tried to carry on despite its difficulties. By July of 1936 the tide had already begun to turn. Italy was no longer interested in protecting Austria from Germany and Hitler forced amnesty with the NSDAP in Austria. This built the basis for a permanent and compulsory collaboration with Germany.¹³⁴ The still omnipresent poor economic situation and standard of living in Austria pushed the doors open even further and allowed for the German National Socialists to infiltrate more effectively. It also allowed for the Austrian National Socialists to grow and gain more public support.¹³⁵ During the last years of the *Ständestaat*, the idealistic attempts to realize a distinct Austrian program became more apparent as the Schuschnigg desperately tried to maintain or at least create a semblance of a sovereign Austria but his efforts against the interests of the National Socialists were futile. The *Ständestaat* was too weak and on March 1938, Hitler marched in peacefully with great fanfare.

¹³³ *Volkswahl* no.26 (1934/5), 13-18 as cited in Aspetsberger, *Literarisches Leben im Austrofaschismus*, 9.

¹³⁴ Tálos, "Austrofaschistische Diktatur 1933-1938," 26.

¹³⁵ Even though the NSDAP had been outlawed in Austria, the party still existed, albeit in a disorganized state. For more on National Socialism in Austria before the *Anschluss*, see Pauley, "The Austrian Nazi Party before 1938," 34-56.

“*Wenn auch Armut und Mühe da wohnt, es ist mein Vaterland, da meine Liebe!*”¹³⁶
 [Even when there is poverty and hardship, it’s my Fatherland that has my love]

CHAPTER TWO

Heimat Photography in Germany and Austria

Heimat photography must be understood as a genre that developed diachronically. Its origins stem from the Heimat preservation movement, which applied a modern notion of Heimat to the immediate environment. While Heimat preservationists used photography to record their Heimat, it was not until the 1920s that the term “Heimat photography” emerged. It then gained significant prominence in German photographic journals. By the start of the next decade, Austrian photographers had picked up on the term as they began catering to the formation of a distinctly Austrian Heimat through cultivated imagery. Although the range of what could be characterized as Austrian *Heimat* photography remained broad, this chapter argues that in the 1930s it steered away from its straightforward and bland style as it made use of modern photo techniques and aesthetic viewpoints. The trend to make more aesthetically modern images heightened the appearance and appeal of Austrian Heimat photography, increasing enthusiasm for it. The proliferation of Austrian Heimat photography in books, journals, exhibitions, and magazines was in part due to Heimat photography’s general popularity but it was also a product of the politics of the *Ständestaat*, which promoted the images in the press and state-sponsored exhibitions as well as their use in tourism.

In characterizing the development of Austrian Heimat photography, this chapter looks at two Austrian Heimat photographers, Rudolf Koppitz (1884-1936) and Peter Paul Atzwanger

¹³⁶ Rudolf Junk, *Bilder aus Österreich* (Vienna: Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt, 1938), n.p.

(1888-1974), both of whom taught at the *Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt* [Graphic Teaching and Research Institute] in Vienna. Although neither was openly political, their continued interest in Heimat themes (and especially that of Alpine peasant life) demonstrates a period trend toward a specifically Austrian image of Heimat. Their careers, furthermore, are typical in that they possessed indifferent attitudes to politics that simply went along with the conservative policies of the Austrian corporate state.

HEIMAT AND ITS ORIGINS

Despite its temporal distance, the background of the Heimat movement in nineteenth-century Germany must be studied in order to gain a better understanding of Heimat photography during the 1930s. Early ideas regarding Heimat and its physical preservation plant the seeds for its development as a broader movement. Although Heimat in the 1930s is more about national interests than active preservation, it draws upon concepts developed by early Heimat activists.

Heimat preservation began in Germany and its ideas were strengthened by the German Romantics' interest in and their close relationship with nature. For the Romantics, nature provided mental emancipation and spiritual inspiration. Their personal synesthetic experiences in nature motivated their literature, music, and artworks. In his comprehensive historical study of Heimat in German theory, Peter Blickle examines the shared trajectory of Romantic philosophy and what he calls the modern notion of Heimat by pointing to their curiously independent development. Blickle explains that in the modern usage of Heimat, the word came to connote more than just a physical place. He explains that at the end of the eighteenth century, when the Romantic philosophers Fichte and Schelling and the poet Hölderlin were discussing the Kantian "I" as it desires to return and unite with an idealized nature, the modern usage of the word

Heimat developed.¹³⁷ The ideas developed independently of each other even though there was a correlation between them. In both, the mythification of nature relates to an inner perception. In the Heimat specifically, the subject could be reunited with nature to arrive at a larger, communal self.¹³⁸ Blicke's analysis underscores that the sense and belief of the individual's special and inherent relationship to nature was engrained in German culture and thought. It is no wonder then that the Heimat preservation movement originated in Germany and arose at the end of the nineteenth century amidst increasing industrialization.

Preserving the Heimat meant protecting one's personal attachment to place and fighting against the displacements of modern society, namely mass migration, transnational commerce, and fluid class boundaries.¹³⁹ While modern industry had radically altered the demographics, culture, and appearance of the landscape, the Heimat movement should not be simplified as anti-modern. As historian Thomas Lekan argues, preservationists prized regional human-shaped landscapes that were an accessible tamed nature and not remote wilderness.¹⁴⁰ For them, romantic nature was authentic as it provided a source of fulfillment and in this way it functioned as the antidote to urban life.¹⁴¹ The preservation of this kind of nature, furthermore, was in and of itself a modern means of managing nature in tandem with modern life, which somewhat paradoxically led to its eventual commercialization and mass consumption.¹⁴²

Although the national organization supporting the protection of the Heimat, the *Bund Heimatschutz* [The league for Heimat protection], was not officially founded until 1904, its

¹³⁷ Blicke, *Heimat*, 113-114.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 114-115.

¹³⁹ Thomas M. Lekan, "The Nature of Home: Landscape Preservation and Local Identities," in *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe, 1860 - 1930*, ed. David Blackbourn and James N. Retallack (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2007), 166.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 167.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 170.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 170-173.

conceptual foundations were already being put into writing much earlier. William Heinrich Riehl (1823-1897) was instrumental in influencing conceptions of Heimat and the later development of Heimat protection. A witness to the failed revolutions of 1848 and keenly aware of the transformations of modern society, Riehl criticized the social leveling of urban life and defended peasant and folk culture as the backbone of a moral society, which was divided according to status and vocation in *Stämme* [tribes]. As a social science professor concerned with folklore, he emphasized the value and superiority of a familial and pre-industrial way of life. Riehl's view of social organization was Christian and conservative and it advocated natural inequality, corporative self-help and loyalty to patriarchy.¹⁴³ His social philosophy is particularly relevant to and has parallels with the 1930s concept of an Austrian Heimat that the corporatist politics of the Austrian *Ständestaat* advocated.

In regards to environmental preservation, Riehl believed it was fundamental to preserving the culture and upholding the national character. Christian morals saturated his beliefs in preservation and protection of the family home and environment.¹⁴⁴ For Riehl, change all too often signified decay whilst preservation meant strength and prosperity. In a large tome titled *Land und Leute [Land and People]* – volume two in the series *Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Sozial-Politik [The Natural History of the German People as the Foundation of a German Social Politics]* – Riehl explained that over the years, human interaction with the environment created a specific cultural topography which bound the community emotionally to it, so much so that specific physical features of the landscape gained

¹⁴³ David J. Diephouse, introduction to *The Natural History of the German People*, by Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, trans. and ed. David J. Diephouse (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1990), 4. Diephouse provides an informative and concise biography of Riehl and analysis of his beliefs. See also Jasper von Altenbockum, *Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl 1823-1897: Sozialwissenschaft zwischen Kulturgeschichte und Ethnographie* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994).

¹⁴⁴ Riehl originally studied theology at Marburg University, see Diephouse, introduction to *The Natural History of the German People*, 5-6.

symbolic value.¹⁴⁵ The people's identification with the landscape and their recognition of its value, Riehl believed, served as a basis for national patriotism.¹⁴⁶ Yet, at the same time, Riehl did not devalue localism. He believed the particulars of natural communities and local folk customs, unlike urban cosmopolitan uniformity, were absolutely necessary to preserving social harmony. Considering his train of thought, it is easy to understand how a local affinity with the land could be transformed into national pride and identity. Riehl's ideas, furthermore, support historian Alon Confino's argument that, in the nineteenth century, the local pride of *Heimat* came to be a metaphor for the nation.¹⁴⁷

Historian David Diephouse questions the extent of Riehl's direct influence but his multi-volume work did continue to be published for the next thirty years and similar ideas by other contemporaries suggest that a general consensus to focus on and preserve the *Heimat* prevailed.¹⁴⁸ Ernst Rudorff (1840-1916), for example, specifically addressed current issues surrounding *Heimat* preservation, coining the term *Heimatschutz* in 1897 to mean environmental preservation and protection of the *Heimat*.¹⁴⁹ Rudorff was a pianist and musician well aware of the German Romantic movement. His family was even personally acquainted with several of its representatives, including Ludwig Tieck and Bettina von Arnim. The Romantics highly affected Rudorff's beliefs on nature's benefits for the soul and the value of upholding it. In an article published in the 1878 Berlin magazine *Post*, he wrote about the negative effect modern

¹⁴⁵ Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Land und Leute*, vol. 1, *Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Sozial-Politik* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1854). For an abridged English edition, see Riehl, *The Natural History of the German People*.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas M. Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 6-7.

¹⁴⁷ It is astonishing that Confino makes no mention of Riehl in his book *The Nation as Local Metaphor*.

¹⁴⁸ Diephouse, introduction to *The Natural History of the German People*, 17-18.

¹⁴⁹ Rudorff published his book with Georg Heinrich Meyer in Leipzig and Berlin. For more on the publication, see Andreas Knaut, "Ernst Rudorff und die Anfänge der deutschen Heimatbewegung," in *Antimodernismus und Reform: Zur Geschichte der deutschen Heimatbewegung*, ed. Edeltraud Klüeting (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991), 39-40.

industrialization was having on nature and the environment.¹⁵⁰ His ideas about Heimat preservation were stringent and although he claimed to be supportive of technological advancement, he viewed any effect it had upon nature negatively.¹⁵¹ He was against trains crossing the landscape, lumber companies' destruction of forests, regulation of electricity, and marketing the landscape for tourism because it changed the character of the landscape.¹⁵² Rudorff believed tourists had superficial curiosity and argued that their vain adventures only served to infringe upon the land and its traditional customs.¹⁵³ His conservative ideas were extremely influential among bourgeois society, the class that supported Heimat preservation the most. In his later writings on the environment, Rudorff began suggesting programs for combating the ills of modern life, publishing his book *Heimatschutz* in 1901.

It is important to recognize that landscape preservation in the 1880s was not solely an ecological concern, but rather a largely middle-class effort to prevent the destruction of nature's aesthetic; this destruction, it was believed, would also injure Germany's national character and cause moral decline in the population.¹⁵⁴ The ultimate concern of Heimat activists was the aesthetic image of the Heimat which the demands of modern industrial life threatened. Their aesthetic goal did not, however, mean that they were totally against modernity. As Thomas Rohkrämer argues, the ideal nature was one which included more natural, humane ways of existing in the midst of modernity, but not about getting out of industrialization.¹⁵⁵ After all,

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 20-49.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 29-30.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature*, 4; Matthew Jefferies, "Heimatschutz: Environmental Activism in Wilhelmine Germany," in *Green Thought in German Culture: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Colin Riordan, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), 43.

¹⁵⁵ Thomas Rohkrämer, *Eine andere Moderne? Zivilisationskritik, Natur und Technik in Deutschland 1880-1933* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999), 32.

modernity benefitted the very class that was promoting Heimat. The ultimate goal was reconciliation of social ideals with technology, in order to create a better environment.¹⁵⁶

By the late nineteenth century, German villages and regions were actively establishing their own beautification societies, historical associations, and folk costume clubs.¹⁵⁷ The number of clubs as well as their membership increased considerably and they began producing local magazines and journals to espouse the Heimat and its preservation. When the German *Bund Heimatschutz* was founded in 1904, the interest in and different ideas about Heimat preservation were so multifarious that it soon became clear that the umbrella organization would have to focus on certain areas of preservation and leave others to the responsibility of smaller clubs. With Paul Schultze-Naumberg as the first chairman, architecture became one of the main concerns of the League. Schultze-Naumberg had already started to publish a nine-volume series titled *Kulturarbeiten* [Cultural works] on architecture and landscape design that stressed each individual's responsibility for the environment.¹⁵⁸ With this series, Schultze-Naumberg hoped to educate people about the aesthetic benefits of using local resources and planning with the surrounding environment in mind so that any further damage to the Heimat could be prevented.¹⁵⁹

Each volume of the *Cultural Works* contained photographs taken by Schultze-Naumberg that illustrated exemplary model homes and gardens as well as their antithesis – poorly conceived buildings and landscapes (Fig. 16). Schultze-Naumberg's use of his own photographic illustrations is typical of the early Heimat movement. Many Heimat preservation clubs and

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Confino describes the development of each of these organizations in Württemberg, see Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, 101-120.

¹⁵⁸ Paul Schultze-Naumberg, *Kulturarbeiten*, 9 vols. (Munich: G.D.W. Callwey, 1901-1917).

¹⁵⁹ Jefferies "Heimatschutz," 44.

individual Heimat activists used photography to document the landscape and to illustrate its ideal form. The middle-class, who made up the Heimat protection and preservation movement, also comprised the segment of society who had the leisure time and could afford to be amateur photographers.

By the turn of the century the interest in Heimat preservation had spread to the Austrian lands. In 1906 the Viennese *Verein für Heimatkunde, Heimatschutz und Deutsches Kulturleben in Österreich* [Association for Heimat studies, Heimat protection and German cultural life in Austria] began publishing their magazine *Deutsche Heimat*.¹⁶⁰ In 1908, the *Verein für Heimatschutz in Tirol* [Association for Heimat protection in Tyrol] was founded to protect the landscape and noteworthy buildings, but also to encourage building programs that would be harmonious with the landscape.¹⁶¹ Shortly thereafter, in 1912, the Austrian *Heimatschutzverband* [Organization for Heimat protection] was founded. These Austrian organizations followed the German model and it is important to emphasize one of the many connections between them. Both believed they were protecting a German Heimat. The Austrians thought of themselves as German and the Germans considered the Austrians to be German. Although they operated in different political spheres, their mission to protect the landscape and German culture was the same. In the early stages of the Heimat movement, nationalism was neither a defining issue nor was it fanatical. Heimat movement literature did include conservative and nationalist arguments, but these were rare and seen as ancillary to the aesthetic goal.¹⁶² Nonetheless, these tendencies existed and did assist in gaining additional support for the movement.

¹⁶⁰ *Deutsche Heimat: Blatt für Heimatkunde, Heimatschutz und deutsches Kulturleben in Österreich* was published in Vienna from 1906 to 1938.

¹⁶¹ Verein für Heimatschutz in Tirol, *Gründungsurkunde* (Innsbruck, 1908), accessed September 18, 2010 <http://www.heimatschutzverein.at/downloads/Gruendungsurkunde.pdf>

¹⁶² Rohkrämer, *Eine andere Moderne?*, 138-39.

KUHFAHL AND HEIMAT PHOTOGRAPHY IN 1920S GERMANY

In 1921 the German amateur photographer Gustav Kuhfahl (1870-1938) published the first known primer on Heimat photography.¹⁶³ Kuhfahl was extremely active in the Saxon homeland preservation movement and this involvement led him to photography, which he pursued with dedication. He wrote prominently, publishing, among other things, the fourth edition of his book on mountain photography the previous year.¹⁶⁴ His book *Heimatphotographie: die Photographie im Dienste von Heimatschutz und Heimatforschung* [Photography in the service of homeland preservation and research] is seminal in that it defined and established guidelines for Heimat photography. In the book, Kuhfahl points to specific local landmarks in Saxony and elsewhere that should be treasured for their historical and cultural value. Right away, on the first page, Kuhfahl uses the Strasburg Cathedral as a regional example of a historic landmark. This choice is particularly poignant. The gothic cathedral was situated in the contentious borderland, Alsace, which despite its strong Germanic population had just been lost to the French following the First World War. For Kuhfahl, this was proof enough that valuable historic monuments must not be ignored.¹⁶⁵ The cathedral had great cultural significance. Goethe had even famously praised the Gothic structure for its specifically Germanic folk qualities and its potential to arouse ‘feelings of truth and beauty.’¹⁶⁶ Seen as a symbol of Germanness, the significance of its loss must have spoken to Germans struggling in a demoralizing postwar environment. The point of Kuhfahl’s

¹⁶³ Gustav Adolf Kuhfahl, *Heimatphotographie: Die Photographie im Dienste von Heimatschutz und Heimatforschung* (Halle (Saale): Wilhelm Knapp, 1921). Kuhfahl also published books on the preservation of *Steinkreuze* (wayside stone crosses), *Postmeilensäulen* (postal mile markers) and mountain photography.

¹⁶⁴ Gustav Adolf Kuhfahl, *Hochgebirgs- und Winterphotographie: Praktische Ratschläge für Ausrüstung und Arbeitsweise* (Halle: Knapp, 1907). Later editions were published in 1912, 1918, 1921, and 1928.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁶⁶ Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. *Von deutscher Baukunst 1773* in Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Der junge Goethe 1757-1775*, ed. Gerhard Sauder, vol. 1.2 (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1985), 415-423. For commentary see *Ibid.*, 835-844.

example was to show how important Heimat photography is in preserving German culture and especially in case it is ‘lost.’

In his book Kuhfahl tries to rebuild a positive sense of identity for Germany through Heimat photography. He believes Heimat can be better preserved in photographs than in words.¹⁶⁷ The need to reclaim and prevent any further disappearance of local character is of utmost importance to Kuhfahl and he explains that local character can be found in many places, including the wilderness, cultural and civic monuments, and folk costumes.¹⁶⁸ While Kuhfahl emphasizes the local in the preservation of homeland through photographic documentation, he also speaks specifically of a common German past and emphasizes German national resources. In this way Heimat photography functions to highlight various regional components while bringing them together under the common bond of Germanicism, which then contributes to the larger idea of a German homeland. This is exactly the kind of Heimat that historian Celia Applegate explains brought the modern nation of Germany together.¹⁶⁹ With small bits of local Heimat, the communal feeling of life was cherished and preserved amidst the wake of modernity, war, and civilization. The culture of Heimat, and Heimat photography especially, served as a means to deal with society’s developments because it preserved the past in tangible form. Heimat photography functioned like a modern relic, which was venerated for its ability to preserve in clear visual form.

Photography provided Heimat activists like Kuhfahl with a perfect means for coming to terms with modernity’s inevitable consequences because photographs mediate between the past

¹⁶⁷ Kuhfahl, *Heimatphotographie*, 2.

¹⁶⁸ Sections of the 49-page book are devoted to folk costumes, folk culture, significant trees, animals of the Heimat, wild game and its cultivation, mile markers, and town histories and museums. Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ This basic idea which is argued in Applegate’s book *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) can also be found in the first half of her article: “The Question of Heimat in the Weimar Republic,” *New Formations* no. 17 (1992): 64-68.

and the present. Photographs of Heimat kept a visual record of an intact Heimat that was more accurate and powerful than any drawn or written description. The photographs of Heimat allowed society to move forward because it could always look back. Photography halted the speed of modernity for an instant and it put time into material form. The physicality of the photograph allowed for preservation and in this way it soothed the fear of loss. Whether or not activists were cognizant of photography's deeper implications is irrelevant. What matters more is their continued use of photography to preserve Heimat in a tangible form and that these photographs were considered to be a suitable substitute for that which could not be preserved in actuality.

Kuhfahl's *Heimatphotographie* mostly offers practical advice. By schooling amateurs on the importance and technique of photographing one's homeland, Kuhfahl hopes that at the very least the most characteristic aspects of regions would be documented and made available to the public in collections or exhibitions.¹⁷⁰ Preservation serves a highly didactic purpose and the ten photographic illustrations in the book correspond to this viewpoint. They are taken from a distance in which the subject is properly documented to preserve local specialties. For example, figure seven in the book is titled "Windmill on a dam in the Elbe marshlands" and it shows a windmill, centered, occupying the upper half of picture plane, while the dam and marshlands make up the lower-half (Fig. 17). The composition depicts only what is of value, the windmill and dam, and they appear prominently in the characteristic marshlands. Kuhfahl believes that the windmill has great historical value, which merits its photographic documentation, especially since its purposefulness is nearing an end.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Kuhfahl, *Heimatphotographie*, 47-48.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, 5-6.

Kuhfahl promotes a regional photography that is matter-of-fact, documentary, and preservationist, but throughout the text Kuhfahl also points out that homeland photographs can be artful. Kuhfahl believes they should possess a certain *Stimmung* [sentiment]. He does not give any guidelines on this advice nor does he attempt to place Heimat photography in the realm of fine arts.¹⁷² He simply acknowledges the aesthetic capabilities of good photography, which, as he explains, are advantageous when seeking to document local character and traditions.¹⁷³ Of his windmill he wrote that it was “a good painterly example and photography especially could render it in a manner that was full of atmosphere.”¹⁷⁴ Kuhfahl’s flattering description reveals his amateur taste and consideration of what is “painterly,” which never divulges too far from the realism of the photograph.

Kuhfahl’s book is instructive because it stresses the preservationist function of Heimat photography that characterized the early Heimat preservation movement. It also demonstrates how closely tied Heimat was to local and Germanic pride. Within a few years German photography journals began publishing articles on Heimat photography in the same vein. They likewise emphasized its pedagogic and preservationist function to serve the needs of a larger community. Heimat photographs could be employed for sports, tourism, weather, industry, and trade.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, Heimat photography should, in addition to personal use, provide useful material for the travel industry, historic preservation, and foreign tourism.¹⁷⁶ In 1927, the journal *Photofreund* announced that Professor Fritz Limmer from Darmstadt had trained seven students over the course of four weeks in Heimat photography. The first goal was making locals

¹⁷² Kuhfahl even speaks of creating images that leave room for the imagination, see *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ “...ein recht malerisches Vorbild, das sich gerade mit photographischen Mitteln sehr gut in stimmungsvoller Weise verwenden läßt.” *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁷⁵ W. Trautmann, “Heimat – Photographie” *Photofreund* 7, no. 4 (1928): 60-62.

¹⁷⁶ Kurt Raphael “Bildmäßige Photographie – Heimatphotographie” *Photofreund* 7, no. 23 (1927): 434.

conscious of their land and the second was providing photographic material for advertising, teaching and local art history.¹⁷⁷ Other photographers, such as the Berliner Curt Boenisch, addressed Heimat photography's critical relationship to nationalism. He complained of foreign influence in photography and sought to remedy this by calling for more photography lectures about German-speaking and German-feeling countries and specifically by supporting Heimat photography, even if it first meant producing postcard-like images.¹⁷⁸ While it is unclear to which foreign influences Boenisch was referring exactly, his comment points to the long-standing pervasive interest in fostering a specifically German art and culture.¹⁷⁹ Heimat photography advocates took the correlation Kuhfahl established between recording important aspects of local culture and putting them to use for national interests and enthusiastically expanded upon them. They increased the number of possibilities for using Heimat photography.

The broad understanding of Heimat photography and its application led to several problems. Although all could agree on Heimat photography's practical preservationist function, the difficulty inherent within the photography of Heimat became apparent right away. Heimat is not just an extant physical place, but also an embellished idea of that place. Heimat photography represents Heimat through the depiction of something physical, whether a place, object, or person, but it must also somehow convey the idea of Heimat. Yet, the idea of Heimat varies and it must solicit emotional associations that are often more personal than typical. In depicting typicalities that were not too general but specific enough to pertain to a specific locale, Heimat

¹⁷⁷ Fritz Limmer, "Die Photographie im Dienste der Heimatkunde, Heimatwerbung und Heimatforschung," *Photofreund* 7, no. 13 (1927): 233-36.

¹⁷⁸ "Demgegenüber sollte man zunächst die Heimatphotographie pflegen, selbst auf die Gefahr hin, zunächst ‚Ansichtskartenbilder‘ zu machen." Curt Boenisch, "Mehr Heimatkunst in unserer Lichtbildnerei," *Photofreund* 6, no. 12 (1926): 218-19.

¹⁷⁹ Boenisch's comment is reminiscent of a widespread campaign a decade earlier that was against any foreign (and particularly French) influences in German art and culture. In art, this was most notably declared in Carl Vinnen's collection of essays titled *A Protest of German Artists* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1911).

photographers had to achieve a delicate balance between the larger Germanic Heimat and local Heimat. This was not an easy task.

Throughout the late 1920s, articles intermittently published in the German photography journals *Photofreund* and *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* chronicle the extended debate on what exactly should and should not be considered Heimat photography. Berlin photographer Kurt Raphael, for example, argued that a photograph of the woods was not specific enough; a Heimat photograph needed to depict the specialty of a choice location, like an old monument or folk costume. Nevertheless, Heimat photography also had to stay away from the evil, kitschy, and shallow style of postcards.¹⁸⁰ For Raphael, appearance and visual form was just as important as originality. In contrast, Artur Ranft believed that Heimat photography should express something about the physical atmosphere, which would thereby produce associations of Heimat.¹⁸¹ Ranft also believed Heimat photography should first and foremost include people. Indeed, he argued that, because Heimat photographs also function as reminders, every mom should have one!¹⁸² For Ranft, any associations with Heimat were dependent on the people in the photography, but for other photographers the subject matter of the Heimat photograph became of secondary importance; instead, the most important consideration was that the photograph reflect the ‘spirit’ and ‘soul’ of the Heimat.¹⁸³ Yet who could say with certainty how this was to be achieved? Elisabeth Banski believed that in order to do this the photographer had to know and have an intimate relationship with the Heimat portrayed. Yet here again, what determined this

¹⁸⁰ “Typisch sind die alte Baulichkeiten, die nur noch in diesem Ort vorkommen, ... nicht der üble Postkartenstil. Nicht die übliche kitschige, inhaltslose Ansicht. Die Gesamtaufnahme muß Inhalt haben, muß sachlich sein.” Raphael “Bildmäßige Photographie – Heimatphotographie,” 435; Alfred Peltz also warned amateurs to stay away from “postcard clichés,” see “Wege zur Heimatphotographie,” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 68, no. 4 (1931): 72.

¹⁸¹ Artur Ranft, “Einiges über die Heimatphotographie” *Photofreund* 4, no. 7 (1924): 137.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, 138.

¹⁸³ Heinrich Ditmar, “Stimmung und Charakter in der Heimat-Photographie,” *Der Satrap* 4, no. 6 (1928): 125-28.

was highly subjective.¹⁸⁴ Regensburger amateur photographer Hans Seidlmayer recognized this problem. He explained that, for a photographer to be able to see was one thing, but it is much more difficult to create true Heimat photographs; that is, photographs taken from the heart and with genuine interest and feeling.¹⁸⁵ These points of view necessarily required photographers to adopt a more subjective approach to photography but this was in direct conflict with the photograph's objective and preservationist function. Seidlmayer's photographs, which accompany his article, demonstrate the incompatibility of Heimat feeling and objective photography. His photographs simply followed in Kuhfahl's footsteps. The amateur's Heimat photograph was a simple and pleasant photograph that showed something typical and yet also distinctive from the Heimat (Fig. 18) One of his photographs depicts a woman leaning into a traditional outdoor brick oven where she bakes bread, while her three children are nearby. Her task is a part of a rural tradition that was being threatened by modern industrial machinery. The photograph preserves this traditional way of baking in visual form. The presence of children and the surrounding landscape show a familial Heimat. Depending on the viewer, both the task and setting can either educate or serve as reminders to conjure up similar personal memories for the viewer.

While the different understandings of Heimat photography do not seem to diverge that much – all agreed on its preservative function – they did cause much consternation. One reader wrote to *Photofreund*, complaining about the lack of consensus and requested that the *Verband Deutscher Amateurfotografen-Vereine (VDAV)* [Organization of German amateur photographer

¹⁸⁴ Elisabeth Banski, "Was heisst Heimatphotographie?" *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 70, no. 15 (1933): 287-88.

¹⁸⁵ Seidlmayer, "Lichtbildner und Heimatkunde," 359.

clubs] provide a clear definition.¹⁸⁶ Shortly thereafter, in 1928, Raphael replied by summarizing a longer definition of a Heimat photograph that had been agreed upon by the *VDAV*. They emphasized Heimat photography's preservationist function and defined it as a typical lifelike and objective photographic reproduction of landscape, architecture, a folkloristic item, or any other object that is a cultural monument.¹⁸⁷ This definition does not take an emotional understanding into consideration. It only makes Heimat photography an objective thing, which of course leaves a lot of room for interpretation. As can be imagined, the term remained vague and what exactly belonged to this category continued to be disputed in the coming years. By 1929, one author was lamenting this abasement of Heimat photography, which he explained had been used to categorize the leftovers of what was not artistically successful.¹⁸⁸ Indeed it seems that the understanding of what could be called Heimat had no boundaries, so long as its primary purpose was to document the Heimat – whatever that may be – and its artistry was only cursory. Due to its all-encompassing character, most any landscape, town view or portrait could be called Heimat photography.

While the debate on what Heimat photography was and how it should appear was never conclusive, it did affect the photography of the period since it raised the issue of what Heimat was. This debate attracted considerable awareness. The German journals' *Photofreund* and *Photographische Rundschau* devoted regular columns to Heimat photography topics, such as botanical subjects, housing settlements, snowscapes, and folk art.¹⁸⁹ Heimat photography was

¹⁸⁶ Amateurphotographenkclub Selb E.V., Selb i. Bay, "Heimatphotographie – Bildmäßige Photographie," Meinungsaustausch, *Photofreund* 7, no. 5 (1928): 85. The *VDAV* was founded in 1908.

¹⁸⁷ "Eine Heimataufnahme ist eine typische naturgetreue, sachliche Lichtbild-Wiedergabe von landschaftlichen, architektonischen, volkskundlichen oder sonstigen Kulturdenkmälern." Kurt Raphael, "Das Thema: Heimatphotographie" *Photofreund* 8, no. 15 (1928): 279-80.

¹⁸⁸ Hans Kammerer, "Der Begriff 'Heimatphotographie'" *Photofreund* 9, no. 9 (1929): 170-71.

¹⁸⁹ *Photofreund* begins its bimonthly column in 1933, whereas *Photographische Rundschau* begins to have an article on Heimat photography at least once per year starting in 1932.

also being featured as a separate category in exhibitions. The amateur club of Brandenburg was the first to set up such a category in their spring exhibition of 1926.¹⁹⁰ Other regional exhibitions followed suit and amateur photographers turned more and more to including Heimat themes in their portfolios.

AUSTRIA AND ARTISTIC HEIMAT PHOTOGRAPHY

In Austria, the development of Heimat photography was a little different. Although Austrians read the German journals and were certainly aware of Heimat photography, they did not actively participate in its discussion. Overall, there was little interest in it during the 1920s. One reason for this may have been the lack of a feeling for an Austrian Heimat. This does not mean that in order for there to be Heimat photography there has to be feelings of nationalism. However, in order to create a widespread and organized Heimat photography genre, there has to be consensus as to what Heimat is and a willingness to participate in photographing it. In contrast to Germany, Austrian states in the 1920s were largely provincial and even more disparate. The country as a whole, furthermore, was far less industrial than Germany and this reduced the urgency of large-scale Heimat preservation.¹⁹¹ This is not to say that the Austrians were not interested in Heimat preservation – they certainly were and there were many Heimat clubs – but they focused on regional customs and less consensus amongst Heimat groups existed. At this time, protecting the national Heimat of a country that was just formed, mostly agrarian and still highly unstable was, despite the efforts of Heimat activists, not a major issue.

¹⁹⁰ Paul Grobleben, "Warum Heimatphotographie," *Photofreund* 13, no. 10 (1933): 191.

¹⁹¹ Austria never experienced the same kind of rampant industrialization that spread throughout Germany. This is in part because during the Dual Monarchy industry was spread throughout the Habsburg lands and after the First World War, Austria was only left with a small portion of it.

In 1925 Heimat supporter Wilhelm Gärtner picked up on the problems that German Heimat photographers failed to recognize, namely that all too often, the literal meaning of the word Heimat is confused with its abstract and meaningful sense.¹⁹² As he wrote about the lack of clarity in the Austrian Heimat movement, he complained that it is assigned too many tasks.¹⁹³ Agreeing with the position of Karl Giannoni, a prominent Heimat activist, Gärtner believed that the issue should not only be about the conservation or preservation of Heimat but also about creating and developing Heimat.¹⁹⁴ Both Gärtner and Giannoni thought of Heimat as a larger concept, one that incorporated connections among aesthetic, social, and economic life. However their call to create Heimat was an idea that would not take hold until the mid-1930s, when the government recognized the need for it and actively promoted and created an Austrian Heimat. During the 1920s, it remained very much an idea. Furthermore, Austrians had not yet mobilized to the point where they could take advantage of the usefulness of photography for such large-scale cultural work.

In the 1920s most amateur Austrian photographers tended to produce Pictorialist, or secessionist, photographs, which were made to look painterly and artistic. The subjects of Pictorialist photographs were like those of traditional fine art paintings--portraits, landscapes, and still lifes. The prints were usually made of gum or bromoil, which allowed for textured surfaces that were also rich in tonal gradations.¹⁹⁵ Pictorialist photographers could control these surfaces as they wished. Creating a hazy textured surface demonstrated the artistic skill of the photographer and validated it as a work of art. Pictorialism had been popularized in Austria at

¹⁹² Wilhelm Gärtner, "Problematik und Zukunftswege der Volksbildungsarbeit," *Volksbildung* 5, no. 1 (1925): 37.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ "...daß es sich nicht nur darum handelt, Heimat zu bewahren und zu erhalten, sondern darum Heimat zu **schaffen**." Ibid., 38.

¹⁹⁵ For a good introductory explanation to these photographic processes, see Sarah Kennel, *In the Darkroom: An Illustrated Guide to Photographic Processes before the Digital Age*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2009).

the beginning of the twentieth century by Hugo Henneberg, Hans Watzek, and Heinrich Kühn.¹⁹⁶ These artists “seceded” from a technical approach to photography and formed their own artistic photography group named *Das Kleeblatt* (Fig. 19). The luscious prints and pleasant subjects were attractive and easily likeable and their aesthetic style remained common and popular throughout the twenties. Rudolf Junk, the headmaster of the Graphic Teaching and Research Institute in Vienna (the only state school in Austria where photography was taught) favored Pictorialist photography.¹⁹⁷ His commitment to it prevented the kind of experimentation that was encouraged at the Bauhaus and other German photo schools.¹⁹⁸ As a result there was not much diversity in Austrian photography.

The development of a recognized Heimat photography movement in Austria may have been slowed by this preference for artistic images and a general conservative tendency to maintain the status quo. Pictorialist photographs, furthermore, were not at all compatible with the objective approach and preservationist goal of Heimat photography. Artistically changed photographs were simply not reliable records of culture.

Rudolf Koppitz, one of the most successful Austrian Heimat photographers, began as a prominent Pictorialist photographer. In 1929, his photograph *Bewegungsstudie* [Movement Study] from 1926 appeared on the cover of the March issue of *Photo Sport*, an Austrian monthly for amateur photographers (Fig. 20). The photograph depicts a nude female modern dancer who dramatically throws her head back, while gracefully arching her back and standing on demi-

¹⁹⁶ Monika Faber and Astrid Mahler. *Heinrich Kuhn: The Perfect Photograph* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2010).

¹⁹⁷ When the Graphic Institute was founded in 1888, it was named the *K. K. Lehr und Versuchsanstalt für Photographie und Reproduktionsverfahren* (The Royal and Imperial Teaching and Research Institute for Photography and Print Techniques). Even after the name was changed in 1897, photography retained its principle role at the institute.

¹⁹⁸ For more on the conservative program of the school and Junk, see Astrid Lechner, “Fine Arts Photography at the Graphische Lehr- und Versuchsanstalt in Vienna 1888-1955,” in *The Eye and the Camera: The Albertina Collection of Photographs*, ed. Monika Faber and Klaus Albrecht Schröder, (Paris: Seuil, 2003), 178-80.

pointe. Behind her, three darkly clad women move forward in a mournful procession. This particular photograph was much reproduced and beloved and in 1928 Koppitz requested three hundred Austrian Schillings for a gum print of it.¹⁹⁹ This exorbitant sum attests to Koppitz's fame. As a comparison, most bromoil transfer prints exhibited by prominent photographers ranged from twenty-five to forty Schillings without the frame.²⁰⁰ Throughout the 1920s, Koppitz had been producing portraits and similar photographs depicting dancers and nudes. His work won numerous prizes, appeared in exhibitions in Vienna and abroad, and was found in international photography journals and magazines.²⁰¹

In 1930, the annual photography exhibition hosted by the *Verband Österreichischer Amateurphotographen Vereine* (VÖAV) [League of Austrian amateur photography clubs] honored the work of Rudolf Koppitz, along with Frantisek Drtikol and Willy Riethof. Their work was showcased in a special exhibition, separate from the amateur entries. The purpose of the exhibition was to show how artistic photography continued to advance while staying true to its Pictorialist past.²⁰² Koppitz's exhibited photographs were shown in this vein. Comprising a retrospective of his Pictorialist work, they demonstrate mastery in gum, bromoil, and pigment printing. The high stature of Koppitz can again be seen in the prices of his photographs, which were, in contrast to the others exhibited, only available on request.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ Faber, "'Land und Leute' (1930-1936)," 106.

²⁰⁰ These are prices listed in the exhibition catalog: *Erste internationale kunstphotographische Ausstellung Wien*. Vienna: Verband Österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine, 1929.

²⁰¹ Timm Starl's online "Biobibliografie zur Fotografie in Österreich" is an excellent biographical database citing, among other things, Austrian photographers' reproduced work in many primary and secondary sources. The database, however, is still a work in progress and does not contain all of the illustrated journals produced during the time. See <http://fotobiobibliografie.albertina.at/d/fotobibl/einstieg.html>

²⁰² *III. Ausstellung des Verbandes österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine* (Vienna: Kunstgemeinschaft, 1930), 5.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

Despite his skill and success with Pictorialist photography or perhaps because of the attainment of such expertise, Koppitz decided to change his style. Around 1930 he began returning to a theme that had interested him earlier in his career: the alpine and local peasant populations of the former Austrian lands. He began making introspective portraits of villagers as he documented their way of life – from their family-shared meals to their traditional religious processions (Figs. 21-22). Throughout coming years, Koppitz turned more and more to the countryside to photograph and his work became almost exclusively focused on the land and its people.

At first, and in a manner similar to his earlier photographs, Koppitz used a Pictorialist aesthetic to depict Heimat subjects. The photograph *'S Schwesterl* [Little sister], for example, is a softly focused carbon print featuring a newborn sister (Fig. 23). In it, the older sister gazes down upon her baby sister in a wooden cradle, which is painted with decorative leaves and a star. The focus is on the eldest sister and her caring expression is clearly seen in contrast to her slightly blurry younger brother who quietly sits in the background. This combination of a Pictorialist print with a Heimat theme, however, did not last long. Around 1930 he also began to make more gelatin silver and bromide prints.²⁰⁴ They were more straightforward than carbon prints and could not be manipulated in the same way that gum or pigment prints could.

Koppitz's new choice of technique and style resembled that of New Vision photography, which used also glossy paper and sharp focus. On one hand, it is somewhat astonishing that Koppitz would choose to switch to this contemporary technique given his success with Pictorialist imagery which, even though it was anything but new, was still widely practiced and enjoyed popularity amongst amateurs and professionals. In addition, Koppitz, aged 46 at the

²⁰⁴ Monika Faber, "'Land und Leute' (1930-1936)," 111.

time, was not interested in cutting edge photography and although he was in-tune with modern dance movements and nude body culture, these interests never made him avant-garde. On the other hand, Koppitz's switch makes sense considering the presence and widespread success of New Vision photography at the end of the 1920s. Its focused clean prints began appearing in photo journals, magazines, and exhibitions and it dominated the landmark exhibition *Film and Foto*, which traveled in an altered form to the Museum for Art and Industry in Vienna in 1930. Koppitz's superior at the Institute, Rudolf Junk, reviewed the Vienna installation of the exhibition, recommending that *Film and Foto* be seen, even though he did not favor its avant-garde imagery.²⁰⁵ Such a widely publicized exhibition, one that attracted Junk's attention, would not have escaped Koppitz's notice. His photographs of branches in the snow made around 1930 resemble those of Albert Renger-Patzsch and others, suggesting that Koppitz was more than aware of New Vision aesthetic (Fig. 24).

Koppitz's photographs of the land and its people are rightly considered Heimat photographs but Koppitz may not have originally thought of them in this way.²⁰⁶ After all, the Heimat as presented in Koppitz's photographs differs from the early German matter-of-fact and straight-forward portrayals that Kuhfahl and German photography journals advocated during the 1920s. Their documentary style professed a preservationist function and it eschewed an artistic sensibility. Koppitz's photographs of Heimat subjects do not put aside his artistic sense. His photograph *Little Sister* is an excellent example of a Pictorialist-influenced photograph of the Heimat. The subject matter clearly represents the Heimat. The wooden cradle is painted with a decorative folk pattern, the children are simply but nicely dressed, their demeanor is humble and

²⁰⁵ Rudolf Junk, "Film und Foto," *Photographische Korrespondenz* 65, no. 8 (1929): 229-33.

²⁰⁶ Monika Faber, Otto Hochreiter, and Peter Weiermair all consider Koppitz's photography as Austrian Heimat photography. There is at present no known evidence as to how Koppitz classified his Heimat photographs.

well-behaved, and they appear as a family caring for each other. The affectionate and charmed look of the eldest sister and the wide-eyed stare of the baby elicit compassion in the viewer and the same can be said of either the younger sister who stands patiently at the foot of the cradle or the brother who in his rumpled appearance sits further back. The tender subject is emotionally laden as it stirs up feelings of innocence, family, and home. This kind of positive image association of home is representative of how Heimat photographs should function ideally as emotional triggers. Their subject matter speaks to the viewer and invites associations with home. The photograph also appeared in *Österreichische Rundschau* in 1934 under the title *Uns ist ein Kind geboren* [Unto us a child is born].²⁰⁷

Koppitz did not continue to make Pictorialist prints in the 1930s; instead, his Heimat photographs were straightforward and presented a clean aesthetic. Although Koppitz no longer subscribed to the Pictorialist style, he did not lose his artistic sensibilities. His eye for composition and light made his Heimat photographs stand out (Fig. 25). In *Passeiertal, Osttirol* [Passeier Valley, East Tyrol] the formal play of light and dark tones seen in the light coming through the window, the bright white sleeves, the gray wooden beams and the dark background helps to balance the photograph. In addition, the poses of an elderly couple play off each other. Sitting next to the hearth, the man looks up at the viewer, while the woman, sitting perfectly straight, looks down as she reads her small book. In the only article he ever published, Koppitz describes the elevation of artistic photography, stating that the goal should be to reproduce unforced naturalism, liveliness of expression, what is characteristic in appearance and being, and to lend an overall artfulness to the depiction.²⁰⁸ While the Passeier Valley couple may have

²⁰⁷ *Österreichische Rundschau* no.7 (1934): n.p. (before 297).

²⁰⁸ “Nicht die gefällige... ist das angestrebte Ziel, sondern die ungezwungene Natürlichkeit, das Charakteristische in Erscheinung und Wesen, die Lebhaftigkeit des Ausdruckes und nicht zuletzt die Bildmäßigkeit der Darstellung.”

posed for Koppitz, they do not appear awkwardly positioned and their gestures seem ordinary. Furthermore, they are in their home and this adds to the photograph's naturalism. Koppitz was able to produce the kind of expressive and natural artistic photography which he professed.

Koppitz's belief as to what art photography should be has notable parallels with the concept of *Heimat*, which emphasizes a typical ideal based on reality. For Koppitz, a photograph should bring out the ideal and the characteristics of the portrayed subject and in this depiction, a naturalness and truth to the subject should exist. The photograph should contain personality and expression, and thereby it also produces emotions when viewed.²⁰⁹ In much the same way, *Heimat* photographs also aim to represent what is distinguishing and ideal, speaking to each individual with feeling. Although it is unlikely that Koppitz thought of this at the time, it is important to understand that the idea of *Heimat* went hand in hand with Koppitz's view of artistic photography. In the 1930s *Heimat* photography began to change and Koppitz helped it along with his newfound preference for *Heimat* themes.

Koppitz was not the only professor at the Graphic Institute who photographed the alpine lands.²¹⁰ His colleague Peter Paul Atzwanger also photographed the alpine peasant populations and their way of life. Atzwanger most likely rekindled Koppitz's interest in the subject, since he had been photographing his *Heimat*, the landscape of south, eastern and northern Tyrol, from an early stage in his photographic career.²¹¹ Atzwanger began as a student of sculpture but found that with photography he could better capture the impressions that the mountain world made on

Rudolf Koppitz, "Ein Beitrag zur Bildmäßigkeit in der Photographie" *Photographische Korrespondenz* 64, no. 3 (1928): 78.

²⁰⁹ Koppitz does not write about viewing photographs but he continually discusses the emotion and the expression from within that should appear in artistic photography, see *Ibid.*, 78-79.

²¹⁰ Faber makes this connection but does not explore it in depth, see Faber "'Land und Leute' (1930-1936)," 111.

²¹¹ Hochreiter and Weiermair, *Peter Paul Atzwanger*.

him.²¹² His earliest works were also Pictorialist. He went to art school and trained at Heinrich Kühn's school in Innsbruck, where he first became a teacher and then director of the school. During the First World War he fought on the Tyrolean front and afterward he was invited to study with the well-known Pictorialist art and portrait photographer Nicola Perscheid in Berlin. Atzwanger quickly became successful, exhibiting his soft-focus bromoil prints at the Tyrolean Museum and publishing them in photography journals such as *Das Deutsche Lichtbild* and *Photographische Rundschau* and in the Alpine club's magazine *Der Bergsteiger* (Fig. 26).²¹³ In 1928 Junk asked him to join the faculty at the Graphic Institute in Vienna.

Like Koppitz, Atzwanger too changed his style. Eight photographs published in the 1929 issue of *Photographische Korrespondenz* demonstrate his experimentation and modification of his style.²¹⁴ The photographs do not correspond to any particular article but were simply published as supplementary photographs in their own right.²¹⁵ *Die Schnitter, (Inntal)* [The mowers], demonstrates Atzwanger's knowledge of art and his use of the Pictorialist style.²¹⁶ A soft light haze is present and the scene is naturalist, showing laborers fore-grounded by a rugged mountain silhouette (Fig. 27). The mowers and their movements, together with the wind-blown wheat, create a harmonious rhythm. The aesthetic and subject matter are reminiscent of Peter Henry Emerson's nineteenth-century photographs of rural life in East Anglia and on the Norfolk Broads (Fig. 28). Emerson pioneered the Pictorialist aesthetic and Atzwanger and others at the Graphic Institute would have known of his photographic work. Atzwanger would have also

²¹² Peter Paul Atzwanger, "Die Lichtbildnerei als Kunst," *Der Bergsteiger* (May 1929): 354-56.

²¹³ For the exact issues, see Hochreiter and Weiermair, *Peter Paul Atzwanger*, 174; Timm Starl, "Biobibliografie zur Fotografie in Österreich," <http://fotobiobibliografie.albertina.at/d/fotobibl/einstieg.html>. Note that Atzwanger's work in *Bergsteiger* is not fully indexed in Starl's database.

²¹⁴ These include two portraits, two alpine landscapes, and a photograph of a nun. *Photographische Korrespondenz* 65, no. 1 (1929): n.p.

²¹⁵ This was common practice in journals at the time.

²¹⁶ This photograph has been dated as early as 1921, see Faber, "'Land und Leute' (1930-1936)," 107.

undoubtedly been familiar with Emerson's opinion on art photography, which in essence argued for a visual equivalent to Impressionism in photography, what he termed naturalism.²¹⁷ He advocated using differential and selective focus in photographing everyday life, but he had a particular affinity for photographing the disappearing and pastoral rural life. His photographically illustrated volumes have parallels with later Austrian Heimat photobooks which similarly portrayed peasant life, finding beauty in its simplicity. Like Emerson, Atzwanger was attracted to the rural landscape and believed firmly in the aesthetic potential of photography to capture its impressions.²¹⁸ *The Mowers* shows Atzwanger's transition because the sharp focus deviates from the softness found in Pictorialist works. Around 1929, Atzwanger also started using silver bromide for his prints and in addition, he put away his box camera and began using a Leica.²¹⁹ The practical small camera made his trips through the mountain landscape easier and he could also take more photographs. His other photographs included in the 1929 issue demonstrate that Atzwanger was keen on experimenting and moving away from traditional aestheticism. His photograph *Roßmarkt* [Horse fair] exhibits interest in a harsher modernist composition (Fig. 29). In the photograph, a pile of manure figures prominently and only the rears of the horses can be seen, which move back into space and give the photograph depth. With this photograph, Atzwanger too moves away from the Pictorialist aesthetic toward a more straightforward approach.

On the basis of Koppitz's and Atzwanger's transformation of their work, as well as that of other Austrian Heimat photographers, I argue that beginning in the 1930s, the conception and

²¹⁷ The library of the *Graphische* owned a copy of Emerson's book *Naturalistic Photography for Students of the Art*, first published in London in 1889. Emerson later changed his opinions on art photography. For more on Emerson, see Ellen Handy, *Pictorial Effect Naturalistic Vision: The Photographs and Theories of Henry Peach Robinson and Peter Henry Emerson* (Norfolk, VA: Chrysler Museum, 1994).

²¹⁸ Atzwanger, "Die Lichtbildnerei als Kunst." Cf. Emerson, *Naturalistic Photography for Students of the Art*.

²¹⁹ Hochreiter and Weiermair cite this change to the Leica as occurring in 1929.

appearance of Heimat photography began to change or rather, that a new kind of more consciously aesthetic but modern Heimat photography began to be developed in Austria. The traditional Pictorialist approach left its mark on the aesthetic sensibilities of amateur photographers who became interested in photographing their Heimat. As the amount of Heimat photography being produced increased, the quality of those photographs increased. Serious amateurs and professionals were constantly competing against each other in publications and exhibitions and the more interesting and appealing Heimat photographs had better chances of being published and exhibited.

The development of an artistic Heimat photography did not happen overnight, but rather was a gradual process, influenced heavily by the work of Koppitz and Atzwanger. The well-respected professors of photography were without a doubt partly responsible for the upsurge in Heimat photography. Having prestigious teaching positions, their influence was far-reaching and their work had high visibility. Atzwanger's photographs were published in diverse photography journals, cultural, and leisure magazines and the whole of Atzwanger's Heimat photographs profess a style that is candid but with a careful eye for composition and light.

Atzwanger's Heimat photographs portray almost exclusively the mountain landscape and its peasants during the warmer months. He concentrates on the landscape and the life of mountain farmers and peasants. He depicts them working in the fields, in their houses, socializing, at local celebrations, including religious festivities, and up close in portraits. His artistic sensibility, for example, is clearly seen in the almost-tenebristic lighting in his photograph of a family mealtime (Fig. 30). Atzwanger's Heimat photographs were also promoted. In 1933, *Bauernstube* [Peasant sitting room] was included in the section titled

“Heimat photography” in the annual *Das Österreichische Lichtbild* (Fig. 31).²²⁰ The photograph portrays tired peasants sitting next to a wood-burning stove. The documentary quality in these photographs emphasizes the weather-worn faces and modest living, making them poignant and interesting.

It was in this same year, 1933, that Austrian journals began publishing articles on Heimat photography and these essays were immediately different from their German predecessors. The first article appeared in February of 1933. Right away the prominent Austrian amateur photographer Hugo Haluschka coined the phrase *bildmäßige* [artistic] Heimat photography.²²¹ Previously, Heimat photography had been explicitly considered in opposition to *bildmäßige* photography because anything that was *bildmäßig* was basically Pictorialist.²²² Until Haluschka’s article no one really considered Heimat photography art; it was objective and meant for a practical use. Haluschka, however, did not see the opposition of these two terms and furthermore, he considered Heimat photography within the context of current photographic practices. His article began by addressing New Vision photography. He stated that despite the merits of teaching one how to see, New Vision photography only leads to monotony and an artistic dead end.²²³ The next step or advancement after New Vision photography, Haluschka believed, was an artistic Heimat photography.²²⁴ Here, there was no inertia but endless opportunities for developing landscapes, portraits, and still lifes (Fig. 32). The artistic photography, of which Haluschka spoke, is a modern development that learns its lessons of

²²⁰ *Das österreichische Lichtbild* was published by the organization of Austrian Amateur photographer clubs and it was most certainly modeled after the successful *Deutsche Lichtbild*, yet the annual only appeared in 1933.

²²¹ Haluschka was quite influential and for many years the president of the Graz Art Photography Club. For more, see Armgard Schiffer, *Grazer Kunstphotographien: Maximilian Karnitschnigg (1872-1940) - Hugo Haluschka (1880-1951)* (Graz: Landesmuseum Joanneum, 1981).

²²² Raphael “Bildmäßige Photographie – Heimatphotographie.” See also, Willy Warstat, “Sachlichkeit und Schönheit in der Heimatphotographie” *Photofreund* 12, no. 3 (1932): 45-49.

²²³ Hugo Haluschka, “Bildmäßige Heimatphotographie” *Photo- und Kinosport* (Feb. 1933): 24.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

seeing from New Vision and applies them to a multitude of subjects, each of which exudes much more meaning than orderly rolls of twine or stacks of nails.²²⁵ Haluschka did not think of Heimat photography as a conservative retreat to traditional subjects but as an exciting new task. He explained that he was not speaking of a boring photographic register of folk objects, but of Heimat photography with personality and emotion.²²⁶ Haluschka, in effect, separates early Heimat photography like that by Kuhfahl from a more expressive and artistic Heimat photography like that of Koppitz and Atzwanger. Towards the end of his article, Haluschka specifies the singularity of Austrian Heimat photography. He writes, “There is an Austrian photography and it is one that is richer, more romantic, more pictorial, and more personal than its international counterparts.”²²⁷ Not only does Haluschka separate Austrian Heimat photography by way of its artisticness but also through its Austrianess as well.

Starting in 1933, Heimat photography could also be seen in exhibitions such as those put on by the League of Austrian Amateur Photography Clubs. Yet again, the year 1933 is a starting point. For the first time in an Austrian exhibition, Heimat photography appeared alongside artistic photography and applied (technical) photography as a separate category and it made up nearly one-third of the photographs exhibited.²²⁸ A critic noted that strict boundaries between the three categories could not always be drawn and especially with Heimat photography, which, he lamented, was often misunderstood. Taking on a standpoint like that of Haluschka, the critic

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ “Es gibt eine österreichische Photographie, und sie ist anders als die fremde. Sie ist romantischer, bildhafter, inniger als die Internationale.” Ibid., 24.

²²⁸ There were 403 artistic, 178 Heimat and 36 applied photographs exhibited. “Ausstellung des Verbandes Österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine.” *Die Galerie*, no. 4 (June 1933): n.p.

encouraged the development of a Heimat photography that is artistic and guided by the formal principles of New Vision photography.²²⁹

Influenced subtly by New Vision aesthetic and the ease of the Leica, but remaining conservative and artistic, Austrian Heimat photography appeared as an aesthetic document. It moved away from record keeping and towards an emotional purpose, that of creating a Heimat which was not solely regional in meaning but national as well. I believe the shift towards portraying Heimat subjects in an artistic and ideal light increased the popularity of Heimat photography. Aesthetically-conscious Heimat images were most likely less thorough and exhaustive in their record keeping of local customs and appearances, but they were more interesting, visually pleasing, and spoke to a broader audience. The shift is significant because it allowed for these appealing Heimat images to be appropriated by political ideologies.

POLITICS, EXHIBITIONS, AND COMPETITIONS

While a more artistic approach to Heimat photography in Austria was burgeoning, German photography journals were continuing to publish a variety of articles on Heimat photography in which the *VDAV* guidelines were again modified and explained. The tedious and verbose debate continued and a watershed of articles on Heimat photography appeared, ranging from reiterative defining of the genre to providing tips on technical knowhow and rudimentary artistic advice.²³⁰ In regards to artistic Heimat photography, the view also remained as it had previously been; namely, an aside that stated an artistic Heimat photograph is desirable as long

²²⁹ “Die Anwendung der Erkenntnisse, die wir der vielgeschmähten neuen Sachlichkeit verdanken, auf die Heimatphotographie, könnte uns aber Bilder vermitteln, die eine neue, bisher nicht gesehene, oder zumindest unbeachtet gebliebene Schönheit der Heimat offenbaren können.” Ibid.

²³⁰ In 1933, the *VDAV* published a new definition and guidelines for Heimat photography, see “Richtlinien des *VDAV* für photographische Arbeiten,” *Photofreund* 13, no. 11 (1933): 207.

as it does not interfere with any of the leading principles.²³¹ What is immediately striking in the German articles from 1933 onward is a pronounced nationalist tone, which differs from nationalist sentiments expressed by early Heimat activists. The nationalism of the 1930s employs the language of the National Socialist ideology. Berlin photographer Paul Grobleben, for example, wrote that in photographing the Heimat, a Heimat photographer develops a love for the Heimat, and not only for his *Scholle* [soil] but through it for his greater German Heimat.²³² Similarly, a further article by amateur photographer Arnold Petersen states that the cultural role of Heimat photography is to compel immersion in the Heimat and through this process, a sense of pride and love for the Fatherland will develop.²³³ The last sentence is a command, “German Heimat photographers: your work is a service to the People and the Fatherland.”²³⁴ These statements demonstrate the degree to which National Socialist politics immediately began infiltrating all aspects of culture. Many of the Heimat sentiments had been there all along, yet the change in power encouraged their outlet in all venues, including photography journals. In these instances, the idea of preserving and appreciating local specialties was seen as a way to show one’s appreciation for the whole of Germany and contribute actively to its betterment. Such rhetoric dominated future articles as it increasingly dovetailed with National Socialist propaganda.²³⁵

²³¹ Arnold Petersen, “Heimatphotographie: eine Kulturaufgabe,” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 70, no. 10 (1933): 190-91.

²³² “Er [der Heimatphotograph] vertieft sich in heimatliches Geschehen und es wächst in ihm die Liebe zur Heimat, nicht nur zur engen Scholle, sondern darüber zur großen deutschen Heimat.” Grobleben, “Warum Heimatphotographie,” 192. Grobleben’s use of the word *Scholle* is particularly poignant as the term was associated with the blood and soil doctrine of National Socialists.

²³³ “Heimatphotographie zwingt zum Vertiefen in das, was ein Volk im Laufe der Jahrhunderte geleistet hat. Aus diesem Vertiefen wachsen ganz von selbst Heimatstolz und Vaterlandsliebe.” Petersen, “Heimatphotographie,” 191.

²³⁴ “Deutscher Heimatphotograph, Deine Arbeit ist Dienst am Volk und Vaterland.” Ibid.

²³⁵ Despite the vast amount of secondary literature on everything associated with Nazi Germany, there is almost nothing written on German Heimat photography. The only exceptions I know of are by Rolf Sachsse, see Sachsse, *Die Erziehung zum Wegsehen*, 135-137 and Sachsse, “Heimat als Reiseland,” 129-50.

Curiously, though, not all Heimat photography articles featured accompanying illustrations, and those which did do not always seem to best illustrate the proclaimed intent. Petersen's article includes four of his own photographs depicting an old house in Heilbronn, a peasant kitchen, peasants in Nördlingen, and the grain entrepot harbor in Duisburg (Fig. 33). Petersen's photographs have a deadpan documentary quality to them and because of this, it is difficult to see how they would have encouraged sentiment and made one proud of the Fatherland. Petersen, however, indicates that it is the process of photographing that incites this love and pride. The Heimat photography movement within amateur circles was just as equally about the process of discovery through the act of photographing the Heimat as it was about the finished product. The amateurs were encouraging photographers to have first-hand knowledge of the Heimat through their personal experiences of it.²³⁶

When Heimat photography develops in Austria, it too acquires political significance but of a different sort. The year 1933 not only marks a start within Heimat photography, but also within the political climate of Austria. It was no coincidence that when Heimat photography in Austria was gaining prominence the seeds for the new government were being planted. Only in 1934, after the founding of the *Ständestaat*, did the Austrian amateur photography journal *der Lichtbildner* begin with regularity to feature columns devoted to different Heimat photography topics.²³⁷ Photographer Felix Göhlert assigned Heimat photography an idealist purpose as he proclaimed it opened one's eyes to the world around one, arguing that its greatest gift was its

²³⁶ In this way, the amateur Heimat photography movement can be compared to the earlier worker photography movement in Germany that published the magazine *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf*. For more on worker photography, see Leah Ollman, *Camera as Weapon: Worker Photography between the Wars* (San Diego: Museum of Photographic Arts, 1991).

²³⁷ *Der Lichtbildner* started to have its Heimat photography column in 1934, but it only began appearing in almost every issue starting in 1935.

rejuvenation of the soul.²³⁸ Unlike the nationalism of German Heimat photography, which immediately attained a *völkisch* [racial and nativist] connotation in 1933, Austrian Heimat photography did not at first become tied to an ideological program. This is in part because in the founding year of the Austrian *Ständestaat* the exact political program was still being worked out. Most pressing in 1933 was the state of the economy and Heimat photography helped to combat depression by bolstering tourism. Austrian Heimat photography thus became *Austrian* in part to advertise the country as a vacation spot for Austrians and attract well-off foreign tourists. In 1935, L. Rosenberg from the bureau of Austrian tourism contributed to *Der Lichtbildner*, and wrote that successful Heimat images for tourism are the ones that use new compositions and creative ways of viewing to present what is characteristic of the Heimat.²³⁹ So that photographers could increase their knowledge of the Heimat, he recommended two books, one on German customs in Austria and the other on alpine folk costumes.²⁴⁰ To drive his point home, Rosenberg illustrated his article with exemplary Heimat photographs, two of which were by the editor of the journal Hans Hannau (1904-2001), who also worked for the government in public safety.²⁴¹ The first, *Fronleichnam in Hallstatt* [The Feast of Corpus Christi in Hallstatt] was deemed an excellent photograph because it depicts two elements of the Heimat at once: the traditional religious procession across the lake and the beautiful alpine landscape (Fig. 34). The second, *In Hinterstoder*, showed an up-close view of a narrow winding path through a village that provided

²³⁸ “Das ist das erste große Geschenk, das uns die Heimatphotographie bringt, eine neue, empfängliche, verjüngte Seele.” Felix Göhlert, “Zum Wesen der Heimatphotographie,” *Der Lichtbildner* (January 1934): 13.

²³⁹ L. Rosenberg, “Werbende Heimatbilder,” *Der Lichtbildner*, (June 1935): 168.

²⁴⁰ The books he recommended are: Viktor Geramb, *Deutsches Brauchtum in Österreich: Ein Buch zur Kenntnis und zur Pflege Guter Sitten und Bräuche* (Graz: Alpenland-Buchhandlung Südmark, 1924) and Arthur Haberlandt, *Die österreichischen Alpen* (Vienna: 1928).

²⁴¹ Hannau worked from 1929-34 as a Christian Social police commissioner in Vienna. Thereafter and until 1938, he worked in the ministry for public safety. For more on Hannau, see Anna Auer, *Übersee Flucht und Emigration: Österreichischer Fotografen 1920-1940 / Exodus from Austria: Emigration of Austrian Photographers 1920-1940* (Vienna: Kunsthalles Wien, 1997), 134-135.

a glimpse of the towering mountains on the horizon. Rosenberg praised this photograph for its ability to inspire hikers and show the sheer magnitude of the towering mountains.²⁴² Hannau's photographs are not deadpan documents; rather they are more seductive. While this is in part due to the landscape, it is also due to the more artistic Heimat photography that was circulating in Austria. The more attractive the imagery, the more likely it was to inspire travel. As an Austrian Heimat photographer, Hannau had to emphasize beauty over specific details of the Heimat. More than being a record of folk traditions, Heimat photography in Austria also had to inspire travel to and within Austria.

The League also put on international exhibitions every two years, for which Rudolf Koppitz served on the jury each time. The catalogue from 1934 exhibition, which opened on June 2, reflects the change in power in the Austrian government and its commitment to promoting Austrian Heimat photography. The preface explains that for this exhibition a special section for display of (Austrian) Heimat photography has been added. The government believed Heimat photography represented the state pictorially and, therefore, it was consciously put forward as an effective force of the state and especially in its promotion of tourism.²⁴³ The Ministry for Trade and Transportation even sponsored a prize for the best Heimat photograph.²⁴⁴ Although the exhibition was international and included photographs from North America, Africa, India, and Europe, Austrian works comprised about half of the exhibition and the Heimat photography section, which numbered 180 photographs, was solely devoted to Austria and only open to Austrian participation.²⁴⁵ The catalogue included a checklist of all the works exhibited

²⁴² Rosenberg, "Werbende Heimatbilder," 169.

²⁴³ *III. Internationale Photo-Ausstellung Wien Künstlerhaus* (Vienna: Verband Österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine, 1934), 3.

²⁴⁴ Ferdinand Kretschmer "Verbandsnachrichten: Preise für die III. Internationale Ausstellung" *Nachrichten des Verbandes österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine* 7, no. 4 (1934): 2.

²⁴⁵ Only four photographs were exhibited from Africa and there were 984 photographs in the exhibition, *Ibid.*

but it only reproduced a select few photographs (Fig. 35). Of the many Austrian photographs exhibited, several were silver bromide prints by Hannau: a small Tyrolean chapel, a woman from the Wachau region, and a scene of a trip to the market.²⁴⁶ Overall, the press favorably reviewed the exhibition and its artistic quality, yet the Heimat photography section was criticized.²⁴⁷ Austrian author and photographer Alexander Niklitschek (1892-1953) labeled the Indians as the true masters of “Heimat photography” as he complained that at best the Austrian folk costume portraits and landscape and town views could be thought of as tolerable postcards.²⁴⁸ Niklitschek believed the Heimat photography category only presented a great mess, in which pictures of reflections and children *without* national costumes were also included.²⁴⁹ For Niklitschek, the photographs lacked particulars that signaled they were characteristic of the Heimat.

Perhaps the most significant of exhibition of 1933 was “Österreichs Bundesländer im Lichtbilde” [Austria’s States in Photographs], which the *Fachverbände der Fotografengenossenschaften Österreichs* [Professional association of photography collectives in Austria] organized with support from the national and state departments of trade and commerce.²⁵⁰ The exhibition showcased photographs from each of the Austrian provinces and Vienna. Proclaimed to be in the service of tourism for the Heimat, the exhibition also sought to bring new recognition to the professional photographers who both discovered Austria with their cameras and brought it to the people by way of their photographs. The preface to the catalog

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 29

²⁴⁷ “Auszug aus den Pressestimmen über unsere III. Internationale Ausstellung,” *Nachrichten des Verbandes österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine* 7, no. 9 (1934): 6-7.

²⁴⁸ “Sehr gut dagegen sind die Indier, die wahre Meister der “Heimatfotografie” sind....Denn neben Trachtenbildern und recht vielen Vedouten, die höchstens erträglichen Ansichtskarten vorstellen, sieht man auch spielende Kinder **ohne** Nationaltracht, Wasserspiegelungen u. dgl.” Alexander Niklitschek, “III. Internationale Ausstellung veranstaltet vom Verb. Österr. Amateurphotographen-Vereine,” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 71, no. 13 (1934): 251-52.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ *Fotoausstellung: Österreichs Bundesländer im Lichtbilde* (Vienna: Fiba, 1933).

emphasized that photographers are important contributions to society-at-large.²⁵¹ Their educational job brings happiness to all. Most importantly, the professional photographer of the Heimat was an essential part of tourism and economic life.²⁵² In the catalog essay, Franz Hainzlmayr continued to emphasize the value of Heimat photographers as he underscored the importance of photography for Heimat art and Heimat preservation.²⁵³ He even went so far as to claim the importance of and to encourage postcards, which the earlier Heimat movement shunned. Hainzlmayr believed that good postcards contributed to preserving the singularity of places within the Heimat and in the making of them as a promising line of work.²⁵⁴ For Hainzlmayr, photography was the perfect medium for depicting the Heimat because it provided a comprehensive and real image of the Heimat.²⁵⁵

Koppitz served on the exhibition's committee with other photographers, including Arthur Benda, who along with Dora Kallmus established the well-known Studio d'Ora in Vienna in 1907.²⁵⁶ Koppitz's work was exhibited along with that of other photographers such as Adalbert Defner (1884-1969), Hans Sedlmayer (1896-1984), and Trude Fleischmann (1895–1990).²⁵⁷ Even in 1933 Heimat photography was already widespread. That the range of photographers exhibited included Trude Fleischmann, who was mostly known for her portraits of noted Viennese artists, dancers and intellectuals, but who also dabbled in Heimat photography, is

²⁵¹ Ibid., 5-6.

²⁵² Ibid., 6.

²⁵³ Franz Hainzlmayr, "Lichtbild und Heimatkunst," in *Fotoausstellung Oesterreichs Bundesländer im Lichtbilde*, (Vienna: Fiba, 1933), 19.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 22.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 23.

²⁵⁶ For more on Studio d'Ora, see Monika Faber, *Madame d'Ora, Wien-Paris: Vienna & Paris, 1907-1957: the photography of Dora Kallmus* (Poughkeepsie, NY: Vassar College Art Gallery, 1987).

²⁵⁷ The small exhibition catalog includes a map of the exhibition rooms as well as a list of all the participants and their photographs, see *Fotoausstellung Oesterreichs Bundesländer im Lichtbilde*.

significant.²⁵⁸ Heimat photography was open to all and almost every photographer participated in photographing their surroundings. Any landscape arguably could be shown in a context that made it Heimat photography. Whether or not photographers considered themselves Heimat photographers, many were actively participating in photographing the Heimat and conveying it to the people through exhibitions and publications. The same was true in Germany after 1933 since avant-garde and amateur photographers were under pressure to subscribe to the lucrative culture of National Socialism. For example, photographer Lotte Jacobi (1896-1990), who, like Fleischmann, is known for her studio portraits of celebrities, also made Heimat photographs (Fig. 36). Heimat photographs of the land, farmers, and the simple life were in demand and especially because they catered to the *völkisch* ideology.

Among the many Heimat photographs exhibited in “Austria’s States in Photographs” were photographs of the aerial cable cars above Bregenz, skiers plowing through fresh snow, girls dressed in their festive costumes (Fig. 37), a cloister, alpine cows on the meadow, and a view of the rooftops in Vienna. At the time, all of these motifs were considered Heimat photographs. Heimat was not just peasants plowing the land and in their homes. For Austria during the 1930s, and especially as the *Ständestaat* became more influential, the Heimat of Austria included a mixture of modern and traditional life. The historical age-old architecture and ornate folk costumes were just as much Heimat as were skiers and Viennese firemen. Maximilian Karnitschnigg’s review of the exhibition praised it, exclaiming that finally photographers have become serious about making propaganda for “our beautiful Heimat.”²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Anton Holzer and Frauke Kreutler, eds., *Trude Fleischmann: Der selbstbewusste Blick* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2011), 128-131, 136.

²⁵⁹ Maximilian Karnitschnigg, “Österreichs Bundesländer im Lichtbilde,” *Photo- und Kinosport* (July 1933): 128.

Another important event in 1933 for the promotion of Austrian Heimat photography was the “Das ist Österreich” [This is Austria] photography competition which the German photographic film company Perutz advertised and hosted. It invited any photographer to submit at least six photographs on Perutz negatives that showed something typically Austrian, and offered a cross-section of the Austrian character.²⁶⁰ Austrian Heimat photographer Rudolf Roßmanith showed his support for the competition and recommended that amateurs think about photographing folk customs, costumes, and typical houses.²⁶¹ For guidance, he suggested they look at the work of Atzwanger and Koppitz.²⁶²

Photography journals and other magazines advertised the competition using a poster designed by Wiener Werkstätte graphics professor Bertold Löffler. The image defined Austria. It presented Austria as it should be represented through tradition, history, and religion. It featured a woman dressed in an Ausseer folk costume holding up and supporting cut-out of Austria colored in bands of red, white, and red (Fig. 38). The title of the competition, “This is Austria!” appeared within the white stripe. The color scheme of the country referenced the traditional colors that the Babenbergs and then the Habsburgs had used in variant forms since the thirteenth century. The woman, who presents and supports the country, shows how the country is delineated. The small shield with a white cross is placed in the geographic location of Vienna, the center of the nation. The cross references the country’s Christianity and more specifically, its bond with Catholicism. Behind the woman is an oak tree branch. The oak was seen as a teutonic symbol, associated with

²⁶⁰ “‘Das ist Österreich!’” *Nachrichten des Verbandes österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine* 6, no. 7 (1933): 7-8.

²⁶¹ Rudolf Roßmanith, “Gedanken um den Perutz-Photowettbewerb ‘Das ist Österreich,’” *Der Lichtbildner*, (August 1933): 128-29.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 129.

folklore, nationalism and military virtue.²⁶³ The tree, furthermore, suggested natural roots and security, both of which were crucial contributions to validating the creation of a new nation. Löffler's representation of Austria brought together themes that the *Ständestaat* would pick up on and promulgate: a historically-rooted Christian country that upheld tradition.

It is interesting that a German company organized the competition and this fact did not escape notice. Although Austria and Germany shared many similarities, feelings of nationalism were strengthening in both countries. Haluschka commented that it was a shame that a non-Austrian firm put on this competition.²⁶⁴ Nonetheless, the competition was deemed a success and following the amateur photographers Alfred Lauzensky and Karl Blaschek, Koppitz placed third.²⁶⁵

In the later years of the *Ständestaat* exhibitions and competitions continued to emphasize Heimat photography and its importance for the well-being of the cultural state. The sixth *Österreichische Lichtbilder-Ausstellung* [Austrian photography exhibition] in Vienna in 1935 presented photography as “a higher cultural good” and exhibited 179 Heimat photographs.²⁶⁶ In reviewing the exhibition for *Photo- und Kinosport*, Paul Henning exclaimed positively that just wandering through the exhibition would make one proud that culture is so highly valued, fostered and maintained.²⁶⁷ In regards to Heimat photography he commented that “this particular section should be sent abroad for one can hardly imagine better publicity for our Heimat and for

²⁶³ Eric Hobsbawm, “Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914” in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. 1983 (Reprint, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 275.

²⁶⁴ “Das ist Österreich Photo-Wettbewerb,” *Photo- und Kinosport* (June 1933): 107.

²⁶⁵ “Der Perutz-Photowettbewerb ‘Das ist Österreich!’” *Der Bergsteiger* (July 1934): 198-199; “Der Perutz-Photowettbewerb ‘Das ist Österreich!’” *Nachrichten des Verbandes österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine* 7, no. 8 (1934): 7. Neither article mentions the titles of the winning photographs.

²⁶⁶ [Paul] Henning, “Die 6. österreichische Lichtbilderausstellung in Wien,” *Photo- und Kinosport* (July 1935): 125.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 126.

the tourist industry.”²⁶⁸ The fourth international exhibition of the League in 1936 exhibited 132 Heimat photographs that were judged according to their value as a means to access the Fatherland artistically, support Heimat-oriented thinking, and promote tourism in the individual states and in Austria as a whole.²⁶⁹ The catalog cited the same reasons for supporting Heimat photography; namely, to present the beauty of Austria, stimulate interest, and awaken the urge to travel in it.²⁷⁰ The reviews of these exhibitions were almost always laudatory and continually reflected the interests of the *Ständestaat* and its promotion of the Heimat.

PICTURES FROM AUSTRIA

Sometime before 1938, Rudolf Junk of the Graphic Institute began planning an anniversary publication dedicated to Austria. The festschrift *Bilder aus Österreich* [Pictures from Austria] celebrated the 25th anniversary of the state institution. It was published for the patrons and friends of the Institute to show them everything the school did in the realm of graphic arts and photography. The irony of the publication, which celebrated the arts and culture of Austria more than it did the Graphic Institute, is that it came out after the annexation to Germany. Its contents, which were Heimat-oriented, nonetheless revealed how Junk and others felt about Austria and its German culture and the publication as a whole epitomized the ambitious ambivalence that characterized the *Ständestaat*.²⁷¹

The festschrift *Bilder aus Österreich* was most likely printed in 1937, but it appeared only after the annexation. Surprisingly, the publication retained its exclusive focus on Austria

²⁶⁸ “Diesen Teil der Ausstellung sollte man, so wie er ist, ins Ausland schicken, man kann sich keine bessere Werbung für unsere Heimat und für den Fremdenverkehr vorstellen.” Ibid.

²⁶⁹ “IV. Internationale Photo-Ausstellung in Wien,” *Nachrichten des Verbandes österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine* 9, no. 6 (1936): 2.

²⁷⁰ *IV. Internationale Photo Ausstellung Wien* (Vienna: Verband Österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine, 1936), 3.

²⁷¹ Rudolf Junk, *Bilder aus Österreich*.

and was not altered to mention Austria as a part of the Third Reich. The oversized and heavy folio included a lengthy essay by Junk and 137 illustrated pages, each containing a full-page and high-quality reproduction of an Austrian work of art, poem, photograph, or musical score. Created to present the richness of Austrian culture, which included and extended beyond Vienna, the festschrift celebrated the state and its institution. In his introduction, Junk defined Austria not by its geography, but by its intellectual goods that needed to be recognized.²⁷² He sought to clarify the Austrian intellectual and spiritual character by recounting a cultural history of Austria. Junk chose to leave out a discussion of present because he claimed that it was “loud enough.”²⁷³ Omitting any discussion of the present was convenient characteristic of the period. The *Ständestaat* continually focused anachronistically on Austria’s history and did not allude to recent history. More problematic political and military events like World War One were either only briefly mentioned in a positive light such as a soldier’s heroism or they were ignored all together. Instead of publically analyzing the present day, the *Ständestaat* presented the public with positive events and developments. Contemporary artists and writers, for example, were showcased by way of their work that was conservative and almost always Heimat-related. Junk followed this path as he defined Austria through a selective history which discussed Austria’s geography, rulers, culture (artistic, literary, and musical), *Gemütlichkeit* [cosiness],²⁷⁴ and intellectual and academic excellence. Throughout the course of his narrative, Junk relied on ideological devices which were standard for the *Ständestaat* because they ideally functioned to instill Heimat pride. Besides creating a biased history and using the appropriate language to describe Austria as Heimat and Fatherland, Junk emphasized the idea of honorable self-sacrifice,

²⁷² Ibid., n.p. (p.2)

²⁷³ “Nur die vergangenen Tage aber sollen das Wort haben, die Gegenwart ist laut genug.” Ibid.

²⁷⁴ *Gemütlichkeit* is usually translated as cosiness but in addition to connote a relaxed non-hectic attitude, it also often suggests welcoming or social acceptance.

the willingness to die for the good of Austria.²⁷⁵ The idea of martyrdom may seem out of place since the book was a commemorative book about arts and culture; however, within the historical context, it was an idea that was all too present. Junk also described the bond with nature and the humble and good traits of the peasant population.

In his narrative, Junk addressed the problematic question of Austrian nationalism, which he believed, did not exist. He explained that Austria never had nationalism because it never arose from the people as it should and did in France. After the First World War, Junk elucidated, Austria saw itself as a German borderland and as an integrated part of a German Republic, even though the Allies refused to acknowledge this.²⁷⁶ In line with the *Ständestaat*'s ever-present emphasis on culture, Junk remarked that at least Austria's cultural history, which truly comes from the people, has not been left to the determination of foreign powers. For Junk, Austrian culture was the one thing which was truly Austrian and defined Austria. He continued his discussion by claiming that despite Austria's new borders, the Austrian people were not a nation; they belonged to the Germans, although the Austrians were somewhat more loveable and humble!²⁷⁷ Junk also asserted that the role of Austria in history is in the service of Germanness. Its former domination over other lands could be seen as a kind of colonization which spread the (culturally superior) German spirit and way of life to others.²⁷⁸ Junk considered the book not as a eulogy to Austria, but as a truthful picture. His concluding paragraphs were a plea to ensure the continuation of Austrians, necessary for the future. He believed that it was not enough to be

²⁷⁵ "Daran wieder stählt sich die Kraft, dem Vaterland zu helfen, erwächst der Mut, für sein Volk zu sterben. Volk und Vaterland warden damit zu machtvollen Faktoren, und unseres heißt Österreich." Ibid, n.p. (p.3)

²⁷⁶ "Deutschösterreich ist ein integrierender Bestandteil der Deutschen Republik. Aber nicht einmal im Namen wollten die Sieger das Bekenntnis Österreichs zum Deutschtum entgegennehmen." Ibid.

²⁷⁷ "Grundlegend für alle Kultur ist die geistige Veranlagung der Bevölkerung, das Volkstum. Das österreichische Volk ist keine Nation, es gehört zur deutschen, und zwar fast durchaus zum bairischen Stamme, ...schon an sich etwas liebenswürdiger ist als mancher andere....Sie äußert sich vielmehr als Bescheidenheit...." Ibid. (p.8)

²⁷⁸ "...daß in den vielen nichtdeutschen Gebieten des alten Österreich eine Art Kolonialreich des deutschen Geistes geschaffen wurde," Ibid. (p.9)

German: without the contribution of Austria the whole of German culture would be incomplete and inchoate.²⁷⁹

The artistic sampling in the book aimed to reveal the historical progression from the culture of the peasant, the crusader, and the citizen to the modern state. Indeed the images on the pages progress through these categories. At the start are photographs of peasants, folk traditions, religion, alpine scenery, and short texts which illustrate and support the spiritual meaning of the Austrian Heimat (Fig. 39). The poem “Heimat” by Max Mell (1882-1971) carried the message to be faithful to your Heimat for it would never desert you. Another, which is untitled and by Josef Weinheber (1892-1945) told of the peasants’ hard work, faithfulness, and satisfaction from a traditional lifestyle. While this spoke to a cultural Austria, the inclusion of Weinheber demonstrated a lack of earnestness in the political mission of the book and the Austrian argument of a distinct and superior culture. Weinheber was a member of the Nazi party from 1931 until 1933, when it was outlawed in Austria. In the 1930s he contributed to a number of Austrian magazines, including *Österreichische Rundschau* which was a *Ständestaat* publication and *Jedermann*, which described itself as an Austrian paper that stood on Catholic ground and heavily argued against the National Socialists.²⁸⁰ The passive and chameleon-like attitude of Weinheber is typical of many artists, authors, and photographers. Not only did they want to and were dependent on continuing their economic livelihood, but they were also content to conform to both political ideologies. In theory and in practice, the ideologies just barely opposed each other as neither diverged too far from the other. Both valued the same humble village beauty and hard-working peasant farmer.

²⁷⁹ “...so lassen wir uns auch nicht gnädig zugestehen, daß wir auch Deutsche sind... daß das Gesamtbild des deutschen Geisteslebens ohne den Beitrag unseres Landes unvollständig und unvollkommen wäre.” Ibid. (p.15)

²⁸⁰ Scheichl, ‘Literatur in Österreichischen Zeitschriften der dreißiger Jahre,’ 200-202.

Pictures from Austria includes works by many photographers but most prominent are Koppitz with fourteen, Atzwanger with nine, and Josef Daimer (1887-1971), who also taught at the Institute, with eight.²⁸¹ Most of their photographs appear in the beginning of the book and focus on depicting small Alpine peasants, their homes, and the landscape (Figs. 40-41). They are often published without lengthy captions, which suggests that they meant to be viewed as visible proof of Austrianness.

Photographic reproductions far outweigh any other graphic art contributions to the book and this is no accident. These “truthful” depictions of tangible objects lend reality to the abstract concept of Austrian. Each of the reproduced objects, whether a musical score by Beethoven or a medieval castle is a piece of Heimat and together the sum defines Austria. Later photographs and reproductions of art works illustrate the highlights of places within Austria such as the bells of Salzburg, the baroque monastery Melk, a letter by Schubert, the quaintness of the Danube-town Wachau, the *Ötscher* (the highest mountain in Lower Austria), and literary treasures found within the National Library (Fig. 42). Also included are photographs of seemingly mundane objects such as grapes on a vine and Christmas ornaments, but these objects are also an important part of Austria as they respectively stand for the wine production and the religious population. The ornaments, in addition, point to the tradition of arts and crafts in the country as they were designed by children in Josef Hoffmann’s art class. For the book, Junk chose the “highlights of Austria,” the monuments, towns, and significant part of the Heimat were commonly reproduced and discussed like in the *Ständestaat* magazine *Ruf der Heimat*, which published photographs of the Wachau and regional folk costumes and printed stories on the Nibelungen and heroic soldiers fighting for their Austrian Heimat.

²⁸¹ Daimer taught photochemistry, optics, and microphotography from 1923 to 1947.

The Austrian magazine *Photographische Korrespondenz* reviewed Junk's publication and described its purpose as presenting a lively image of Austria, practically an overview of Austria's cultural history through valuable graphic works.²⁸² The reviewer then stated that in this characterization of Austria, the great part of Austria's brilliance and complexity on the German spirit shone forth time and again.²⁸³ Although Junk spoke of Austria as if it were independent, he always emphasized its Germanic culture and claimed that Austria belonged to Germany. The stress on Austria's rightful place with Germany legitimized the publication. Furthermore, the publication was only produced in a limited edition and it was not available to the public in local bookstores. Only those who would have had a sincere interest in graphic art or the means to travel to Vienna, where the works reproduced in the publication were on display in an exhibition, would have come into contact with the contents of the publication.²⁸⁴ The volume was like the *Ständestaat* too unrealistic and ambitious for the time in which it was produced; but, it nevertheless remains an important part of the development of Austrian Heimat photography.

As I have explained, Heimat photography grew out of the German Heimat preservation movement. It depicted the strongly felt bond with the land and it similarly worked to preserve its cultural beauty. Due to this preservationist impetus, early Heimat photography was largely documentary. The motifs found within and the kinds of Heimat photographs deemed appropriate varied immensely, but despite this, their prevalence grew as they began to be found regularly in magazines, journals, and exhibitions. By the 1930s Heimat photography had started to gain

²⁸² "Bilder aus Österreich," *Photographische Korrespondenz* 74, no. 3 (1938): 62.

²⁸³ "...wobei immer wieder der gewaltige Anteil Österreichs an Glanz und Umfang des deutschen Geisteslebens aufscheint." Ibid.

²⁸⁴ The exhibition was held the Institute's building on Westbahnstrasse 25. For a description of the exhibition, which included life-size folk costume figures, see Ibid., 63.

artistic value in Austria as it became more aesthetically adventurous. This was largely due to the works of Koppitz, Atzwanger, and other trained art photographers that encouraged, by way of example, an artistic approach to photography. In breaking free from the aesthetic Pictorialist tradition, they differentiated the Austrian Heimat movement from its earlier documentary style. All this occurred while aesthetic Heimat imagery was increasingly being used in exhibitions and political contexts to promote national ideologies and tourism. This development Heimat propaganda culminated in Junk's anniversary tome which showcases the influential photography of Atzwanger and Koppitz. Although it exemplifies the paradoxes of the *Ständestaat*, the publication reminds us of the government's sheer ambition to promote an idealistic German Alpine Heimat through culture and artistic imagery.

“*Wir haben die **österreichische** Landschaft, die eben kein anderes Land besitzt, die Landschaft, die es nur bei uns gibt...*” [We have the **Austrian** landscape, which no other land has, the landscape that only exists here...] ²⁸⁵

CHAPTER THREE

Alpine Culture, Tourism and National Politics in the Austrian Heimat

If Heimat photographers preserved the Heimat by photographing what was already historical and had long been typical, then how could modernity fit within this traditional conception of Heimat? A photograph of a rock climber hanging on the vertical face of a cliff is not a traditional pastime and furthermore, it does not necessarily conjure a sense of longing for Austrian Heimat. A photograph of a peasant raking hay does depict a long-standing tradition of rural work, but does it really induce a sense of longing for the Heimat? In both examples, the answer lies within the viewer and the context. Both of the aforementioned subjects can indeed be classified as Heimat photographs. And during the 1930s, both appeared within contexts that made them representative of Austria, and specifically of the Alpine Heimat.

Heimat photography was a fundamental part of Alpine exploration, travel, and tourism. It brought the reality and majesty of the Alps to less adventurous and urban populations. Already, in 1904, the West train station in Vienna exhibited winter sport images to advertise the region. ²⁸⁶ Beginning in the mid-1920s, photographs became easier and more affordable to print in magazines and journals and, as a result, photography became ubiquitous in the illustrated magazines in Austria. The photographs, by nature of their abundance and repetition of similar motifs, effectively began advertising everything Austrian, including the Alpine Heimat. Stories

²⁸⁵ The sentence continues: “die Städte, die nur hier in Österreich zwischen den Bergen stehen mit der Natur verwachsen, so daß Berg und Stadt eins geworden sind, die Prunk und Hauptstädte der österreichischen Alpen.” “Ferien in Österreich” *Die Bühne* no.356 (July 1933): 23.

²⁸⁶ Hermann Czant, *Alpinismus: Massentouristik, Massenskilauf, Wintersport, Militär-alpinistik u. d. 9700 Kilometer Gebirgsfronten im Weltkrieg* (Berlin: Verl. für Kulturpolitik, 1926), 48.

and photographs of Heimat promoted all aspects of the Alpine landscape, while the popular genre of mountain films and cultural magazines encouraged adventurous travel and exploration. In addition to media advertising, a proliferation of photographic souvenirs and postcards contributed to the development of a widespread visual and popular Alpine culture focused on Heimat. In examining this explosion of Alpine culture, this chapter argues for an inclusive characterization of the Austrian Heimat and the photography of it, one that embraces both the modern world of mountain sports and the traditional land of peasants.

When the cultures surrounding Alpine sports (hiking, climbing, and skiing) converged with those of amateur photography, peasant life and tourism, they formed the modern but traditional Alpine Heimat that was desired by the *Ständestaat*. This chapter scrutinizes the different venues in which Heimat photographs appeared and explores how the *Ständestaat* used this burgeoning Alpine culture as an integral part of its plan to bolster its image, improve the economy, and further its ideological program of making Austria the champion of Western Christian culture.

ALPINISTS AND THE *BERGSTEIGER*

Heimat photography tapped into an Alpine tourist market that had been growing since the latter half of the nineteenth century when the British set the stage for furthering Alpine exploration beyond scientific investigation and romantic exaltation. Instead of letting nature dictate a way of life, the modern Alpine enthusiast understood, absorbed, and completely inhabited nature, taking pride in human physical strength. This embrace of the Alps was also grounded in a competitive and nationalist race to explore fully and conquer all of the perilous routes leading to the summits. In 1857 the British founded the first Alpine Club and this set off a

wave of similar actions in the Alpine countries.²⁸⁷ Five years later, the Tyrolean Franz Senn helped students and professors at the University of Vienna to found the *Österreichischer Alpen Verein* [Austrian Alpine Association] and shortly thereafter, in 1869, Senn encouraged a group of bourgeois Germans in Munich to establish the *Deutscher Alpenverein* [German Alpine Association].²⁸⁸ The two clubs worked closely together and joined in 1873, which allowed them to pool their resources together more easily as the *Deutscher Österreichischer Alpenverein* (*DÖAV*). By 1884, the *DÖAV* included over thirteen thousand members and over a hundred local chapters.²⁸⁹ These chapters had the greatest influence in the community. Their communication was an important link for the locals as the chapters provided a conduit for them to experience and be aware of national programs and endeavors.

Although the *DÖAV* was open to all those interested in the Alps, regardless of their experience in them, it was composed chiefly of bourgeois members and not surprisingly, the largest chapter in Austrian lands was in Vienna. Lower-class individuals would not have participated. They had neither the time to devote nor money to spend on the high membership dues and the outdoor activities and excursions the club offered. Indeed, the upper middle class comprised of over half of the total members, while the rest of the members were middle class civil servants and merchants.²⁹⁰ To counteract this discrepancy, in 1895 members of the working class in Vienna founded *Naturfreunde Österreichs* [Friends of Nature, Austria] which offered a more socialist-oriented program that emphasized recreation for the workers rather than physical

²⁸⁷ Both the Swiss and the Italian clubs were founded in 1863.

²⁸⁸ For more on Franz Senn, see Louis Oberwalder, *Franz Senn: Alpinismus pionier und Gründer des Alpenvereins* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verl., 2004).

²⁸⁹ Tait S. Keller, "Eternal Mountains, Eternal Germany: The Alpine Association and the Ideology of Alpinism, 1909-1939," (PhD diss, Georgetown University, 2006), 22.

²⁹⁰ In the beginning the upper-middle class dominated, but soon the lower-middle class came to comprise the bulk of the members. For a more detailed discussion of the demographics, see *Ibid.*, 23-24.

challenges.²⁹¹ By 1905, the organization became international and expanded to include groups in Germany and Switzerland. It desired to improve working class culture by facilitating access to Alpine travel so that the workers could relax and restore their health.²⁹² Women also became interested and involved in leisure activities in the Alps and in 1907, the British Alpinist photographer Elizabeth Main helped found the Ladies-Alpine Club.²⁹³

Like the contemporaneous Heimat preservation movement, the Alpine clubs strongly promoted the appreciation and conservation of the landscape, but more importantly, they actively encouraged and facilitated alpinism, especially in the form of hiking and climbing. As historian Tait Keller points out, most club members believed that experiencing the mountains was a part of their general education and it was essential for their personal development away from the pressures of a middle-class urban existence.²⁹⁴ Keller also points out that this development was tied to the members' feeling of Heimat since they believed Alpine exploration could foster their love for the Heimat.²⁹⁵ The *DÖAV* paradoxically propagated a mountain *Heimat* as a pristine public landscape that needed to be celebrated but also adapted it to their needs. The *DÖAV* made maps and built and maintained hiking paths with comfortable rest stations and huts along the way.²⁹⁶

²⁹¹ Holt, "Mountains, Mountaineering and Modernity a Cultural History of German and Austrian Mountaineering, 1900-1945" (PhD diss, University of Texas, 2008), 144.

²⁹² Holt argues that this promotion of elevating working class culture challenged the heroic notion of mountaineering put forth by the Alpine Association. See, *Ibid.*, 140-147.

²⁹³ For more on Elizabeth Main and women in the Alps, see Daniel Anker, Markus Britschgi, and Elizabeth Alice Frances Le Blond. *Elizabeth Main (1861-1934): Alpinist, Photographer, Writer; an English Lady Discovers the Engadine Alps* (Luzern: Diopfer, 2003).

²⁹⁴ Keller, "Eternal Mountains, Eternal Germany," 36.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 53.

²⁹⁶ Here it should be noted that the rich mostly traveled to Switzerland, where already established large and exclusive resorts catered to their desire of Alpine scenery and first-class comfort. For more on this development, see Susan Barton, *Healthy Living in the Alps: The Origins of Winter Tourism in Switzerland, 1860-1914* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2008).

The exploration and knowledge put forth by the clubs opened the doors to widespread tourism for those who could afford it. An increased interest in the Alps quickly led Alpine communities to realize the lucrative potential of tourism in their otherwise economically-strained areas.²⁹⁷ New rail lines provided easy access for Alpine exploration and assisted in expanding tourism. The tourist industry grasped at this newfound enthusiasm and it began promoting leisure time that could be spent in a beautiful and natural environment. By the late 1920s the building of aerial cable cars enhanced tourism in the winter months. In 1926, the first aerial cable car in Austria ascended to the *Rax* Mountain which was just a few hours away from Vienna. It was soon followed by the *Pfänder* cable car in Bregenz, which opened in 1927. The tourists' and alpinists' identification with the landscape resulted in an expanding regional patriotism that grew stronger due to their appreciation for the landscape they were utilizing. Both the Alpinists and the tourists altered the mountainous environment to conform to their social comforts and demands.

The German division of the Alpine Association produced a magazine called *Der Bergsteiger* [The Mountain Climber] published by the well-known Munich fine art publishing company Bruckmann. It featured stories on dangerous mountain expeditions and the building of mountain railways, cable cars, and streets. It encouraged the minimal cultivation of the Alpine lands through climbing, hiking, and skiing. It used photographs of the Alpine landscape as illustrations for stories or as images in their own right. In general, the magazine also promoted knowledge of mountain culture, which included anything Alpine, ranging from folk traditions to fictional mountain feature films. Overall, its content resembled that of other cultural and Heimat-

²⁹⁷ For more on the pressing socio-economic situation of Tyrol, for example, see Laurence Cole, *Für Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland: Nationale Identität und deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung Tirols, 1860-1914* (Frankfurt, a.M.2000), 29-46.

focused magazines of the period. It published literature by well-known Heimat authors Josef Friedrich Perkonig (1890-1959), Karl Springenschmid (1897-1981), and by the prime Austrian Heimat activist Guido Zernatto (1903-1943). It also had profiles on venerable Alpine artists Edward Theodore Compton (1849-1921) and Albin Egger-Lienz (1868-1926).²⁹⁸ While the tone of the magazine did not have a political bias, it did certainly subscribe to conservative tendencies that promoted a rural Germanic Heimat. The articles and photographs were more or less in line with William Heinrich Riehl's advocacy of preserving the natural Heimat and defending the peasant culture as a model of social harmony.

In an article published in the 1933 volume of the *Bergsteiger*, Zernatto emphasized the polarity of city and country, civilization and nature, and reason and feeling as he recommended that the urban individual should visit the mountain world a few times a year.²⁹⁹ Zernatto explained that one experienced the heartfelt emotions in nature and exclaimed that "the heart should always be the compass for man, never reason."³⁰⁰ The statement reflected and reinforced the anti-rationalist and romantic thought of fascist politics which emphasized emotion over reason. In a slightly earlier article of a similar nature titled "*In einer anderen Welt*" [In Another World], Zernatto compared the preferable static life of the remote mountain villages to the hustle and bustle of modern life, where he pointed out the environment and its influences are constantly changing those individuals who experience it.³⁰¹ Five photographs taken by Peterpaul Atzwanger accompanied Zernatto's story and reinforce his portrayal of a quiet and non-hectic rural lifestyle. The photographs depict a woman with a walking stick and basket strapped to her back, a finely

²⁹⁸ Perkonig's novel "Späte Heimat" was published in sections throughout volume 4 in the years 1933-4; Josef Soyka, "Egger-Lienz" *Der Bergsteiger* 4 (1933-4): 689-693; Anton Schmid, "Albin Egger-Lienz" *Der Bergsteiger* 8 (1937-8): 220-25; Karl Blodig, "Erinnerungen an E.T. Compton" *Der Bergsteiger* 9 (1938-9): 678-684.

²⁹⁹ Guido Zernatto, "Wege am Rande der Großstadt" *Der Bergsteiger* 4 (1933): 270-72.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 271.

³⁰¹ Guido Zernatto, "In einer anderen Welt," *Der Bergsteiger* 4 (1933): 74-79.

dressed woman in her home on a quiet Sunday morning, men and boys sitting by the open fire at home, five little girls sitting in a meadow with their baskets, and several peasants sitting outdoors during a midday break (Fig. 43). The photographs portray peasants who appear relaxed. They are taking their time, resting and seemingly enjoying their life at that moment. There is no evidence of a chaotic rushed lifestyle, only of the contemplation and quiet reflection of which Zernatto spoke.

Atzwanger was one of the most frequent contributors to the *Bergsteiger* during the 1930s. His Alpine photographs depicted either scenes from peasant life or distanced views of small Alpine communities (Fig. 44). Unlike other Alpine photographers, Atzwanger never depicted impressive summit views or the climbers and skiers of the Alpine Association. His photographs were solely focused on communities far within the mountain valleys. He not only showed the peasants resting, but often he photographed them working the land. The documentary quality of Atzwanger's photographs lends veracity to them. While their appearance may appear to be true, they are unlike social documentary photography. Atzwanger neither monumentalized their labor nor did he focus on portraying their heavy burden.³⁰² He never specifically drew attention to their hardships in life. Usually pictured from afar, the peasants appear only as a feature of the landscape and nothing more (Fig. 45). Only upon careful inspection of the photograph *Roggenernte in Pustertal* [Rye Harvest in Puster Valley] is it apparent that three of the five peasants are bent over in the back-breaking labor of the harvest. They are not foregrounded and this placement distances them, even as it engrains them and their work in the landscape.

Occasionally, *Der Bergsteiger* published portraits of peasants by Atzwanger but with these as

³⁰² I explain the deeper meaning and consequences of Atzwanger's portrayal of peasants in Chapter Four, which deals in depth with the theme of peasants and how they are presented in Heimat photobooks.

well there is no evidence of heroicism, chaos or dissatisfaction, only of quiet contemplation (Fig. 46).

The photography found within the *Bergsteiger* encompasses a broad range of Alpine subjects and most all of it correlates in some way with the Heimat. Ernst Burian's photograph *Symbols*, for example, depicts a still life of the prized Alpine flower edelweiss and a rock climber's pickaxe on a meadow. Edelweiss literally means "noble whiteness" and it usually grows in rocky and difficult to reach places above 2000 meters. The flower represents the wild nature of the Alps and with the pickaxe placed above it, but not over it, the photograph seems to suggest that man respects nature but stands above it. The photograph exemplifies the purpose of the *DÖAV*, which aims to preserve the Heimat while simultaneously exploring and conquering it.

Another photograph in the *Bergsteiger*, by Rudolf Roßmanith, shows *Grabkreuze*, traditional cast-iron grave markers in the shape of a cross, which are typical of Alpine cemeteries (Fig. 47). The iron cross was thought to be a magical defense against the raising of the deceased, and especially since the process of making the cross heated and "cleansed" the iron, further protecting the dead.³⁰³ Each Alpine region had a particular way of making the crosses. The slight variations in style made them an important folk art that defined Heimat. The three grave crosses pictured in Roßmanith's photograph seem to reference the three crosses on Calvary and highlight the blessed nature of the land. The most prominent cross is leaning, but it still stands as it is firmly planted in the Alpine land. The foregrounded cross appears over the mountain range behind it, thus further endowing the landscape with religious significance. Underneath the photograph is a poem, which describes the addictive quality of mountaineering that even death cannot stop. It states that anyone who has ever been to the mountains will experience and take

³⁰³ Helene Grün, "Oberösterreichische Grabkreuze in volkskundliche Sicht," *Jahrbuch des oberösterreichischer Musealvereins*, no. 101 (1956): 251-274.

with them a constant and intense longing to return, which will in turn inspire others to travel to the magical mountains.³⁰⁴ The sense of longing for the mountains that the poem describes is similar to the longing one feels for the Heimat. It is easy, therefore, to see how the conception of the mountains as the Alpine Heimat developed. Other Heimat photographers whose work appeared in the magazine were Austrians Maximilian Karnitschnigg (1872-1940) and Hans Angerer (1915-1943), Germans Ernst Baumann (1906-1985) and Paul Wolff (1887-1951), and Swiss photographer Albert Steiner (1877-1965).³⁰⁵

Photographs within the *Bergsteiger* also depict modern alpinist explorers. In Henry Hoek's photograph two modern women are traversing a rocky ridge (Fig. 48). Arguably, nothing in this photograph exists that makes it typical of the Heimat. The worm's eye perspective silhouettes these two hikers against an indeterminate landscape. They could be anywhere and yet, seen within their socio-historical context, these two visitors are typical of the culture of the Alps in the 1930s. They are modern women alpinists, dressed in pants with stylish bob haircuts. The Alpine landscape has become their retreat, their home away from home. They walk upon it confidently, gazing out at its rocky terrain. While they may not embody the traditional folk customs of the Heimat, they are effectively representative of the new modern Heimat. Photographs like this, and the content of the magazine as a whole, reinforce the idea that the mountainous terrain of the Alps, which only the peasant populations previously visited, is now also home to the alpinists. They value its land and return to it regularly. For them, it is a real idyllic landscape, a place where they feel at home, even if it is only visited on excursions. Hoek's

³⁰⁴ "...Und wer Berge je betreten, / Nimmt ins Tal die Sehnsucht mit; / Heiße Sehnsucht, die nicht schwindet, Die das Herz im Tal bedrückt, / Und uns antreibt, aufzusteigen, / Immer wieder aufzusteigen, ... / In der Berge Zauberreich!" G. Pawikowski, "Bergfriedhof," *Der Bergsteiger* 1 (1930-31):128.

³⁰⁵ For more on Steiner and Swiss Heimat photography, see Peter Pfrunder and Beat Stutzer, eds., *Albert Steiner: The Photographic Work* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2006).

photograph and others like it appear as a part of a larger narrative that tells of a multifaceted Heimat.

As a whole, the photographs and articles in the *Bergsteiger* create the Alpine Heimat, but considered individually, they fall into one of two categories. They either portray modern alpinists and mountain views or traditional Alpine communities and folk customs. The magazine reports on two very different types of people using the same mountains. In theory, they should be at odds with one another. Despite their pretext of conservation, the alpinists transform the landscape to conform to their athletic pursuits. They have the privilege of energy and leisure time to ascend the high peak and ski with the most modern equipment. The Alpine peasant communities, on the other hand, are raking hay by hand, weaving their own linen cloth, and resting from a long day's work. The tradition, customs, and hierarchical Alpine peasant communities are lauded in the articles and poems, and yet, their lifestyle is not really one the modern alpinists would want to assume.

During this time, the modern 'alpinists as explorers' become like colonizers. They are first and foremost urban and not native to the high mountains. They leave their environment in search of adventure and potential discoveries. In charting the Alpine land, they encroach upon the peasant's landscape and the peasants are forced to accommodate them.³⁰⁶ While the peasants and their lifestyle are a source of earnest fascination for the alpinists, they are only really venerated as an idea and as objects. I believe that it is only within the idealistic culture of the Alpine Heimat that the peasants and alpinists can appear side by side, albeit on different pages, and be celebrated alike. This ideal and shared Heimat was present not just in the *Bergsteiger*, but

³⁰⁶ Because of the economic desperation the peasants experienced during the late twenties and thirties, they were more than willing to earn extra money by providing accommodations for incoming alpinists and tourists. Money is a powerful reason to accept and be complaisant.

in cultural magazines and journals throughout Austria and it was an image that the *Ständestaat* actively supported because it combined the best of both worlds. It was appealing to be modern but it was respected to be traditional. Both traits were thought to exemplify the new Austria.

The *Ständestaat*, though, was promoting an identity for Austria that was not distinctive. German magazines, the *Bergsteiger* included, were encouraging the same Heimat. In essence, Heimat was culturally German and no part of this Alpine Heimat culture seemed especially unique to Austria. The mountainous landscape was considered to be German, and authors and photographers were crossing borders with relative ease. Peterpaul Atzwanger was born in Austria and his photography only depicted Austria, but he mostly published with German publishers. Zernatto was also Austrian and he published his writing in both Germany and Austria. His participation, especially though, reveals a deep conflict of interest. Zernatto was a member of the Austrian right-wing Home Guard and eventually he became the general secretary of the Fatherland Front and secretary of state in the *Ständestaat*. Through his contributions to German publications (and whether he was conscious of it or not) Zernatto was participating in building and subscribing to a greater German identity that was at the forefront of National Socialist ideology, which was competing against and at odds with the aims of the *Ständestaat*. Most likely, Zernatto and Atzwanger did not see their engagement with Germany as incompatible. The magazine was not particularly nationalistic and their work was part of a long history of cultural exchange between the two nations. Moreover, the *Ständestaat* admitted to a shared German cultural basis, so in this regard it was logical for Zernatto to contribute his writings. But with such a lively exchange, how could *Ständestaat* create an Alpine identity for Austria when the public associated Austria with this essentially German Alpine Heimat? Could the Austrian and German Heimat be differentiated from each other at all?

In studying the political ideologies inherent within the *DÖAV*, historian Tait Keller has determined that the Association and its members effectively ignored the boundaries between the lands and promoted the mountains as a symbol of Germanness and subscribed to a cultural *Grossdeutsch* [greater German] identity.³⁰⁷ *Der Bergsteiger* should also be seen in this light, for it lacks an explicit nationalistic overtone. It was not noticeably propagandistic for either Germany or Austria. Like the German-language photography journals of the time, the German mountain magazine was distributed across borders and reached out to a German-language audience. The writings did not show a preference to either Germany or Austria in stories and photographs, but the magazine did focus on almost exclusively Germanic customs and traditions and the areas of the Alps that were German-speaking. Due to the fact that more of the Alps lay within Austria's borders, the magazine paid more attention to these mountains than those located in Southern Germany. On occasion the Swiss Alps were discussed but their representation was minimal in comparison to the Austrian Alps. Stories that spoke of foreign mountains, like the Nanga Parabat, only told of Germanic pursuits there. Even though sharing this knowledge and news of German culture was common practice, the example of *Der Bergsteiger* demonstrates the prevalence with which the two countries exchanged information in the cultural sphere and acted as one, despite the political tension between them during the 1930s.

The Alpine world as presented in *Der Bergsteiger* extended across borders and it was unified because of its cultural content. As a result, its Germanic treatment of an Alpine world colored the Alpine culture of Heimat that was developing in Austria and that was supposed to provide a foundation for an Austrian identity. In this way, the practice of exchange was inherently problematic. It further emphasized the German attitude of ownership towards Austria

³⁰⁷ Keller, "Eternal Mountains, Eternal Germany," 3, 52-54.

and the conflicting German identity of Austrians (and even those who were enthusiasts of the *Ständestaat*).

SKI PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE HEIMAT

The *Bergsteiger* had the subtitle *Monatschrift für Bergsteigen, Wandern und Skilaufen* [Monthly for Mountain Climbing, Hiking and Skiing], but it did not focus heavily on skiing. This was most likely due to the Alpine Association's long-standing prejudice against skiing. Loyal alpinists were against skiers because they believed they infringed upon the natural aesthetic landscape; however, this changed as skiing became more and more popular. Soon the staunch alpinists had no choice but to tolerate the young skiers.³⁰⁸ Neither the *DÖAV* nor the *Bergsteiger* could deny the importance of skiing in Alpine culture as the development of ski clubs corresponded with the popularity of Alpine clubs and their Alpine excursions during the winter months. Both brought the Alpine environment to an urban public and modernized the Alps. The ski clubs, especially, were helpful in developing and sustaining a profitable winter tourist industry. One of the earliest ski clubs was founded in 1901 in the state of Arlberg. Like the *DÖAV*, the Austrian Ski Club and the German Ski Club depended on each other and joined in 1910 to form the Middle European Ski Club, which collectively had over 26,000 members.

The clubs helped skiing and winter Alpine culture become widespread by the mid-1930s but the *Bergfilme* [mountain films] were even more influential, because they whetted the popular appetite for adventure and sensational action. Films in this genre catered to a popular audience with impressive cinematography and most often with melodramatic narratives that revolved

³⁰⁸ Keller explains that the older generation of alpinists was filled with staunch preservationists and this conflicted with the younger generations who were enamored by the new Alpine sport. See Keller, "Eternal Mountains, Eternal Germany," 80-85.

around perilous Alpine adventures. Arnold Fanck, the pioneering director in this genre, together with cinematographer Sepp Allgeier, took advantage of the stark whiteness and constantly varying weather to exploit the Alpine light and produce strong contrasts and rapid changes of effect. This dramatic approach elevated the filmic experience as well as highlighted the landscape's magnificence, both of which increased the desire for a personal adventure in the Alps.

In 1931 Fanck released his film *Der weisse Rausch* [The White Frenzy].³⁰⁹ Unlike his previous films, which he set in the Swiss Alps, this film took place and was filmed completely in St. Christoph am Arlberg in Austria. For the film's release in Austria the name was changed to *Sonne über dem Arlberg* [Sun Above the Arlberg], a title which emphasized its sunny Austrian location (Fig. 49). A light-hearted comedy, the fictional film presented skiing as an exciting and fun sport that even a foolish girl like Leni (Riefenstahl) could master.³¹⁰ All that was necessary was a little ski instruction from Hannes Schneider, the pioneering and star downhill ski instructor of Austria.

The captivating cinematography of the films more than made up for their lack of narrative sophistication. The films brought out the best of the Alps – the beauty of the snow-covered mountains and the sensational thrill of skiing. Highly entertaining, the films attracted young men and women to the Alps. Fanck's film *Fuchsjagd im Engadin* [Fox hunt in the

³⁰⁹ The film premiered in the US in 1938 and also under the title *White Ecstasy*. For more on the film, see Christian Rapp, "Körper Macht Kino': Skilaut, Laufbild, und der Weiße Rausch," in *Der Bergfilm 1920-1940*, ed. Friedbert Aspetsberger, (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2002), 79-84.

³¹⁰ Riefenstahl starred in many of Fanck's early films that dramatized the mountain expedition and photographs of her skiing by Martin Munkacsy appeared on the covers of *Vu* and *Time* Magazine. In *Sun above the Arlberg* her character is an important filmic characterization of the "ski bunny" (female skier) that was so popularly portrayed in print magazines and literature. Her early career was instrumental in exposing her to film and photography, but to draw a connection between her filmed skiing in Austria and her later propaganda films is tenuous at best. For more on Riefenstahl, see Neil Christian Pages, Mary Rhiel, and Ingeborg Majer-O'Sickey, eds., *Riefenstahl screened: an Anthology of New Criticism* (New York: Continuum, 2008).

Engadin] from 1922, which despite the title was mostly filmed in Arlberg, enamored amateur photographer Stefan Kruckenhauser (1905-1988) to become an avid skier and he subsequently took a position as the director at the *Bundesschiheim* [Federal Ski Home] in St. Christoph am Arlberg in 1934. There, he created brochures and calendars advertising St. Anton as well as he provided Schneider with photographs for an advertising tour (Fig. 50).³¹¹ Schneider was instrumental in developing ski instruction and increasing the sport's popularity. Several articles in *Die Bühne* profile the ski master and praise Arlberg for attracting French, English, Italian, and American tourists and for providing unending good health and physical happiness in the fresh snow and delightful sun.³¹² Kruckenhauser propelled Heimat photography's infiltration into the Alpine ski industry. He published his photographs of skiers and Alpine ski culture during the latter half of the 1930s in the photography journals *Photo-Kino-Sport*, *Photofreund*, and *der Lichtbildner*.

More influential than his magazine contributions, though, were Kruckenhauser's photobooks. In 1937, he published a lighthearted photobook titled *Du schöner Winter in Tirol: Ski- und Hochgebirgs-Erlebnisse mit der Leica* [You beautiful winter in Tyrol: Ski and mountain adventures with the Leica] (Fig. 51). Aware of the large number of British Alpine enthusiasts, Kruckenhauser published the book in an English edition as well.³¹³ The photobook was in part a textual primer focused on relaying techniques for taking Alpine and ski photographs, but it was also a photobook that presented the sport of skiing and ski culture as enjoyable. The forward, written by Schneider, emphasized the fun of skiing. Schneider thought the book should rouse

³¹¹ Maria Emberger, "Zum Leben Stefan Kruckenhausers" in *Stefan Kruckenhauser: In weiten Linien-- ; Das fotografische Lebenswerk*, ed. Kurt Kaindl (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 2003), 10.

³¹² "Im Reich Hannes Schneiders" *Die Bühne* no. 370 (Feb. 1934):34-35.

³¹³ The book appeared in an English edition with the title *Snow Canvas – Ski Men and Mountains with the Leica* (Berlin: H. Elsner, 1937).

other amateurs to ski and take photos, so that when they return home, they would excite others to have the same kind of wonderful experience.³¹⁴ With his texts and photographs, Kruckenhauser sends out a similar message to inspire others. He writes with an air of humility that suggests, if he can learn to ski and photograph, so can anyone.

Kruckenhauser even devoted a section of the book to the ski bunny, or rather the female skier, and it especially accentuated the carefree tone of the book.³¹⁵ An important part of the male-dominated ski culture, the ski bunny made the sport even more amusing. Kruckenhauser portrays her in a series of photographs as naïve, cute, and fun. On page 40 she stands smiling proudly atop a rock, playing an accordion labeled *Bauer* [peasant/farmer] (Fig. 52). Although the ski bunny can ski, she primarily provides entertainment for the male-dominated ski world.

Other sections and photographs within the book concentrate on the ski course, ascending the summit, skiing downhill (which includes falling spectacularly but harmlessly), and the *foehn*, the warm, dry winds which signal the coming of spring, but they are no less entertaining. Kruckenhauser's eye-catching photographs resemble moments in Fanck's films. Kruckenhauser exploits the bright mountain sun and stark white snow to create brilliant contrasts with the sky and skiers. The glistening landscape and grand views appear magnificent and seductive in the photographs. The energetic depictions of skiers enjoying themselves and having fun are completely bewitching. On pages 60 and 61, for example, Kruckenhauser's photographs demonstrate the important downhill technique of *Schuß und Schwung* [Schuss and Swing] (Fig. 53). The skier is dramatically backlit, so that the snow trail behind him emphasizes the glamorous speed of his skiing. The two photographs appear dynamically opposite each other on

³¹⁴ Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Du Schöner Winter in Tirol: Ski- Und Hochgebirgs-Erlebnisse mit der Leica* (Berlin: Photokino-Verlag, 1936), 5.

³¹⁵ Two years earlier Kruckenhauser contributed photographs to Hans Fischer's entertaining book on the topic. Hans Fischer, *Skihaserl: ein Bilderbuch*, 2 ed. (Munich: Bergverlag Rother, n.d. (1935)).

the pages so that the mountain slope lines up. The skier moves down the first page and onto the next at which point he sharply turns before the page ends. As a whole, the book portrays a mountain world in which the scenery is beautiful, the physical activity is fun, the company is enjoyable, and the weather is never too cold. It is always perfectly sunny in Tyrol (Fig. 54).

Kruckenhauser continued to offer technical advice to aspiring amateur photographers and in 1938, he published *Das Bergbild mit der Leica* [Mountain photography with the Leica].³¹⁶ This book was primarily an illustrated didactic text on how to photograph the Alpine landscape with the small-format camera. Kruckenhauser, of course, was not the only one encouraging amateurs to pick up a camera and photograph their travels and time in the Alpine Heimat. Notably, German photographer Hein Gorny (1904-1967) and Carl J. Luther also published a similar book titled *Kamera auf Skiern* [Camera on skis] the very same year.³¹⁷ Other books and articles in cultural magazines also provided instruction for taking Alpine photography.³¹⁸ In the fall of 1933, the *Bergsteiger* even hosted a photography competition for the best picture of a weekend ski tour and the best picture of a mountain village in the snow.³¹⁹ The winners could claim either a cash prize or an extended stay in a winter Alpine hotel of their choice. First listed among the judges was Atzwanger, followed by the well-known Austrian sports photographer Lothar Rübelt (1901-1990).³²⁰ Just as amateur alpinists were being encouraged to photograph, so too were amateur photographers being encouraged to explore Alpine photography. Beginning in

³¹⁶ Stefan Kruckenhauser and Max Zühlcke, *Das Bergbild mit der Leica* (Munich: R. Rother, 1938). The book went through three editions in 1938.

³¹⁷ Hein Gorny and Carl J. Luther, *Kamera auf Skiern* (Halle: Knapp, 1937). This book was just as popular and it appeared in subsequent editions in 1940, 1941 and 1950.

³¹⁸ One of the most impressive and noteworthy books is Arnold Fanck, Hannes Schneider and George Gallowhur, *Das Bilderbuch des Skiläufers: 284 Kinematografische Bilder vom Skilauf mit Erläuterungen und einer Einführung in eine neue Bewegungs-Fotografie* (Hamburg: Gebrüder Enoch, 1932).

³¹⁹ "Wettbewerb für Lichtbildner" in *Der Bergsteiger* 4, no.1 (Oct. 1933): 15.

³²⁰ The other judges were Ernst Hanausek, Liesl Hochenegg, Franz Bilko, Viktor Grössl, and Julius Gallhuber. See "Wettbewerb für Lichtbildner" in *Der Bergsteiger* 4, no.2 (Nov. 1933). For more on Rübelt, see Christian Brandstätter, ed., *Österreich zwischen den Kriegen: Zeitdokumente eines Photopioniers in der 20er und 30er Jahre* (Vienna: Molden, 1979).

the 1920s photo journals like *Photographische Rundschau* and *Der Satrap* also gave practical instruction on ski and Alpine photography, while they also promoted the development of Heimat photography.³²¹ The amount of guidance offered on Alpine photography points to the popularity of these sorts of photographs, and also to their value as profitable images, both socially and financially.

The illustrated press printed images of hikers and skiers almost as frequently as those of Alpine peasants and small mountain villages and cultural magazines avidly propagated this mixture. Skiing and Alpine sports were not an ostensible counter culture to the peasants; rather, they were seen together, as part of the Alpine world that made up the Heimat. The Heimat was an idyllic and constructed place which could embody both the fun leisure of skiing and the values of a traditional conservative peasant lifestyle without conflict.

The conservative cultural magazine *Bergland* presented the Alps as this idyllic world in which modern life co-existed peacefully with traditional Alpine culture. The monthly magazine included pieces on topics such as the Ring cycle at the Vienna State Opera, the building of Alpine roads, the Austrian painter Karl Mader (1884-1952), historical battles, different areas to travel within Austria, and ski competitions. In the 1936 issue, for example, pages 18-24 told of the high quality of skiing that Austrians have achieved and are illustrated with photographs by Rübelt.³²² A few pages later in the issue was the regularly appearing column, "Photography in Austria," which Heimat photographer Karnitschnigg often wrote and which always illustrated different photographic techniques or concerns regarding photographs of the Heimat.³²³ The subtitle of this article, "The Photograph as a Record of Life," reinforced the importance of

³²¹ See, for example, H. Pfeifer, "Hinaus in der Berge Winterpracht!" *Der Satrap* 3, no. 12 (1927): 270-74 and Hanns Geißler, "Ski und Kamera" *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 69, no. 1 (1932): 10-12.

³²² Franz Martin, "Skisport – bei uns!" *Bergland* 18, no.11 (1936): 18-24, 43.

³²³ Hans Popper, "Lichtbildkunst in Österreich: Das Lichtbild als Lebensurkunde" *Bergland* 18, no.11 (1936): 32-35.

preserving life in the Heimat. The article claimed it is most fulfilling to photograph objects and places which tell and preserve a long history, a cultural history.³²⁴ Although the author does not mention Heimat photography by name, his suggestions fully endorse creating Heimat photographs. Furthermore, the photographs illustrating the article are Heimat photographs of Alpine Austria: the Stubai Mountains, women in traditional folk costumes in a Church yard, the Carinthian pilgrimage town Heiligenkreuz, a silhouetted figure before the snowy landscape, and two climbers ascending to *Weisbachhorn*. This one article is typical of the entire magazine. Photographs of skiers and peasants appeared frequently; they were supported and shown alongside each other. They often illustrated Heimat stories and poems, a context which helped shape their meaning as Heimat photographs.

ALPINE CULTURE

Photography dominated in the illustrated press, but the visual culture of the Alpine Heimat included much more. In addition to the mountain films, other artists also depicted peasants, the ski life of the upper middle-classes, and snow-covered mountain landscapes. The Austrian painter Alfons Walde (1891-1958) is exemplary in that he also portrayed both the modern and the traditional from his Heimat in his works. He owned an art publishing company and produced travel posters and postcards using motifs from his paintings for the tourist industry (Fig. 55). He also used photography as an aid for his paintings and he was close friends with Heimat photographer Wilhelm Angerer (1904-1982), however their influence on each other should not be overemphasized.³²⁵ They, as well as many other contemporary artists, had

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Past scholarship, including my own article, on Angerer points out his close connection to Walde, yet the motifs they chose were a common occurrence and the subject of a good many photographs and paintings.

preference for similar subject matter and composition. Their shared taste was indicative of the general (and successful) preference for a modern Alpine aesthetic that permeated all areas of visual creativity, and ultimately came to define Heimat in visual terms. For example, some of Angerer's most titillating photographs depict Alpine huts that are just barely visible in a vast snowscape (Fig. 56). He compresses the space within the photograph, simultaneously defamiliarizing the landscape and bringing attention to nature's overpowering magnificence. While not gifted with the same understanding of space, Walde and other photographers often depicted the buried hut just barely emerging from the snow-covered landscape (Fig. 57). Additional shared motifs by photographers included, among other things, a crucifix in the landscape or a skier's tracks in the snow. Heimat photographers and artists not only portrayed similar motifs but they also relied upon the same artistic formulae. They conservatively drew on long-established pictorial conventions, like the sublime, by including a lone wanderer or skier as a romantic *Rückenfigur* à la Caspar David Friedrich (Fig. 58).³²⁶ As a product of modern, mass-media society in Austria, this rapid exchange of borrowed and slightly-altered motifs increased the knowledge, familiarity, and popularity of the Alpine Heimat.

As the objects and views from the Heimat became common they also became all the more representative of the Heimat as Austria. Conventional Heimat photographs were not only published in cultural and popular magazines and journals, but also in books such as Josef Friedrich Perkonig's *Deutsche Ostmark* [German eastern March] from 1936 and Rudolf Hans Bartsch's *Unser Österreich* [Our Austria] from 1938, both of which claimed to offer a total view

³²⁶ Joseph Leo Koerner believes Friedrich's use of the *Rückenfigur* was a way to convey a yearning for transience and to contrast human mortality in the face of nature. Joseph Leo Koerner, *Caspar David Friedrich and the Subject of Landscape* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990).

of Austrian Heimat culture.³²⁷ Perkonig's book contained essays and photographs dedicated to each of the Austrian states, illustrated by photographs by Koppitz, Defner, Hannau, Karnitschnigg, and others. The photographs depict historical architecture, peasants in their traditional dress, religious customs, and landscapes. One photograph depicts a pair of skies stuck vertically in the snow of the Silvretta Alps. Even a relatively conservative book such as this one could not resist including an element of the modern Heimat. Most of the photographs in the book are visually enticing. In many, the photographers' use of light lends the photographs a spiritual quality. Sunlight adorns cosy wooden rooms or falls on the landscape in such a way that it seems to reflect off of it magically (Fig. 59). Each case suggests that this light is divine, as if it is illuminating and blessing the landscape of Austria. In contrast, Bartsch's book encompasses much more of the Austrian Heimat as he includes more modern and sporting images. Bartsch also illustrated his 256-page book with the work of more than fifty photographers, including his own images with others from picture agencies such as Scherl's in Berlin and *Postkartenindustrie* [postcard industry] in Vienna. With his book, Bartsch was supporting a mass market of imagery. The sheer number of sources which Bartsch relied on to illustrate his book is evidence of the proliferation of Austrian Heimat images in both Germany and Austria. Both books were published due to a continual demand for such books. Alpine culture was enticing and the public embraced it with an enthusiasm that led them to experience their own adventures in the Heimat.

In writing about Alfons Walde's paintings, art historian Gert Amman describes them as portraying a non-urban environment shown as an idealized connection between nature and people, a connection that has emphasized the ageless pastoral in opposition to routine urban

³²⁷ Josef Friedrich Perkonig, ed. *Deutsche Ostmark* (Graz: Leykam, 1936) and Rudolf Hans Bartsch, *Unser Österreich: Landschaft, Städtebilder, Volkstrachten, Kunst, Architektur* (Bielefeld and Leipzig: Velhagen and Klasing, 1938). It should be noted that Bartsch's book is explicitly *völkisch*. Published in 1938, after the *Anschluss* the introduction describes Austrians as a tough, Alpine race bound together by blood.

bustle.³²⁸ This argument has often been made about Heimat because it reinforces what Zernatto and other Heimat activists were trying to promote: an Austrian Alpine Heimat removed from modernity's discomforts. While it is true that the Alps provided space for relaxation and recuperation for incoming tourists, to characterize the Heimat culture as purely romantic and escapist neglects the role that the government and others played in creating such an image. The image-makers, publishers, and sponsors were subscribing to a regional and international (and generally urban) tourist market. As Heimat photography was a product of modernity and sustained the public appetite for it, the fleeting relief it may have seemed to provide could not solve the problems of modern life for neither its producers nor its recipients. Veiled behind an ideal image of Heimat was a strong dependence on modernity. Not only was the success of Heimat photography dependent on modern reproductive technology and the proliferation of images, but it was also contingent upon the consumers who desired to flee from their metropolitan existence and return to the Heimat. Heimat appeared as a relief from modernity, yet it relied on an invented idyll.

TOURISM IN THE ALPINE HEIMAT

Tourism in Austria during the 1930s served two purposes. The first was to educate Austrians about the different lands they inhabited. For the idyllic and beautiful mountain world to be believable it had to be known, and many Austrians were unfamiliar with the breadth of their country and who their neighbors were. The *Ständestaat* reached out to urban and rural populations. Whether they were born in the countryside or not did not matter; what was imperative was that Austrians understood the importance of their country, its landscape, and its

³²⁸ Gert Ammann, 'Alfons Walde, 1891-1958,' in *Alfons Walde*, Gert Ammann and Rudolf Leopold, eds. (Vienna: Leopold Museum, 2006), 8.

traditional population, and that they traveled within it. Knowledge of the Heimat would help them develop a sense of a shared culture, one that would further feelings of Austrianness. Early in 1938, the *Ständestaat* Federal commissioner Walter Adam pleaded for everything to be done in the good Austrian way. He explained that true Austrianness is derived from the passionate love for the Heimat and *Volk*, from knowledge of its achievements in history, and from recognizing that the Fatherland, although small and disadvantaged, has a great task in Europe.³²⁹ He ended by calling on Austrians to be strong and trust in their government.³³⁰ Adam was writing for the *Ständestaat*'s magazine *Österreich in Wort und Bild* [Austria in Word and Image], which served as one of many sources for this knowledge of Austria. Heimat photography was one of the most effective means by which the *Ständestaat* could show Austrians the beautiful Alpine landscape they all shared. In endorsing using Heimat photography, the government advertised and promised the relaxing and idyllic world of the Alps to the urban populations who had not traveled and were unacquainted with it. Even if Austrians did not travel, at the very least they would recognize and know Austria as it appeared in photographs. If the public was familiar with their landscape and with what Austria contained, a feeling of togetherness could be attained and a unified Austria could be built.

In addition to educating the public, tourism served to revive the economy, which was suffering greatly during the early 1930s. Tourism was absolutely critical for sustaining and improving the Austrian economy. The *Ständestaat* thus focused on its tourism campaign, which reinforced an Alpine identity for Austria, at both an internal and external audience. The government wanted Austrians to travel within Austria, and not abroad, to ensure that their money

³²⁹ Walter Adam "Österreichische Werbung" *Österreich in Wort und Bild: Monatshefte des Heimatdiensts* 2, no.1 (1938): 1.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

was supporting the country and not flowing out of it. The *Ständestaat* also encouraged Austrians to discover the Heimat continually in multiple vacations. For them, Heimat photographs were to serve as reminders of an ideal experience and they could inspire return trips. After all, Zernatto did recommend visits to the Alpine countryside several times a year to retreat from city life.

In October of 1934, the *Ständestaat* passed a law that set up a central organization for Austrian tourism which would oversee *Verkehrswerbung* (tourist advertising) abroad and at home.³³¹ To attract foreigners, artists like Hans Wagula (1894-1964) designed colorful posters advertising Austria and its Alpine landscape (Fig. 60).³³² The *Ständestaat* also worked arduously to promote Austria abroad and it made sure that Austrians were aware of its commitment to foreign advertising. *Österreich in Wort und Bild* published a column that reported foreign press regarding Austria. Not surprisingly, all of the news from this tendentious magazine was positive. A Belgian paper, for example, reported from a tourist who praised hospitality and the *joie de vivre* in Austria.³³³

The Fatherland Front organization “New Life” also worked at increasing travel within Austria. It proposed organizing a travel agency and an affordable vacation fee for its members.³³⁴ This plan never manifested, but the organization did succeed in offering sponsored trips with reduced train fares for members.³³⁵ The programming of “New Life” was copying (and also competing with) similar programs offered in Germany by *Kraft Durch Freude*.³³⁶ As with other *Ständestaat* programming, “New Life” differentiated itself from National Socialist Germany

³³¹ “So wirbt Österreich” in “Fremdenverkehr” *Der Arbeitsschlacht* 1, no. 4 (Sept. 1935), n.p.

³³² For more on Austrian tourism posters and their relation to Heimat, see Michaela Steinböck, *Blickfang Heimat: Die Entwicklung des Heimatbegriffs anhand österreichischer Fremdenverkehrsplakate des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002).

³³³ “Ein Blick in die Presse” *Österreich in Wort und Bild* 1, no.2 (Dec. 1937): 23.

³³⁴ Rainer Schubert, “Das Vaterländische - Frontwerk ‘Neues Leben,’” 69-70 and 86.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

³³⁶ “Skikursaktion des V.-F.-Werk ‘Neues Leben,’” *Werkblätter V.- F.-Werk ‘Neues Leben,’* no. 10 (Oct. 1937): 282-83; Fritz Christian, “Im Schi-Paradies mit Kraft durch Freude,” *Der Satrap* 14, no. 2 (Feb. 1938): 24-26.

through its Christian image. Alone, the name states a new beginning, but its symbol referenced tradition as it featured a tree – a sturdy feature of the landscape – rooted in the holy ground of Austria, which is represented by a cross potent. Its symbol appears on a poster by Erich von Wunschheim advertising for a “New Life”-sponsored ski day. The trip included transportation, accommodations, insurance, and instruction (Fig. 61). The tanned young woman on the poster easily carrying her skies on her shoulders reinforced the trendiness of the sport, and of “New Life,” which promised its members a better and different time in Austria.

To help Austrians become more acquainted with their Heimat, the state-owned radio RAWAG aired a radio program called “*Quer Durch Österreich*” [Across Austria], which discussed different cultural sites in Austria.³³⁷ The *Ständestaat* also produced and screened film newsreels called “*Österreich in Bild und Ton*” [Austria in Image and Sound] which focused on portraying the Austrian Heimat in addition to showing current events and culture from all over the world.³³⁸ The films defined the Austrian Heimat by its mountains, forests, lakes, churches, farms, animals, flowers, peasants, their customs, and winter sports. In discussing these films, historian Olaf Bockhorn remarks on the importance of the landscape, which organically connected all aspects of Austrian life as everything emerged out of its rich ground.³³⁹

Filmic and photographic depictions of the Alpine landscape were powerful inducements to inspire travel. Both film and photography promised an “accurate” depiction of its beauty. In writing about photography and advertising in 1935, Karnitschnigg pointed out that photography owes its forceful advertising to its truth in representation which consequently allows the public to

³³⁷ “Quer Durch Österreich” began airing in the 1920s. More information on its segments can be found in the station’s magazine *Radio Wien*.

³³⁸ Olaf Bockhorn, “‘Tiefes Heimatgefühl, treue Liebe zu Volkstum und Volksbrauch...’: ‘Volkskultur’ in Österreich in Bild und Ton,” in Achenbach and Moser, *Österreich in Bild und Ton*, 277-99.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 283.

gain trust in the photograph.³⁴⁰ Indeed, photography held an advantageous position over other printed visual media because it pictured a real moment of time, copied straight from reality. A tangible photograph of the Alpine Heimat could create a strong sense of longing because it allowed one to project desires and wishes for the Heimat onto an actual extant place. In contributing a semblance of truth to every advertisement, it could more forcefully inspire Austrians to have their own real personal experiences in the Alpine Heimat. Without this truth in a representation, the desire to explore and travel and return to the Heimat might have remained an elusive dream. Heimat photography was also persuasive as an advertisement because it could reinforce the Arcadian portrayal of Heimat that accompanying texts so often presented.

Karnitschnigg believed that photographing nature assists in procuring tourists, especially when the image has a striking quality, an eye-catcher that will cause it to be remembered.³⁴¹ Although Karnitschnigg did not mention Heimat photography specifically, it could fulfill these requirements better than other genres of photography. Photographs are truly Heimat photographs when a characteristic part of the Heimat speaks to the viewer. In this regard, they can be striking and compelling images which cause one to contemplate the Heimat and prompt a sense of longing to go to it. In 1933, the Austrian Ferdinand Kretschmer advised all amateur photographers to produce Heimat photographs which awaken the urge to travel.³⁴² The natural seductive beauty of the Alps could easily induce a longing to experience the idyllic Alpine Heimat and it was most important to capture this beauty with photography.

³⁴⁰ “Nicht zuletzt verdankt die Photographie ihre werbekräftige Wirkung der Wiedergabe der unverfälschten Wahrheit, wodurch sie sich das Vertrauen des Publikums erwirbt.” Maximilian Karnitschnigg, “Lichtbildkunst in Österreich: Photographie und Fremdenverkehr” *Bergland* 17, no.4 (1935): 42-44.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

³⁴² Ferdinand Kretschmer, “Heimatphotographie,” *Nachrichten des Verbandes österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine* 6, no. 9 (1933): 1-3.

Throughout the 1930s all of the cultural magazines produced in Austria, whether they were politically oriented or not, promoted travel within Austria. Many even published special issues showcasing different lands or cities within Austria. The Viennese cultural magazine *Die Bühne* mainly reported on society, culture and leisure, profiling film stars, celebrities, and modern trends. In flipping through the magazine one does not notice any kind of political preference, but it (like many magazines of the time) nevertheless participated in furthering the notion of what it meant to be Austrian. The magazine actively encouraged its readers to travel in Austria through publishing stories, poems, photographs, and advertisements and on occasion well-known Heimat authors and photographers also made contributions. The photographs in the magazine varied in style, some are clearly representative of the new vision aesthetic, showing daring perspectives and modern forms, while others are more conventional and straightforward. Likewise the subject matter was mixed. The magazine depicted modern urban life as well as the rural Heimat. *Die Bühne* even juxtaposed such views as it did in a two-page spread from 1935, titled “*Auf dem Lande: Einheimische und Gäste*” [In the country: locals and guests].³⁴³

In July of 1933, the richly illustrated and anonymous article “*Ferien in Österreich*” [Vacation in Austria] listed all the wonderful things about Austria’s magical landscape as its photographs depicted train travel, mountains, quaint villages, Austrians in their folk costumes, and serene lakes (Fig. 62). The article stated that Austrians belong to their land and it credited this bond with providing the Austrian comfort that surrounds them and with giving them Austrian charm.³⁴⁴ The article concluded by stating that this closeness to the land remains in

³⁴³ “Auf dem Lande: Einheimische und Gäste,” *Die Bühne* no. 401 (1935): 40-41.

³⁴⁴ “Diese Menschen gehören zu ihrer Landschaft, sie gleichen ihr und solche Verbundenheit ergibt die österreichische Behaglichkeit, die eine überall umgibt, die Anmut österreichischen Wesens, die man auch nach der Heimkehr noch lange im Gedächtnis behält.” “Ferien in Österreich,” *Die Bühne* no. 356 (1933): 23.

Austrian minds long after they have vacationed.³⁴⁵ This kind of effusive and sentimental rhetoric and the encouragement of holidays in Austria were common but they were not necessarily always an endorsement of the *Ständestaat*. After all, most Austrians probably could not travel far and those who could no doubt wanted to help their economy recover regardless of their political views. These articles, though, did resemble the official tourism advertising of the *Ständestaat* and they did support the government's cause.

The next year the August issue of *Die Bühne* profiled the state of Salzburg and it paid particular attention to the Salzburg festival, which takes place every August and garners international attention.³⁴⁶ The Salzburg issue included photo essays and articles on topics such as actresses arriving in Salzburg, beer in Salzburg, and the Salzburg Cathedral. The entire issue can be considered as one big advertisement for the city. Typical of the magazine was a photo essay that depicts different types of travelers arriving in Salzburg (Fig. 63). To the upper left, in a photograph by Otto Skall (1884-c.1942), a modern woman coming from London stands in the aisle of her train car. Dreamily looking out the window, she appears with her Rolleiflex around her neck ready to capture her adventure. To the lower right, directly opposite, is a group of four Austrian women in their folk costumes. They are arriving from Gnigl, an outer lying district of Salzburg. At the lower left is a drawing that connects the two photographs and creates a narrative sequence. In it, two modern female tourists are photographing a traditionally dressed couple from Salzburg. The native couple appears larger than life as they proudly perambulate through the town as something to be seen. The drawing seems to suggest that the Londoner will eventually photograph the women from Gnigl, who are dressed likewise for their part. On the

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ For more on the Salzburg Festival and its tenuous relationship to Austrian identity, see Michael P. Steinberg, *Austria as Theater and Ideology: The Meaning of the Salzburg Festival* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 2000).

second page of the photoessay a photograph by Trude Fleischmann portrays Richard Mayr, an Austrian bass-baritone, who performed every year at the festival. Further photographs by Rudolf Schloß show a woman with her daughter followed by several others, all in traditional dress, arriving from the mountainous region of Pinzgau and at the bottom of the page, young women in their traditional Sunday dress exit a bus. The women are coming to Salzburg to hear Mayr and attend the festival. These two pages advertise the Salzburg festival but they also confirm the role Austrians should play as hosts. The natives should be proud of their traditions, wear their folk costumes, and participate in confirming their identity as Austrians by showing foreigners and other Austrians who they are.

To help Austrians in their role, this issue also includes an article on Salzburg fashion that promotes wearing the *Dirndl*, either in its true form or made slightly more urban (Fig. 64). The article explains that, “either way it’s more modern than ever as fashion and folklore go hand in hand.”³⁴⁷ The article continued, claiming that the *Dirndl* is interesting for everyone and especially for Austrians, who are continually discovering how much they love their Fatherland and that they are predestined to take care of Austria’s culture and heritage.³⁴⁸ Here again, *Die Bühne* contributes to developing a modern culture of Heimat. The article, and others like it, reflected the *Ständestaat*’s idealistic belief that the future could preserve the past and move forward by continuing its traditions. The fashionable *Dirndl* is a prime example of how the traditional and conservative culture of Austria was molded to appear modern, even if historical

³⁴⁷ “Und das ‘Dirndl,’ ganz ‘echt’ oder leicht ‘verstädtischt,’ ist moderner als je, Mode und Folklore gehen Hand in Hand.” “Mode auf Salzburgerisch” *Die Bühne* no. 381 (August 1934): 40.

³⁴⁸ “Das ist für alle interessant – für jene, die große internationale Mode machen und sich ihre Inspirationen aus der Tracht holen, und für uns Österreicher, die wir immer mehr unsere Vaterlandsliebe entdecken und erwecken und dazu prädestiniert sind, Österreichtum zu pflegen – **auch** in der Tracht.” Ibid.

meaning was lost in the process.³⁴⁹ Of these new ‘modern’ folk costumes, historian Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann writes that, unlike their precursors signifying distinct social classes, these fixed constructs based on history were made available to everyone and as a consequence, they stood for Heimat love and identity.³⁵⁰ The modern fashion for folk costumes was certainly less about traditional roles and preserving social occupational class than it was about creating an idea of Austrianess, and this caused a fair amount of anger amongst folklorists who despised its urban manifestation.³⁵¹

Advertisements for Austria were found everywhere in the media and especially in ideologically biased magazines, where photographs of the Heimat more frequently promoted the idea of getting to know Austria’s lands as well as vacationing in them. *Österreichische Woche*, for example, dedicated the last page of every issue to “*Das schöne Österreich*” [Beautiful Austria]. This culminating page showed off different picturesque parts of Austria every week, leaving the reader with a positive image of a beautiful country. Other Heimat photographs appeared in advertisements for different hotels, towns, and states. In one ad for Tyrol, a young woman in her fanciful *Dirndl* smiles at the viewer (Fig. 65). The ad promotes Tyrol as the ideal vacation land with 64,000 hotel beds.³⁵² In 1935, the propagandistic magazine of the Heimat Service, *Arbeitsschlacht*³⁵³ [Labor Campaign], devoted an entire issue to tourism, replete with charts and diagrams. They broke down which countries had Austrian travel agencies, which

³⁴⁹ Other articles include: “Das Bäuerinnenkostüm – stillisiert und original” *Die Bühne* no. 345 (Feb. 1933): 43, Gräfin Nora Ressaygues, “Tracht ist Mode” *Die Bühne* no. 389 (Dec. 1934): 30-31, and Erni Kniepert, “Das Dirndl” *Die Bühne* no. 404 (July 1935): 48-49.

³⁵⁰ Ulrike Kammerhofer-Aggermann, “Salzburger Tracht zwischen Entdeckung und Erfindung,” in *Trachten nicht für Jedermann? Heimatideologie und Festspieltourismus dargestellt am Kleidungsverhalten in Salzburg zwischen 1920 und 1938* (Salzburg: Salzburger Landesinstitut für Volkskunde, 1993), 19.

³⁵¹ See for example, Franz Rudolf Scholz, “Die Grundlagen für ein sinnvolles Wiederstehen der steirischen Trachten,” *Heimatland* 3, no. 8 (1934): 5-6 and Hans Mayer, “Was wird aus unserem Volkstrachten?” *Heimatland* 5, no. 7 (1936): 51-53.

³⁵² “Tyrol: The ideal vacation land,” *Die Pause* 2, no.9/10 (1936-7): 4.

³⁵³ In 1936 the magazine changed its name to the more active title *Wir bauen auf* (We’re building).

nationalities visited Austria, how much money foreigners spent in Austria, and what they spent it on (Fig. 66).³⁵⁴ The magazine informed Austrians how great tourism was and how much it was benefiting the economy, promoting travel with the slogan “*Urlaub nur im schönen Österreich*” [Vacation only in beautiful Austria].³⁵⁵ In November of 1937, the Heimat Service replaced the magazine with a new more expansive magazine titled *Österreich in Wort und Bild*. It likewise reported on tourism but it also focused heavily on educating Austrians about the land in which they should travel.

Another highly propagandistic illustrated magazine titled *Die Pause* [The Break] endorsed traveling within Austria by dedicating special issues to Vienna, Tyrol, and Upper Austria. Photographs by Atzwanger figured heavily in the Tyrol issue, which, in addition to articles on North and East Tyrol, also included a section on South Tyrol, despite the fact that it had been seceded to Italy after the First World War. South Tyrol was continually discussed as if it were still a part of Austria and its inclusion in the issue demonstrates the great degree to which Austrians relished in their past and had idealistic hopes for the future.

The issue on Upper Austria contained two photographs by Hans Hannau. The accompanying article “*Österreich: Mensch and Boden*” by Johannes Würtz discussed the history of the region. Würtz explained that Upper Austria was first and foremost German, even though it drew its character from the many peoples who have traversed the country.³⁵⁶ Although Würtz mentions the Slavs who traversed and settled in the region, he explicitly downplays their importance and he does not mention any Jews for they were not part of this German identity

³⁵⁴ “Fremdenverkehr” *Der Arbeitsschlacht* 1, no. 4 (Sept. 1935).

³⁵⁵ “Urlaub 1936. Nur im schönen Österreich!” *Wir bauen auf* no.10 (July 1936): n.p. (back cover).

³⁵⁶ Johannes Würtz, “Österreich: Mensch and Boden,” *Die Pause* 2, no.11 (1936-7): 7-9, 20-21, 54-55.

which the *Ständestaat* crafted.³⁵⁷ Würtz told of the Upper Austrian's deep roots in the Alpine foothills, and in doing so, he emphasized ideals that the *Ständestaat* regularly promoted, such as a regulated social system, strong farmerer, a cyclical nature of time, and a willingness to sacrifice oneself for the community. In the first of Hannau's photographs, an elderly woman and a young girl sit, and in the second, a father and his son stand in their plowed field (Fig. 67). The Ennstaler farmer, however, is not a field worker. He smokes his cigar as he and his son look out imperiously over their rich soil. The farmer standing with his son as well as the coupling of the older woman and girl reflect the gendered sphere of life for the peasants, who are portrayed in their traditional dress. In both images the subjects are contemplative. They do not talk to each other and both look straight ahead. When read within the context of the narrative playing out in both the magazine and the ideological program of the *Ständestaat*, these characters seem to be quietly contemplating their history, the roots of which are planted in the soil on which they stand. Their dress indicates that they are part of a hierarchical society, the strong and stable Germanic peasant class that Würtz praises. Though they do look forward into the future, they do so only with their feet firmly bound to the land.

In addition to magazines, government supported exhibitions also stimulated tourism in Austria. In 1935, the Vienna Urania cinema hosted an exhibition in conjunction with the VÖAV also named "*Das schöne Österreich*," in which Heimat photographs were to serve as inspiration for the making of a film of the same name.³⁵⁸ A year later, the Bureau of Tourism put together an exhibition titled "*Bilder aus Österreich*" [Pictures from Austria] (Fig. 68). An installation photograph shows the exhibition wall titled "Winter in Austria," which displays two rows of

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ "Verbandsnachrichten: Lichtbilderausstellung 'Das schöne Österreich,'" *Nachrichten des Verbandes österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine* 8, no. 10 (1935): 2.

photographs that depict the snow-covered mountains in their full brilliance. A glass vitrine with figurines dressed in regional folk costumes indicates that the exhibition was dedicated to showing all the traditional facets of Austria's history.

PROMOTING AUSTRIA ABROAD

As much as the *Ständestaat* was keen on encouraging Austrians to travel, it also hoped to gain the money and favor of foreign tourists by promoting Austria's beautiful Alpine Heimat abroad. Ferdinand Kretschmer wrote that Heimat photographs should not solely be works of art; they must also be employed for foreign advertising. They soon became an especially important part of the country's participation in international exhibitions.³⁵⁹ In 1934, the foreign ambassador to Britain, Baron Georg Franckenstein, requested that an exhibition be organized in London to promote the country's industry, art, travel, and sport (Fig. 69).³⁶⁰ The exhibition was politically motivated as the *Ständestaat* aimed to attract Great Britain's support Austria against National Socialist Germany. Titled "Austria in London," the exhibition included a "Viennese shopping street with vistas" as well as sections on travel, industry and trade, and modern arts and crafts.³⁶¹ In the travel section, mural paintings portrayed the Austrian landscape, a shooting club festival, a peasant wedding, a peasant dance and shooting and fishing. Two of the mural paintings were reprinted in *Die Bühne* as it promoted the exhibition (Fig. 70).³⁶² Photographs portrayed various spa towns, costumes from each of the Austrian lands, different sports, and scenic and architectural views, while "moving travel pictures" showed the wonders of Alpine flying,

³⁵⁹ Kretschmer, "Heimatphotographie," 2.

³⁶⁰ The exhibition was instigated by Baron Franckenstein, who was the Austrian ambassador to England. The exhibition was shown from April 16 through May 12, 1934 at Dorland Hall, Picadilly Circus.

³⁶¹ The section on modern art included works by Gustav Klimt and Egon Schiele as well as by the more traditional Austrian painters Albin Egger-Lienz and Josef Dobrowsky. Robert Haas, ed. *Austria in London: Austrian National Exhibition of Industry Art Travel Sport* (London: G. F. Tomkin, Leyonstone, 1934).

³⁶² "Österreichische Fremdenverkehrspropaganda auf der Londoner Ausstellung," *Die Bühne* (1934): 24.

motoring through Austria, beautiful Austria and a “comfortable and cheap journey down the magnificent Valley of the Danube.” The catalog does not mention who took the photographs, but it is nevertheless important that photography was used predominately as a means to encourage travel. The exhibition catalog makes it clear that, in creating the exhibition, Austria was trying to gain “international sympathy and rapprochement” as well as strengthen its relations.³⁶³

More important for improving Austria’s image abroad was the country’s participation in the World’s Expositions of 1935 and 1937. Once again Heimat photography played an important part in the presentation of Austria in both cases. At the 1935 exposition, the Austrian organizers decided to remove Austria from any competing images of the technology in more industrially developed nations and instead focused on presenting the country as a tourist destination. The landscape became the backdrop for the country’s cultural and technical achievements. The exhibition presented the Alpine landscape as both a product and a resource that embodied Austria’s culture, characterized equally by regional rusticity and the cultured Baroque.³⁶⁴ As Ulrike Felber et al. argue, in presenting the country as an ideal tourist destination, Austria not only hoped to improve its economy, but it also avoided any problematic and direct political propaganda.³⁶⁵ Politically, Austria was a weak state and aggravating any of its neighbors with assertive politics would have had immediate consequences and further isolated the country during a time when Austria needed all the support it could get. Thus, two-thirds of the 1935 pavilion, which Austrian architect Oswald Hårdtl (1899-1959) designed for the smallest plot at the fair, was devoted to tourism and the rest to Austrian art, which was mainly religious.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ Fritz Stockinger, “Austria in London: Preface” in Haas, *Austria in London*, 3.

³⁶⁴ Ulrike Felber, Elke Krasny, and Christian Rapp. *Smart Exports: Österreich auf den Weltausstellungen 1851-2000* (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter, 2000), 119-20.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 120.

³⁶⁶ Stefan Plischke, “Wir Freuen uns und sind Stolz! Die österreichischen Pavillons in Brüssel 1935 und Paris 1937” in Tabor, *Kunst und Diktatur*, 311-312.

Inside the pavilion photographs covered the walls from floor to ceiling. Divided into sections they addressed the following themes: Secular and Religious buildings, Summer in Austria – Castles and Estates, Views of Vienna, Folk Costumes and Traditions, Winter in Austria – Transportation and Resort Towns, and Sports in Austria (Fig. 71).³⁶⁷ A critic writing for the *Baseler Nachrichten* commented that, in the Austrian pavilion, one drowns in photographs that seem more like wallpaper than a display.³⁶⁸ Interestingly, the pavilion did not garner much coverage in the Austrian illustrated press.³⁶⁹ Huge financial constraints and poor timing plagued the whole project and the final result, although complete, must have been considered less than satisfactory.³⁷⁰ The government, however, liked the display of floor to ceiling photomontages, despite what the *Baseler* critic said, because it again relied on the same method to advertise the Alpine landscape in 1937.

For the exposition in Paris, the *Ständestaat* chose to present itself as *Das Fremdenverkehrsland* [the tourist destination]. The theme of the 1937 exposition was “Art and Technology in Modern Life.” For the occasion the Fatherland Front organization “New Life” published a catalog, the contents of which appeared in English, French, and German (Fig. 72). It proselytized about “Tendencies and Aims of the Action ‘New Life,’” even while defining itself in terms of how it was different from other similar movements in other countries, without mentioning them by name.³⁷¹ “New Life” proclaimed that it was not monopolizing or forceful and it took “a vital interest in the cultural aims of every citizen.”³⁷² Austria was trying to attain

³⁶⁷ Felber, et al., *Smart Exports*, 123-124.

³⁶⁸ *Baseler Nachrichten* nr.287 (1936) as cited in Plischke, “Wir Freuen uns und sind Stolz!,” 312.

³⁶⁹ The one article I have found appears in “Fremdenverkehr” issue of *Der Arbeitsschlacht* 1, no. 4 (Sept. 1935): n.p.

³⁷⁰ Plischke discusses the difficulties financial and otherwise in regards to the architecture. See Plischke, “Wir Freuen uns und sind Stolz!”, 308-312.

³⁷¹ *Weltausstellung: Neues Leben in Kunst und Technik in Österreich / Exposition Internationale: Nouvelle Vie en Art et Technique en Autriche / World's Exposition: New Life in Arts and Technology in Austria Paris 1937*. 1937

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 80.

respect amongst other nations because at this point in time the Austrians could no longer count on the support of Italy against National Socialist Germany and their political sovereignty was in serious jeopardy. The idea behind the catalog was to demonstrate that Austria was and would remain a successful country. It showed how pleasant Austria was, explaining how “New Life” was reviving culture in Austria and bringing leisure to those who could not always afford it. The first half of the catalog featured short articles on literature, music, painting, design, film, theatre, sculpture, and posters. Each of them showed how the arts in Austria were progressing. The second half of the catalog dedicated its contents to technology and its articles presented Austrian power management, raw materials, modern building techniques, and important industries in Austria. In promoting Austria as a modern Alpine and sports paradise, the organizers of the pavilion bypassed any discussion of failing politics by showcasing the newly-built *Großglockner-Hochalpenstraße* [Grossglockner High Alpine Street], which is often thought of as the *Ständestaat*'s most successful project since Austrians considered it as evidence of their country's competence as an independent and modern nation.

Härdtl again received the commission to design the pavilion. He chose a similarly modern design with a large glass curtain wall as a façade. Austria's small, comfortably-sized pavilion asserted that it was different from the highly political and strong nationalist impulses of other nations. It was minor in comparison to the monumental fascist pavilion of Germany and the colossal pavilion of the Soviet Union, which were aggressively opposing each other at the exposition. On the interior wall of the glass pavilion, appearing in the room for industry and technology, was a 10 meter high and 30 meter wide photo mural of the Alpine roads in Austria.³⁷³ In approaching the pavilion, visitors would feel as if they were walking towards the

³⁷³ Plischke, “Wir Freuen uns und sind Stolz!,” 308-16.

Alps (Fig. 73). The photo mural, designed by the artists Robert Haas and Günther Baszel, was a triptych that showed the Pack Street on the left wing and the Gesäuse Street on the right (Fig. 74). The central area featured the Grossglockner High Alpine Street, the most impressive of the Alpine roads. Due to the curtains at either end of the gallery, which incidentally were patterned with the double-headed eagle of the *Ständestaat*'s coat of arms, visitors approaching the façade would have the feeling they were looking out the window at the Alpine landscape. The effect was particularly impressive at night when interior lights illuminated the giant photomural.

Devoting the central panel to Grossglockner Street highlighted Austria's beautiful Alpine landscape and its modern technology. The landscape literally supported this modern technological achievement. The Street was an example of how technology was helping to make Austria an attractive and comfortable land to visit. It showed off the natural beauty of the Alpine country in the most modern way – through vehicular travel. Since its completion in 1935, it had attracted thousands of motorists and tourists. Documentation of the steep and snaking road and the eponymous mountain appeared constantly in photographs and stories throughout the 1930s.

The idea for a Grossglockner Street began already before the First World War. Its impetus was the loss of another high Alpine road, the *Stilfserjoch* Street in South Tyrol, which in 1919 became part of Italy (Fig. 75). As a consequence, Austria no longer had a high-altitude Alpine road. Roads like *Stilfserjoch* Street stood for technical ingenuity and they were scenic modern attractions which motorists found thrilling to drive. This loss, coupled with the extreme economic situation of Austria, made the need for another high Alpine road seem urgent. It became necessary to restore both the economic and emotional losses that Austria suffered.³⁷⁴ The plans and building of the street commenced in 1929 but the project soon approached bankruptcy.

³⁷⁴ Georg Rigele, *Die Grossglockner-Hochalpenstrasse: Zur Geschichte eines Österreichischen Monuments* (Vienna: WUV-Universitätsverlag, 1998). The book also includes a brief English summary.

The withdrawal of the German electric company AEG from the project worsened the financial blow. As historian Georg Rigele reasons, the change in government to the *Ständestaat* was what ultimately saved this ambitious building project.³⁷⁵ Unlike the parliamentary system, Dollfuss had to be authoritative and decisive. The completion of the project was in the interests of the *Ständestaat* because it created jobs, proved the existence of a functioning government, attracted tourists, and contributed to Austria's image as a whole. It represented not only the success of the *Ständestaat* but also the failure of the parliamentary government of the First Republic.

On August 3, 1935 federal president Wilhelm Miklas opened the final stretch of the Street. He praised it as proof of Austria's mission to protect its freedom and independence from a turbulent Europe.³⁷⁶ The magazine *Ruf der Heimat* reported that from January to August 1935, the 57.6 km long serpentine Street was visited by 98,814 passengers in 14,396 cars, 3,146 buses, and on 4,144 motorcycles.³⁷⁷ From that number 77,000 had visited in August and additionally there were 3,014 cyclists.³⁷⁸ The article also reported that 35.5 percent of these visitors were foreigners.³⁷⁹ The Street was indeed a huge boost for the Austrian tourist industry.

Although Glockner Street was seen as the symbol of Austrian ingenuity and know-how, it – like many of the *Ständestaat*'s other projects – was inconsistent in its message. Georg Rigele points out that for the opening of the Street, Germany temporarily lifted its 1,000 Mark tax on Germans entering Austria in exchange for having their normally-forbidden National Socialist

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 368-369.

³⁷⁶ *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* Nr.213 (4.8.1935): 6 as cited in Rigele 189. Chancellor Schuschnigg was not at the opening because his wife had recently been killed in an automobile accident.

³⁷⁷ "Die Glocknerstraße" *Ruf der Heimat*, no. 9 (1935): 21.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Rigele's book provides detailed charts breaking down the numbers of tourists who visited the street, see Rigele, *Die Grossglockner-Hochalpenstrasse*.

flag fly alongside those of other nations on the Street.³⁸⁰ This particular section of the Street, where the flags were, was close to the memorial featuring a plaque commemorating Dollfuss. Dollfuss was instrumental in ensuring the completion of the high Alpine road. Only one year prior, the National Socialists had murdered him. Allowing the two opposing symbols in such near proximity sent a conflicted message that undermined the strength of an independent Austria. But the *Ständestaat* desperately needed the money from incoming German tourists and so it agreed to this damaging concession.

The Grossglockner Street was and remained immensely popular and this was due in large part to the advertising and press that it received. In 1934, the board of the company GROHAG, which was founded to build the street, created a propaganda committee to be in charge of advertising. They developed slide shows, radio programs, posters, films, and signs and these were placed throughout Austria indicating the distance to the Street.³⁸¹ In 1935, they printed color brochures, numbering 80,000 in total, in German, Czech, English, French, Italian, and Hungarian, and in the following year, brochures also appeared in Dutch, Danish, and Esperanto.³⁸²

In addition to the company's efforts, government organizations also promoted the Street. Two volumes of the Heimat Service's series of educational books for school children were dedicated to the Street, one to its construction and the other to the finished road.³⁸³ The media coverage of the project and its completion did much to increase its appeal, attract tourists, and

³⁸⁰ Germany had imposed the 1,000 Mark tax as retaliation for the Dollfuss' outlawing of the NSDAP in Austria. Rigele, *Die Grossglockner-Hochalpenstrasse*, 191.

³⁸¹ Rigele, *Die Grossglockner-Hochalpenstrasse*, 183.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ This information is based on an ad which lists all of the published books produced by the *Heimatsdienst* appeared in *Österreich in Wort und Bild* 1, no.1 (1937): 25. I was unable to locate copies of the books.

make it into the symbol for the new Austria.³⁸⁴ *Die Bühne, Bergland, Der Bergsteiger, Österreichische Woche, and Die Pause* all published articles and photographs emphasizing its massive scale and success. In writing for the *Bergsteiger*, mountain climber Erich Veidl proclaimed that although the Street would take away from the area's quiet undisturbed nature, it had many more benefits, including its international importance as a connection between north and south.³⁸⁵ He continued that most importantly it has been and will continue to be a source of employment as it supports modern tourism and thereby benefits the Alpine communities of the Heimat.³⁸⁶ Although many worked on the Street, it was not enough to solve the problem of the hundreds of thousands of unemployed. Nevertheless, it retained the image of being a great source of job creation, even though in reality only during a brief period of a few weeks did the company employ more than 2,000 workers.³⁸⁷ *Bergland* devoted an entire issue to the Street shortly after its opening.³⁸⁸ The issue reported on the building and opening of the Street and provided impressive photographs of workers building the Street, its curving road, modern conveniences, and the celebratory opening (Fig. 76). Heimat photographer Karnitschnigg documented the Street in photos that were published in *Die Pause* and the corresponding article proclaimed that even in a time of crisis Austrian technology and finances were able to build a street for all of Austria.³⁸⁹ It claimed that the Street attracts foreign tourists and makes the name of Austria

³⁸⁴ Rigele, *Die Grossglockner-Hochalpenstrasse*, 166. Rigele's otherwise well-researched and extensive study of the Street curiously does not mention the illustrated press' promotion of the Grossglockner Street.

³⁸⁵ Erich Veidl, "Die Großglockner-Hochalpenstraße: Bergsteiger und Technik im Hochgebirge" *Der Bergsteiger* (1934): 491.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 496.

³⁸⁷ Rigele, *Die Grossglockner-Hochalpenstrasse*, 369.

³⁸⁸ *Bergland* 17, no.5 (1935)

³⁸⁹ Erich Veidl, "Grossglockner-Hochalpenstrasse: zu ihrer Eröffnung" *Die Pause* 1, no. 4 (1935): 33-34.

known again in the world.³⁹⁰ To ensure that all Austrians were able to visit Glockner Street, the government sponsored inexpensive bus trips (Fig. 77).³⁹¹

The tourist industry picked up on the importance of Grossglockner Street and it began producing souvenirs. Cosy publishing company made a small-format folder containing twenty photographs depicting the north and south ramps of the Street (Fig. 78). This souvenir documented the entire journey for the driver and passengers from important points along the road. The folder recommended that the photographs and labels were for pasting into an album. The views were ones that tourists could not have taken themselves, but they nevertheless accurately described the journey taken. These views assisted in communicating the scope of the journey to others. They showed how impressive and scenic the drive was and thus served as an advertisement for the road.

Souvenirs, like these pre-fabricated photographs, were a more personal and prolific way to spread visual knowledge of the Heimat. Bought photographs, stereoview cards, postcards, and calendars were tangible and affordable souvenirs. Even more than purchased photographs, photographic postcards were instrumental in propagating the Alpine Heimat because they were also personalized objects. Scholar Susan Stewart has discussed how the souvenir distinguishes and authenticates experiences and events whose materiality has escaped us.³⁹² A photographic souvenir in the form of a postcard authenticates on two levels: the written correspondence and the stamp are evidence of the experience of the sender and the postcard's journey, while the photographic image on the front of the postcard promises a view or at least it resembles a view

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Hans Germ, "In die Pracht des Hochgebirges fahren... Mit dem Postkraftwagen über die Großglockner-Hochalpenstraße," *Ruf der Heimat*, no. 9/10 (1937): 254.

³⁹² Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1993), 135.

that the sender beheld. The photographic postcard reassures its viewer the idea of sameness; that is, if the viewer of the postcard travels to that location, the view and experience will be similar. Thus the postcard as a commodity is an advertisement for the place or thing it represents. It is a more powerful advertisement because it has been authenticated and experienced in some way by the sender, who is of personal acquaintance to the receiver.

Most often the image on the postcard is not artistic but generic--an important structure, a panorama, or something characteristic from the place it represents. It does not matter that the view might not be the exact one that the sender shared because the postcard is typical of the location. The view is recognizable because it depicts what is emblematic and known. Contemporary artist Timothy van Laar characterizes postcards of places by their ambition to be paradigmatic representations.³⁹³ Postcard images seek any view that is most typical or that characterizes the location exactly because the recipient is not at the location of the postcard. The paradigmatic image of a place brings out its essential features in an ideal setting and on a postcard this image becomes a statement of the importance of that place or object.³⁹⁴ The image represents the place or object in ideal conditions. For postcards, an idyllic representation is critical, for it is the image that visually advertises the place in the best possible light. Graz photographer Franz Allmann's (1873-1952) photographic postcard of the new Pack Street in west Styria depicts how the smooth road cuts gracefully through the Austrian landscape (Fig. 79). The wispy clouds accentuate the rolling hills as one motorcyclist drives easily along the open road. The solace of the drive in nature appears attractive. Postcards of the modern Heimat

³⁹³ Timothy van Laar, "Views of the Ordinary and Other Scenic Disappointments," in *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, ed. David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press), 195.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

such as this one corresponded well to the idealistic image of the new Austria that the government was promulgating.

Since both postcards and Heimat photography are about depicting typicalities that are indicative of a place and endowing it with importance, amateur photographers continually mentioned the postcard in their explanations of Heimat photography. Many were against postcards because they believed Heimat photography was primarily a form of documentation to be used for preservation and education.³⁹⁵ Alfred Peltz warned Heimat photographers to be careful and not to succumb to the postcard cliché, which would lack originality and artistry.³⁹⁶ Amateur Heimat photographers during the 1930s were moving away from the straightforward documentary style. They fancied themselves art photographers and desired originality in their artistic Heimat photographs. The postcard image was a view that was too characteristic and beneath their artistic aspirations. Furthermore, the postcard image represented large-scale commercialism and this kind of cheap mass production conflicted with the social status of amateur Heimat photographers.

In 1935, Karnitschnigg argued that the postcard's image was forgettable and he blamed it for providing the public with realistic, but poor copies of nature that lack personal (and thus, artistic) character.³⁹⁷ At the most, Karnitschnigg continued, the postcard is good for remembering, but it is certainly not adept at creating an impression.³⁹⁸ Karnitschnigg, though, was only concerned about the photographic image on the postcard and whether it had the artistic pull to attract attention and affect the viewer. The postcard as a whole, though, is very adept at

³⁹⁵ In explaining that Heimat photographers must have a deep love for the Heimat to spread Heimat culture, Richard Neumarck commented that Heimat photography was not for postcards but for education of German culture. Richard Neumarck, "Heimatphotographie und Fachphotographie" *Photofreund* 13, no. 11 (1933): 206.

³⁹⁶ Peltz, "Wege zur Heimatphotographie," 72.

³⁹⁷ Karnitschnigg, "Lichtbildkunst in Österreich," 43.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

making an impression. It is not just an image but also a means of correspondence. Postcards that are sent and received have the potential to make a stronger impression than a photograph independent of any context, due to the circulation of postcards as personalized objects. While postcard images may not be particularly innovative or artistic in their composition or viewpoint, they certainly can be memorable.

In her analysis of fin de siècle Parisian postcards, historian Naomi Schor theorizes that the extraordinary pleasure produced by viewing postcards is what makes them powerful as objects.³⁹⁹ This pleasure, she explains, is in large part nostalgic.⁴⁰⁰ A sent postcard emphasizes through its message a time that has passed and through its photographic image, a place that is distant. A postcard lends itself to nostalgia because it is removed physically and temporally. Stewart has also remarked that the souvenir speaks a language of longing since it arises out of “the necessarily insatiable demands of nostalgia.”⁴⁰¹ Here again, the postcard converges with Heimat photography since it, ideally, elicits an emotional response from the viewer that is nostalgic.

Heimat photographers were well aware of how Heimat photography should ideally function and in 1934, Heimat photographer Hugo Haluschka wrote that Heimat photography is primarily about its suggestive power.⁴⁰² He believed that the riches of Austria – its mountains, forests, old towns, people, and customs – communicate legibly the emotional feeling of Heimat in Austria.⁴⁰³ Inextricably bound with the nostalgic feelings of Heimat is a longing to return to it.

³⁹⁹ Naomi Schor, “Cartes Postales: Representing Paris 1900” in *Postcards: Ephemeral Histories of Modernity*, ed. David Prochaska and Jordana Mendelson (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press), 19.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Stewart, *On Longing*, 135.

⁴⁰² Hugo Haluschka, “Heimatphotographie,” *Photo- und Kinosport* (Feb. 1934): 44.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 46.

Whether or not amateur photographers approved, Heimat photographs were perfectly suited to being a successful postcard image.

Postcards function as advertisements and souvenirs and this is how their presence remained a constant and powerful force in familiarizing the public with Heimat landscape. In Austria, the postcard retains special status since Austria claims the innovation of having mailed the first official postcard in 1869.⁴⁰⁴ Postcards quickly became a popular form of brief correspondence and by the mid-1880s, the postal service allowed postcards made by private companies in the mail.⁴⁰⁵ The first photographic postcards made from actual silver bromide photographs were issued in the 1890s, but they were costly to produce and other artistic reproductive methods prevailed.⁴⁰⁶ In the nineteenth century, artists embraced the prospect of reaching out to a new clientele through making their own postcards. These could be bought for much less than larger works. These postcards increased the knowledge of their artistic work as much as they advertised the region they depicted. The Austrian painter Edward T. Compton, who was also a member of the Alpine Club, made postcards of Alpine huts where club members could stay during their excursions (Fig. 80). These early postcards left little room for correspondence. It was only after the turn of the century that the back of the postcard began to be used for both the message and the address.

During the late 1920s and 1930s postcards were everywhere. The extreme economic situation made selling postcards a must for many photographers. Moreover, Austrians who could afford to vacation often could only do so within Austria and so they purchased inexpensive

⁴⁰⁴ Since early versions of postcards varied, there is considerable debate about who invented the first postcard. In 1861 the American John Charlton invented and patented a private postal card and in 1865 the German Heinrich von Stephan wrote about the idea of an open postal card. For more on the history of postcards, see Robert Lebeck and Gerhard Kaufmann, *Viele Grusse--: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Postkarte* (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1985) and Frank Staff, *The Picture Postcard and Its Origins* (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1966).

⁴⁰⁵ Lebeck and Kaufmann, *Viele Grusse*, 407.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 414.

souvenirs and postcards. Actual photographic postcards with realistic Alpine images could be made easily and inexpensively. Heimat photographer Adalbert Defner did not share the same opinion as other amateur Heimat photographers. He made his postcards directly from his glass-plate negatives (Fig. 81), which sped up the production process. The one to one ratio of the contact print made reproduction easy and lucrative. Defner had trained under the pictorialist master Heinrich Kühn, but he stopped making pictorialist prints because he did not have time for them.⁴⁰⁷ Indeed, during the 1930s pictorialist prints fell out of fashion because not only were they costly and time-consuming to make, but they were also unaffordable to most customers. As Defner relied on postcard and calendar publication as his main source of income he had to work effectively and inexpensively.

Many Heimat photographers made postcards during this time because they had no other choice. For example, difficult financial problems due to the death of Kruckenhauser's foster father, forced him to photograph and sell postcards while he was still a student.⁴⁰⁸ Heimat photographer Wilhelm Angerer, who was heir to two generations of photographers, also resorted to selling postcards because his larger artistic prints, although well received and exhibited both regionally and internationally, did not sell easily.⁴⁰⁹ Photographic postcards were simply affordable to more people and in demand because of their low cost. This proliferation of Heimat postcards must have been seen as competition and the source of the amateur's discontent.

While some Heimat photographers had to contribute to the commercial industry of postcards and alpinism to alleviate their financial burdens, others, like Karnitschnigg, were

⁴⁰⁷ Adalbert Defner, "Erfolgreiche Lichtbildner erzählen: Dr. Adalbert Defner," *Der Lichtbildner*, (August 1933): 127-28.

⁴⁰⁸ Emberger, "Zum Leben Stefan Kruckenhausers," 8.

⁴⁰⁹ Angerer exhibited with his local amateur club (*Genossenschaft der Photographen für Nord- und Osttirol*) and he is known to have exhibited in Innsbruck in 1933 and 1934, Wolfsberg in 1935, and San Francisco in 1937; see Starl, *FotoBibl.*

admonishing the industry for its production of hackneyed postcards. Whether they realized it or not, all Heimat photographers were participating in commodifying the Austrian Heimat, just as they were participating in state-sponsored ideas of Austria as a sovereign nation. Through their contributions to popular cultural magazines, photography journals and books, Heimat photographers built up a visual image of an Alpine Heimat that became commonplace. Their portrayal of the Alpine landscape and communities helped to modernize Austria through tourism. At the same time, the *Ständestaat* worked to heighten the idyllic invention of the Alpine Heimat through the tourist industry. Photographs depicting the Heimat in exhibitions and elsewhere propagated and promised a real Alpine paradise in which one could vacation. It was simple, traditional and modern. Promoting tourism within Austria was especially important because a positive vacation experience in the Austrian Heimat could legitimize the existence of Heimat by providing a physically real and idyllic place to which one would long to return.

“*Das Gesicht der Landschaft in der Landschaft des Gesichtes*”
 (The Face of the Landscape in the Landscape of Faces)⁴¹⁰

CHAPTER FOUR

The Austrofascist *Ständestaat* and Photobooks of the Austrian Heimat

In 1937, Ignaz Zangerle (1905-1987), the editor of the *Ständestaat* magazines *Ruf der Heimat* and *Wir marschieren mit* advocated for the importance of books as a way to improve and maintain Austrian culture amidst technological change. More precisely, he wrote that if the Austrian environment is to become *heimatlich* again, then Austrians have to reflect on their Austrianess and to take to heart the essence of things.⁴¹¹ Zangerle argued that it is the Austrian version of Germanic spirit and intellect, which is manifested in language, church and state, that creates the special Austrian path, that of the “Christian Occident.”⁴¹² And Zangerle believed that any good Austrian book must either arise from this intellectual realm or include it.⁴¹³ Although Zangerle explicitly referred to works of Austrian literature, his comments were also directed at cultural politics in general.⁴¹⁴ As a proponent of the *Ständestaat*, he placed great weight on its idea of Austrian intellectual culture. Through books and other media, he and the *Ständestaat* aimed to create a new cultural empire of the Christian West.

One particularly important venue for presenting the culture of Austria and educating the public was the photobook. Unlike fleeting magazine images and disposable periodicals, Austrian Heimat photobooks books had a permanence about them. They were meant to be read and

⁴¹⁰ Erna Lendvai-Dircksen, *Bergmenschen* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1936), n.p.

⁴¹¹ “Wir müssen uns erst wieder auf uns selbst besinnen, das Wesen der Dinge beherzigen, wenn uns der Daseinsraum wieder heimatlich werden soll.” Ignaz Zangerle, “Die Kulturelle Sendung des österreichischen Buches,” *Ruf der Heimat* (April 1937): 122.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ “Das gute österreichische Buch, das gefördert werden soll, muß also aus diesem Geistesraum herausgewachsen sein oder sich in ihn einfügen.” Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ In particular Zangerle spoke of Grillpazer, Stifter, Rilke, and Hoffmannsthal. Ibid.

reread. As valuable souvenirs, they were given as gifts and were intended to be looked at again and again. Handwritten dedications in many of them point to their purpose as tangible reminders of shared vacations or holidays. Whether as tourist keepsakes or promotional incentives to visit the Heimat, these photobooks influentially contributed to the creation of Austria's identity as a peaceful Alpine Heimat.

Just as Heimat photography formally began in 1920s Germany and only spread to Austria in the 1930s, the proliferation of photobook production in late Weimar Germany did not have a comparable equivalent in Austria until the mid-1930s. Before then, photobooks existed but they were not common and still retained an element of exclusivity as books containing art photography. Rudolf Hans Bartsch's *Das malerische Graz* [Picturesque Graz] from 1928, for example, contained photographs that reflected the still-fashionable taste in Austria for a Pictorialist aesthetic (Fig. 82).⁴¹⁵ The publication is symptomatic of later photobooks in that it focused on a part of the Austrian Heimat, its architecture and its landscape and told of its history.

By the mid-1930s Heimat photobooks appeared en masse in Austria. This emergence was in part due to the Heimat genre's growing popularity, but also depended on the slightly improved economy, and the ease and cost with which photographs could be reproduced. These books depicted different combinations of any of the following subjects: landscape, picturesque villages and churches, peasants in traditional costume, mountaineers, and skiers.⁴¹⁶ The photobooks of the 1930s differed from other earlier Heimat photobooks because they created a platform that directed associations between the images and texts, which progressively became more dynamic. Historian Martin Parr defines a photobook with reference to the significance of its images, which

⁴¹⁵ Rudolf Hans Bartsch, *Das malerische Graz: eine Festgabe in Bildern* (Graz: Deutsche Vereinsdruckerei, 1928).

⁴¹⁶ Some of the Heimat photobooks are perhaps more properly called *Bildbände*, (literally, picture books), because of their popular appeal and focus on places.

collectively convey the message of the book.⁴¹⁷ While Parr's definition importantly focuses on the photographs and allows one to categorize books without avant-garde layouts or designs as photobooks, Parr places too much emphasis on the photographs and not enough on their interaction with the text. The language of Heimat authors who contributed to the photobooks was conservative and less-than-innovative, but because of this, it – like the visual language of photography – could reach a broad popular audience. During the 1930s, the majority of the population in Austria was still rural and the schooling (which the clergy strongly influenced) was similarly provincial. The texts within the Heimat photobooks are especially important because they were couched in a language that spoke to many and reinforced the same ideal environment and society that the *Ständestaat* was promoting. Without the texts and captions, many of the images and the landscapes are open to interpretation. Even with the captions some of these photobooks do not at first appear to be explicit works of political propaganda. And yet, closer examination of several of the Austrian photobooks reveals that they too are interwoven in a larger political discourse. Indeed, even seemingly harmless representations can be used to affirm political viewpoints.

In tracing the book production of five photographers in the years leading up to the *Ständestaat* and during its tenure, this chapter looks critically at the evolution of the Heimat photobook, which moves from having a regional focus to a national one. I examine the treatment of alpine communities as it is presented within the photobooks to draw conclusions about popular taste, to reveal how the images were ambivalent and made to fit into national images, and to articulate how they related to the politics of the *Ständestaat*. In looking at how the subtleties of representations affect the relationship of images to their contexts, it is easy to see

⁴¹⁷ Martin Parr, *The Photobook: A History*, vol. 1 (London: Phaidon, 2004), 6-9.

that the culture of Austrian Heimat as promoted by the *Ständestaat* was only faintly different from the larger *völkisch* culture of the German Heimat. This relationship created a slippery overlap and allowed for the eventual merge of the two cultures. A fundamental part of this chapter is a consideration of the different kinds of attitudes to this prospect Heimat photographers had, as they passively expressed their love toward the Heimat and toward the *Ständestaat*'s idea of it.

THE PRE-STÄNDESTAAT HEIMAT: REGIONAL LANDSCAPES

One of the earliest of the 1930s Heimat photobooks was *Das schöne Tirol* [*Beautiful Tyrol*] by Heimat photographer Adalbert Defner (Fig. 83).⁴¹⁸ It appeared in 1932 and was published by Tyrolia publishing company in Innsbruck. The book found immediate commercial success and a second edition appeared that same year. Formally, *Das schöne Tirol* consists of an extended narrative preface and thirteen short themed sections. Each begins with a brief introductory text and proceeds to photographs that highlight the themes. Examples of these themes, usually embodied particular places and include “The Towns,” “The Farm House,” “The Change of Seasons,” “A Walk in the Mountains,” “Sunrise, View from the Peak,” “Pictures from Tirol’s Mountain World,” and “Winter Sport Areas.”

Joseph Georg Oberkofler (1889-1962), one of the best-known Tyrolean Heimat authors, wrote the introduction of *Das schöne Tirol*. Oberkofler originally wanted to become a priest and enrolled in the seminary in Brixen, South Tyrol but he instead finished a law degree. He worked as an editor for the publishing house Tyrolia in Innsbruck, while he wrote his own poems, which his Catholicism heavily influenced. Oberkofler also wrote novels, which like other Heimat

⁴¹⁸ Adalbert Defner, *Das Schöne Tirol*, with contribution by Joseph Georg Oberkofler (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1932).

authors, described the local Heimat's natural beauty and dangers. Heimat literature, and especially that of Tyrol, was concerned with historical tradition, which valued religion, morals and customs and the strength and perseverance of the people.⁴¹⁹ Plot lines dealt with returning to the ways and morals of the family home and farm.

Religion occupies a major part in Heimat literature and because of this the historian Horst Jarka characterizes the Austrian Heimat literature as being more "God and Soil" rather than "Blood and Soil."⁴²⁰ The term "God and Soil" is apt because the Austrian Heimat literature was more spiritual and less racially-tinted than the German Heimat literature of the period. In many of their texts a religious tone prevails as the alpine land is praised for its beauty and majesty and its capacity for spiritual renewal. The works also emphasized faithfulness, perseverance, peace, and the cyclical pattern of nature. However, increasingly throughout the 1930s the Heimat literature of Oberkofler and others became similar to the "Blood and Soil" literature of National Socialism.

Oberkofler's effusive introduction for *Das schöne Tirol* described the sublime mountains of Tyrol that make one feel small and put daily life into perspective. They allow one to forget about the city and trivial office work.⁴²¹ Oberkofler remarked that a majestic and personal experience of the land makes an essential and incomparable impression, and that this impression is stronger and more meaningful than one could ever gain from a picture book.⁴²² In describing the necessity of a real personal experience, Oberkofler did not purport to devalue the usefulness of the book; rather he wanted to encourage the reader to travel. He explained that the book

⁴¹⁹ Gerhard Riedmann, *Heimat: Fiktion, Utopie, Realität: Erzählprosa in Tirol von 1890 bis heute* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1991).

⁴²⁰ Horst Jarka, "Austrofaschismus und Heimatkunst" *Modern Austrian Literature*, no. 2 (1982): 65-71.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴²² Oberkofler, "Kulturbild über Land und Volk" in Defner, *Das schöne Tirol*, 5.

should not be a substitute but a tease to encourage the reader to truly internalize its contents.⁴²³

He also wrote that the book should awaken its readers' perceptions and prepare them for an actual intimate experience of Tyrol.⁴²⁴

This didactic introduction's purpose is to provide a positive cultural image of the region and its people. After all, Oberkofler explains that the way to the heart and soul of the landscape is through the recognition and love of the *Volksseele* [soul of the people].⁴²⁵ Oberkofler thus provides a detailed and descriptive text on "the peasant." He elucidates the different typical character traits and distinctive qualities of the region's inhabitants, such as the sing-songy language of the Zillertaler and the seriousness of the Oberinntaler. Oberkofler also writes that the steadfast peasants are part of a clan. They are bound to their soil and would sacrifice everything for their Heimat.⁴²⁶

After an introduction that so heavily focuses on people and places, the reader likely expects to find photographs of the various communities within Tyrol and portraits of the peasants who inhabit them. Heimat photographer Adalbert Defner, however, was first and foremost a landscape photographer. The photobook primarily concerns Tyrol's natural beauty, not its customs and inhabitants, even if Oberkofler's introduction implies otherwise. Defner did not make many portraits and includes only one: a Wipptalerin in her traditional dress as she holds her hat and pensively gazes downward (Fig. 84). As the book's only portrait, it seems out of place, even though it does not stand out from its proximate context. The photograph is paired with a photograph of a religious procession and thereby suggests that the Wipptalerin is dressed

⁴²³ Ibid., 14.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ "Ein Weg zur Seele der Landschaft, vielleicht der behutsamste, der aber ins Verborgene führt, ist das Erkennen und Liebe der Volksseele." Ibid., 8.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 9-10.

in her Sunday attire and photographed during a moment of quiet religious reflection. All of the other photographs in the book are landscape photographs of meadows, mountains peaks, snow-covered landscapes, trees, flowers, tracks in the snow, animals, distant churches, medieval town streets, and farmhouses (Fig. 85). They do not relate to Oberkofler's description of different Tyroleans and peasant character. Only rarely do they include people, and when pictured, these people appear in the distance as inconsequential parts of the landscape. Even the streets of Innsbruck and other town views are largely empty of human presence or photographed in a manner that minimizes its significance (Fig. 86).

In spite of the prominent role religion plays in Tyrol, Oberkofler and Defner do not lend much weight to religion. Oberkofler only discusses religion briefly to describe its connection to nature. He writes of an all-powerful God of nature who binds the Tyroleans to their land.⁴²⁷ Religious subjects do not dominate Defner's oeuvre as the natural landscape does and he devotes only one small portion of the book to it. Defner's brief paragraph introducing the section "Village Churches, Chapels and Crucifixes" first explains that the buildings and crosses are telling signs of the pious Tyroleans, but the following two sentences refrain from any theological discourse.⁴²⁸ Defner instead emphasizes the colorful beauty of the Sunday dress and religious festivals and does not mention the religious significance of the occasions. The corresponding photographs are elegantly composed and matter of fact. Pages 48 and 49 depict churches. The first shows a tall thin steeple rising into the sky and a lone slender cypress tree mimicking its ascent, while the second depicts a rounded hill with a small church atop of it (Fig. 87). In the second photograph, branches in the foreground reach out to draw attention to the remote church, and the picturesque backdrop of the high snow-covered mountains. Although the inclusion of

⁴²⁷ Oberkofler, "Kulturbild über Land und Volk" in Defner, 10-11.

⁴²⁸ "Sind sie doch ein beredetes Zeugnis für den frommen Sinn der Tiroler." Defner, *Das schöne Tirol*, 47.

these buildings may suggest a certain reverence for them, neither view depicts a mystical or sublime moment of godly nature. Furthermore, the religious structures are pictured from a distanced viewpoint, which suggests that their architecture and formal placement within the landscape are of more importance. Even their respective titles *Schlankes Kirchlein / Leiblfiging bei Telfs* [Thin Little Church] and *Kalvarienberg / Arzl* [Calvary Mountain], which are minimal descriptions and location names, encourage a reading of the photographs that sees them as an every-day and non-poetic representation. The brief and documentary portrayal of religion in a very Catholic region suggests a respectful, but ultimately indifferent attitude toward organized religion. Defner himself was not a devout Catholic. He portrays religious subject matter in his work because it is part of the landscape and because photographs of churches and wayside crosses sold well.⁴²⁹

Defner's preface to his photographs, which follows Oberkofler's introduction, confirms his documentary approach. He states that the photographs are true and show nature exactly as it is.⁴³⁰ He cautions, though, that they are neither an exhaustive representation nor an illustrated geography and history of the land, but rather an attempt at depicting the beauty of Tyrol.⁴³¹ Indeed, Defner's compositions highlight the splendor of nature, more than anything else. His book includes multiple photographs of light shining through the forest trees, a *Rückenfigur* gazing out at the mountainous peaks and valleys (Fig. 88), and small alpine flowers (Fig. 89). These photographs indicate how Defner saw his Heimat. It is a personal and reflective view of the Heimat that presents a tamed natural space in which humanity is compatible with nature, exists within nature, and appreciates it.

⁴²⁹ This statement is based on a conversation with Defner's relatives about his work.

⁴³⁰ Defner, *Das schöne Tirol*, 16.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

The bulk of *Das schöne Tirol* is about the landscape of Tyrol. Produced amidst the waning political consensus and increased chaos that preceded the *Ständestaat*, it focused inwardly, on a prevalent concept of Heimat that was local and not at all national. Nevertheless, the photobook paved the way for future representations that used the landscape of Tyrol as a model for the idyllic alpine Heimat of Austria as propagated by the *Ständestaat*.

While Defner did not show any blatant enthusiasm for the *Ständestaat*, he seems to have exhibited the same passive attitude as other Heimat photographers during the *Ständestaat* regime. He did not completely remove his photographs from politics. During the *Ständestaat*, many of Defner's photographs from *Das schöne Tirol* could be found in politically tendentious magazines. In addition, *Das schöne Tirol* earned an admiring review in the heavily ideological and Catholic magazine *Schönere Zukunft* [A Better Future]. It praised Defner's excellent artistic portrayal of what is important and typical and it lauded Oberkofler's thoughtful portrayal of the cultural image of the land and its people.⁴³² Defner's landscape photographs of the Heimat were used within a propagandistic context because they perfectly fit into the ideal conception of Austria as put forth by the *Ständestaat*, an idyllic world of natural Alpine beauty.

Due to the success of his first photobook, Defner published another smaller photobook in 1935 (Fig. 90).⁴³³ Titled *Stille schöne Welt* [Quiet Beautiful World], it portrayed a peaceful nature using many of the same photographs first published in *Das schöne Tirol*. Defner also added more photographs depicting subjects that elicit sentimental responses, such as a cute bunny or a new-born baby. Placed across from Defner's close-up photographs of flowers, trees,

⁴³² "Defners Lichtbilder, künstlerisch gesehen, meisterhaft in der Erfassung des Wesentlichen und Typischen, vorzüglich ausgewählt, nehmen den Betrachter ganz gefangen. ...Der Dichter Joseph Georg Oberkofler leitet das Werk mit einem gedankentiefen und formschönen Kulturbild von Land und Volk ein." As cited on a promotional page in Adalbert Defner, *Stille Schöne Welt* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1935), 111.

⁴³³ Ibid.

insects, and other little pleasurable things in life, like the birthday of a two-year-old little girl, are short poems by prominent Heimat authors like Oberkofler and Mell. In *Geburtstag* [Birthday] a two-year old, who is most likely Defner's daughter, is standing at her little table decorated with a cake, flowers, and two candles (Fig. 91). The sappy poem, "Two years, two candles / beside each other, / the light remains in the heart / as the years pass," and the photograph are not typical Heimat photographs but their saccharine appearance sends a similarly affecting and nostalgic message.⁴³⁴ The image and poem return the reader to a time of youth and innocence. It is a personal image that is meant to conjure up similar associations and memories and in this way it embodies the Heimat. It is a return to a home of happiness and innocence.

Defner introduced the book by calling attention to the current time period that, because of technology and machinery, is new and full of change. Defner wrote with a mournful tone as he questioned the future, but his tone turned optimistic when he reminded the reader of all of God's creatures and their place within nature. Much like the Heimat activists, Defner believed that nature was the antidote to machines and modernity. Defner was not against machines per se, but rather he cautioned against forgetting nature in the wake of modernity. In returning to the natural world, Defner believed that one would be rejuvenated just by realizing how much beauty exists in the world. The purpose of the book, Defner explained, is to remind one of "*den schönen Götterfunken*"⁴³⁵ [the beautiful sparks from God] that can illuminate the grayness of everyday life.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁴ "Zwei Jahre, zwei Kerzen / die Jahre beisammen, / Das Licht halt im Herzen, / Wenn die Jahre vergehn." Ibid., 92.

⁴³⁵ The term "*schöner Götterfunken*" is most famously used in the first line of Friedrich Schiller's 1785 ode "*An die Freude*" (Ode to Joy). This connection would have been immediately recognizable.

⁴³⁶ "Und so sei der Zweck dieses Büchleins: den ‚schönen Götterfunken‘ einmal in dem oft so grauen Alltag unserer Zeit aufleuchten zu lassen." Ibid., 8.

As with *Das schöne Tirol, Stille Schöne Welt* is not openly political, but it is exemplary of a prevailing attitude about the fast and changing pace of modern life. As Defner's beliefs typify widespread Heimat sentiments, the book conformed to the ideals of the *Ständestaat*. While praising modern technology, it cautioned against its dominance and encouraged retreats to nature. The heavily illustrated cultural monthly magazine, *Ruf der Heimat*, which the Fatherland Front movement "New Life" published, reviewed the book and drew attention to both the book's aesthetic beauty and "ethical meaning," which it believed teaches the reader to notice the simple beauties of nature.⁴³⁷ The reviewer also praised the work for including Heimat authors such as Franz Braumann (1910-2003), Mell, and Oberkofler, who undoubtedly added value to the book.⁴³⁸ Most of their poems corresponded directly to the photographs and for the most part, they also spoke of nature, its perseverance, and its healing silence.

Most of the Heimat photobooks produced during the 1930s featured the landscape of Tyrol or used photographs from Tyrol as synecdoches of the Austrian Heimat in its entirety.⁴³⁹ Tyroleans were (and are still) extremely boastful about their rich history, art, and culture. They took pride in the fact that most peasants owned their property before it became commonplace in the rest of Europe.⁴⁴⁰ In many ways the state of Tyrol was the opposite of post-1918 Austria. The patriotism of Tyrol was so strong that at the end of the First World War, Tyroleans campaigned for their autonomy.⁴⁴¹ The *Ständestaat* reacted to this moment (and incidentally that of Vorarlberg which voted to become part of Switzerland) by dismissing it as an understandable reaction one could have during the confusing time in which the whole future of Austria was

⁴³⁷ -te., "Erlesene Bücher: Stille Schöne Welt" *Ruf der Heimat* no. 9/10 (1936), 31.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ The only other state that received a comparable amount of attention was Carinthia, yet not to the extent of Tyrol.

⁴⁴⁰ In 1848 the manorial system was lifted and the peasants were freed in the Habsburg lands. This allowed peasants to acquire property as well as forcing them to sell their goods at markets.

⁴⁴¹ For more on this, see Walter Goldinger and Dieter A. Binder, *Geschichte der Republik Österreich 1918-1938* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik), 47-50.

uncertain.⁴⁴² This official interpretation downplayed the role of state loyalties, which were indeed much stronger than national ones. However Tyrol's a strong sense of identity endured despite (and because of) its official break-up into an Austrian North and East Tyrol and an Italian South Tyrol. Throughout the inter-War years and especially after the Second World War, Tyrol remained more concerned about its 'unjust' separation from South Tyrol than with its relation to Austria. In spite of this inward focus, Austria relied heavily on the exemplary Heimat that Tyrol provided. To gain Tyrolean support, the *Ständestaat* adopted its nineteenth-century hero, Andreas Hofer (1767-1810), who fought to defend Tyrol against the occupying French army that later captured and killed him. Incidentally, Tyrol was also important for Germany. The alpine Association, for example, saw the state as emblematic of the cultural unity of Germany and Austria.⁴⁴³

In 1932, a photobook appeared that testified to the strength of the unity found within Tyrol. Heimat photographer and draftsman Hugo Atzwanger (1883-1960) published a thick photobook on South Tyrol titled *Um Eisack und Etsch: Wanderungen durch die Schönheiten des Etschlandes* [Around the Eisack and Etsch: Journeys through the Beautiful Etsch], which portrays the beautiful landscape and people in a descriptive traveling narrative (Fig. 92).⁴⁴⁴ It contains photographs by his brother Peter Paul and other photographers from South Tyrol. Like *Das schöne Tirol*, Hugo Atzwanger's book is not concerned with the troubled political situation but on the region, which for all intents and purposes he portrays as Germanic. His book, however, contains both descriptions and portraits of peasants who lived in the region (Fig. 93).

⁴⁴² Anton Klotz, "Das politische Gesicht der Alpenländer" *Österreich in Wort und Bild* 1, no.2 (1937), 8-11.

⁴⁴³ Keller, "Eternal Mountains, Eternal Germany," 56-57.

⁴⁴⁴ Hugo Atzwanger, *Um Eisack und Etsch: Wanderungen durch die Schönheiten des Etschlandes* (Bolzano: Vogelweider, 1932).

Given that it included the peasant population, it is more symptomatic of the photobooks that dominated production during the *Ständestaat*.

PEASANTS IN THE HEIMAT

Most Heimat photobooks produced during the *Ständestaat* and after focused on the alpine landscapes and peasants, who lived in age-old villages, cut off from advancements of modern civilization, and who earned their livelihood through farming. The books reiterate a typical and nationalist view of peasant culture that had been common since the late nineteenth-century in art and literature throughout Western Europe. As countries turned to their own histories and interiors to define themselves, they found large peasants populations that they viewed as a necessity for the well-being of society. Soon painters and authors across Europe began portraying peasants in an idealized light that underscored their toil in a hard but honorable life.⁴⁴⁵

As a natural and historical part of the nation, the peasants had to be idealized because emphasizing their impoverished life was not in the best interests of the nation. In essence, peasants and villagers became beautified as a kind of positive “Other” within. Like portraits of exotic natives in distant lands, these idealized peasant personages were largely inventions. They were a romanticized version of a type that in reality only partially existed. They built a paradoxical idea of a noble peasantry, a content and stable farmer class, on which the identity of the bourgeois class depended. The idealized humble, hard-working attitude of the peasant combined with sound religious virtue made the peasant an exemplary, albeit lower-class member of society. In Habsburg Austria, the taste for Biedermeier, bourgeois familial morals and

⁴⁴⁵ For more on the French painters’ idea of peasants, see Bradley Fratello, “Footsteps in Normandy: Jean-François Millet and provincial nostalgia in late-nineteenth-century France,” in *Soil and Stone: Impressionism, Urbanism, Environment*, eds. Frances Fowle and Richard Thomson, (Burlington, VT: Varie, Ashgate, 2003), 49-64.

sentiment, contributed to an image of peasants and mountain villagers that emphasized piety rather than field work.⁴⁴⁶ Royalty supported and contributed to the popularity of such peasant and landscape imagery. Around 1870 Viennese photographer Viktor Angerer photographed Kaiser Franz Josef I and his son Rudolf before a painted studio backdrop of the Alps (Fig. 94). By dressing in the local hunting costume of Tyrol, Franz Josef was assuming an identity similar to that of his wealthier Alpine subjects. The image made a strong statement about the Germanic Alpine population and their importance in establishing a rooted identity and upholding tradition amidst an increasingly modernizing society.

The *Ständestaat* picked up on this conservative view of the Alpine peasantry as a desirable “Other.” Peasants and their traditional non-industrial way of life were considered a valuable relic of Austria’s history and legitimacy as a nation. It is important to note that the peasants emphasized were always Alpine and Germanic. Absent from this image were Slavic or Jewish people or any other ethnic group. This is one reason why Tyrol provided the ideal landscape for the creation of an Austrian Heimat. The high Alpine peasant populations of Tyrol were relatively homogenous. The state of Tyrol had a small Jewish population but they mostly lived in towns like Innsbruck and Lienz.⁴⁴⁷

The ideal goal of the *Ständestaat* was to have a society based on occupational status that functioned along corporative lines. The *Ständestaat* shared much with the feudal state and so the peasant fit perfectly into the “new” model of society, which likewise restricted class movement

⁴⁴⁶ The Tyrolean-born painter Mathias Schmid (1835-1923), for example, focused exclusively on portraying well-off Tyrolean peasants, who appeared in romantic narratives wearing their traditional dress. By endowing the peasant class with significant symbolic value, Schmid’s paintings functioned to awaken interest in an idealized alpine land and subsequently, his works became advertisements for the tourism of Tyrol. See *Mathias Schmid und die Alpen: 1835 – 1923; Historienmaler, Genremaler, Zeichner und Illustrator* (Ischgl: Mathias-Schmid-Museum, 2002), 7-9.

⁴⁴⁷ In 1910, for example, there were 1,624 Jews in Tyrol. Peter Stöger, *Eingegrenzt und Ausgegrenzt: Tirol und das Fremde* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1999), 224. For a history of the Jews in Tyrol, see Günther Pallaver, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Tirol: Von den Anfängen im Mittelalter bis die neueste Zeit* (Bozen: Sturzflüge, 1986).

or unrest. The *Ständestaat*, furthermore, considered mountain communities a constructive example of good values because, despite economic hardship, these people could survive. They worked hard, possessed good Catholic character, and had the support of a tight-knit community. In 1937, Anton Klotz wrote an article titled “Das politische Gesicht der Alpenländer” [The Political Face of the Alpine Lands] for the *Ständestaat*’s publication *Austria in Word and Image*, in which he discussed the formidable traits of mountain peasants. Klotz wrote that the mountain peasant is representative of the alpine *Volk* and is often as poor as the unemployed in a big city, but money means very little to peasants because, for them, it is bread and the livestock that are important.⁴⁴⁸ Klotz continued, explaining that “the mountain peasant views urbanites as slaves to dull drudgery. On the other hand, he considers himself a true free man because he owns his land and has love and pride for the *Scholle* [the land].”⁴⁴⁹ The occupational class of the peasant was the only official *Stand* (and there were eight in total) besides the bureaucrats that actually existed and was regulated within the *Ständestaat*. Through promoting the population of the alpine lands, the *Ständestaat* helped cultivate and support the idea that Austria was just a simple Alpine country, filled with virtuous and hard-working people, who more than appreciated their existence and do not desire change.

In reality, though, Alpine peasant communities worked constantly, were poor, and struggled to make ends meet. The Austrian Fritz Macho, who also photographed the Alpine landscape and communities during the 1930s, made a strikingly different portrayal of this Alpine world.⁴⁵⁰ Although his photographs are similar to that of the Heimat photographers, his

⁴⁴⁸ Klotz, “Das politische Gesicht der Alpenländer,” 8.

⁴⁴⁹ *Scholle* literally means a clod of earth but its meaning in this case is much more complex as it is a term used in connection with peasantry and their obligatory ties to the land. Ibid., 9.

⁴⁵⁰ For more on Macho, see Peter Rosei, O. P. Zier and Peter Weiermair, *Menschen am Land: Fritz Macho in den 30er Jahren* (Salzburg: Residenz, 1981).

depictions show poverty. As a consequence, they can be more closely compared to American Social Documentary photography of the same time period.⁴⁵¹ However, Macho never published his photographs nor were they ever promoted by the state because of the realistic view.

The Heimat photographs and photobooks that were published during the *Ständestaat* romanticized the life of the peasantry through their representations in word and image. As the photographs literally depicted real moments from time, they authenticated the peasant as the same noble and pious being described in the corresponding texts by Heimat authors. Whether they were staged or not the photographs seemed to justify the sentimental poems and texts that similarly idealized the peasantry and their way of life. When seen alone, the reality effect of photography made the photobooks compelling works, but in their use as textual illustrations they became an even more convincing argument for the reality of the idyllic Heimat the *Ständestaat* promoted and for the continued existence of a hierarchical society based on occupational status.

In 1936, the influential Heimat photographers Peter Paul Atzwanger and Rudolf Koppitz, from the Graphic Institute in Vienna, included their Heimat photographs in books that focus on portraying alpine peasant communities. Both books supported a Heimat in which the peasant was idealistically revered for his strength and goodness, and yet each book provided a different notion of that Heimat.

Atzwanger published his book *Bauern in den Bergen* [Peasants in the Mountains] collaboratively with a well-known Tyrolean-born Heimat author, Karl Springenschmid (1897-

⁴⁵¹ Historian Peter Weiermair explains that Macho did not think of his photography as a project documenting the people, nor did he think of it as socially critical work. But, he nonetheless compared him to Walker Evans. See, Peter Weiermair, "Zur Photographie Fritz Machos," in Rosei, Zier and Weiermair, *Menschen am Land*, 119.

1981) (Fig. 95).⁴⁵² The 175-page book consists of themed chapters and contains 96 photographs that do not correspond directly to the text, but rather thematically to each chapter.⁴⁵³

Springenschmid's verbose text enshrines the mountains and peasant as a venerable part of society. The first chapter "Der Berg trägt die Welt" [The Mountains Support the World] speaks of the mountains with mystical reverence. They are larger than man, but they provide man with strength because they are free and without religion.⁴⁵⁴ The mountain landscape nurtures the power to persevere and it fulfills a primeval sense of longing for the whole.⁴⁵⁵ Springenschmid continued by comparing non-locals who only see the scenic views in the mountains with the peasant who is familiar with nature and thus has practical knowledge for life.⁴⁵⁶ In the following chapters, "Der Wald hat das Land" [The Forest has the Land], "Der Hof macht den Bauern" [The Farm makes the Peasant], "Die Arbeit ist eins mit dem Leben" [Work is One with Life], "Die Ruhe ist der Urgrund bäuerlichen Seins" [Peace and Quiet is the Foundation of Peasant Life], and "Das Leben liegt im Geschlecht" [Life is Couched in Gender], Springenschmid described all aspects of the lives of mountain peasants, from their surrounding natural environment to their character and social interaction. The text gives one the sense that the hard work of these communities binds them together. They survive on very little but they are content and this is most important.

Within the text Springenschmid addressed the peasants' place within modernity by responding to the prevalent conception that peasants oppose progress (modernity).

Springenschmid retorted by arguing that peasants were continuously involved in every age and

⁴⁵² Karl Springenschmid and Peterpaul Atzwanger, *Bauern in den Bergen* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1936).

⁴⁵³ The second edition, also published in 1936, only has 148 pages and 72 photographs. All citations reference the first edition unless otherwise noted.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-15.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-9.

move with society as it advances.⁴⁵⁷ The only difference was that they were more cautious of change because they know they carry the responsibility for the community.⁴⁵⁸ Springenschmid clearly defended peasants, their work, and their view of life.

Springenschmid's writing style is typical of Austrian Heimat authors of the time. His abundant descriptions demonstrate his sincere interest and passion for the subject. The affecting text, like the photographs, aims to arouse and sway the feelings of the reader to a similar viewpoint. Springenschmid does not refer directly to any of the photographs but the photographs do correspond to each chapter's theme. For example, the chapter "Life is Couched in Gender," tells about the role of the women and how children assist on the farm. It precedes sixteen photographs that depict separate male and female spheres of life, showing a traditional and patriarchal society. Only one photograph portrays a man and woman together, sitting by the hearth (Fig. 96). The elderly couple sits apart from each other as each stares off in a different direction. Even here, near the warm wood-burning stove, a cold and seemingly impenetrable distance between them exists. The composition is an intimate view of two subjects in their home, but they appear distant because of their stares, which so obviously place them in different worlds and reinforce their separate lifestyles. In other portions of the book, Atzwanger depicts men and women together, but these depictions show them at a time when everyone is present, such as during mealtime or the harvest. These group photographs, in particular, illustrate that the life in the mountains is dependent upon a communal effort, in which everyone contributes and shares in the success of the farm.

As a whole, the photographs in *Bauern in den Bergen* are not as venerating as Springenschmid's text. Atzwanger's preference for frank depictions is apparent, even though an

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 93.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

aesthetic sensibility and knowledge of artistic composition embellish his work. The photographs included in the photobook are many of the same photographs that were published in the *Bergsteiger* throughout the 1930s.

Historian Otto Hochreiter characterizes Atzwanger's photographs as a nostalgic and romanticized view of the mountain world.⁴⁵⁹ He believes as a whole they are removed from an ideological interpretation of peasant life because they show the effortlessly working peasant as charming and in full agreement with their environment.⁴⁶⁰ Hochreiter describes the portraits as portraying an inner peace and contemplation only possible within "Atzwanger's arcadia."⁴⁶¹ Hochreiter's portrayal of Atzwanger is misleading. While it is certainly possible to single out photographs that match his descriptions of arcadia, as a whole they are more balanced in their portrayal of mountain life. The intimate view that Atzwanger gives us in *Bauern in den Bergen* mostly shows harmony and contentment, but others show struggle and poverty. "Rauchküche (Tuxer Tal)" [Smoke kitchen (Tux Valley)] depicts a thin weathered man with his pipe sitting next to the stove in an austere kitchen (Fig. 97). The straightforwardness of photographs like this one in the book proclaims more naturalness than idealization. The wide-eyed stare of the man in the kitchen suggests that he was caught unaware and this detail adds to the candidness of the photograph. While many of Atzwanger's subjects are well off enough and have the money to own the traditional Sunday dress of the area, photographs like "Smoke Kitchen" stand out because they truly portray another dimension of mountain life: its harshness. Some of the photographs invite idealization but others eschew it. Whether they are ideal or not, these

⁴⁵⁹ Otto Hochreiter, "Ländliches Leben," in Hochreiter and Starl, *Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich*, 416.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid. and Otto Hochreiter, "Bäuerliches Leben in fotografischen Bildern," *Fotogeschichte* 2, no. 5 (1982): 51.

⁴⁶¹ "Die Bauernporträts sind in vielem bürgerlichen Porträts ähnlich, im Ausdruck jedoch bestimmt von jenem nichtrepräsentativen Habitus, jenem durch innere Ruhe geprägten Beisichsein, wie es nur in Atzwangers Arkadien möglich zu sein scheint." Hochreiter, "Ländliches Leben," in Hochreiter and Starl, *Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich*, 416.

photographs of peasants are not removed from a tendentious ideological context and interpretation. Atzwanger's photographs should be considered within their historical context as a whole body of work, whether it be in the *Bergsteiger* or together with Springenschmid's text in the photobook.

Although both Springenschmid and Atzwanger were Austrians and the photographs are of communities in Tyrol, the book was not pro-Austrian. As a school teacher and editor of "The Salzburg School," Springenschmid was forced to become a member of the Fatherland Front in 1934.⁴⁶² However, due to his critique of education in the *Ständestaat* and political Catholicism, the government forced him to retire one year later at 38. Springenschmid joined the still-illegal National Socialist party and helped politically persecuted cross the border into Germany. After the annexation to Germany in 1938, he gained a high-ranking post as an education consultant in Salzburg. Atzwanger, on the other hand, published some of his photographs in the National Socialist Heimat magazine *Volk und Welt*. In 1937 he even contributed an article titled "Die Alm" [The Mountain Pasture].⁴⁶³ The two-page article is a brief description of life on the mountain pasture, and specifically Atzwanger recounts a typical day on a dairy farm that makes cheese and butter to sell in the valley. Atzwanger's article is a neutral narrative account that does not make any reference to how peasants are tied to the land or Germanic. It literally just recounts daily activities. Atzwanger's fourteen photographs provide a different picture of life on the mountain pasture as they do not show a dairy farm but shepherds, peasants raking, and harvesting hay, a vintner, and Tyrolean girls on a Sunday.

⁴⁶² For more on the life of Springenschmid, see Wolfgang Laserer, *Karl Springenschmid: Biographie* (Graz: H. Weishaupt, 1987).

⁴⁶³ Peter Paul Atzwanger, "Die Alm" *Volk und Welt*, no. 10 (Oct. 1937): 91-100.

Atzwanger and Springenschmid, furthermore, chose the Munich fine art publishing company Friedrich Bruckmann to publish the book. Bruckmann's son Hugo, who ran the company, was an ardent supporter of the National Socialist party.⁴⁶⁴ It is telling that a National Socialist German published the book in 1936, and it most likely appeared after the *Juliabkommen* [July treaty] was made between Schuschnigg and Hitler, which granted amnesty to National Socialists in Austria and allowed for two National Socialist supporters to be members of the *Staatsrat* [executive advisory council]. The treaty also repealed the 1,000-Mark tax that Germany placed on tourists entering Austria. As a result, exchange between the two nations dramatically increased. And, more specifically, authors like Springenschmid could finally receive their revenues from books published in Germany.

In 1936, a second edition of the book appeared. Its dust jacket flap states that the author is able to show us from his own observations and German disposition “what valuable property and precious treasures our German folk has in the mountains, so that we will stand awestruck and devout before this healthy and powerful root of our German people.”⁴⁶⁵ This jacket flap speaks to a German public and it suggests that the second edition may have been intended solely for the German sale of the book.⁴⁶⁶ The German reception of the book was predictably favorable. A review in *Photographische Korrespondenz* zealously praised the two authors for successfully unifying image and text, even though as I have pointed out Atzwanger's photographs – when

⁴⁶⁴ For more on the publishing house, see Stefanie Klamm, “Bruckmann Verlag, Friedrich” in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, vol.1, ed. John Hannavy (New York: Routledge): 225-227.

⁴⁶⁵ “In diesen Abschnitten zeigt uns der Verfasser, der die Seele des Bergbauern und seine ganze Welt aus eigener Anschauung, aus seiner deutschen Gesinnung heraus, ... welch wertvolles Gut und welchen kostbaren Schatz unser deutsches Volkstum in den Bergen besitzt, so daß wir andächtig und ehrfürchtig vor dieser gesunden und kräftigen Wurzel des Baumes unseres deutschen Volkes stehen und das Buch am Ende hochbefriedigt aus der Hand legen.” Karl Springenschmid und Peterpaul Atzwanger, *Bauern in den Bergen*, 2nd ed. (Munich: F.Bruckmann, 1936), dust jacket flap.

⁴⁶⁶ I have yet to locate a dust jacket cover for the first edition of 1936.

viewed alone – do not necessarily illustrate what the text pronounces.⁴⁶⁷ Nonetheless, the reviewer emphasized a connection between them. Perhaps the order of the book was meant to prompt an ideal ideological reading of its contents by placing the photographs after the introductory text. In other words, the reader of the book would have to produce and see such unifying connections based on the text by Springenschmid. The success of this kind of reading and whether it was intended is of course difficult to gauge. Of Atzwanger the reviewer wrote, “...this home-grown mountain photographer creates pictures from an elemental force, which appear like woodcuts and illustrate the perfection of photographic technique.”⁴⁶⁸ The reviewers’ choice of words reveals more than his accolade. Atzwanger’s photographs are not at all similar to woodcuts, but the comparison is important. Woodcuts were the paragon of German art because it was the German artists, and Dürer especially, who mastered and popularized the technique. In making the comparison, the reviewer may have desired to bring out the Germanic qualities of Atzwanger’s photography and to make Atzwanger an exemplary German photographer.

The German interest and support of the book demonstrates how, in 1936, the Austrians were still being absorbed by and viewed as an important part of the (greater) German Heimat. It also indicates the willingness of the Austrians to work with and see themselves as part of Germany. As much as the books’ rhetoric corresponded to the National Socialist view of peasantry, which praised them as cultural heroes for their pure blood and tight relationship to their home, the land, it also corresponded to the prevailing view of the place of the individual within the *Ständestaat*.⁴⁶⁹ The Austrian illustrated cultural magazine *Die Pause*, which

⁴⁶⁷ Luis Kuhn, “Bauern in den Bergen,” *Photographische Korrespondenz* 72, no. 12 (1936): 171.

⁴⁶⁸ “Peter Paul Atzwanger, dieser erdverwachsene Bergphotograph, schafft Bilder von elementarer Wucht, die wie Holzschnitte wirken und die die Vollendung photographischen Könnens darstellen.” *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁹ George Lachmann Mosse, *Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural and Social Life in the Third Reich* (1966; repr., Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 2003), 134.

specifically promoted the ideology of the *Ständestaat*, reviewed the book, lauding its honest portrayal of the mountain farmers.⁴⁷⁰ Impressed, the reviewer wrote “this book is not fictional. It is true and surprisingly real and this provides the urban reader with feeling of something otherwise out-of-reach that is still alive and a valuable part of the people.”⁴⁷¹ Read within the context of the Austrofascist *Ständestaat*, a more “honest portrayal” based on the material realities of peasant life was not meant to be disparaging but, instead, inspirational. As shown in *Bauern in den Bergen*, the peasants are neither joyous nor sad. As the chapter “Work is One with Life” indicates, their work dictates the pattern of their life. They do not complain because work is essential and they were born for such work. They carry on the customs, are submissive, and are model citizens.⁴⁷² They associate only with their occupational class and do not question their work.

Both the National Socialists and the *Ständestaat* could praise *Bauern in den Bergen* because it had neither an Austrian nor a German nationalist tone and the only indication of the geographical location of the landscape pictured is in the titles, which are found in the back of the book. By not referencing a country or adhering to a specific nationalism, its contents could reaffirm the cultural ideologies being put forth by both nations. The book, therefore, further exemplifies the weakness and ultimate ambivalence of the Austrian *Ständestaat* in separating itself from Germany. The book’s importance lies in its idyllic pseudo-documentary

⁴⁷⁰ Ernst Scheibelreiter, “Neue Bücher” *Die Pause* 2, no.8 (1936-7): 60. The magazine began in April of 1935. For a detailed study of the magazine see Maria Margarethe Lasinger, “Wie Modern war doch die Biedermeierzeit: ‘Die Pause’ und andere Kulturzeitschriften im Ständestaat,” in Tabor, *Kunst und Diktatur*, 260-75; Lasinger, “‘Die Pause’ und andere Kulturzeitschriften zur Zeit des Austrofascismus.”

⁴⁷¹ “Dieses Buch ist nicht literarisch, es ist wahrhaftig und überraschend echt und schenkt in der Tat die Berührung mit etwas, das dem Städter und andersstämmigen Menschen sonst verschlossen bleibt und doch Lebenswirklichkeit eines wertvollen Teiles unseres Volkes ist.” Scheibelreiter, “Neue Bücher,” 60.

⁴⁷² Springenschmid, *Bauern in den Bergen*, 89-93.

representation of a peasant culture which both countries admired and saw as the foundation of their Heimat.

In the same year, Rudolf Koppitz also contributed to a book on the mountain populations of Austria. Koppitz's *Menschen der Berge* [People of the mountains] was part of a series titled *Deutsche Bergbücher* [German mountain books] published by Styria in Graz in a print-run of 4,000.⁴⁷³ The series' editor Hans Leifhelm (1891-1947) introduces the photobook by describing the relationship between man and the mountains. Leifhelm emphasizes the mountain's sublime power over man, writing that the mountains mold the alpine populations to survive its harsh environment. Leifhelm describes the age-old features of the strong mountain *Volk* that are found within each generation.⁴⁷⁴ He speaks respectfully of the roles women, children, farm-hands, timber men, hunters, craftsmen, priests, and teachers play in the tight-knit and self-sufficient mountain community, emphasizing the moral goodness and hard work of the alpine inhabitants. Leifhelm, however, also includes climbers and skiers as a part of this population. They come to the mountains along with the urban tourists to get away from the mundane every day and renew their lives.⁴⁷⁵ In concluding his loquacious introduction, Leifhelm states that the mysterious legends of the mountains are strong; not only do they call and produce an emotional response of awe and longing, but they also arouse personal contemplation and reflection.⁴⁷⁶ Leifhelm's thoughts about the mountains and its inhabitants reiterate the conservative ideas espoused by the government, which promoted a traditional and modern Heimat.

⁴⁷³ Hans Leifhelm, *Menschen der Berge* (Graz: Styria, 1936).

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 39.

The book's second half consists of short poetic texts placed across from full-page photographs. These texts reinforce the pictorial content to a high degree, suggesting that the photographs inspired Leifhelm's brief texts. *Kinder am Sonntag* [Children on Sunday], for example, speaks of the youth, beauty, and togetherness of the girls, who are pictured and dressed in their Sunday best on the opposite page (Fig. 98). The brief text informs us that although the harsh mountain life makes them earnest, they still possess a carefree and happy heart. Most importantly, mountain life has taught them to stay together in good and bad times.⁴⁷⁷ The corresponding photograph by Koppitz depicts five young girls standing in a close circle on a sloping mountain meadow. Their hair is neatly braided and they all wear long dark dresses with crisp light patterned aprons. Presumably the oldest is also the tallest. She stands above the rest and opposite her the profile of the smallest girl is just barely visible. She looks attentively at the others and the face of another girl is seen smiling with delight. Koppitz's viewpoint is just far enough away from the girls to not infringe upon their secret conversation. The positioning of them and their actions and appearance suggest innocence and an untroubled carefree youth. The photograph shows no indication of a harsh mountain life, but only of their friendship towards each other. Not coincidentally, the photograph resembles a similar one taken by Atzwanger and published in *Bauern in den Bergen* (Fig. 99).

The other photographs and texts within *Menschen der Berge* similarly present a positive view of mountain life. A handful of photographs included illustrate events of a religious nature, such as the ride of St. Leonhard and a supplicatory procession and a few depict typical practices such as plowing the land and mealtime (Fig. 100).⁴⁷⁸ *Menschen der Berge* includes several

⁴⁷⁷ "Eingeboren ist ihnen schon das Gesetz der Berge: zusammenzustehen in guten wie in bösen Tagen in treuer Kameradschaft." Leifhelm, *Menschen der Berge*, 50.

⁴⁷⁸ St. Leonhard is the patron saint of farm animals, especially of the horse.

photographs by Hans Hannau as well as other less-well known photographers, but Koppitz took the majority (twenty-four out of the thirty-two) of the photographs.⁴⁷⁹ They are mostly portraits of the different social and character types found within the alpine communities, such as the first born, the small farmer, the farmer of the ancestral estate, the landlord, the poor farmer, the old maid, the craftsman, the farm hand, the coal man, and so on (Fig. 101).

Leifhelm explains the role of each member of the community in the introduction and in particular in the descriptive texts on the pages directly opposite the photographs. In *Die Einzige vom Hof* [The Only Heir to the Farm], a young woman dons her finest holiday dress against a backdrop of an Alpine village and landscape (Fig. 102). Leifhelm tells us that she will follow in her ancestor's footsteps, she knows what lies ahead of her and her boundaries, and, slowly, she grows nearer to her betrothed.⁴⁸⁰ She will be a strong mother and will not leave the Heimat for she always brings joy to the farm and when she wears her festive silk dress and jewelry, she is seen as a treasure in the community.⁴⁸¹ The reportage-like narrative and subtle typological classification apparent in Leifhelm's writing suggests that he purports to tell the truth and that the photographs are proof of real representative types. While the photographs in the book represent this validation to a certain extent, they are also a selection of ideal types, placed within an ideal context. In a different photograph, not published within the book, Koppitz photographed the same young woman again, albeit with her two young children (Fig. 103). She is, in other words, not the single young woman who Leifhelm describes her to be, but rather an embodiment of how that type should ideally appear.

⁴⁷⁹ Five photographs are by Hans Hannau, two are by an unknown photographer from Eisenerz named Farkas, and one is by a local Graz photographer, Arnulf von Weittenhiller.

⁴⁸⁰ Leifhelm, *Menschen der Berge*, 58.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

Koppitz's artistically composed Heimat photographs rely on specific formal moves to amplify the idyllic qualities of the Heimat. He often shrouds his subjects in soft light or aestheticizes them through an artful composition that emphasizes beauty. In *Die Einzige vom Hof*, Koppitz focuses on the textures of the woman's dress and jewelry as he creates an impression of the mountain landscape behind her. Her clasped hands, attentive gaze, and slightly open mouth suggest earnestness. We are led to believe that her pose is not staged but is rather a captured moment. Although Koppitz was known for his orchestrated studio portraits, the photograph suggests honesty and Leifhelm's descriptive text seems to affirm this. Each resulting combination of text and image in the book produces a different validation of the ideal Heimat, in which each member of the peasant society has their place and is perfectly content with their prescribed role.

With the portrayal and description of different members of the mountain community, Leifhelm and Koppitz both tap into a form of representation that was extremely popular at the time.⁴⁸² In 1929, German photographer August Sander (1876-1964) published his photobook *Antlitz der Zeit* [Face of the Time], which was part of a larger project dedicated to building an archive of individuals that would collectively portray the German people.⁴⁸³ Sander's monumental project represented the whole of society and included social and professional differences. Although Sander chose representative types who happened to live in the Rheinland, he did not limit his ambitious project to depicting peasant populations. However, much like his contemporaries, Sander did consider the peasant class to be a foundation for the rest of society.

⁴⁸² Leesa Rittelmann, "Facing Off: Photography, Physiognomy, and National Identity in the Modern German Photobook," *Radical History Review*, no. 106 (Winter 2010): 137-161.

⁴⁸³ August Sander and Alfred Döblin, *Antlitz der Zeit: Sechzig Aufnahmen deutscher Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Transmare Verlag, 1929).

The onset of modernity and the disappearance of a large peasant class were the genesis of his project to record the surviving segments of the population.

While Sander's project did not project an overt racial or political motive, he associated with progressive artists in Cologne and was more left-leaning in his political views.⁴⁸⁴ The project though speaks to the ubiquity of typological classification, which was so common at the time that it cannot immediately be deemed as a complicit part of the National Socialist program. Furthermore, the National Socialists denigrated Sander's book and project because of his portrait of society included all types, not just the ideal and favorable ones.⁴⁸⁵ The sheer prevalence and acceptance of typologies, though, facilitated their ideological appropriation if the conditions were favorable. Photographic classification systems based on the peasant community were also well-suited for the *Ständestaat's* model of society. They also focused on a Germanic population and thus, often cohered to the National Socialist platform.⁴⁸⁶

The topic of the mountain peasant populations had also found favor in Germany because it represented an unchanging population that was bound to the land and defined as truly German. In the same year *Menschen der Berge* was published, the German photographer Erna Lendvai-Dircksen (1883-1962) published a small photobook on mountain peoples, titled *Bergmensen*

⁴⁸⁴ For more on the Cologne Progressives, see Lynette Roth, *Painting as a Weapon: Progressive Cologne 1920-1933* (Cologne: Walther König, 2008).

⁴⁸⁵ For more on Sander's larger project see Lange Susanne and Gabriele Conrath-Scholl, eds. *Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts: Studienband* (Munich: SK Stiftung Kultur, 2001) and Ulrich Keller, *August Sander: Citizens of the Twentieth century: Portrait Photographs 1892-1952* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1986).

⁴⁸⁶ It should be noted here that the *Ständestaat* did not pay much attention to a race as a way of legitimizing the Austrian state and a grand racial program did not exist. This lack of emphasis was yet another way in which it tried to distance itself from the National Socialists. For more on this identity, see Suppanz, *Österreichische Geschichtsbilder*, 61. Although anti-Semitism was not dealt with in visual propaganda or even as a major concern of the government, it did certainly exist during the time period. As historian Michael Steinberg remarks, much of the anti-Semitism during this time was more social than it was political. For more on this and a discussion of the problem of assimilated Jews, see his chapter "The Catholic Culture of Austrian Jews, 1890-1938" in Steinberg, *Austria as Theater and Ideology*, 164-195.

(Fig. 104).⁴⁸⁷ Her book also appeared with Bruckmann as a part of its series *Deutsche Meisteraufnahmen* [Masterpieces of German Photography] and it too was issued in a second edition. In her introduction to the book, and much like Leifhelm, Lendvai-Dircksen claimed that the landscape shapes its people and that they in turn, physically resemble the landscape around them. She considered the larger sublime landscape and the small landscape, which humans inhabit. On the following pages, she paired portraits with natural landscapes or portraits with objects from a human landscape, like the folk mural on the exterior wall of a house (Fig. 105). At the end of the book, Lendvai-Dircksen provided detailed photographic notes on each work. She also explained that she informed each of her subjects of the purpose and goal of her photography.

Lendvai-Dircksen is best known for her nine-volume publication series, *Das deutsche Volksgesicht* (*The Face of the German People*), the first volume of which was published in 1934 and the rest followed in the years 1940-1944. During the wars years, she published two editions in the same series of a photobook titled *Tirol und Vorarlberg*, which had a print-run totaling 16,000.⁴⁸⁸ The books of photographs functioned as physiognomic typologies, which the National Socialists extolled since they saw them as exemplary portraits of the “true” Aryan race.

When the work of Lendvai-Dircksen is mentioned within the history of photography or presented in an exhibition, it is always discussed in the same manner. The portraits are seen as supporting an idealized racial theory that was only really based on exterior appearances, despite its attempt to reach further and suggest character. Scholar Pierre Vaisse, for example, uses one of Lendvai-Dircksen’s many artfully retouched close-ups or bust length portraits to demonstrate her

⁴⁸⁷ Lendvai-Dircksen, *Bergmenschen*.

⁴⁸⁸ Erna Lendvai-Dircksen, *Das Deutsche Volksgesicht : Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Bayreuth: Gauverlag bayerische Ostmark, 1941). The second edition was published in 1943. For more on Lendvai-Dircksen’s photobooks, see Franziska Schmidt, “‘Das deutsche Volksgesicht’: Die Fotobücher von Erna Lendvai-Dircksen zwischen 1931 und 1944” *Fotogeschichte* 30, no. 116 (2010): 45-58.

construction of an ideal race and he juxtaposes her work with that of Sander.⁴⁸⁹ Vaisse brings attention to the formal compositional differences between their bodies of work, such as the sculpting light and close-up views in Lendvai-Dircksen's portraits versus more even toning and distanced views in Sander's.⁴⁹⁰ These visual characteristics heighten the separation between their alternative beliefs and methods for documenting society. Photo historian Matthew Witkovsky writes of Lendvai-Dircksen's preference for monumentalizing the sitter through compositional techniques that evoke emotional responses in the viewer, and then he contrasts this strategy with Sander's belief in truthfulness and honest depiction.⁴⁹¹

Witkovsky frames his terse discussion of her work by citing Lendvai-Dircksen's early and consequently, life-changing realization that the face of one individual can stand for the whole.⁴⁹² Knowing that Lendvai-Dircksen's ideas and work began in 1916 reminds us that the interest in classifying the Germanic race was already prevalent well before the start of the Second World War. Although she was more than complicit in allowing her work to be assimilated into racial theory and the propaganda machine of Nazi Germany, her photographs encompass more than this.⁴⁹³ A portrait of an old peasant woman in her *Walser* dress, which was only still worn by the older members of the village, represents a common desire to classify and preserve this segment of society, a segment represented a way of life that was disappearing in the wake of modernization (Fig. 106). Like most of her portraits, Lendvai-Dircksen portrays just the sitter and most often focuses on the face or character (of which the folk costume is an important indication) without situating them in an environment. The background is usually dark and allows

⁴⁸⁹ Pierre Vaisse, "The Portrait of Society" in *A New History of Photography*, edited by Michel Frizot (Cologne: Könemann, 1998): 510-511.

⁴⁹⁰ Vaisse, "The Portrait of Society," 510.

⁴⁹¹ Witkovsky, *Foto*, 163-164.

⁴⁹² Witkovsky, *Foto*, 163.

⁴⁹³ Lendvai-Dircksen was a Nazi press club member.

the sitter's physical facial features to stand out as they are dramatically lit in an impressive manner.

The photographs by Lendvai-Dircksen appear as finely composed and affecting portraits, which by way of their aesthetic artistry attract the attention of the viewer. Contrary to the wishes of the National Socialists, however, their physical features do not cry out right-wing ideas.⁴⁹⁴ It is their historical context, which includes their placement within Lendvai-Dircksen's series, their combination with her texts and her personal belief in racial physiognomic theory, that allow the formal qualities of her images to come to stand for the National Socialist ideology. Placed alongside Koppitz's portrait of *Hofbäuerin* [Wealthy Peasant], the formal traits of Lendvai-Dircksen's work that would signal political meanings are more difficult to pick out (Fig. 107). Koppitz's photograph similarly portrays a peasant woman against a black background and he focuses on her face and her gaze. Although the right wing had a preference for certain types of depictions – those that emphasized physiognomically significant traits – there are no set parameters and there is no clear-cut stylistic line. For example, it is also easy to find an example of Lendvai-Dircksen's photography that more closely corresponds to Koppitz's body of work, which usually depicted the full peasant body within an environment, a reference to their Heimat (Fig. 108).

The photographs of both Lendvai-Dircksen and Koppitz show an interest in artistry and both made portraits that concentrate on the face of the individual. Unlike Lendvai-Dircksen, who wrote about race, it is difficult to know Koppitz's thoughts on his peasant portraits and politics. While it is clear that he was fascinated by the alpine populations and subscribed to a nostalgic view of them, he did not write about them. Furthermore, Koppitz died unexpectedly in 1936 and

⁴⁹⁴ Importantly, Vaisse makes note of this. See Vaisse, "The Portrait of Society," 510.

one can only speculate as to which direction his photography would have turned. Nonetheless, in *Menschen der Berge*, Koppitz's representation of peasants, which blended typology with aestheticization, persuasively reinforced the stereotypes being used to define the Germanic people. Thus, the book played a role in erasing regional differences among Austrians to establish an identity based on Alpine peasants, but it also fed into the idea of a pan-Germanic identity.

After Koppitz's death, his work continued to be published in Austria and his Heimat-themed photographs were especially popular. Koppitz's beloved photograph *Little Sister* appeared in the December 1937 issue of *Österreich in Wort und Bild*, which the *Ständestaat* Heimat Service established a month prior to inform Austrians of worthy cultural, political, and economic events. In memory of his work and contribution to photography, Rudolf Junk, the Director of the Graphic Institute, published a book showcasing twenty four of his photographs and hailed him as a great master of photography.⁴⁹⁵

THE AUSTRIAN HEIMAT PAR EXCELLANCE

In 1935, the Heimat and ski photographer Stefan Kruckenhauser came up with an idea to make a photobook about Austria. He wrote that living in mountainous Austria provided him with a sense of balance and he considered himself lucky to live in such a Heimat as his Austria.⁴⁹⁶ Kruckenhauser therefore planned a three-volume book portraying Austria, divided into landscape, sculpture and architecture, and people. The first end result *Verborgene Schönheit: Bauwerk und Plastik aus Österreich* [Hidden Beauty: Architecture and Sculpture from Austria] was to be published with Tyrolia and was supposed to be the planned series titled *Heimliche Wunder Österreichs* [Secret Wonders of Austria]. In the fall and winter of 1936, advertisements

⁴⁹⁵ Josef Gottschammel and Rudolf Hans Hammer, eds., *Rudolf Koppitz* (Vienna: Die Galerie, 1937).

⁴⁹⁶ Emberger, "Zum Leben Stefan Kruckenhausers," 11.

for the future book appeared inside and on the cover of *Ruf der Heimat*, featuring photographs by Kruckenhauser. The first *Unteres Waldviertel* [Lower Waldviertel] depicts a woman raking hay who is barely visible against the vastness of the field behind her, while the cover photograph depicted the famed gothic altarpiece in Kefermarkt (Fig. 109). The ads indicate that the photographs were from volume two and three in the series. Shortly thereafter, however, Kruckenhauser supposedly became angered by the publisher's demands, which included requests for more distanced town views, rather than the photographs of interiors that Kruckenhauser had already spent months photographing due to poor weather and lighting conditions outside.⁴⁹⁷ The conflict escalated to the point that Kruckenhauser stopped negotiating with Tyrolia and began working with Otto Müller, who had just founded a new publishing house in that year. Despite this change, the book was still expected to appear as a part of the planned series, but with the title "Architecture in Austria." The project even had the support of Ignaz Zangerle.⁴⁹⁸

Kruckenhauser's book, however, did not appear until the fall of 1938 after Germany's annexation of Austria. The book appeared with its original title, "Hidden Beauty," although the latter part was changed to reflect the political situation: the word Austria was replaced with *Ostmark* [Eastern March] which labels Austria as the eastern part of the Reich.

Even though Kruckenhauser ended his work with Tyrolia in 1937 and was resolved to work on the project with Müller, the publishers at Tyrolia continued the project with another Austrian Heimat photographer, Simon Moser (1901-1988). Moser was most likely a self-taught amateur photographer. He was born in Jenbach, Tyrol and had a long history of schooling. He studied law and scholastic philosophy at the University of Innsbruck and continued his studies in mathematics, economics, classics, and philosophy in Germany, where he earned his second

⁴⁹⁷ Michael Mauracher, "Die 'Verborgene Schönheit'" in *Stefan Kruckenhauser*, 61.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

doctorate in philosophy at Freiburg under the guidance of Martin Heidegger in 1932. Thereafter, he worked as a professor at the University in Innsbruck until, beginning in 1937, he took up a position at the University of Vienna. Moser appeared on the photography scene in the 1930s, consistently publishing his photographs in *Ruf der Heimat* and other *Ständestaat*-endorsed cultural magazines such as *Die Pause*. In 1934, he participated in the third international photography exhibition of the *VöAV* at the Vienna *Künstlerhaus*.

Moser must have also been involved in the project from the beginning because in May of 1936 *Ruf der Heimat* was already advertising Moser's book *Bergwelt und Bergvolk* [Mountain World and Mountain People] as the first volume in the series. The July-August edition stated that the first volume in the series was to be published in the fall of 1936 as *Österreichs Landschaft und Volk* [Austria's Landscape and People], the second in winter as *Österreichs weltliche Kunst* [Austria's World Art], and the third in the spring of 1937 as *Österreichs kirchliche Kunst* [Austria's Religious Art].⁴⁹⁹ Presumably, Moser was to complete the first volume, while Kruckenhauser was responsible for the subsequent two. But this is not entirely clear and in part because the announcements for the book kept changing their content. Only in late 1937 was Moser's book published as *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk* [Austria's Mountain World and Mountain Peoples] (Fig. 110) in conjunction with the work society "Young Austria" and Tyrolia.

According to the book's preface, the project originated with the Bruder-Willram-Bund in Tyrol, of which Moser was a member. Founded in 1924, this cultural club was comprised of poets, painters, musicians, sculptors, writers, and scientists. During the *Ständestaat* regime, it worked with the government to champion Heimat culture. Its members believed in Austria's political mission as a cultural power that needed to be supported and built up accordingly

⁴⁹⁹ "Mit neuen Augen...." *Ruf der Heimat*, no. 7/8 (1936), 31.

through cultural propaganda.⁵⁰⁰ It is at present unknown if Moser and the *Bund* thought of a similar project independently of Tyrolia and Kruckenhauser or who was ultimately responsible for the continuation of the project with Moser. Nevertheless, the conflict demonstrates that a number of people and both photographers were keen on representing Austria's culture and beauty in a photobook, and that they did so in support of the *Ständestaat*. It also illustrates the disorganization among *Ständestaat* endorsed projects that was all too common.

Unlike Kruckenhauser, whose support of the *Ständestaat* seems to have been restrained, Moser was an outspoken and ardent fan of the *Ständestaat*. He even worked as a cultural advisor for the Fatherland Front organization "New Life." In 1937, Moser published an article detailing Austria's responsibility to its youth. In it, Moser discusses how the youth of today need a balance between instinct and emotion and between volition and understanding.⁵⁰¹ He believed that they have to be taught an aristocratic hierarchy of values again and that Austria was a land of promising talent and organic growth. For Moser, it was important that Austrian youth also be engaged in a critical and concrete cultural debate about National Socialism because such discussion would allow them to become aware of Austria's positive desire to develop.⁵⁰² Moser professed a critical opinion towards National Socialism but he also recognized the danger of Austria becoming too much of a Baroque Catholic state.⁵⁰³ Nevertheless, Moser adamantly supported the *Ständestaat* and he worked in educational policy to improve the future of Austria.

Despite Moser's clear involvement with the *Ständestaat*, no scholar heretofore has revealed his collaboration nor have they critically examined his photobooks. In the only

⁵⁰⁰ Ignaz Zangerle, "Kulturaufgaben" *Ruf der Heimat*, 9/10 (1937), 238.

⁵⁰¹ Simon Moser, "Österreichs Aufgabe vor der heutigen Jugend," *Ruf der Heimat*, no. 9/10 (1937), 239.

⁵⁰² "Österreich ist ein Land der reifenden Talente und des organischen Wachstums.... Wir dürfen nicht zurückscheuen vor einer konkreten kulturauseinandersetzung mit dem Nationalsozialismus.... wir müssen... unseren positive Aufbauwillen beweisen und dokumentieren." *Ibid.*

⁵⁰³ "Die Gefahr eines Barockkatholizismus, einer versteinerten religiösen Tradition muß brennend vor uns stehen." *Ibid.*

monograph on Moser, published in 1978, Wolfgang Pfaundler erroneously characterized Moser's photography as emphasizing the laborious work of the peasants rather than creating a rural ideal. Although Pfaundler admits that Moser's photographs contain something of the meaty Blood and Soil ideology, he downplays the significance of his observation. Furthermore, Pfaundler's obviously nostalgic voice, which laments the lost rural world Moser photographed, discredits his own critical opinion.⁵⁰⁴ Five years later, in 1983, Otto Hochreiter similarly characterized Moser within Austrian Heimat photography, stating that he was more concerned with documenting the hard life of peasants than he was with aestheticizing his imagery.⁵⁰⁵ Moser, however, created artistic and original compositions that enriched the presentation of a rural alpine idyll and thus authenticated the *Ständestaat's* ideological program. Both Pfaundler and Hochreiter's viewpoints remind us of the importance of context and the malleability of photographic meaning because neither took an in-depth look at Moser's life or his photographic works, where they appeared and how they were used.

Moser's photobook finally appeared in the fall of 1937. It consisted chiefly of photographs, which corresponding Heimat texts by well-known authors supplemented. A regional councilor of the *Ständestaat*, Wilhelm Wolf (1898-1939), wrote a one-page preface for the book. Wolf worked in the national ministry of education, headed the cultural policy division within the federal news service and previously served as the editor of the right-wing publication *Österreichische Rundschau*. His endorsement of the book was an important part of the government's deliberate attempt to control culture and shape how one should view Austria. In the preface, he explains that the book is not just being made for profit, but is rather meant as an

⁵⁰⁴ Wolfgang Pfaundler, *Simon Moser. Tirol: Menschen & Landschaften, 1925-50* (Vienna: Molden, 1978), 5-6.

⁵⁰⁵ Otto Hochreiter, "Ländliches Leben: Zur Darstellung des Bauern und der Alpinen Landschaft," in *Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich*, ed. Otto Hochreiter and Timm Starl (Bad Ischl: Verein zur Erarbeitung der Geschichte der Fotografie in Österreich, 1983), 418.

educational text for the people. As such, Wolf believes, it will contribute to the “Austrian genius” that already lies deep within the landscape and culture.⁵⁰⁶ Wolf writes that the book should not just serve as eye candy, but also function as a call to the reader to “*Erkennet Österreich!* [Get to Know Austria]” as a country that has always had a landscape rich in history and culture.⁵⁰⁷ Wolf dedicates the book in memory, thanks, and never-ending love to this “*Mutterboden deutschen Volkstum in Österreich*” [the rich motherland of German cultural heritage in Austria].⁵⁰⁸

Following Wolf’s preface is a brief introduction by Moser, in which he reinforces the importance of possessing a feeling for what is Austrian, specifically in regards to the Alpine regions. Moser explains that his photography aims to show what is Austrian about the Alpine country and its inhabitants; they are meant to give a sense of a characteristically Austrian Alpine life.⁵⁰⁹ Moser considers his photographs as impressions only; they are not a comprehensive and real image of mountain life.⁵¹⁰ Although Moser does not claim to have made a documentary book about the alpine communities, paradoxically he tries to summarize Austria in his book and document a sense of it. In effect, what Moser is presenting with his photographs is an ideal Austria, one defined by the alpine Heimat, where the small communities are happy and everything is wonderful and beautiful.

Like much Heimat photography, this 220-page photobook at first appears simple and apolitical. The photobook can easily be looked at and read for its aesthetic face value. The romantic scenery of the mountainous landscape is seductive and Moser’s viewpoint and

⁵⁰⁶ Wilhelm Wolf, ‘Zum Geleite’ in Moser, *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk*, 5.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ “Das Ziel ist indes nicht eine kartographisch getreue Aufnahme des Berglebens und Bergerlebens, vielmehr wird darnach getrachtet, in einzelnen charakteristischen Ausschnitten das Wesen des Alpenlandes und des Alpenvolkes österreichischer Prägung ahnen zu lassen.” Moser, *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk*, 7.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

photographic understanding make the vistas all the more impressive. Moser applies his keen sense of aesthetic artistry to the landscape. Dramatic photographs of the steep precipices and mountain-filled skies depict the natural beauty of the landscape, while sweet young farm animals and smiling peasants are photographed in lush pastures and bathed in a delicate light affirming the beauty of their way of life (Fig. 111). Changing between frontal and angular and above and below, his viewpoint creates a sequence that remains interesting with each turn of the page. The photographs placed opposite each other usually relate formally. As with Koppitz's photography, it is easy to perceive the influence of the New Vision photography on Moser's work. For example, on pages 130-131 photographs of a Corpus Christi celebration and village music are both taken from angled viewpoints that emphasize form and repetition (Fig. 112). The priests holding their banners are aligned, just as the tuba players form a diagonal. Other photographs demonstrate Moser's ability to work with light and present it in attractive alluring photographs is brought out in the lushly printed gravure photographs. The tonal contrasts, compositions and placement of the photographs make the photobook eye-catching and enticing. In reading the book, the viewer will most likely be seduced by the beauty of the Heimat and this is, in turn, what made the book a successful piece of propaganda for the *Ständestaat*.

As a whole the photobook presents an idyllic and selective view of Alpine life. The beauty of the land, however, can just as easily be placed and read within its historical and political context. Most of Moser's portraits, for example, show peasants who are smiling and happy (Fig. 113). Their grins make their fulfilling lifestyle seem enviable. Photographs that show the peasants working the land are taken from further aback so that they do not show tired and worn faces. Furthermore, Moser's use of light and his understanding of form help him to create compositions that emphasize the beauty of the working subject, as this is portrayed more than the

subject itself. For example, in *Weizenernte* [Wheat Harvest] a woman is bending down with her sickle to cut the wheat (Fig. 114). The sickle's circular shape shines brightly in the sun and it mimics the circular brim of her straw hat, which is likewise illuminated. The wheat grains shoot up in front of her body, connecting her to the land.

Moser's photographs do not completely disguise the fact that peasant labor is physically taxing. His attractive compositions show the indefatigable strength and will of the peasant. Pages 98 and 99 show a young man mowing hay and an elderly woman with a pitch fork (Fig. 115). In the *Der Mäher* [the Mower], the young man's sickle is not visible, only his twisting body, which moves with grace and power in a downward sweeping motion. The woman moves more slowly up the mountain, using her fork to push herself forward. The soft misty light places the woman in another beautiful world removed from a stark realism. While it is clear that she is not young anymore, her upward movement and the strong diagonal line that she creates suggest that her strength perseveres. To reinforce this particular reading of the photograph, Moser titles it *Noch immer unermüdlich beim Bergheu* [Still Tireless While Making Hay in the Mountains].

Regardless of the exact Heimat subject matter depicted, all of Moser's photographs in the book match the idea of the alpine Heimat that the *Ständestaat* promoted. It was a beautiful landscape that, relatively unaffected by modernity, the government publicized as living Austrian history – still intact, alive, and unchanged.⁵¹¹ Photographs depicting sunlight streaming through the clouds and quaint churches suggested a heavenly and blessed Catholic land of beauty, while the earnest and expressive faces in Moser's portraits of the elderly pointed to a long and tradition-filled history. Similarly, the peasants farming their land with simple tools or

⁵¹¹ There are numerous references to this idea throughout *Ständestaat* propaganda. Wolf, for example, describes the Austrian Heimat as what the book shows, a centuries-old, living mother earth; see Wolf, 'Zum Geleite' in Moser, *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk*, 5.

participating in traditional Heimat festivities supported the idea of continuing a time-honored community. Even photographs of piglets and lambs affirm that the traditional and simple lifestyle is, despite its demands, fully rewarding and beautiful (Fig. 116).

The traditional “Austrians” in the photobook are viewed in tandem with modern “Austrians,” who seem effortlessly to conquer the demands of the Alpine landscape by using the most advanced sporting techniques (Fig. 117). Photographs of expert downhill skiers at the close of the book titillate the reader to experience this thrilling modern alpine sport (Fig. 118). The photographs show their skill as they picture the skiers from a distanced view, emphasizing the artistry of their movement as they carve through the fresh snow. Promoting the cultivation of the Alps and development of mountain sports was part of the small country’s plan to be a competitive and progressive tourist destination.

The *Ständestaat* endorsed *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk* and copies of it included a textual insert in which the minister of education Hans Pernter announces the significance of the book for the Heimat of the new Austria.⁵¹² His euphoric tone extols the beauty of Austria and its representation in the book. Pernter proclaims that whoever loves Austria will love this book, in which the photographs and text bring the secret wonders of Austria to life.⁵¹³ Without a doubt, Pernter believes, they speak to every Austrian heart and especially those of Austrian youth.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹² This loose insert was found within a copy of the book owned by the Albertina in Vienna. Unfortunately, not all copies of the book still have this insert.

⁵¹³ “Wer Österreich liebt, der muß auch dieses schöne Werk lieben, das in so vielen prachtvollen Bildern den heimlichen Zauber Österreichs lebendig werden läßt, der muß seine helle Freude daran haben, daß dieses Werk als Hohes Lied österreichischer Heimatliebe geschaffen wurde.” Dr. Hans Pernter in Moser, *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk*, n.p.

⁵¹⁴ “Aus österreichischem Geiste geboren, muß es zu jedem österreichischen Herzen sprechen, besonders zum Herzen der österreichischen Jugend....” Ibid.

His text also indicates his hope that the book would become an important building block for the new Austria.⁵¹⁵

In conforming to the Alpine identity the *Ständestaat* was trying to create for Austria, the book emphasizes Austria's mountains. The emphasis on Austria is important because it differentiates Moser's project from that of Koppitz and Atzwanger, which generalized the mountain environment. Originally, Moser's book was to be titled *Österreichs Landschaft und Volk* [Austria's Landscape and People], yet it was altered to *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk*.⁵¹⁶ Although the reasons for this change are not certain, the use of "mountain world" transforms the meaning from simply "landscape" – a nondescript piece of land that could be anywhere – to a "mountain world," a whole environment that exists independently, is Austrian, and is defined by its mountains.

Unlike Koppitz's and Atzwanger's books, *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk* excludes peasant typologies and generalized descriptions of character traits. By 1937, the *Ständestaat* was becoming desperate to differentiate itself from Germany. Perhaps including a description of the alpine population's character would have emphasized the Germanness of Austrians since Austrians and Germans were viewed as having the same ethnicity and character traits. Many during this time, including the Austrian literary historian Josef Nadler, believed that the difference between Austrians and Germans was only one of *Stamm*, or clan. Only because of historical circumstances had these ethnically similar clans separated – and thus they should be reunited.⁵¹⁷ The *Ständestaat* could not deny that Austrians were a Germanic people and it often

⁵¹⁵ "Möge dieses Werk, das seine Herausgeber in hohem Maße ehrt, die Verbreitung finden, die es verdient, und ein neuer Baustein sein im Aufbauwerk des neuen Österreich!" Ibid.

⁵¹⁶ Originally, the book was advertised to appear in the fall of 1936, see "Mit neuen Augen...." *Ruf der Heimat*, no. 7/8 (1936), 31.

⁵¹⁷ Klaus Amann and other historians have pointed out that this Austrian ideology of a culture superior to Germany's was doomed to failure from the start because it was too close to the program of the National Socialists; see Klaus

alluded to this heritage, but only in terms of their shared language and ethnicity. Emphasizing shared Germanic character traits as well would not have supported the *Ständestaat*'s ideological belief that the Austrians had indeed culturally surpassed the Germans.⁵¹⁸ Thus, as a direct product of the more established but fragile *Ständestaat*, Moser's book stayed clear of typological descriptions of character traits.

In accordance with the *Ständestaat*'s identity for Austria, Moser's *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk* underscore the theme of confession. His photographs show religious edifices and symbols as an integral part of Austria's landscape and history. Moser presents religion, like the people, as rooted in the landscape and as a fundamental part of the people's lives. The book contains numerous photographs of wayside chapels, village churches, and devotional peasants. Pages 30 and 31, for example, are typical. A photograph of an elongated church steeple rises out of the landscape and high above the mountains into the sky. On the page opposite, a crucifix is dramatically perched on a mountain side so that Christ rises above and presides over the rugged terrain beneath him (Fig. 119). Moser aestheticizes the subject by silhouetting the profile of Christ before the rays of sunlight, which stream through a small break in the dark clouds. The effect endows the photograph with a mystical spirituality. The light also refers to Christ's resurrection as well as suggesting a new beginning. The photograph's title, *Gesegnetes Tal* [Blessed Valley], reinforces its religious significance as well because it suggests that Austria is a God-given and blessed land, "the new holy empire of the Christian West."

Moser also depicts the people of Austria as pious. The book's second photograph shows five villagers on their way to a religious procession (Fig. 120) and additional photographs

Amann, "Die Brückenbauer. Zur 'Österreich' - Ideologie der völkischnationalen Autoren in den dreißiger Jahren, in Amann, *Österreichische Literatur der dreissiger Jahre*, 60-78 (65).

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.; Peter Utgaard, *Remembering and Forgetting Nazism. Education, National Identity, and the Victim Myth in Postwar Austria* (New York: Berghahn, 2003), 27.

portray the community on religious holidays. *Noch im Andacht versunken* [Still Absorbed in Devotion] portrays women so filled with faith that they continue to meditate after exiting the church (Fig. 121). The view from behind more clearly shows that one woman holds a picture of a cross. The action further drives home the blatant religious meaning of the photograph. *Noch im Andacht versunken* appears opposite a poem by Franz Braumann, *Betende Bauern* [Praying Peasants]. Braumann's poem stems from his 1933 lyrical work *Gesang über den Äckern* [Song over the Fields]. The poem speaks of returning home, being humble in the face of God's nature and praying for God's friendship and salvation. Understood within the poetic language is the idea to be faithful to one's Heimat. The poem encourages a personal gesture of respect for the home. When this is multiplied, it will strengthen the Austrian Heimat.⁵¹⁹

All of the sixteen different authors who contributed poems and short texts to *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk* were established Heimat writers.⁵²⁰ They included Oberkofler, Leifhelm, Mell, and, among others, Josef Leitgeb (1897-1952) and Karl Heinrich Waggerl (1897-1973), who won the Austrian State Prize for literature in 1934. Each of their texts corresponded to the themes of the photographs. For example, Oberkofler's *Das Gesetz der Bauern* [Peasant Law] preceded photographs of peasants farming, while *Schnee in den Bergen* [Snow in the Mountains] came before photographs of the wintery snow-covered landscape. Most of the texts in the book, including Braumann's, can be found in right-wing biased magazines of the period.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁹ "Herr, geh du nicht von uns fort, / Wie die Welt von dir gegangen / Und in wehem Heimverlangen / Kümmernd welkt und weint. / Wenn die letzte Distel dorrt / Und durch Nächte Seuchen schleichen, / Vor dem Hagel wir erleichen, / Komm und sei uns Freund!" Moser, *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk*, 122.

⁵²⁰ For more on Heimat literature during the Ständestaat, see Aspetsberger, *Literarisches Leben im Austrofaschismus*.

⁵²¹ For an excellent overview of Austrian magazines produced during the 1930s and authors who contributed to them, see Sigurd Paul Scheichl, 'Literatur in Österreichischen Zeitschriften der dreißiger Jahre. Mit Einem Bibliographischen Anhang' in Amann, *Österreichische Literatur der dreißiger Jahre*, 178-211.

Before and after the release of *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk*, advertisements for the illustrated culture magazine *Ruf der Heimat* promoted the book by using its photos as illustrations and page-fillers from the summer of 1936 onward (Fig. 122). Wolf, the Bruder-Willram-Bund, Braumann, and Moser were all involved in the magazine's production and it is not surprising that it would have adamantly promoted the book and series.⁵²² Moser's photograph *Gesegnetes Tal* appeared on the July-August cover and many more photographs were featured within the magazine. One laudatory advertisement for the book made it clear that the book was directed at an audience removed from the mountain world.⁵²³ Most likely, many of the readers who could afford the magazine and fifteen-Schilling book lived in urban centers. For them especially, the book provided an escape from the politically-charged climate of Vienna or from the burdens of urban life. The ad capitalized on presenting the natural riches of an unknown Austria. It wanted readers to "wander" through this rich land because it would cause them to love its heart-warming beauty.⁵²⁴ Another advertisement in *Ruf der Heimat*, which appeared as a book review, addressed those already familiar with the mountain world.⁵²⁵ In it, the reviewer praised the magnificent honest depictions and Moser's sense for what is great and true about Austrian character.⁵²⁶ Heimat photographer Hans Hannau also reviewed the book for the photography journal *Der Lichtbildner* (which was not particularly propagandistic).⁵²⁷ Hannau similarly applauded the book's "first-rate" quality and the photographs of the new photographer Simon Moser. Hannau emphasized the subjective viewpoint of Moser, which he believed captivates the reader and brings him closer to the photographer's experience.

⁵²² For more on the magazine, see Natter, "Die 'Heimat' und die 'Tiefen der Seele.'"

⁵²³ "Unser Land mit neuen Augen..." *Ruf der Heimat*, no. 9/10 (1937), 230-31.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁵²⁵ F[riedrich] Funder, "Ein Buch von Österreich" *Ruf der Heimat*, no. 11/12 (1937): 279.

⁵²⁶ "Es gibt viel prächtige Bücher von unseren Bergen. Zu den allerschönsten zählt dieses durch seine Lebenswahrheit und feine Empfindsamkeit für das Große und Echte." *Ibid.*

⁵²⁷ Hans Hannau, "Weihnachtsbücherschau" *Der Lichtbildner* (Dec. 1937): 377.

Although these positive reviews were published during the *Ständestaat* regime, when the press was censored, they still provide insight into the circulation of the book, who praised it and whom it was meant to attract. It is clear that Moser's book presented the ideal Heimat that the *Ständestaat* wanted Austrians to believe in and promote. But, ultimately the success of the government depended on a lot more than the support of these well-off urban readers. The *Ständestaat's* attempts were made in the idyllic world of the Heimat that it promoted, which could not accommodate the present day and its most pressing concerns.

Examining the photobooks of Defner, Atzwanger, Koppitz, and Moser provides an interesting trajectory through which to trace the development of an Austrian identity. The particular messages of the books varied, but all described the simple and rural mountain life while showcasing the beauty of the Alps. In looking at the representation of the Heimat and especially of the alpine populations in these photobooks, it becomes clear that the content of the photobooks matched the rhetoric of the *Ständestaat* regardless of whether they meant to do so or not. The books functioned to placate the masses during difficult economic times by showing them another world in which simplicity and hardship were just as common as happiness. While the Heimat photobooks seemed to affirm a peaceful life and a long untarnished history of alpine culture, they also suggested an accommodating and modern alpine environment, which co-existed with the hiker and skier.

The photobook production during the 1930s also underscores the types of personal identities which were found in Austria. The *Ständestaat's* attempt to rally attention towards Austria did not really work. Even if the Heimat photographers were keenly interested in their Austrian Heimat, most were also ambivalent about politics and dependent upon the economy.

The majority of the Heimat photographers simply went along with the politics of the time, riding a fine ideological line, which allowed Austrians and Germans alike to embrace their work. Germany offered, and especially after the July Treaty, a larger and more lucrative market of consumers. As a consequence of the strong bond many felt with Germany and the shared conception of a Germanic Heimat, Austrian Heimat photographers continued publishing their works in German photographic journals and cultural magazines, even if they were also supporting a pro-Austrian and therefore, anti-National Socialist Germany. After all, the photography community (as well as other cultural communities) had always included both countries and there was and continued to be a steady exchange in literature, education, and photographic products.

“Wir sehen, die Aufgaben der Heimatfotografie sind in strengem Sinne rassenpolitische und nationalpolitische Aufgaben.” [We see the tasks of Heimat photography are in the strictest sense, tasks of racial and national politics].⁵²⁸

CHAPTER 5

The *Anschluss* and War Years: From “God and Soil” to “Blood and Soil”

The weak *Ständestaat* could not guard Austria from the increasingly powerful National Socialist Germany without the support of the international community. In February of 1938 Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg met with Hitler in Berchtesgaden, but their meeting resulted in forced political amnesty for the National Socialists and the appointment Arthur Seyss-Inquart, who had shown his unwavering support for the National Socialists to the cabinet position of Minister of the Interior. France, Britain, and Italy ignored Schuschnigg’s repeated requests for foreign aid against the aggressive Nazis and in a measure of desperation he called for a referendum vote to legitimize popular approval of a free and independent Austria.⁵²⁹ The vote, however, never manifested and Schuschnigg was forced to resign his post. With Seyss-Inquart in charge, German troops soon crossed the border into Austria without any resistance and with much adoration. On March 13, the date for which the vote for a free Austria had been scheduled, Austria was formally incorporated into the Reich as the *Ostmark* [Eastern March].

On April 10, 1938 Hitler held a plebiscite to approve the annexation but this gesture was more symbolic than anything. The response of 99.6 percent in favor signaled the overwhelming approval of the new government. Even when these numbers were most likely and at least

⁵²⁸ “Lehren aus Heimatfotografischer Betätigung,” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 75, no. 5 (1938): 81.

⁵²⁹ For more on Schuschnigg and his attempts at preventing the *Anschluss*, see Alexander Lassner, “The Foreign Policy of the Schuschnigg Government 1934-1938: The Quest for Security,” in Bischof, Pelinka, and Lassner, *The Dollfuss/Schuschnigg Era in Austria*, 163-86.

partially exaggerated, the public's response was favorable. After the figures were made public, the front pages of all the German journals and magazines proclaimed the dream of the Germans had come true, that greater Germany was a reality.⁵³⁰ Annexation to Germany brought a number of changes to Austrian cultural life and the majority of Austrians greeted these adjustments enthusiastically because they benefited economically, believed in a larger German nation, or saw it as a better alternative to their current situation.⁵³¹

In characterizing the photographic imagery of National Socialist Germany, photo historian Rolf Sachsse carefully chooses the double-edged phrase "*Die Erziehung zum Wegsehen*," which literally translates to "educating to look away," but it also connotes an upbringing to do so.⁵³² Sachsse uses the phrase to explain how the National Socialists used photography to educate the masses to turn a blind eye. He astutely points out that NS-propaganda aimed to educate, and not to advertise or agitate. Their propaganda was a modern process that relied on using reproducible images and photography was the perfect medium for this educating. Sachsse builds his argument on the idea that most general memories over time turn into positive impressions and that any negative aspects are pushed aside.⁵³³ Through a bombardment of positive imagery the National Socialists were teaching the public to be oblivious to current problems and to build and retain pastoral and familial visual memories. Sachsse reasons that the abundance of this type of imagery was due to the exodus of talented and avant-garde photographers, which left a lacuna for middle-class amateurs whose pictorialist-style imagery of

⁵³⁰ See for example, R. Ottwil Maurer, "Wir wollen sein ein einzig Volk von Brüdern," *Photofreund* 18, no. 7 (1938): 1 and "Ein Volk – Ein Reich – Ein Führer" *Photographische Rundschau* 75, no.7 (April 1938): 109.

⁵³¹ Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria*, as in note 16, 231-247.

⁵³² Sachsse, *Die Erziehung zum Wegsehen*.

⁵³³ Sachsse cites, in particular, the mass communication theory of Frank Böckelmann, see *Ibid.*, 14.

travel and leisure time became the ideal that encouraged looking away.⁵³⁴ As Sachsse writes, the most horrific aspect of the period was that everyone was too eager to participate, look away, and believe that the idyllic scenes were indeed a reality.⁵³⁵

Despite the obvious parallels Sachsse draws between National Socialist photography and Heimat imagery, he only briefly mentions the latter. Sachsse discusses it as a form of organized amateur photography and remarks on its relationship to the Ministry of Propaganda, explaining that Heimat photography first appeared in official announcement late in the summer of 1933. After 1934, however, the briefings became more seldom because the Ministry concentrated on officially promoting amateur photography in the leisure organizations *Kraft durch Freude* and *Feierabend-Gestaltung*.⁵³⁶ While it is important to understand the Ministry's involvement in Heimat photography, Heimat photography extends beyond the boundaries of official propaganda and amateur clubs. The connection between Sachsse's theory of looking away and Heimat photography's presentation of the ideal thus deserves a closer look. The National Socialists encouraged the Heimat ideal in print media and actively supported those who participated in photographing the Heimat. It is valuable and necessary to consider both the official attitude and the popular attitude toward the production of Heimat imagery. Furthermore, because the demand for Heimat photography and its consumption came from within the people, a statement about its effectiveness in encouraging people to look away should also be made. The prevalence and public consumption of Heimat photography are no small indicators of widespread enthusiasm for it. Heimat photography that fit within National Socialism grew from the ground up and it was officially propagated.

⁵³⁴ Ibid., 17.

⁵³⁵ Ibid., 18.

⁵³⁶ Sachsse continues to explain that after the only moderate success of the exhibition *Gebt mir vier Jahre Zeit*, the Ministry stopped its efforts with organized amateur photography. See Ibid., 136-7.

During the War years, the German Heimat subsumed the Austrian Heimat by retaining the Austrian images and changing their context and meaning. Heimat images of beautiful landscapes, Germanic peasant populations and modern sports enthusiasts easily became representative of the greater German Heimat, even if in a space that was not part of the German state until 1938. The National Socialists promoted the former Austrian Heimat as a vacation spot, a place for relaxation in a natural German environment. In doing so, they did more than just distract the public. They also taught them to see racial differences and appreciate the ethnic German culture of the mountain peasantry. Without much effort one can note how tendentious ideas about the German people and their cultural heritage were adapted to fit into the National Socialist ideology. Closer examination, however, reveals that the changes were often just as subtle as they were brazenly obvious. Either way, the euphemistic photographs were used to support a radical and racial ideology. This chapter examines the *Anschluss* [annexation] and the War years by discussing how Austrian Heimat photography was altered to fit into the German Heimat.

After the *Anschluss*, the National Socialists consolidated all of institutions and ensured that businesses conform to their doctrine. This *Gleichschaltung* of Austria disbanded *Ständestaat*-supported organizations like the Bruder Willram Bund and stopped many publications, including those of Young-Austria, such as *Ruf der Heimat*. Other institutions and cultural magazines such as *Die Pause* continued, but with a National Socialist program and often they were renamed – Tyrolia, for example, became the German Alpine publishing house. In regards to photography, the Austrian journal *Der Lichtbildner* was allowed to carry on and the League of Austrian amateur photography clubs joined with the *Reichsbund Deutscher Amateurfotografen*. In making this announcement, League President Hugo Sartorius first

explained that annexation was beneficial because it eradicated the customs taxes placed on equipment that was produced in Germany like the popular Leica and Zeiss Contax cameras. Then, Sartorius proclaimed, "...we still have the shared goal – the support of Heimat photography – to capture accurately the character of the land and people from greater Germany."⁵³⁷

Annexation, though, was not ideal for all the Austrian Heimat photographers. Hans Hannau, who had worked closely with the police during the *Ständestaat*, immigrated to the United States.⁵³⁸ Simon Moser, who was actively involved in official cultural policy was let go from his university job twice because he was considered politically unreliable, although he joined the National Socialist party.⁵³⁹ However, by 1940 Moser began his military service and resumed his photographic work. Other Heimat photographers like Wilhelm Angerer embraced the political change because they believed strongly in a larger Germanic nation. Most Heimat photographers, however, kept their passive and neutral attitudes, continued working, and found contentment in the larger and more profitable market of "Greater Germany." Although a photographic exchange existed between the two countries before, the *Anschluss* made it even easier to reach broader publics. During the Third Reich, Defner, Atzwanger, Kruckenhauser, Moser, Rossmannith, and Angerer all remained active and productive.⁵⁴⁰ For all (except Moser at

⁵³⁷ "...haben wir doch ein gemeinsames Ziel – die Pflege der Heimatfotografie – Land und Volk von Großdeutschland in seiner Eigenart lebenswahr festzuhalten, ..." Hugo Sartorius, "Deutsche und österreichische Amateure vereinigen sich!" *Photographische Rundschau* 75, no.7 (April 1938): 111.

⁵³⁸ Hannau had an exhibition in New York in 1940 at Galerie St. Etienne. He spent the remainder of his life in Florida and made several photobooks on Bermuda, The Bahamas, and New York City, among other places.

⁵³⁹ Moser, however, soon became a candidate for the NSDAP and after he was deemed healed he was reinstated in his position. Shortly thereafter, the officials in Tyrol again deemed him as politically unreliable because they thought he was still an agent of Catholicism. See Ilse Korotin, "Deutsche Philosophen aus der Sicht des Sicherheitsdienstes des Reichsführers SS – Schwerpunkt Österreich," in *Philosophie und Zeitgeist im Nationalsozialismus*, Marion Heinz and Goran Gretić, eds. (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2006), 52.

⁵⁴⁰ None of the biographical accounts on Atzwanger, Moser, or Defner go into any detail about the war years. cursory information is available on Angerer and Kruckenhauser.

first), their passive and complacent attitude towards the *Ständestaat* had served them well. Their photography could continue and their economic livelihood improved.

TRAVEL, TOURISM, AND HEIMAT EDUCATION

Heimat photography during the National Socialist rule was as it had been before, promoted to increase national pride. In October of 1933, Willi Warstat stressed the importance of Heimat photography since it led directly to Heimat love, which in turn, inevitably developed a nationalistic mindset.⁵⁴¹ But, by the mid-1930s Heimat photography in Germany attained a slightly different appearance and new goals. It was no longer just a straight-forward and preservationist form of photography, as it had been in the 1920s. Most likely following the development in Austria, a more aesthetic Heimat photography found appreciation and was actively fostered in Germany. Writing in 1936 about the changes that had occurred, Albert Lassek declared that next to the planned, Heimat-informing documentary Heimat photography, a new branch of “idyllic” Heimat photography had developed.⁵⁴² Lassek advocated for it because several artistic amateur photographers had already shown that idyllic Heimat photography is in the interest of the “*heimatlichen Volksaufklärung*” [Heimat-oriented public enlightenment].⁵⁴³ In the next issue of *Photographische Rundschau*, photographer J. Voss responded to Lassek’s commentary on both branches. He affirmed that idyllic Heimat photography would always have a place in exhibitions and publications since it is primarily concerned with presenting beautiful and high-quality pictures of the Heimat and not detailed-oriented documentary Heimat

⁵⁴¹ W. Warstat, “Der zehnte Band des ‘Photofreund-Jahrbuches’ erscheint,” *Photofreund* 13, no. 19 (1933): 353.

⁵⁴² Albert Lassek, “Umstellungen in der Heimatfotografie,” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 73, no. 18 (1936): 316.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.* Lassek also advocated for specializing within documentary Heimat photography and for stricter credentials, in general.

photographs, which he implied were rather boring to the non-expert.⁵⁴⁴ This article reinforces why Heimat photography appealed to so many. An idyllic and artistic appearance made Heimat photography easier for the general public to accept and like, whereas the appreciation of documentary Heimat photographs was not based on aesthetic appeal alone and often required more knowledge of folk customs and traditions. Thus, the artistic Heimat photography that developed in Germany during the mid-1930s was well-positioned to reinforce National Socialist propaganda, which promoted an idyllic Germany.

An effective mean of making people look away from social and political injustices was to encourage them to be somewhere else. Whether the trip is imagined or real, the goal was to ensure that they could only see a peaceful environment where people enjoyed life. As with Austria, the National Socialists promoted leisure activities and vacation within Germany to further knowledge of the Heimat, to stimulate the economy, and to distract citizens from present-day problems. Throughout the 1930s, *Photofreund* and other German journals had also been actively encouraging German amateurs to photograph their Heimat so that they could share these images with friends and family near and far, thereby effectively advertising for the Heimat.⁵⁴⁵ They also promoted the use of Heimat photographs in exhibitions and slide lectures so that the mass public could be educated about the riches found within the German Heimat.⁵⁴⁶ Amateur Hans Steinbach advocated specifically for travel photography to be used in the service of the Heimat. For him, vacation time meant time to photograph and he believed the perfect pictures from vacations were those that captured Heimat in landscapes, folk dances, or festivals.⁵⁴⁷ A

⁵⁴⁴ J. Voss, "Krisis in der Heimatfotografie," *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 73, no. 23 (1936): 408.

⁵⁴⁵ Helmut Jaeckel, "Deutsche, fotografiert eurer Heimat!" *Photofreund* 13, no. 12 (1933): 227-28.

⁵⁴⁶ Paul Grobleben, "Zeitgeschichtliche Heimatphotographie," *Photofreund* 13, no. 15 (1933): 293; Curt Boenisch, "Heimatphotographie: Lichtbildvorträge über die Heimat," *Photofreund* 13, no. 16 (1933): 305.

⁵⁴⁷ Hans Steinbach, "Das Foto im Dienste der Heimat" *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 74, no. 14 (1937): 233.

series of small educational books called *Fotorat auf Reisen* [Photography Advice for Travel] assisted amateurs in photographing in different locations and by a variety of activities (Fig. 123). These books included topics such as driving through the mountains, ski photography, family vacations, photography at the beach, historic cities and towns, and hiking with the camera.⁵⁴⁸

During this time German Heimat photographer Paul Wolff stimulated and inspired amateurs to photograph through his exemplary publication on using the Leica.⁵⁴⁹ His educational book *Meine Erfahrungen mit der Leica* [My experiences with the Leica] was first published in 1934 and five years later it reached a print run of 45,000.⁵⁵⁰ In 1936, Wolff published a light-hearted photobook that encouraged looking away. Titled *Skikamerad Toni: Winterfahrten um Garmisch-Partenkirchen* [Ski Buddy Toni: Winter tours around Garmisch-Partenkirchen] the book resembles in content and in form Kruckenhauser's ski photobook (Fig. 124).⁵⁵¹ Wolff's book depicts the joy of skiing and the beauty of various towns and areas within the Bavarian Alps. The majority of the text, which is by Burghard von Reznicek, appears before the photographs and the close of the book provides detailed technical information regarding each photograph's exposure. The photographs emphasize the modern ski resorts with gondolas, the glamorous runs of expert skiers, the fun of learning to ski, the sun bathing, and leisure of the winter sport (Fig. 125). Wolff's book also included a section devoted to the Olympic games of 1936. Several of these photographs show some palpable sign of the National Socialists whether it is a mass salutation or a flag flying in the background of the Olympic venue (Fig. 126). Other photographs show off the popular and cinematic convention of backlighting skiers and ice

⁵⁴⁸ Some examples are: Alex Strasser, *Fotofahrt ins Gebirge* (Halle: Knapp, 1936), August Rumbucher, *Mein Auto, die Kamera und ich* (Halle: Knapp, 1936), Walter Kross, ... *und die Kamera wandert mit!* (Halle: Knapp, 1937), Hellmuth Lange, *Familienreise mit der Kamera* (Halle: Knapp, 1937), and Christof Croeber, *Fototips Fürs Wochenende* (Halle: Knapp, 1939).

⁵⁴⁹ Sylvia Böhmer, *Paul Wolff: Fotografien der 20er und 30er Jahre* (Aachen: Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, 2003).

⁵⁵⁰ Paul Wolff, *Meine Erfahrungen mit der Leica* (Frankfurt a.M.: H. Bechhold, 1934).

⁵⁵¹ Paul Wolff, *Skikamerad Toni: Winterfahrten um Garmisch-Partenkirchen* (Frankfurt a.M.: H. Bechhold, 1936).

skaters to heighten the beauty of their silhouette against wintery backgrounds of ice and snow. The photobook is one of the few published exclusively on the Bavarian Alps and as such it is a strong piece of propaganda that mixes a few overt references to National Socialism with the glamour and fun of winter sports.

In addition to individual efforts, the National Socialists officially propagated travel and Heimat photography through the initiative *Kraft Durch Freude* [*Strength through Joy*], or *KdF*, which organized inexpensive holiday trips for workers. In addition to planning and orchestrating vacations, the organization also offered photography lessons to its members.⁵⁵² In 1936, *KdF* hosted an exhibition in Berlin that displayed photographs made by participants of *KdF* trips.⁵⁵³ In an article on Heimat and travel photography, Sachsse comments that the relationship between Heimat photography and travel correlates to the relationship between the individual and the group, from the visual appearance that stimulates the urge to travel to the textual reworking that didactically conveys ideology.⁵⁵⁴ The connection between the individual and group points to the importance of Heimat photography as a grass-roots movement which spread primarily through acquaintances, friends, and family. It was not imposed from above but rather it gained easy approval from all classes and it provided a desirable image. Photographs from vacations were enviable and they were enticements to travel. In the very least Heimat photography offered an illusion that life is good, and at the most it confirmed the existence of an idyllic world.

Enthusiasm for photography of the Heimat was widespread. In 1940 an article published in *Die Galerie*, an exclusive Austrian art photography journal, described Heimat photography in

⁵⁵² Alexander de la Croix, "Lerne Photographieren bei 'Kraft durch Freude.'" *Photofreund* 16, no. 1 (1936): 21-22.

⁵⁵³ Paul Grobleben, "'Kraft durch Freude' stellte Photos aus," *Photofreund* 16, no. 1 (1936): 17.

⁵⁵⁴ Sachsse, "Heimat als Reiseland," 133.

the most desirable sense as an artistic formulation of the Heimat.⁵⁵⁵ To attain this artistry it claimed one does not only need to have photographic skill and artistic sense, but one also needs to muster up the sum of his great love for the Heimat and only then can Heimat photography truly succeed.⁵⁵⁶ Oskar Bein exclaimed that Heimat photography is everywhere - in all journals, annuals, competitions and exhibitions – due to its popularity and availability to all classes and nations.⁵⁵⁷ He cited its usefulness for families and tourism and he believed to be an important contribution to the modern economy. Because of this proliferation of Heimat photography in Germany and the fact that a photographic exchange with Austria already existed, incorporating the idyllic photography of the Austrian Heimat was advantageous and especially in the realm of travel and tourism. After all, the Austrian Heimat presented a natural Alpine setting that was perfect for vacationing. Even the *Führer* himself vacationed in the Alps, albeit in the Bavarian town of Berchtesgaden and his primary photographer Heinrich Hoffmann published a photobook about him in his home there.⁵⁵⁸

To promote travel to Austria, the National Socialists had to advertise for the Alpine wonderland and educate Germans about its geography. To educate Germans about Austria, the National Socialists hosted an exhibition in the summer of 1939 in Berlin titled *Berge, Menschen, und Wirtschaft der Ostmark* [The mountains, people, and economy of the Eastern March]. The drawn cover of the exhibition catalog depicts an Austrian couple standing together on a green precipice overlooking the mountain landscape before them (Fig. 127).⁵⁵⁹ Each wears a traditional

⁵⁵⁵ G. P., “Ein Beitrag zur Heimatphotographie,” *Die Galerie* 8, no. 8 (August 1940): 57.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁷ Oskar Bein, “Die Heimatfotografie - Ihre Nutzenwendung und Bedeutung,” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 74, no. 18 (1937): 303.

⁵⁵⁸ Heinrich Hoffmann and Baldur von Schirach, *Hitler in Seinen Bergen, 86 Bilddokumente aus der Umgebung des Führers* (Berlin: Zeitgeschichte-Verlag, 1935). A second edition was published in 1938.

⁵⁵⁹ Ingo Kaul, *Amtlicher Katalog der Ausstellung, Berge, Menschen und Wirtschaft der Ostmark* (Berlin: Berliner Ausstellungen, 1939).

folk costume and each stands in confident pose, with one foot stepping forward and with a hand on the hip or thigh. They appear in profile, so that the viewer can perceive their strong facial features, light hair, and tanned skin. They are an ideal vision of what Germans from Eastern March are and should be. This particular image appeared in magazines to advertise for the exhibition. For the occasion, photographic postcards of the different rooms were made, complete with German stamps that authenticated the cards (Fig. 128).

Austria was hence promoted as “*das Reiseland des Reiches*” [the travel destination of the Reich] because of its marvelous mountain world.⁵⁶⁰ Articles in photography and cultural magazines profiled parts of the new state and encouraged road trips to Austria. The formerly *Ständestaat*-biased magazine *Die Pause* survived the Anschluss because it received “the new spirit that moved with National Socialism in the Eastern March.”⁵⁶¹ The first new issue of the magazine included full page photographs of each of the six “new” *Gaue* [districts] that were respectively followed by statements from the head of each district.⁵⁶² The head of Tyrol-Vorarlberg, for example, wrote that Innsbruck would be named the city of the German Mountain Climbers as he stressed the district’s importance for tourism. He also included facts about its history and industry in the state in general, including agriculture and salt mining among other things. The issue also included a full page photograph depicting a couple driving in their convertible on the Grossglockner Street (Fig. 129). They appear quintessentially German with their Mercedes and blond hair. The title “Drive in the Eastern March” is in large letters below the photograph. The photographer depicts the couple from behind but slightly above them, so that

⁵⁶⁰ W.Toth-Sonns, “Österreichische Landschaft - Idyllisch und Heroisch,” *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 75, no. 11 (1938): 188.

⁵⁶¹ Joseph Bürckel, *Die Pause* 3, no. 7 (1937-8): 8.

⁵⁶² The individual states were only slightly rearranged. Lower Austria became the Lower Danube and it included the former state of Burgenland, Upper Austria became the Upper Danube, and Tirol and Vorarlberg became one district.

the viewer has the best angle from which to take in the beautiful scenery and also to experience what the drive must be like. The open winding road stretches out before them and disappears into the sloping landscape of the mountain, enticing the viewer to discover what lies ahead after the bend in the road.

Austria attracted an especially large number of visitors because as part of the Reich it suddenly became a more affordable destination and it offered a different type of scenery. Artists like Hans Wagula, who had previously made travel posters for the *Ständestaat*, began making similar posters for the National Socialist government. In his poster advertising for the state of Styria, Wagula employs the conventional *Rückenfigur* composition, in which a blond hiker looks out over the rocky mountainous terrain before him (Fig. 130). The magazine *Ostmark Woche*, which had formerly been *Österreichische Woche*, continued to devote the last page of every issue to advertising for the Heimat, but its coverage now encompassed the whole of Germany and was labeled: “Unser schönes Deutschland” [Our beautiful Germany] instead of “Beautiful Austria” (Fig. 131).

Although the Germans had always fancied themselves as Alpinists the years immediately following annexation were no doubt a cause for celebration since the Austrian Alps were a prime recreational area and because they had a large indigenous German population.⁵⁶³ After the *Anschluss* Arthur Seyss-Inquart headed the Alpine Association and in keeping with the National Socialist ideology the Association aimed to contribute to the physical and emotional education of its members, while it also desired to further Alpine knowledge.⁵⁶⁴ Hubert Mumelter’s book

⁵⁶³ The Alpine Association was virulently anti-Semitic. For more on the Nazification of the Alpine Association, see Holt, “Mountains, Mountaineering and Modernity a Cultural History of German and Austrian Mountaineering, 1900-1945,” 248-266 and Keller, “Eternal Mountains, Eternal Germany,” 173-190.

⁵⁶⁴ For more on the Alpine Association during the Nazi period see, Helmuth Zebhauser, *Alpinismus im Hitlerstaat: Gedanken, Erinnerungen, Dokumente* (Munich: Bergverlag Rother, 1998).

Sonne, Ski, und Pulverschnee [Sun, ski, and powder snow] for example, even included expensive color photographs, which would not have been reproduced and sold in Austria before the *Anschluss*.⁵⁶⁵ Some of the advice offered to mountain enthusiasts was to photograph the indigenous populations of the mountains. Austrian Heimat photographer Rudolf Roßmanith encouraged this activity as “a rewarding service to the German people.”⁵⁶⁶ Writing in *Der Bergsteiger*, he stressed the importance of this Alpine population because they are “the source of life that donates fresh blood to urban segments of the population who have been uprooted from the land and with this, they also ensure physical and spiritual renewal.”⁵⁶⁷ In particular he advocated for the photographing of folk costumes, folk traditions, and traditional village architecture and decorative design.

Photobooks produced by Austrians were also formative in educating the German public about the mountainous regions of Austria. In 1939, Karl Springenschmid published *Die Bauernschule* [The peasant school] illustrated with photographs by Peter Paul Atzwanger.⁵⁶⁸ In the introductory text, Springenschmid explains that he fought in the trenches alongside the noble peasants and after the First World War he ambitiously sought to educate this rural and isolated Alpine population by bringing it into contact with the ways of modern society. Springenschmid speaks with approbation about the peasants but he remains foremost concerned about integrating them into modern society. The book contains three lengthy chapters titled, “Die Welt des Bauernkindes,” [The world of peasant children] “Der Hof, die Stätte der Arbeit,” [The farm, the

⁵⁶⁵ Hubert Mumelter, *Sonne, Ski und Pulverschnee: Das Farbfotobuch vom Wintersport* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1939).

⁵⁶⁶ “Es sollte das Streben jedes ernstesten Lichtbildners dahin gehen, ... seine Fertigkeit und Schaffensfreude in diesen erfreulichen Dienst am Volke zu stellen.” Rudolf Roßmanith, “Volkskundliche Aufgaben des Lichtbildners in den Bergen,” *Der Bergsteiger* 8 (1938): 415.

⁵⁶⁷ “Unser Landvolk ist der Lebensquell, welcher den vom Boden gelösten Bevölkerungsschichten der Städte frisches Blut und damit körperliche und seelische Erneuerung spendet.” *Ibid.*, 411.

⁵⁶⁸ Karl Springenschmid and Peter Paul Atzwanger, *Die Bauernschule* (Leipzig: E. Wunderlich, 1939). In September of 1939 Springenschmid voluntarily joined the mountain infantry.

place of work] and “Bäuerliche Zucht” [Peasant breed]. The text speaks of the unique and isolated mountain landscape that rarely changes over time and forms the life and character of the Alpine peasant. The peasants, on the other hand, remain on their farms and only know what they need to know (Fig. 132). They follow the customs and traditions of the community and do not see schooling as a necessity. Springenschmid, though, argues against such exclusion and for the importance of an education that will build character and teach useful social skills. The photographs add value to the text by assisting the reader in picturing the mountain peasant’s surroundings and how they live. A photograph of five children lounging near the wood-burning stove and a man smoking his pipe shows their quarters. Atzwanger photographs the children as they are socializing with each other (Fig. 133). The tired and slouching posture of the boy sitting on the bench and his dirty pants are evidence of their workday as members of the farm. The photograph brings Springenschmid’s text to life. It neither pities the children nor does it make their life seem enviable and this delicate balance most likely allowed the book to be approved by the National Socialists.

Much of the text in *Die Bauernschule* that describes the mountains and the peasant’s way of life repeats the text that was used in *Bauern in den Bergen* and many of Atzwanger’s photographs are also the same. This transference of text is yet again proof of similar ideologies. Two years later, in 1941, *Bauern in den Bergen* was reissued in a third edition and two years thereafter, *die Bauernschule* likewise appeared in another edition. It is important to note that although Springenschmid was a National Socialist, several of his novels and books published before the *Anschluss* were banned in Germany because they deviated from National Socialist doctrine. It seems that Springenschmid did not agree with every National Socialist issue, but

nonetheless he, like many others, consented to the tendentious ideology. This passive attitude was pervasive and individual identities were often paradoxical and in flux.

Heimat photographer Stefan Kruckenhauser also abided by the National Socialists and this obedience served him well. His Heimat photobook *Verborgene Schönheit* [Hidden beauty] was finally published in 1938 with Otto Müller in Salzburg and Leipzig. It focuses exclusively on architecture and sculpture in Austria. The eight sections of the photobook portray “Building and Landscape,” “Steeple and Cupolas,” “Roofs,” “Portals, Court-yards and Facades,” “Light and Shadow in the Interior,” “Look Upwards,” “Carved Work,” and “Expression of Plastic Work.” The end of the book provides a detailed explanation of his photographic process as well as art historical data pertaining to the works.

In the introduction, Salzburg artist Alois Schmeidbauer (1902-1989) proclaims that it should speak to one’s heart and bring joy to the viewer’s life.⁵⁶⁹ As can be expected in the time period, the introductory text also describes the blood bonds that tie the Ostmark to the Reich and states. Most importantly, it stresses that the art is Germanic more than anything else.⁵⁷⁰

Kruckenhauser, though, did not speak in the same tone. His interest appears to be primarily in visual form as it reverberates throughout the book and this preference is seen especially in his placement of the images. On a page within the section “Roofs,” two photographs of rooftops located in very different regions converge in the middle of the book, so that the pointy shingled roofs appear more similar than they actually are (Fig. 134) Kruckenhauser uses this type of placement throughout the book, so that the diagonals formed by balconies, portals, and church interiors converge. Other juxtapositions emphasize the slight variations in forms of similar long

⁵⁶⁹ Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Verborgene Schönheit: Bauwerk und Plastik der Ostmark* (Salzburg and Leipzig: Müller, 1938), 7.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

and thin church steeples, the faces of the Madonna, vaulting structures, and gothic tracery. By focusing on variants of the typical, like an onion-shaped dome, and by creating a series of them, Kruckenhauser carries out the desires of Heimat photography advocates who called for serial works.⁵⁷¹ From these photographs alone, it is clear that New Vision photography influenced Kruckenhauser and indeed he knew of and looked to other contemporary photographers' photobooks. He cited Walter Hege, Kurt Heilscher, Albert Renger-Patzsch, and Paul Wolff as influences and in his personal library were several books by Lendvai-Dircksen as well as one by Hans Retzlaff.⁵⁷² Kruckenhauser was closely befriended with Moser and was also familiar with work by Defner, Atzwanger, and Wilhelm Angerer.⁵⁷³

The subject matter Kruckenhauser photographed is by and large religious and would have fit very neatly into the proposed "Secret Wonders of Austria" series on Austrian religious art. A pathos-evoking image is especially evident in a close-up of a polychrome sculpture depicting crucified Christ. Kruckenhauser takes the photograph from below at a high angle that emphasizes the weightiness of Christ's hanging head as well as the intensity of pain expressed in his face (Fig. 135). This photograph is exceptional in its endeavor to inspire religious contemplation. However, the photobook as a whole suggests that Kruckenhauser was less interested in religion and its story than in varying artistic shapes and forms and their interaction with each other. Two photographs comparing the curvature of the loin-cloth wrapped around Christ (Fig. 136) make this point clear. It is most likely in light of this formalism that the National Socialists approved of the book. The stress on the formal properties of the artworks downplayed any religious

⁵⁷¹ It is tempting to think of Kruckenhauser's serial work of religious edifices as a predecessor to Bernd and Hilla Becher's photographs of industrial structures.

⁵⁷² Michael Mauracher, "Der Büchermacher Kruckenhauser" in Kaindl, *Stefan Kruckenhauser*, 56.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, 57.

significance and highlighted the skill of the German artists. Thus, the book could be viewed as attesting to the Germanic roots of medieval sculpture and Gothic architecture.

Kruckenhauser wrote a letter to the ski pioneer Matthias Zdarsky after the Second World War, explaining that his book, although praised, was not looked fondly upon because it emphasized religious art rather than a blood and soil theme.⁵⁷⁴ While this is no doubt true, Kruckenhauser's statement should not de-emphasize the fact that the book was enormously popular in Germany. The National Socialists wanted copies of the book for the libraries on the fronts.⁵⁷⁵ The book's third and fourth editions were issued in 1939 and 1940, increasing the print run to 7-10,000. These editions included an additional twenty photographs. In 1941 the negatives were brought to Leipzig for the production of a wartime edition and there, many of them were destroyed in a bombing.⁵⁷⁶ Emberger writes that his work on such clerical and therefore, Austrian themes, put him in danger unless he joined the NSDAP, which he did in January of 1940.⁵⁷⁷

A curious sign of Kruckenhauser's acceptance by the National Socialists is that during the War, Kruckenhauser was asked to photograph sculpture for an exhibition titled "Altdeutsche Bildschnitzer in der Ostmark" [Old Master Sculptors in the Eastern March] that celebrated the anniversary of Hitler's act of liberation.⁵⁷⁸ Although this particular book was never published, Kruckenhauser's interest in the topic led him to produce a book exclusively dedicated to Austria's second largest Gothic altar. Müller published this book, *Das Meisterwerk von Kefermarkt* [The masterpiece Kefermarkt], in 1941 (Fig. 137).⁵⁷⁹ In 1942, however,

⁵⁷⁴ Stefan Kruckenhauser to Zdarsky, Bundesministerium für Unterricht, 25 September 1947, in *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁷⁵ Rolf Sachsse, "Skizze zu Stefan Kruckenhauser," *Fotogeschichte* 4, no. 11 (1984): 31-37.

⁵⁷⁶ Emberger, "Zum Leben Stefan Kruckenhausers," 12.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁷⁹ Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Das Meisterwerk von Kefermarkt* (Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1941).

Kruckenhauser was drafted. His compulsory military service halted his book production but it did not keep him from photographing. He served as a war correspondent on the Balkan Front.

HEIMAT PHOTOGRAPHY AND RACE

Although the idyllic scenery and Heimat of Austria was already seen as German, the context in which the images of Austria were presented had to be changed in order to conform more closely to National Socialist ideals than with the Austria of the *Ständestaat*. Historian Celia Applegate explains that the German Heimat cultivated by the National Socialists was one that did not subscribe to provincialism and antiquated folklore as the original Heimat activists had; but rather, it focused on the racial purity and large families of provincial communities.⁵⁸⁰

However, German Heimat photography articles published during the Third Reich do attest to the continued importance of folklore and provincialism as a part of the Heimat, but they also demonstrate a pervasive interest in *Rassenkunde* [Race studies]. After the National Socialists came to power, articles detailing the importance of photography for race studies appeared frequently in German photography journals.⁵⁸¹ The use of photography in eugenics and physiognomy pre-existed the rise of National Socialism but it was not a constant focus in the photography journals during the 1920s.⁵⁸² Already, in early 1934, Liselotte Strelow contributed a Heimat photography article on the *Volksgesicht* [Face of the people],⁵⁸³ in which she explained

⁵⁸⁰ Celia Applegate, "The Question of Heimat in the Weimar Republic," *New Formations* no. 17 (1992): 74.

⁵⁸¹ See for example, Hans Reuter, "Ein Beitrag zur Heimatphotographie: Photographie und Rassenforschung," *Photofreund* 17, no. 10 (1937): 176-78; Herbert Starke, "Rassenkundliche Aufnahmen mit der Kamera," *Photographische Rundschau und Mitteilungen* 71, no. 19 (1934): 364-65.

⁵⁸² Photography played a key role in the studies of race by Hans F. K. Günther and Ludwig Ferdinand Clauss. For more on this relationship, see Richard T. Gray, *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University, 2004). As a reference guide to this history see also Anne Maxwell, *Picture Imperfect: Photography and Eugenics 1870-1940* (Portland: Sussex Academic, 2008).

⁵⁸³ Strelow's use of *Volksgesicht* [Face of the people] should not be confused with Sander's book *Antlitz der Zeit*, which is often translated as "Faces of Our Time." Strelow's use of the term *Volksgesicht* suggests that there is a

the importance of racial studies for all Germans.⁵⁸⁴ She offered practical advice on how to produce photographs of typical racial types and cited those which were recently exhibited in “Die Kamera” as a model.⁵⁸⁵ One of her tips was to focus solely on the head, so that any extraneous details would not interfere with reading the face.⁵⁸⁶

To consolidate Austrian Heimat photography, the National Socialists placed emphasis on race and the benefits of extensive families, something which the *Ständestaat* never stressed in its propaganda. An explicit emphasis on race is the most noticeable change that occurred in the Austrian-produced publications. A comparison between Simon Moser’s previous publications with his war-time publication *Deutsche Bergbauern* [Peasants in the German Alps] shows that after annexation Moser pays a great deal more attention to families and their positive racial lineage (Fig. 138).⁵⁸⁷ The differences are immediately apparent and one very obvious example is in the opening text on spring by Max Stock (1899-1979). As Stock describes a family farm, he states that the peasants there are an old race whose ancestors were settlers from Bavaria, like many others who came to the region.⁵⁸⁸ The National Socialists constantly emphasized that the Alpine populations in Austria stemmed from Bajuwaric tribes. This relationship not only made them Aryan Germans, but it guaranteed their rightful place within the German empire as German citizens. Throughout his text, Stock employs racial descriptions. He notes how three different members of the village have any combination of longish features, light hair, an angular structure or blue eyes. In representative photographs, associations with the text affirm Stock’s narrative of

typical and homogenous face of the people, whereas Sander’s use of *Antlitz* suggests countenance and the expressions of the time.

⁵⁸⁴ Liselotte Strelow, “Heimatphotographie: Das Volksgesicht in der Photographie,” *Photofreund* 14, no. 4 (1934): 68-69.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁵⁸⁶ “Es empfiehlt sich, den Kopf recht groß einzustellen, damit belanglose Nebensächlichkeiten, die stören könnten, vermieden werden.” *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁷ Simon Moser and Max Stock, *Deutsche Bergbauern* (Innsbruck: Deutscher Alpenverlag, 1940).

⁵⁸⁸ Max Stock, “Frühling bei den Bergbauern,” in Moser, *Deutsche Bergbauern*, 7.

life in the mountains. A caption underneath a portrait of a peasant reads *Blond und ernst ... mit länglichen Zügen* [Blond and Earnest ... with Longish Features] (Fig. 139).⁵⁸⁹ Moser depicts the peasant in a close-up view which erases any evidence of his potentially distracting environment and instead concentrates on his facial features. This particular portrait is typical of thirteen more that are published within the book. These portraits compare easily with those of Erich Retzlaff (1899-1993) or Erna Lendvai-Dircksen. Moser's photograph of 's *Moidele* [Little Maria] is like one of the *Bauerntöchter aus dem Tuxer Tal* [Peasant Daughters from the Tux Valley] (Fig. 140) Both closely frame a young girl's head and sweet smiling face. Although each photographer has a distinct style, one can easily read the photographs as belonging to the same racial category.

Not all the photographs and texts in *Deutsche Bergbauern* are so explicit. The photobook also contains more subtle references that when seen together point to National Socialist ideas. Moser organizes his photographs and the texts according to season. In his preface, Moser explains that this organization of motifs, which corresponds to "the same changes" every year, prevents any monotony that would appear in a thematic division based on villages, work, and customs.⁵⁹⁰ The sequencing of images according to season emphasizes a harmonious cycle of nature, which shows a natural continuity with the past and a stable order.⁵⁹¹ Moser organizes the photographs to show a seasonal cycle of farming. Peasants plant the field in spring, they harvest the healthy summer crop, and they store grains and hay for winter. During winter, photographs depict peasants baking bread and the tending to the livestock. In all of the seasons, Moser includes images of the home - in both interior and exterior views. The home too remains constant throughout the book and Moser always depicts it as a communal and joyful place.

⁵⁸⁹ Moser, *Deutsche Bergbauern*, 37.

⁵⁹⁰ Moser, *Deutsche Bergbauern*, 5.

⁵⁹¹ The influential German philosopher Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) organized his notion of the decline of civilization according to seasons as well. As a philosopher Moser would have undoubtedly known of Spengler.

The overall tenor of the book seeks to propagate the idea of a good healthy home with a patriarchal family life (Fig. 141). In addition to the increase in the amount of up-close portraits, more photographs of children, community, and home appear than in Moser's previous book. After several photographs depicting the home in "Spring," Moser clearly arranges photographs to depict natural life and growth. Photographs show a midwife, a nursing calf, a Godmother, a new-born baby, toddlers, and children (Fig. 142). In *Spielgefährten* [Playmates], a small boy sits with his hands in his pockets next to his dog. His chin points down but he looks up with a slight smile. The endearing pose and cautious look on his face are immediately noticeable. The viewer is drawn to his face because his light blond hair glows with whiteness from the sun. His hair and the strong emphasis on it reveal him as an exemplary Aryan boy. He represents an ideal future generation. The theme of a good healthy German family continues throughout the other seasons. In "Herbst" [Autumn] photographs depict a wedding custom of decorating the bed, the wedding march, the bride, and the communal celebration thereafter.

Importantly, the religious ceremony is not depicted in the book. Although not entirely absent, religion no longer plays a major role in German peasant life. National Socialism aimed to eradicate the competition of religion as it was to be the new "religion." One of Erna Lendvai-Dircksen's portraits perfectly illustrates how National Socialism took on and aimed to replace organized religion (Fig. 143). In it, an elderly peasant woman wears a cross-shaped necklace, but it is not a Catholic cross; instead a swastika appears in the heart of the cross, with rays emanating from behind it. A few photographs in Moser's book contain religious subject matter from the Catholic Heimat of Austria but, the captions most often do not draw attention to religion; instead, they emphasize the folk tradition behind the practice or something prosaic and innocuous. A photograph of a church interior is captioned, *ein müder Sonnenstrahl* [a soft ray of light] and a

photograph of women in their traditional Sunday church dresses reads, *Kirchhofratsch* [gossip in the church courtyard] (Fig. 144).

TYROL AND THE MOUNTAINS OF THE OSTMARK

Some of the photobooks produced during the Third Reich by Austrians concentrated on the specific region of Tyrol. These books worked to demonstrate how the state fit into greater Germany but they also ensured the continuance of a regional identity within Tyrol. As with other Heimat photographers, Adalbert Defner continued his work without any problems because he as well had joined the NDSAP in 1938. A year later, Defner issued a third edition of *Das schöne Tirol*.⁵⁹² Because Defner's book treats the religious photographs minimally and in a documentary manner, their presence did not rankle National Socialist censors. Significantly, however, the portions of Oberkofler's text that included several clauses concerning the prayers, pilgrimages, and crucifixes were removed.

In 1939, Defner also contributed to the lyricist Josef Leitgeb's book *Tirol und Vorarlberg: das Land im Gebirge*, which likewise emphasized the secular aspect of folk traditions.⁵⁹³ The photobook also included photography by Koppitz, Atzwanger, Paul Wolff, Hans Retzlaff, and many others. Even though Koppitz died in 1936, his wife Anna Koppitz continued to release his work for publication in various journals and books.⁵⁹⁴ In Leitgeb's book, Koppitz's photograph *Osttiroler Bäuerin* [East Tyrolean Peasant] appears with the caption: "A great seriousness speaks from the clothing of the East Tyrolean. One finds such grand faces most

⁵⁹² Adalbert Defner, *Das Schöne Tirol*, with introduction by Joseph Georg Oberkofler, 3rd ed. (Innsbruck: Deutscher Alpenverlag, 1939).

⁵⁹³ Josef Leitgeb, *Tirol und Vorarlberg. Das Land im Gebirge*, ed. Clotildis Thiede (Berlin: Bong & Co., 1939). Leitgeb (1897-1952) had been a social democrat.

⁵⁹⁴ Anna Koppitz studied photography at the Graphic Institute in Vienna and worked there as an assistant. After the death of her husband she managed his studio. She photographed events surrounding the Anschluss, one of which was published in *Photographische Korrespondenz* 76, no. 10-12 (1940).

often in Kalsertal Valley near the Großglockner. The best Glockner guides emanate from the blond, rangy beat.”⁵⁹⁵ The caption suggests that this German woman is earnest and noble (Fig. 145). Nothing is mentioned about her traditional Sunday attire and her prayerful pose. This photograph and others bring character to the fore. They recontextualize the image. Four years earlier, 1935 the *Ständestaat* magazine *Die Pause* published Koppitz’s same photograph.⁵⁹⁶ The photograph was one of four by Koppitz that depicted women from the Austrian Alpine lands. The article presented these women as “the mothers of our *Volk*” who are more meaningful than any film stars, revue girls, or models.⁵⁹⁷ As a cultural magazine, *Die Pause* was specifically competing against other popular magazines like *Die Bühne* in which photographs (often taken by Koppitz) of film stars, sometimes scantily clad appeared (Fig. 146). *Die Pause* offered an alternate and morally conservative view of women, it continued reading their facial expressions as a sign the existence of this healthy people is the hope and confidence of the Heimat.⁵⁹⁸

In 1939, the lawyer and amateur photographer Hans Angerer published another photobook on Tyrol (Fig. 147).⁵⁹⁹ Its title *Tirol wie es ist* [Tyrol like it is] represents the period trend of creating “documentary” photobooks that offer a supposedly exclusive and true portrayal of a lifestyle not otherwise accessed.⁶⁰⁰ The 63-page book begins with a quote by German writer August Winnig (1878-1956): “The Heimat is the gateway, through which timelessness removes us from the present, and our love of the Heimat is the longing for this timelessness. Landscape

⁵⁹⁵ “Ein großer Ernst spricht aus der Kleidung der Osttirolerin. Solchen prachtvollen Gesichtern begegnet man am häufigsten im Kalsertal am Großglockner. Aus dem blonden, hochgewachsenen Schlag gingen die besten Glocknerführer hervor.” *Ibid.*, 104.

⁵⁹⁶ “Frauen, Mütter, Königinnen aus dem Volke,” *die Pause* 1, no. 1 (1935): 4-7. Here the photograph had the title *Bauersfrau aus St. Veit im Deferegental* [Peasant Wife from St. Veit in Deferegental Valley].

⁵⁹⁷ “Uns aber sind diese vier Frauen bedeutsamer als alle Filmstars, Revuegirls und Mode königinnen der ganzen Welt. **Sie sind Mütter unseres Volkes.**” *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁹⁸ “Daß es diese gesunden Teile des Volkes noch gibt, das ist die Hoffnung und die Zuversicht der Heimat.” *Ibid.*, 5-6.

⁵⁹⁹ Hans Angerer, *Tirol wie es ist: Berg und Mensch* (Innsbruck: Deutscher Alpenverlag, 1939).

⁶⁰⁰ One example is Heinrich Hoffmann, *Hitler wie ihn keiner kennt*, with foreword by Baldur von Schirach (Berlin: Zeitgeschichte, 1932).

and folklore are only allegories for that at which our deepest longing is directed.”⁶⁰¹ The quote sums up the function of Heimat for many. It was the place where one could ignore the present and embrace idealism.

Like other Heimat photobooks, it features a short introduction followed by photographs and captions. The message is similar; namely, that nature is powerful, the peasant lives a tough life in the mountains, but he is strong, honest and fully content. Most of the book portrays rural farms and peasants but near the end the two-page spread depicts a strong mountain climber (Fig. 148). The caption reads: “courageous and free is he who loves the fight with the mountains.”⁶⁰² Angerer depicts him from below in a monumental pose that emphasizes his size and strength before the endless sky behind him. He is also pictured sunbathing and lounging on an Alpine meadow with a view of the snow-covered mountains behind him. In contrast to the peasants, the Alpinist is dominant. While Angerer respects the toil of their labor, he nevertheless enshrines the Alpinist in a triumphant pose. The photograph suggests that the climb must have been effortless. In contrast to the photobooks of the *Ständestaat* that valued the peasant for his humility, hard work and contentment with his life, the peasant of National Socialist photobooks was valued for his pure race and his strength. These traits form the foundation and develop into the modern German. The National Socialists projected the image of progress and a well-functioning society in their idea of the thousand-year Reich. The emphasis on the dawn of a new age is seen at the end of Angerer’s photobook. A photograph of a group of boys standing on mountain grassland depicts them sounding their trumpets and beating their fiery drums (Fig. 149). The caption reads:

⁶⁰¹ “Die Heimat ist die Pforte, durch die uns das Ewige in das Zeitliche entließ, und unsere Heimatliebe ist die Sehnsucht nach diesem Ewigen. Landschaft und Volkstum sind nur Gleichnisse dessen, dem unsere tiefste Sehnsucht gilt.” August Winnig as cited in Angerer, *Tirol wie es ist*, 5. Winnig was originally known for his Socialist writings, but during the 1930s his opinions changed and he became a proponent of a Christian-conservative political program.

⁶⁰² “Mutig und frei ist er, der den Kampf mit den Bergen liebt.” In *Ibid.*, 59.

“Like all around the German lands, so it is here. The youth have lined up on the mountain and the drums beat for the new age.”⁶⁰³

Photographer Enno Folkerts was also enthusiastic about National Socialism. The next year he collaborated with Karl Springenschmid to produce a photobook titled *Tirol: Volk, Heimat, Brauchtum* [Tyrol: Folk, Heimat, Traditions] that also served primarily as an educational text.⁶⁰⁴ Each page is constructed with photographs and long captions that guide viewers as they read the photographs and learn the importance of the custom or subject depicted. As a whole, the didactic photobook can be considered as a validation of the Germanic past and a positivist development of National Socialism. Even the folk art of the Tyroleans shows the predetermined path for Germany. Page 159 details a wooden carving on leaves in which the veins of the leaves spread out in a swastika-like fashion (Fig. 150) Such a blatant representation of National Socialist ideas is apparent in most all of the photographs. On page 16 a photograph of a harvest is paired with an historical text about the practice of harvest wheat, rye, and barley. On the page opposite are photographs of an elderly woman’s wrinkled face and her leathery and arthritic hands (Fig. 151). The caption informs us that these wrinkles are “the happy expression of a person who has tackled and mastered life with determination and for the benefit of the community.”⁶⁰⁵ The caption implies hard work and self-sacrifice on behalf of others and stresses that such virtues effect true happiness. By 1943, the photobook was printed in its eleventh edition.

⁶⁰³ “Wie überall in den deutschen Landen, so ist auch hier am Berg die Jugend angetreten und rührt die Trommel für die neue Zeit.” In *Ibid.*, 63.

⁶⁰⁴ Enno Folkerts and Karl Springenschmid, *Tirol: Volk, Heimat, Brauchtum* (Innsbruck: NS-Gauverlag Tirol-Vorarlberg, 1940).

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

These examples of photobooks produced about Tyrol shed light on the continued importance of this mountain state in National Socialist Germany. They also demonstrate the indoctrinating contexts in which these photographs appeared. During the War, the photobooks were extreme in their ideals. They either provided a version of Heimat that was an illusionary escape or they directly addressed the Heimat as a potential military front.

HEIMAT PHOTOGRAPHY DURING THE WAR

In 1942, Wilhelm Angerer published his first book, *Ein Lied rauscht von den Bergen* [A Song Sweeps Down from the Mountain], shortly before volunteering for military service in the mountain infantry, where he continued to photograph.⁶⁰⁶ Angerer's large-format photobook portrayed the Heimat as a social and physical terrain, specifically as a land of shared sentiment and a common belief in patriarchal, agrarian society.

Each of the book's fifty pages contains one photograph that fills the top half of the page and a corresponding poem written by Angerer below it. Sequenced as a calendar, the book begins in winter as photographs with vast snowscapes are threatened by the looming shadows of oncoming storms. The emergent spring follows, leading the viewer to greener pastures and revealing the Alpine home as photographs of a young Tyrolean man and a boy precede the summer landscapes. Autumn appears and gradually the snow begins to appear before winter begins to set in again, completing the cycle of the year. Angerer's poems move through the seasons and their tenor of profundity underscores the visual idea of the Heimat as an exalted sanctuary.

⁶⁰⁶ Wilhelm Angerer, *Ein Lied Rauscht von den Bergen* (Innsbruck: Gauverlag Tirol-Vorarlberg, 1942).

Winter dominates Angerer's book, and it is these photographs and poems in particular that celebrate nature in its awesome grandeur, actualizing a longstanding Nordic tradition of the sublime.⁶⁰⁷ Almost hidden in the sea of snow, Angerer's firs and Alpine cabins, when they appear, seem to be merely toys in a model. *Des Winters Einsam Große Heimat* [The Desolate Great Hearth of Winter] depicts a solitary hut covered in snow nearly to its roofline, and overcome by an additional layer of shadow (Fig. 152). As in the other snowscapes, umbrae creep over the terrain. With this composition, Angerer pays homage to the landscape tradition of an all-powerful nature that dwarfs mankind. Yet, he also presents a cinematic image with intense light, tight framing, abstract forms, and a flattened, compressed space that disguises or masks the real landscape. Angerer transforms the landscape with filmic lighting to create a model drama removed from time and space. The photograph appears above its eponymous poem:

The desolate great hearth of winter,
 Lost somewhere in the mountains
 Is sunk in deepest happiness.
 Should you wish to find her,
 You must walk alone,
 And sink your gaze
 In dreams.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁷ See Torsten Gunnarsson, *Nordic Landscape Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Nancy Adler (New Haven, CT: Yale, 1998), 79-130.

⁶⁰⁸ "Des Winters einsam große Heimat, / Auf den Bergen irgendwo verschollen / Ist versunken in ein tiefes Glück. / Willst du zu ihr finden, / Mußt du einsam wandern, / In den Traum versenken / Deinen Blick." Wilhelm Angerer, *Ein Lied rauscht von den Bergen* (Innsbruck: NS Gauverlag Tirol Voralberg, 1942), 9.

The poem assists in reading the image, while the photograph thematizes the poetic lines. An Alpine hut lies buried in snow and lost on the mountain. The scene set before the viewer suggests a dreamlike, uncertain world that lacks a clear point of reference. Both the poem and the image evoke static, existential qualities. They are Angerer's personal conversation with nature and life and were integral contributions to his quest for meaning. The transcendental and pathetic qualities are straightforward, such that, at least on its surface, the book is legible. A comprehensible and unpretentious book can speak to a wider audience, and indeed a major factor for the popularity of Heimat photography was simply that Heimat photographers presented pictures of the Heimat for the Heimat.

In the book, Angerer turns to an ultimately unvarying, cyclical nature exempt from temporal progression, to convey the possibility of advancing with confidence in a world with a highly uncertain present and future. The hyperbolic vision of timelessness is a specifically modern response to period anxieties. Time's cyclical passage remains integral to Angerer's concept of life. The book's photographs depict the yearly advance of the seasons. Angerer relies on metaphorical imagery found in nature to nuance the material understanding of time. Photographs and titles such as *Frühlingserwachen* [Spring Awakening], *Winternahen* [Approaching Winter], *Ein Sang des Winters* [A Song of Winter], and *Tief im Schlummer* [Deep in Slumber] reinforce the cyclical nature of time, an idea similarly favoured by the romantics (Fig. 153).⁶⁰⁹ The sweeping, moving emotions that the Alpine seasons bring call out to the viewer in an edifying manner most apparent in the poems. Angerer writes that those who do not yearn for something greater will experience time as banality. He strongly suggests that Heimat is the threshold that leads to eternal gratitude. The home is beautiful, an "incessantly glorious song

⁶⁰⁹ In Germanic painting, the major example is Philipp Otto Runge's Gesamtkunstwerk, *Times of the Day*. Caspar David Friedrich also completed an allegorical print series titled, *Times of the Year*.

of life.” In equating *Heimat*, nature, and music in many of the works, Angerer builds on a synesthetic concept of nature that increases his debt to predecessors both romantic and immediate.⁶¹⁰ Angerer’s belief in the overwhelming power of nature underpins his conception of *Heimat* and again, this was by no means uncommon. Popular Alpine enthusiast Luis Trenker began his book *Berge und Heimat* [Mountains and Homeland] from 1933 by tracing the history of the association of mountains with holy powerful qualities by peoples throughout the world, who believe that the mountain connects the earth to the celestial realm.⁶¹¹

The analogy of time’s effect in nature to its effects on *Heimat* is the way in which Angerer brings clarity to his understanding of life. For Angerer, the Alpine landscape and all that it encompasses – including its homes and people – will always remain strong. *Heimat* discourse is persuasive because of its malleable relationship to time. It is a concept that can change according to the needs and desires of a community, or even personal beliefs and in part due to the timeless nature of the *Heimat*.⁶¹²

At the start of the Second World War, Angerer believed in the romantic ideologies of *Heimat* and all of its idealized motives. His embrace of it was typical in this respect. For him, basing the construction of *Heimat* on the present embodied National Socialist ideas. Photographs and poems such as *Ich traue euch nimmer* [I won’t ever trust you], *Aufbruch* [Awakening], and *Nordens Recken* [Northern heroes]⁶¹³ are obvious indications of his acceptance as they proclaim a great migration northwards, back to the home, where the Nordic soul was believed to be secure

⁶¹⁰ A contemporary influence might be Richard Strauss’ continuous symphonic poem *An Alpine Symphony* from 1915.

⁶¹¹ Luis Trenker and Walter Schmidkunz, *Berge und Heimat: das Buch von Bergen und ihren Menschen* (Berlin: Neufeld und Henius Verlag, 1933).

⁶¹² This is how both the left and right alike could and did earnestly value images of *Heimat*. Eric Rentschler discusses this in relation to mountain films, see Eric Rentschler, “**Mountains and Modernity: Relocating the Bergfilm**” *New German Critique*, no. 51, Special Issue on Weimar Mass Culture (Autumn 1990), 137-161.

⁶¹³ In my article I translated this as “the Stretch of the North,” yet “Recken” within this context is more appropriately translated as heroes. Many thanks to Barbara Bowlus for pointing this out to me.

in blood (Fig. 154). For Angerer, his own portrayal of the Heimat was a utopian chance to move forward, but his version of Heimat was grounded neither in historical nor physical reality. In his desire to discover transcendent truth, he failed to recognize and digest the immediacy of actual historical changes, until it was too late. Angerer's book may have provided an avenue of escape in its portrayal of a world that promises a respite from politics and the chaos of war, but it was a wilfully mythical world that could not correspond to the present time.

During the War Angerer was stationed in Finland and Norway. Unlike other photographers of the German military propaganda companies, he spent much of his time photographing the landscape and taking souvenir shots.⁶¹⁴ In fact, most of the photographs he brought home with him were photographs of the mountains and trees of the Baltic countries rather than soldiers or combat. Even during the War, Angerer sought an escape from reality and he found it again in photographing nature just as he had in his Heimat.

The other significant photobook produced in 1942 is Moser's *Das Land in Den Bergen: Vom Wehrbauer zum Gebirgsjäger* [The Alpine region: From a peasant militia to a mountain infantry].⁶¹⁵ Although the book is bound in the present with its presentation of Alpine soldiers, it remains typical of the traditional Heimat discourse in its presentation of the narrative, which reinforces the importance of peasant communities and suggests on a predetermined cyclical pattern in life.

The book consists of two parts. The first is a 28-page text by Josef Wenter (1880-1947), in which he describes the alpine region of Tyrol, its gateway to the North, its villages, life in the

⁶¹⁴ Matzer briefly discusses propaganda company photographers, see Matzer, "Zwischen Heimatfotografie und Medienkunst," 29.

⁶¹⁵ Simon Moser and Josef Wenter, *Das Land in den Bergen. Vom Wehrbauer zum Gebirgsjäger* (Innsbruck: Deutscher Alpenverlag, 1942).

Alps, the history of the *Standeschützen* [stationary guard] and the heroes of Tyrol, including Andreas Hofer and the soldiers of the First World War. The second part is a photo essay by Moser, in which he shows how young Alpine farmers become militia men and then turn into mountain soldiers. The story first presents the majesty of the Alps and the hard life experienced by Alpine communities. The photographs of stormy mountains and deep shadows in the valleys show the harshness of nature, while old fortifications and house walls depict the perseverance of the mountain inhabitants (Fig. 155). In the next two sections, Moser's photographs showcase how in this environment both the peasants are strong and can endure in physically demanding work even at a young age (Fig. 156). He juxtaposes them with the Alpinists who are similarly tough and can more than tolerate the extremes of Alpine sports. Then, photographs of the *Standeschützen* show how the "joy of the sport of shooting is found within the Alpine population's blood" as the youth are taught to use weapons (Fig. 157).⁶¹⁶ And finally, the closing photographs portray how "the well-prepared peasant has been, is and will always be a good and tough soldier" by depicting mountain units (Fig. 158).⁶¹⁷

The photo essay portrays the importance of boys and young men for society. At first they are helping on the farm, courageously taking on the laborious farm duties of the grown-ups. They wrestle with each other and begin skiing at a young age. They eagerly observe, learn and experiment with shooting so that they can become soldiers in uniform, who climb and ski through the mountains with their rifles and troops.

⁶¹⁶ "Freunde am Schützenwesen steckt dem Bergbewohner im Blute" in Moser and Wenter, *Das Land in den Bergen*, 101.

⁶¹⁷ "Der wehrhafte Bergler war, ist und wird immer ein gutter, zäher Soldat sein!" in *Ibid.*, 157.

The book's last photograph by Adolf Sickert,⁶¹⁸ depicts two soldiers as they look out over the wide mountain valley beneath them (Fig. 159). They both stand confidently, each with a hand on his hip. One gazes slightly upward toward the bright sky as the other one looks at the seemingly endless range of mountains. As the final image in the book, it suggests confidence. The Germans have claimed the land they stand before and they have conquered it. The image resembles that of the cover of the *Berge, Menschen, und Wirtschaft der Ostmark*, only the idealistic Austrian couple is replaced with soldiers.

In 1942 as well *Photofreund* published an ad asking all amateurs to send in Heimat photographs that could then be delivered to soldiers on the front. The ad asked specifically for two images of each state capital, one that is characteristic of the town and one that is from the natural area surrounding the city.⁶¹⁹ The photographs would also be published as full-pages in the magazine. At this point even the soldiers needed to look away from the reality before them. The illusion of an idyllic Heimat that was removed from time and presented in Heimat photography could not last throughout the War years. At some point the public and the soldiers could no longer look away, as they too were deeply entrenched in the War.

This chapter illustrates how photographs that were exemplary of the Austrian Heimat were transferred into another, albeit similar political program. It emphasizes that Austrian Heimat photography was not static, despite its allusions to a timeless era. It was also very much tied to individual perceptions, which were similarly in flux and would remain so after the end of the War in the post-War environment.

⁶¹⁸ The birth and death dates of Adolf Sickert are at present unknown. In 1943, Sickert published a color photobook titled *Innsbruck* (Dresden: Meinhold, 1943) and after the War, he published photobooks on Tyrol, Venice, and Rome.

⁶¹⁹ R. Ottwil Maurer, "Fotofreund!" *Photofreund* 22, no.3 (March 1942): 51.

CHAPTER SIX

A Lasting and a New Heimat: Post-War Austrian Heimat Photography

This final chapter focuses on the post-War revised editions of Heimat photobooks that resembled those of the pre-War period. The examination sheds light on how exactly Austrians after the War saw and portrayed themselves. Heimat images paradoxically again became the foundation for a visual identity but this time it was to stand for a modern democratic Austria. The Heimat in photographs was familiar, personal, and popular and it remained so, despite political shifts. The simple agrarian lifestyle in these images was non-confrontational and highly malleable in its connotative meaning, allowing for them to appear in new contexts.

Within the study of visual culture, the post-War Austrian Heimat has only previously been discussed in terms of its filmic manifestation, even though the photobooks, postcards, and posters also contributed significantly, if not more so, to the “new” culture of Austria. Indeed, during the post-War period Heimat imagery became even more popular than it had previously been. The reasons for the resurgence and ultimate acceptance of an idealized Austrian Alpine identity are manifold. Heimat photography always reinforced a peaceful image of Austria, but this time Austrians had no choice but to identify with it. Their embrace of Alpine Austria was a rejection of a Germanic Heimat and a manifestation of Austria’s new status as a neutral country as much as it was a saccharine view of reality. While historians have acknowledged the similarities between the post-War Heimat culture and its predecessors, no scholar has yet traced the trajectory of Heimat visual culture from the pre-War period through the War and into the post-War period. Thus, in revealing again how even the most seemingly ordinary photographs are caught within an intricate web of politics, my final chapter aims to clarify the differences

between pre- and immediate post-War visual concepts of Heimat, divulging the different guises which Austrians readily assumed to reconstruct a nation.

POST-WAR IDENTITY FORMATION

After the Second World War, there was again little patriotic fervour for Austria itself, and the success of the country depended once more on cooperation between the states and the establishment of a general feeling of national unity and of what it meant to be Austrian. Local pride resurged precisely because it negated the problems that went with nationalism and its potential dangers. This was especially the case in Tyrol, which had always had a strong sense of unity.⁶²⁰ After the War, most Tyroleans felt that the disasters of the War and interwar period justified reunification with South Tyrol.⁶²¹ Despite these pervasive and strong regional bonds and general disillusionment with national identity, the seeds for uniting the people had to be sown in order for Austria to be a functioning country. As far as the federal government was concerned, the sense of belonging to one's hometown or state needed to grow and include the country as a whole. The local and regional Heimat again had to become part of the national Heimat Austria.

A modern Austrian identity did emerge but it happened because of several key circumstances that were specific to the post-War era. This particular environment allowed Austrians to believe in themselves and feel that they were truly "Austrian." The factor that most shaped the building of an Austrian identity was the Austria-as-victim myth that heroically

⁶²⁰ For more on Tirol's identity after the War and a good summary of it beforehand, see Michael Gehler, "'Wir Tiroler sind nichts besseres, aber etwas besonders sind wir schon': Aspekte der politischen Identitätsbildung in Tirol 1945-1995," in *Liebe auf den zweiten Blick: Landes- und Österreichbewusstsein nach 1945*, ed. Robert Kriechbaumer (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998), 203-260.

⁶²¹ The issue of reunification is still a topic of discussion even today among the more ardent right-wing Tyroleans.

distinguished Austria from Germany. It stated that Germany took over Austria without its consent and implied that Austria was neither guilty nor responsible for the atrocities of the National Socialists. The myth basically gave Austrians a clean slate from which to rebuild their country. More than eager to be seen as victims, Austrians began disassociating themselves from any involvement with Germany in history and especially during the National Socialist period.⁶²² They also expelled hundreds of thousands of “Reich” Germans who had settled permanently in Austria and withdrew themselves from any responsibility for War crimes.⁶²³ They did not even see it as their duty to compensate Jewish émigrés for sequestered property and effectively passed all responsibility onto Germany.⁶²⁴ Austrians also continuously spoke of their own suffering caused by the *Anschluss* and their resistance to it. Though Austrian resistance movements were significant, they did not dispel the obvious widespread embrace of National Socialism, but Austrians ignored this fact along with their active and willing participation.⁶²⁵ Importantly, the Austrians were not the only ones who believed and propagated this myth of victimhood. The West (namely, Britain, France and the US) also preferred to see Austria as a victim of Hitler’s aggression in 1943. After the War, this special status allowed them to build up Austria quickly as a democratic nation. It would serve as an important and stable bulwark against the perceived communist threat to the East. Post-War Austria relished in the support that it had finally gained from the West as it turned a blind eye to its own tarnished past.

⁶²² Peter Thaler points out that some historians traced this demarcation from Germany back to the *privilegium minus* of 1156, while others discussed the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806. See “National History - National Imagery: The Role of History in Postwar Austrian Nation-Building,” *Central European History* 32, no. 3 (1999): 277-09.

⁶²³ The stress on National Socialist Germany is important. After the War there were still those who believed Austria should remain part of Germany. In essence, they argued that Hitler had ruined the idea of a larger German nation, but that was no reason why Austria should not be joined with Germany. In 1955, 46 percent of Austrians still felt German. *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶²⁵ For more on the resistance movements in Vienna and their relativity within the historical context, see Evan B. Bukey, “Popular Opinion in Vienna after the Anschluss,” in *Conquering the Past: Austrian Nazism Yesterday and Today*, ed. F. Parkinson (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 151-64.

Historian Peter Utgaard rightly argues that the myth allowed Austrians to believe that they were moving on with their lives when they were really just silencing their pasts. For Utgaard, the myth was the one idea that coherently linked the experiences of the interwar and War years into a positive narrative and contributed to a renewed sense of national identity.⁶²⁶ What the myth renewed was in effect what the *Ständestaat* had promoted, an identity based on Heimat, a selective history, and on the idea that Austrians were the bearers of a superior culture. Austria again promoted an ideal and popular history that largely nonacademic publicists and educators shaped and spread in the post-War era.⁶²⁷ Victimhood not only renewed the ideology of the *Ständestaat*, but it also justified its practices, as the *Ständestaat* had been against National Socialism. But this justification was also problematic because it failed to hold the Austrofascist government accountable for its idiosyncrasies and for its contribution to radical German nationalism.

The stress on victimhood allowed for many of the pre-*Anschluss* organizations and projects to be continued. The founders of the Bruder Willram Bund, for example, wanted to continue where they had left off in 1938. For them, National Socialism was un-Austrian and they preferred to suppress rather than understand it.⁶²⁸ The myth worked in the post-War period because both the West and Austrians desired it to be true. Austrians did not want to share the blame of the War and its atrocities. As historian Ulrike Matzer justly points out, actively contributing to the rebuilding of the country was viewed as more important than questioning, reflecting on, and analysing what had happened.⁶²⁹ While Germany was forced to confront its

⁶²⁶ Utgaard, *Remembering and Forgetting Nazism*, 2-3.

⁶²⁷ Thaler, "National History - National Imagery."

⁶²⁸ Natter, 96.

⁶²⁹ Ulrike Matzer, "Zwischen Heimatfotografie und Medienkunst," 27-40.

haunting past and rebuild, Austria moved forward under the illusion that it had a clear conscience.

One other major ingredient that contributed to the formation of a modern Austrian identity was neutrality. Historian Oliver Rathkolb contends that the policy of neutrality (which Austria officially declared in 1955) is central to Austrian identity since it played a huge part in re-creating and maintaining the Austrian solipsism that had been handed down from the monarchy.⁶³⁰ Rathkolb maintains that this self-absorption allowed for the resurgence of the belief that Austria was indeed a great purveyor of culture. He explains that the cultural past of the Habsburg monarchy was “Austrianized” (basically purged of any of its multi-ethnic influences) to conform to the image of a separate Austria, which was homogenous, distinct, and comprised only of Austrians.⁶³¹ Importantly, Rathkolb also indicates that Austrian national pride and identity were built on traditional popular and high culture, neutrality, and an association with the beautiful landscape.⁶³²

An additional ingredient in this identity building was the Heimat. Returning to the Heimat ensured a sense of security and comfort and after the War this was particularly attractive. The ideal landscape of the Heimat was one of the few things that remained stable amidst the atmosphere of post-War change. Moreover, the myth of victimhood allowed for Austrians to find solace in the same Alpine Heimat that the *Ständestaat* had previously tried to popularize. The public was already familiar with the Alpine Heimat, and although its image had been transformed to conform to National Socialism, they could believe in it again without difficulty. After all, the Alpine Heimat provided a world seemingly untarnished by the occupation and

⁶³⁰ Oliver Rathkolb, *The Paradoxical Republic: Austria, 1945-2005*, trans. Otmar Binder, Eleanor Breuning, Ian Fraser and David Sinclair-Jones (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 5.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 5.

destruction of the War. Moreover, the “apolitical” landscape did not seem guilty as it was still largely rural and seemingly removed from the present.

Photographs of Heimat furthered this illusion of innocence. Immediately after the end of the War in the summer of 1945, the VÖAV sponsored a photography exhibition of Alpine landscapes in the new Vienna city hall titled “Unser Österreich” [Our Austria]. These photographs helped distance Austria from Germany through their validation of cultural heritage and focus on the Alpine lands. Importantly, they also reinforced a conservative and inward-focused mentality of nationhood due to the absence of any urbanism or modern developments. At first, Vienna was not pictured within the Heimat identity. The preference for the countryside had at least at first in part to do with the fact that Vienna was partially bombed. Some of the great cultural buildings in Vienna, like the *Burgtheater* and the *Staatsoper* [State Opera House], had been damaged. Although the presence of ruins stressed victimhood, they also were a very palpable reminder of the side Austrians fought on and this did not conform totally to an attitude of innocence. Furthermore, the stronger presence of the occupying armies in Vienna and urban centers was also not attractive or ideal. The remote valleys of Austrian Alps, on the other hand, did not present the same scars. They became a magical fairytale land in which time had stood still. There, it was believed, Austria’s true identity could be found. The rural areas of the mountains still had their exquisite natural beauty. They made for prime tourist destinations as they ideally shifted the focus away from a country of former National Socialists to one that appeared to consist of innocent rural mountain towns, divorced from politics. The state of Tyrol represented exactly this kind of place and it again came to stand for the idea of Austrian Heimat par excellence, even while managing to retain its own distinctive identity as a region.

LIVING TYROL

In 1946, amidst paper shortages, two significant photobooks appeared and both concentrated on Tyrol. The first, by Heimat photographer Wilhelm Angerer, promoted the reunification of the mountainous state. Appropriately titled *Die Einheit Tirols* [The Unity of Tyrol], the photobook argued for reunification on the basis of the similarities shared between the Northern (and Eastern) and Southern parts of Tyrol (Fig. 160).⁶³³ The first photograph of the book takes up two pages (Fig. 161). Mountains extend across both pages, emphasizing that the natural landscape does not pay heed to politically demarcated boundaries. Angerer took the photograph from the 12,028 foot-high *Grossvenediger* looking out from East Tyrol toward its neighbor South Tyrol. The panoramic view presents a sea of mountain peaks and a glacier sweeping down from the mountain into the valley below. The mountain range appears unified and unending as it disappears into the horizon.

Angerer structured the rest of the book to focus on similar, if smaller portions of each landscape. To highlight their likenesses he places photographs from the North directly across from photographs of the South (Fig. 162). A page with a short phrase or sentence and descriptive titles precede each pairing of photographs. For example, before two photographs depicting small Alpine Churches the sentence reads: “A landscape leads people of the same clan to the same expressive forms of their creative will.”⁶³⁴ The photographs show two churches that are indeed architecturally similar, but Angerer also frames them to show that each is similarly perched on a hillside, overlooking the winding valley beneath it. Furthermore, Angerer places the church in the Inn Valley in the right corner of the first photograph, while he photographs the church in the

⁶³³ Wilhelm Angerer and Ernst Sturmmair, *Die Einheit Tirols: Ein vergleichendes Bildwerk über die geographische und historische Einheit Nord- und Südtirols* (Innsbruck: Tiroler Landesregierung, 1946).

⁶³⁴ “Eine Landschaft führt Menschen eines Stammes zu gleicher Ausdrucksform ihres Gestaltungswillens.” Angerer and Sturmmair, *Die Einheit Tirols*, n.p.

Eisack Valley in the left corner. Thus, in pairing the visual images together, they not only show that the religious architecture and mountainous landscapes are similar, but also that they are like a mirror reflection of each other and are therefore essentially the same.

The rest of the photographs in the book are equally well thought out and paired together. They juxtapose rocky mountain formations, mountain flora, snow-covered peaks, villagers, families, rustic home interiors, folk customs, work traditions, and town views (Fig. 163). The captions point to a shared tradition of abiding by customs, families who have been separated from each other, and generally similar heritages. Two portraits facing each other are meant to evoke an emotive response. The young woman on the left, dressed in her costume with its top hat, looks toward the right (Fig. 164). Opposite her an elderly man with a white beard and a pipe in his mouth gazes toward the left. His elderly eyes are watering and this small detail, together with his tilted head, suggests that the separation saddens him deeply. Unlike the churches placed near the binding of the pages, Angerer places these two photographs near the edges of the pages, separating them by a large blank area. They look longingly in the direction of each other without truly seeing the other.

The last photograph of the book emphasizes the majesty of nature and is in keeping with Angerer's spiritual view of the natural world. The photograph looks up toward the forest of trees. Directly behind the thickest maze of branches the sun emerges (Fig. 165). Its rays spin outward until the soft light fades away. The last text, which precedes this image, exclaims "A spring balancer from your hand and newly created will be the earth: Give us freedom of thought!"⁶³⁵ Although it seems to suggest that only in balancing a heavy burden can redemption occur, the exact message of Angerer's abstruse exclamation is difficult to interpret. While Angerer's visual

⁶³⁵ "Ein Federzug von Eurer Hand und neu erschafften wird die Erde: Gebt uns Gedankenfreiheit!" Ibid.

arguments for unity are understandable, his book does suggest, among other things, that the people in North and South Tyrol are “*Menschen einer Art*” [People of the same kind] and thus, they should be united. To our contemporary eyes, this may seem like an audacious gesture on Angerer’s part. However, Angerer as well as many others in Austria at the time, remained caught within a discourse that emphasized race and heritage despite having experienced the War and witnessing the aftermath of its crimes.

After the War, Angerer wanted to publish a further photobook using photographs he had taken in Finland during the War. He made a maquette for *Krieg in Karelien* [War in Karelia], but not surprisingly, no publisher he approached would agree to take on a photobook project that documented soldiers in an aestheticized, yet desolate, wintry landscape. It seems that Angerer failed to understand the repercussions of the War and the need to silence it. Increasingly after the War, Angerer retreated from present-day reality and began only photographing small bits of nature. He went on long hikes and began a collection of Alpine fossils, which intensely interested him. Angerer’s post-War photographs of flowers, bees, and rocks lacked the power of his impressive mountain views. They were personal and reflective impressions of nature that effectively silenced his opinions as well.

The second photobook of 1946 was titled *Lebendiges Tirol* [Living Tyrol] by Simon Moser (Fig. 166).⁶³⁶ Moser’s post-War photobook also advocated for the unity of Tyrol, albeit more subtly than Angerer. It emphasized the shared appearance and lifestyle of the separated regions and it included photographs taken in South Tyrol. In the book’s introduction, Moser explained that the idea for the book arose several years before but he refrained from clarifying

⁶³⁶ Simon Moser, *Lebendiges Tirol* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1946).

any details about the genesis of the project.⁶³⁷ What Moser neglected to mention was the book's relation to an eponymous exhibition held in 1937 in Innsbruck under the direction of the Bruder Willram Bund (Fig. 167). The exhibition "Living Tyrol" presented contemporary literary and artistic works from the region by among others, authors Oberkofler and Franz Kranewitter, art historian Josef Weingartner, artists Albin Egger-Lienz and Klemens Holzmeister, and photographers Simon Moser and Stefan Kruckenhauser.⁶³⁸ Alongside these photographs of landscapes were portraits of Tyrolean-born Schuschnigg and other political leaders by Gabriel von Kulley.

Moser spoke at the exhibition opening and explained that the title's meaning signified "the unification of the landscape and humanity, of nature and art, and of the past and present."⁶³⁹ Moser also clarified that the term had religious meaning. He believed that, on one hand, it conformed to an omnipresent transcendental God, while on the other hand, it supported the continuation of traditional religious folk symbols adopted by Christianity.⁶⁴⁰ In his speech, Moser also explained the importance of Tyrol for Austria. Through its economic and cultural exchange with other Alpine regions, Moser considered it made an important contribution to the whole of Austria and to the German people as a whole.⁶⁴¹

The exhibition of course received significant applause from *Ruf der Heimat*. It praised how the presentation of works revealed the inner spirit of Tyroleans, suggesting that this was

⁶³⁷ Moser, *Lebendiges*, 5.

⁶³⁸ 'Vorbildliche österreichische Kulturarbeit' *Ruf der Heimat*, no.3 (1937), 88.

⁶³⁹ "Letzlich aber ist es die Einheit von Landschaft und Mensch, von Natur und Kunst, von Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, die wir mit diesem Titel meinen." Ibid., 90.

⁶⁴⁰ "Der gekennzeichneten Einheit des 'Lebendigen Tirols' entspricht es auch, daß die 'Religion des Tirolers' einerseits sich ganz dem transzendenten Gott, dem überweltlichen persönlichen Geist verantwortlich fühlt, ferne stehet jeder innerweltlichen phantastischen Mystik, andererseits aber doch in einer erdnahen und volkhaften religiösen Symbolwelt lebt; ja, sein Christentum erträgt sogar noch die leise Erinnerung an urlate vorchristliche Bräuche, wie etwa im Berchtenlausen." Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ 'Vorbildliche österreichische Kulturarbeit,' 90.

inextricable from their land, religion, and community.⁶⁴² The magazine also predicted that Tyrol as it was presented in the exhibition would live on. To an extent, the magazine was correct.⁶⁴³

The spirit of the exhibition certainly lived on in Moser's post-War publication.

In the book *Lebendiges Tirol* Moser simply reused his speech at the exhibition opening in his introduction. He again explained that the unity of the landscape and people, nature and art, and the past and present, make up the living state of Tyrol. He also reiterated that Tyrol was a part of Austria and as such it participated in a cultural exchange with other Alpine states.⁶⁴⁴ He also defined Tyrol in terms of religion that binds people together. The rest of the introduction expounded upon his original ideas. Moser added a discussion how the history of Tyrol unfolds from its "*Mutterschoßes*" [Mother's womb] so that when Tyroleans think of community they define it, not in terms of politics, but according to *Stamm* [clan]. He also elucidated that Tyrol's soil is not holy because one's body is bound to it, but because it breathes the spirit of one's forefathers, and for that reason it has its own character.⁶⁴⁵ For Moser, the living landscape of Tyrol is an emotional, sensory entity, an atmosphere that contains Tyrolean's lives.⁶⁴⁶ Throughout the introduction Moser continues to employ rhetoric similar to the one he employed in the pre-War era.

In regards to the photography in the book, Moser explains that because the landscape is living, photography cannot be just a topographic recording; instead, it must always capture the magic of any moment.⁶⁴⁷ Moser believed his book should affect its readers through its visual play with light and shadow, helping them to gain a personal understanding of the Heimat's spirit.

⁶⁴² Ibid., 88.

⁶⁴³ Ibid., 88.

⁶⁴⁴ Moser, *Lebendiges*, 6.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., 9.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., 9.

“Each photograph should be a moral call and appeal. The more the viewer’s senses are stimulated, the better the viewer is intellectually prepared for a personal journey in life.”⁶⁴⁸

Moser’s appellation on his readers to discover the Heimat is reminiscent of his first photobook, *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk*, in which he and Wilhelm Wolf called upon Austrian’s to discover their Heimat and develop a love for it. The introduction picks up exactly where Moser left off in 1937 and his ideas retained much of the *Ständestaat*’s ideology regarding the Heimat. Although Moser’s book affords him ample space to expand upon his ideas regarding Tyrol and the Heimat, he does not reflect upon or even acknowledge recent history.

As he had planned before the War, Moser again aspired to develop a series in which *Lebendiges Tirol* would be the first. His introduction explained that a second volume would supplement his focus on landscape by concentrating on the life of the peasants and a third would be centred on mountain climbers and hikers, showing “their pure struggle with the mountain.”⁶⁴⁹ These future volumes were never published. It is unclear exactly why, especially considering the overwhelming success of *Lebendiges Tirol*. Highly popular, it went through four subsequent editions over the next nine years.⁶⁵⁰

The photobook *Lebendiges Tirol* included many of the same photographs from Moser’s previous photobooks, as well as short texts and poems from familiar authors such as Oberkofler, Leitgeb, and others on Heimat themes. The photograph of an old woman raking hay that appeared in both *Österreichs Bergwelt und Bergvolk* and *Deutsche Bergbauern*, also appears in *Lebendiges Tirol*. This time the photograph has the title *Heuarbeit auf dem Hochmahd* [Working

⁶⁴⁸ “Und in diesem Sinne ist jedes Bild auch ein sittlicher Anruf und Aufruf, es ist umso besser, je mehr seine sinnliche Wirkung im Beschauer sich umsetzt in geistige Bereitschaft für seine individuelle Aufgabe in der Welt.” *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁶⁵⁰ The editions were published in 1948, 1951, 1955. The third and fourth editions were revised slightly.

on the High Swath] (fig.168). The elderly peasant is no longer presented as the tireless worker. The only emphasis made is that her work is work. The title encourages us to read the photograph as a depiction of Alpine farming. It is tiring. It suggests that either her fork drags behind her or that she uses it to help her balance on the steep slope of the swath.

The title of this photograph and all of the titles in *Lebendiges Tirol* are unlike those in Moser's previous photobooks. Here, they always reference the geographical location of the photograph, whether it is general, like the swath, or specific, like *Furtschagl*, a mountain in *Zillertal*. The listing of place names individualized the post-War Austrian Heimat, which, in the book, appears to consist of picturesque Austrian towns and mountains untouched by modernity, the War or the hardships of post-War life (Fig. 169). This less-interpretive and emotionally detached approach to a geographic listing reflects a post-War atmosphere which was far from zealous. No longer was the Heimat Tyrol presented as an ideal and abstracted mountainous place within Austria; rather it was seen as grounded in specific concrete places. Importantly, this included South Tyrol. A photograph taken on the Stilfers-Joch Street, the high mountain pass in South Tyrol, emphasizes the unity of which Moser spoke (Fig. 170).

Moser's photograph of a mountain crucifix that had previously been titled *Gesegnetes Tal* now appeared with the new geographical and dispassionate title *Am Stripsenjoch. Blick gegen das Inntal* [On Stripsenjoch. View of the Inn Valley] (Fig. 171). The image, which is third in the book, appears no less dramatic than in the previous books but this is not expounded upon in the title. And yet Moser's photograph still retains its soft-lighting and delicate balance of light and shadow. The caption objectively presents an extant place but the artistry of the photograph still aestheticizes and disguises its realism, heightening the photograph's spiritual symbolism. *Am Stripsenjoch* appears opposite an elusive poem by Josef Leitgeb "Wieder am Abend..." [Again

in the Evening] that speaks abstractly of nature. The last two lines read “Forever above the godforsaken / the Gods of Spring beat together.”⁶⁵¹ The poem is not blatantly clear (even in its entirety) and this dubiousness allows for a variety of interpretations. The poems in *Lebendiges Tirol* focus on the land, the peasant, and the seasons. The connections made to nature appeared innocent in a post-War environment and yet their ties to the “Blood and Soil” ideology makes their inclusion problematic. Incidentally, Leitgeb would go on to win the Austrian state prize for literature in 1950.⁶⁵²

Unlike Moser’s previous books there is no clear order to the photographs pictured in *Lebendiges Tirol*. They are an amalgamation of the landscape, the people, and the buildings within Tyrol and they do not correspond to the seasonal year or the cycle of life. Moser depicts peasants, but his view becomes distanced again (Fig. 172). They are no longer pictured in a close-up view of the face to emphasize exemplary racial types. Moser still shows them in their traditional costumes, but these images are less about the traditional dress. Now Moser’s distanced view frames their social interaction between each other. Shown together in conversation, the peasants bring their communities to life. The traditional society depicted seems to value its shared way of life (Fig. 173).

Moser’s photographs gave substance to the post-War Heimat. They were again powerful because they were based upon something real and tangible. While he made significant changes to the character of the book, it continues in a similar vein. The same ideas about the Alpine Heimat Austria appear in a more subdued form. The book is also not emotionally Catholic, but it retains Catholic subject matter.

⁶⁵¹ “Ewig über den Gottverlassenen / schlagen die Frühlinge Gottes zusammen.” Josef Leitgeb in *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶⁵² For a detailed biography focused on his writings see the entry on Leitgeb in the *Lexikon Literatur in Tirol* at http://orawww.uibk.ac.at/apex/uprod/f?p=20090202:2:1268910464367799::NO::P2_ID,P2_TYP_ID:419.

In 1956 Moser did publish another photobook but it did not continue his proposed series. Titled *Zillertal und Alpbachtal* [Ziller Valley and Alpbach Valley] the book focused on a smaller geographic region within Tyrol.⁶⁵³ The book contains only two texts, which tersely describe the two valleys. With this publication Moser restrains his enthusiasm. He speaks of the people of the valley as tall and intelligent, and, importantly, he remarks that they are open to others.⁶⁵⁴ Moser also remarks that they are just as eager to leave their home as they are to return to it. The Heimat themes pictured are the same; there are skiers, peasants, landscapes, churches, homes, and folk art. But the photographs are entirely new views (Fig. 174). The combination of themes presents a traditional and modern Heimat that is only visual. The book does not contain any literary works and the titles of the photographs are just geographic markers. In *Zillertal und Alpbachtal* the pictures are left to speak largely for themselves. Moser's final photobook was much less propagandistic and more neutral in its presentation of Alpine life than his previous works. Produced in the mid-1950s, the book signals a move towards a new Heimat that is not couched within pre-War political ideologies, but instead tries to reflect a welcoming landscape.

The rest of Moser's life was marked by his professional career as a philosopher. After the War, Moser helped found the *Österreichisches College* [Austrian College] in Vienna and help direct the college's "International College Weeks" in Alpbach, which aimed to provide a forum for academic exchange in post-War Europe.⁶⁵⁵ He also regained his job as a professor at the University of Innsbruck. In 1952, though, Moser left Austria and the Alps for a position at the University of Karlsruhe in Germany, where he stayed until his retirement. Moser published

⁶⁵³ Simon Moser, *Zillertal und Alpbachtal* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1956).

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁵⁵ The program is now known as European Forum Alpbach. The Institute for Technology in Karlsruhe contains the archives of Simon Moser from the years 1924-30 and 1952-76. See <http://www.archiv.kit.edu/104.php?signatur=27014> for more information.

several philosophical works, including a selection of his lectures.⁶⁵⁶ After retiring, Moser returned to his Heimat in Tyrol, where he died in 1988.

THE AUSTRIAN PEASANT

Both Angerer and Moser included depictions of Austrians in their traditional costumes in their photobooks, but neither focused on representations of the peasant. After the War though, the peasant was again venerated as the Ur-Austrian and the protector of the Austrian Heimat. Oliver Rathkolb remarks that the Heimat culture of the 1950s helped Austria move away from German nationalism, but that this culture often reinforced nationally dominated prejudices based on a more radical German nationalism.⁶⁵⁷ Rathkolb's statement particularly applies to the Heimat discourse surrounding the peasant, who became a sort of mythical being in the modern post-War environment.

In 1949 Sator publishing company produced a large volume titled *Der österreichische Bauer: His Life and Work* [The Austrian Peasant: His Life and Work], which was the second book in a series of "great Heimat books."⁶⁵⁸ The book included texts from the minister of agriculture and forestry, the secretary for domestic affairs, the president of the chamber of agriculture in Vienna and Lower Austria and 67 other authors and scholars, many of whom held university appointments. Many of these writers were Heimat activists who had been involved in the *Ständestaat*, including Guido Zernatto, Viktor Geramb, Alexander Niklitschek, and Joseph Friedrich Perkonig. The preface introduces some of the many contributors as authors who speak artistically while trying to capture the heart and soul of the peasant to the best of their abilities.

⁶⁵⁶ Simon Moser, *Philosophie und Gegenwart: Vorträge* (Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain KG, 1960).

⁶⁵⁷ Rathkolb, *The Paradoxical Republic*, 24.

⁶⁵⁸ Josef Kraus, Ferdinand Graf, and Josef Reither, *Der Österreichische Bauer: Sein Leben und Werk* (Vienna: Sator, 1949).

Their texts explained various parts of the peasant's life, including the farm, family, and agriculture. They also discussed such topics as the life of Tyrolean hero Andreas Hofer, migration to urban centers, and the 400 years of religious passion and mystery plays in Austria. As a whole the book can be seen as an encyclopedic reference to the life of the peasantry.

The book aimed to present a true image of the peasant's "life cycle" because, as it explained, for many the world of the peasants is strange and unfamiliar.⁶⁵⁹ The preface indicates that the book is easy to understand and claims that "after turning a few pages, the reader will already be stimulated, have filled a gap in knowledge, and corrected stereotypes. And just a few more pages will arouse the reader to contemplate history and make him laugh out of joy."⁶⁶⁰ The first text, "Herr der Scholle" [Master of the Soil] by Josef Kraus (1890-1971), who was the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, describes the importance of farmers for Austria. He describes them in a manner quite similar to *Ständestaat* characterizations. In explaining their heritage from bajuwaric tribes, he elucidates that they mixed with Slavs and Magyars, but it was Christianity that refined them and made them noble. He continues to explain that the demanding landscape shapes them and that their history not only ensures that they are a valuable part of the people but it also makes them "the protectors of true folklore and Christianity" and "the guardians and defenders against any enemy invasion or ideology." Kraus ends his text dramatically by proclaiming: "Freedom of the Peasant, Freedom of the Fatherland, Freedom of the People in Austria!"⁶⁶¹ The text clearly continues a *Ständestaat* version of history, but

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., np

⁶⁶⁰ "Er blättert nur ein paarmal um, und schon ist eine Bildungslücke geschlossen, eine Anregung gewonnen, ein Fehlurteil richtiggestellt. Und wieder wenige Seiten weiter wird eine besinnliche Geschichte zum Nachdenken zwingen, eine köstliche Schnurre befreiendes Lachen auslösen." Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Josef Kraus, "Herr der Scholle" in Ibid., 11.

importantly it does stress freedom, a right the former Austrofascist government had actively suppressed.

The majority of the photographs in *Der österreichische Bauer* are credited to the name of Anna Koppitz. However, many of these photographs are actually by Rudolf Koppitz and appeared in his earlier works and publications. For example, in a photograph depicting a mother and her four children, the woman is recognizable as another one of the types that Koppitz included in Leifhelm's 1936 photobook *Menschen der Berge*, although the view of her is slightly different (Fig. 175).⁶⁶² This same photograph also appeared in an issue of *Die Pause* in 1935 (Fig. 176).⁶⁶³ While Anna Koppitz no doubt took some of the photographs in the book, it is curious that she no longer uses the name of her husband for these particular photographs. In any case, the Koppitz photographs and their artistry reinforce a nostalgic aspect of the text that praises the peasantry and details their tedious work processes. One photograph depicting potato farmers bending over to unearth their crop appears with a caption indicating that a good harvest is worth the trouble of weeks of work (Fig. 177). Problematically, the photographs like this one, and others in the book, suggest that the Heimat in which the peasant lives truly is timeless. In addition to including photographs of peasants, the illustrations also depicted landscapes, farmhouses, religious symbols, and folkloristic items such as carved wooden spoons and ceramic wine jugs (Fig. 178). They all provide an ideal portrayal of the natural life as it is described in the texts.

⁶⁶² See Leifhelm, *Menschen der Berge*, 62-63.

⁶⁶³ "Frauen, Mütter, Königinnen aus dem Volke," *die Pause* 1, no. 1 (1935): 4.

RECYCLED BEAUTY

As with the other Heimat photographers, Stefan Kruckenhauser also continued his photographic work following his return from the War. Kruckenhauser never produced any propaganda for the NSDAP and because he produced books about Austria which focused on its religious culture, he was excused from denazification.⁶⁶⁴ He regained his position in St. Christoph in Arlberg as the director of the ski school, and continued to photograph there. His book *Verborgene Schönheit* appeared in a heavily revised and expanded fifth edition in 1954 (Fig. 179).⁶⁶⁵ The book had the same thematic divisions as the 1938 edition and it similarly included detailed art historical data and information about Kruckenhauser's photographic techniques. The post-War edition also had a separate list of pictures providing the titles in German, English, French, and Italian and brief photographic data for each photograph. The photographs in it vary but are by and large the same.

Kruckenhauser's book and his attitude toward it are emblematic of post-War Austria as a whole. Kruckenhauser obscures history and recycles a nostalgic image of Austria. He begins his new edition with a two-page text titled "This book has a history." He writes that the book was begun in 1936, was published two years later, and was immediately well-received by its 15,000 buyers.⁶⁶⁶ He then tells the reader that the fourth edition burned in the bombings of Leipzig and that bombs in Berlin destroyed the negatives. In telling this story Kruckenhauser first defends the book's success and then explains its unfortunate destruction. Like the Austrians, the book falls victim to the War of National Socialist Germany. With Kruckenhauser's "new" post-War edition he essentially tries to recapture most of the past as he re-photographs the same works of

⁶⁶⁴ Emberger, "Zum Leben Stefan Kruckenhausers," 14.

⁶⁶⁵ Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Die verborgene Schönheit: Bauwerk und Plastik aus Österreich*, 5th ed. (Salzburg: O. Müller, 1954).

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

sculptural art and architecture as before, just as Austria tries to reclaim its past and present it anew.

The two additional parts to Kruckenhauser's introduction discuss how this book both reflects history and tells a history. Kruckenhauser wants the photographs to speak to the viewer's eye. He explains that the book is not about art historical knowledge per se but about a feeling, the feeling of *Heimat* which man can only sense, but not know.⁶⁶⁷ Most importantly, Kruckenhauser explains that, by photographing these irreplaceable treasures which have escaped the War, he gains the necessary peace and courage to work on during what he calls a loud and agitated time.⁶⁶⁸ Kruckenhauser believes the beauty he represents validates the risk of such a time-consuming project. With these thoughts, it is clear that Kruckenhauser is catering to the desire to return to the *Heimat*. Not only is it a process of rejuvenation for him but it is also a way for the public to recuperate in an ideal environment, despite the aftermath of the War.

The photographs in the book recall many of the photographs from the War-time edition. To replace his lost negatives, Kruckenhauser chose slightly different views of the same structures. In some cases he even revisited many of the sites which he originally photographed. In a photograph of a house in Nauders, Tyrol, the angle and distance to the house are the same, yet the smoke emitted from the chimneys blows in a different direction, following the contour of the sloping roof rather than rising straight upward. Many of the juxtapositions in the book are similar. Kruckenhauser again plays with the forms of the landscape and architecture to suggest an architectural and landscape continuum and a shared similarity within various Austrian places. A photograph of an onion-domed steeple and snow-covered church roof in Stuben appears across from a straightforward and back-lit view of a domestic roof and chimney in Bartholomäberg

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

(Fig. 180). The chimney has small stones placed atop it to weigh down the cover. They are stacked in a steeple-like shape, which mimics the church on the previous page as well as the jagged mountain ridge above and behind it. This kind of formal play appears throughout the book. It adds to its attractiveness as an object which is meant to be looked through over and over again.

Kruckenhauser revisits familiar architectural interiors and sculptures. He focuses on line and the plastic qualities of the forms (Fig. 181). In characterizing Kruckenhauser's book, Rolf Sachsse describes it as "neither an art historical book nor a tourist overview; the majority of the book is carried by a romantic understanding of the bond of nature with humanity, the environment, and art."⁶⁶⁹ This focus in the book makes it an ideal means through which to retreat to the Heimat. Like other Heimat photographers, Kruckenhauser returned to what was familiar to him in the Heimat and it allowed for him to move forward, even if it was mostly a blatant act of repetition. The book provided a peaceful and beautiful view of Austria. As Maria Emberger justly comments, the book's success after the War was just as much due to this need for an Austrian identity that embodied peace and harmony as it was to other kinds of cultural politics.⁶⁷⁰

The book appeared in a seventh edition in 1964, which increased the total print run to 38,000. A year later Kruckenhauser published the book in an English edition with a forward by Ernst Gombrich.⁶⁷¹ In his introduction Gombrich praises Kruckenhauser for his ability to pick out small details of beauty found within Austrian architecture and sculpture that are impressions of the typical. He acknowledges that for those who have been to Austria, the book will serve as a

⁶⁶⁹ Sachsse, "Skizze zu Stefan Kruckenhauser," 34.

⁶⁷⁰ Emberger, "Zum Leben Stefan Kruckenhausers," 15.

⁶⁷¹ Stefan Kruckenhauser, *Heritage of Beauty: Architecture and Sculpture in Austria*, with an introduction by E.H. Gombrich (London: C.A. Watts, 1965).

reminder of its beauty. Gombrich also notes that Kruckenhauser's ability to illustrate a building in a landscape setting conveys the "effortless harmony that seems to prevail between architecture and natural scenery in many an Alpine village."⁶⁷² Gombrich reinforces the idyllic view Kruckenhauser presents. The English edition assisted the Austrians in building their identity for foreign communities who also saw the country as a peaceful Alpine haven.

BEAUTIFUL TYROL AND BEAUTIFUL AUSTRIA

After the War, in 1952, Eduard Widmoser published *Schönes Tirol* [*Beautiful Tyrol*]. The photobook included the work of Adalbert Defner, Stefan Kruckenhauser, and other Heimat photographers, but mostly it was comprised of photographs by Adolf Sickert.⁶⁷³ The photobook appeared in an English edition the same year.⁶⁷⁴ In 1952 many of these photographers also collaborated in producing *Österreich: Landschaft, Mensch, Kultur* [Austria: Landscape, People, Culture], which likewise was issued in an English edition.⁶⁷⁵ This photobook book focused primarily on the landscapes of mountainous regions. Like *Schönes Tirol*, it too went through many editions, the last of which was printed in 1968.⁶⁷⁶ Some of the photographs by Defner, Kruckenhauser, and others are the exact same photographs that they took and published twenty years earlier, but within these books they appear in a strikingly different context (Fig. 182).

Both photobooks are made for tourists. The layout of each book, the introduction and the selection of photographs clearly address the modern tourist and presents Austria as a vacation

⁶⁷² E. H. Gombrich, "Introduction," in Kruckenhauser, *Heritage of Beauty*, 8.

⁶⁷³ Adalbert Defner, *Schönes Tirol: Landschaft, Mensch und Kultur*, with introduction by, Eduard Widmoser (St. Johann/Tirol: Pinguin and Frankfurt a.M.: Umschau, 1956), with further editions in 1960, 1963, 1968, and 1970.

⁶⁷⁴ Adalbert Defner, Eduard Widmoser *Beautiful Tyrol: A Pictorial Record Containing Sixty-Five Superb Photographs* (St. Johann: Pinguin-Verl., 1956), with subsequent editions in 1962 and 1968.

⁶⁷⁵ Adalbert Defner, *Österreich: Landschaft, Mensch und Kultur*, with contributions by Karl Heinrich Waggerl and Eduard Widmoser (St. Johann, Tirol: Pinguin and Frankfurt a. M.: Umschau, 1952).

⁶⁷⁶ The subsequent editions were published in 1954, 1960, 1962, 1964, and 1968.

destination. Upon first opening the books the reader comes across a map of Tyrol or Austria. The drawn map details the borders, important cities, lakes, and mountains (Fig. 183). It familiarizes the reader with the geography of Austria and allows them to place the various locations of the photographs which are pictured in the following pages.

Like other Heimat books, the photographs depict populated towns, ski slopes with gondolas, rock climbers, hikers, picturesque Alpine views, medieval castles, impressively situated churches, the Grossglockner Street, and hiking paths (Fig. 184). These places show desirable tourist destinations. To further affirm this touristic function, modern Austrians are included in many of the photographs and especially those of town views. Kruckenhauser's photograph of a narrow medieval street in Salzburg depicts a business man walking with his briefcase, pedestrians, and bicyclists (Fig. 185). The caption for the photograph informs us that Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was born on a similarly narrow Salzburg street in 1756. Here we see daily life as Austrians go about their business, but the caption tells us that the street is also noteworthy historically and of interest to visitors. In other photographs we actually see tourists in lounge chairs sunning themselves at ski resorts or beside a picturesque lake (Fig. 186). These photographs are enticements, suggesting that we too can be the lounging in the sun in a beautiful and relaxing setting.

One particularly noteworthy inclusion in the book is a spread of photographs that reinforces the notion that Austria is competitive as a modern and industrial nation. On the left a photograph depicts the receding white ridges of regularly spaced mounds from which ore is extracted in strip mining (Fig. 187). Such a photograph would have never been included in the *Ständestaat's* ideal version of the Heimat because the process of strip mining removes the surface vegetation and desecrates the natural landscape. The photograph even illustrates this

contrast with a distanced viewpoint that allows one to see rolling hillsides of the forested and natural landscape that surrounds the huge mine. The photograph on the right shows a distant valley filled with factory buildings and smoking chimneys. The caption informs us that this large factory processes the harvested ore from the mine on the previous page.⁶⁷⁷ The Donauwitz metallurgical plant pictured had a long history. The first factory was dependent on the hydroelectric power gained in the mountains and it opened its doors in 1837, but only now does it become part of Austria's image as a modern nation. To be an attractive tourist destination Austria had to also portray itself as a modern country with electricity and other modern conveniences.

In comparison to the pre-War Heimat photobooks, there are fewer photographs of peasants and Austrians in their traditional dress. The post-War era no longer defined the Alpine Heimat in terms of its peasants. It was instead presented as a tourist haven, a modern Heimat that retained and valued its cultural history but did not try to further the existence of an antiquated way of life. In all but one spread, traditional dress seems to be part of a secular event rather than a religious pilgrimage or ceremony. The one exception involves two photographs by Rudolf Koppitz. This spread is the only one which truly tries to recapture the past. The first photograph shows East Tyrolean peasants praying in a church, while the second portrays seven family members gathered around the table at mealtime (Fig. 188). The caption informs us that "simple but nourishing meals unite the whole family of the mountain farmer around one table."⁶⁷⁸ These photographs stand out for their depiction of traditional peasants (who were photographed twenty years previously) but also because of the style of the photographs. The subtle contrasts of light and dark lend the photograph a softness that is not apparent in the other photographs in the book.

⁶⁷⁷ Defner, *Österreich*, 73.

⁶⁷⁸ Defner, *Österreich*, 57.

The title page of *Schönes Tirol* informs us that most of the photographers whose work appears in the book used film cameras from Zeiss Ikon Stuttgart. These modern cameras did not produce the softness that Koppitz's camera had during the 1930s. While the inclusion of Koppitz's outdated photographs may appear to be gesture of respect for the work of the photographer, it also demonstrates an unwillingness to let go of the past.

Other photographs of Austrians in traditional costume included in the book appear exactly as that, as Austrians who dress up in a pseudo-historical costume to cater to the desires of tourists (Fig. 189). The last photograph in *Österreich* shows a couple from Burgenland (Fig. 190). The couple poses for the photograph, leaning on a carved wooden rail and framed by a vine weighted down with abundant grapes. The man has his arm around the woman. They each look off into different directions but they appear happy and close to each other. Photographs of the Burgenland were not part of the Heimat the *Ständestaat* envisioned. The state was not Alpine and, furthermore, its population was largely Slavic and Hungarian in origin. Now, however, the Burgenland is presented as part of Austria. This photograph contrasts greatly with the cold and distanced peasants that Atzwanger portrayed before the War. The Burgenland couple appears in a crisp white costume. It does not appear that they have been working all day or have a tough life. Their costume is also not part of a religious ceremony. The caption informs us that Austrians, and especially those in the Burgenland, believe in enjoying life. There is no mention of or allusion to work or the enduring strength of the couple. They are happy, as if they too are on vacation and thus they provide the perfect picture for tourists who seek the very same happiness that the couple exhibits.

Schönes Tirol similarly ends with a happy couple. The last photograph depicts a couple sitting on a bench outside of a rustic Alpine hut (Fig. 191). The couple sits together and the

woman's face smiles as she looks toward her partner. They are not wearing traditional peasant clothes as they are not peasants. They are modern Austrians vacationing in the Heimat. The house appears in a remote and rocky landscape, with forested background and a large gushing waterfall. Taken from above, the viewer looks down on the couple, as if peering into their romantic vacation in the solitude of nature. The caption, which is the only one not translated into English, reads "Auf der Alm – da gibt's ka Sünd' – Stubaital" [There's no sin in the Alpine pasture – Stubai Valley]. The adage reflects the idea that after hiking or working up on the mountain pasture one does not have any energy left for sexual activity, but it also suggests that up on the mountain pasture one is removed from society, and therefore from its moral code. Either way, the photograph suggests that the Alps are a place where one can get away and enjoy the seclusion of nature.

Throughout the post-War era this touristic image of Austria became more and more popular and this was in part due to the popularity of German and Austrian Heimat films. Nearly one-third of all films released in the twenty years after the War were Heimat films.⁶⁷⁹ Unlike Heimat photography, however, much scholarship has already been written on Heimat film.⁶⁸⁰ The films also recycled the image and idea of the Alpine Austrian Heimat and made it correspond to more contemporary ideals (Fig. 192). In contrast to the 1930s, Austrians of the

⁶⁷⁹ Gertraud Steiner, *Die Heimat-Macher. Kino in Österreich 1946-1966* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1987), 249.

⁶⁸⁰ Unlike Heimat photography, scholars have written on Austrian Heimat films; see Christian Strasser, "Das Salzburger Land als Projektionsfläche von Politik und Gesellschaft im Heimatfilm" in *Heimatsuche. Regionale Identität im Österreichisch-Italienischen Alpenraum*, ed. by Antonio Pasinato (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 2004), 67-80; Karl Sierek, "Idyll, Heimat, Western. Einige Beobachtungen zum Heimatfilm der 50er Jahre in Österreich und darüber hinaus," *Medien Journal*, 3 (1995), 38-46; Steiner, *Die Heimat-Macher*; Shane D. Peterson, "A Palimpsest of Discourses: The Heimatfilm Echo der Berge (Der Forster vom Silberwald) (1954), Modernity, and the Search for Postwar Austrian Alpine Heimat," M.A., Brigham Young University, 2006. There is much more scholarship on German Heimat film and the arguments of those texts can easily be applied to the Austrians films. See, for example, Johannes von Moltke, *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) and Jennifer Kapczynski, "Postwar Ghosts: Heimatfilm and the Specter of Male Violence. Returning to the Scene of the Crime," *German Studies Review* 33, no. 2 (May 2010): 305-30.

post-War era learned to believe in Austria, and Heimat photography and film helped them to do so.

Post-War Heimat photography stemmed from the turbulent political years of the 1930s and '40s and gave birth to a 'new' concept of Austria. The context of the photographs had changed and their captioning and arrangement reflected this. This provided Austria with an *Austrian* Heimat that helped to unify the people. As the Alpine land was rugged, impressive, and historical, it could serve as the foundation for the new Heimat of post-war Austria. In this geographical, yet personal Alpine Heimat, one purposefully forgot the complacency of Austrofascism and the War. The Alpine identity worked this time because the Austrians did not have any desire to relate their culture to that of the Germans. They did not stress a shared ethnic background or culture. Their culture was simply Austrian and to be Austrian meant to be divorced from Germany.

Post-War Heimat photography triggers memories of a Heimat that never experienced the War. Heimat photographs served as historical evidence of a specific time and place that was desired. The problem with Heimat photography is that it was ideal in the way it functioned to obscure an entire history. As visual images left to speak for themselves, they could and were interpreted in the most favorable way. Only in the later 1950s, did images of the Heimat come to slowly show any evidence of change and a developing modern country. The contexts in which post-war Heimat photography appeared still did not confront its past, but the photographs did begin to reflect life in the present and this is ultimately how they helped Austria establish an identity that was modern and new.

CONCLUSION

The title of this dissertation “Passive Fascism? The Politics of Austrian Heimat Photography” boldly questions the meaning of Austrian Heimat photography and whether it played a passive role in the fascist politics of the 1930s. Myriad examples exist that demonstrate how photographs of the Austrian Heimat in both independent and *Ständestaat*-endorsed publications contributed directly to its vision of a Catholic and Alpine Austria. Heimat photographs within these contexts could not help but reinforce such a staunchly promoted and idealized culture. But, Heimat photographs in the post-War era also promoted a similarly idealized and innocent culture. In looking at Heimat photography from the 1930s through the 1950s, we are reminded of the importance of historical context. Even though photographs remain undeniably persuasive because of their status as visual documents, they are also limited in their ability to convey a message of truth.

Unlike other histories of photography, my dissertation neither focused solely on artistic imagery or amateur imagery; rather it looked at both as it pointed to the influence photographers like Rudolf Koppitz had on aspiring amateurs. In doing so, I presented a view into a time period, in which trends in modernism and interest in the Heimat converged with one another. This dissertation argues that we should not only consider avant-garde and leftist movements when looking at modernism but also we should take into account the influence of popular and conservative imagery and its wide-reaching effects on mainstream popular culture.

My dissertation has presented a history of Austrian Heimat photography as it contributes to fascist politics because it has hitherto been repressed and needs to be acknowledged. With this dissertation, though, I hope to open up not only the study of Austria, but also that of similar

Heimat movements in other countries. This study should also encourage additional histories of photography that examine popular culture and regional developments. Not only do histories based on popular and regional developments uncover useful and detailed information, but they also increase and broaden our understanding of human culture. They provide alternate perspectives with which one can modify and build upon more familiar histories.

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