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CONSTRUCTING HEIMAT
IN THE SILESIAN GIANT MOUNTAINS,
ORGANIZATION AND DISCOURSE 1880-1914

Master's Thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

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Abstract in English

Germany has a long history of political fragmentation, with local and regional identities playing a crucial role in the making of Germanhood. In the last decades, historical scholarship has depicted the process of rallying local identities to the national cause. Dealing with this issue is essential because it shows the variety of the concept of *Heimat* [home or local homeland]¹ in various territories of imperial Germany. Nevertheless, this process on the local level was not yet thoroughly examined in the case of the Giant Mountains' region before the First World War. Due to its geographical position and the strong local cohesion shaping the homeland, this case study enables to further such historical researches, which often concentrates on the German historical regions, and not on the study of a local territory shaped by tourism.

The object of the following thesis is to question the meanings assigned to the notion of *Heimat* in the Silesian Giant Mountains for the local activists and inhabitants, and thus, to write the history of the construction of *Heimat*. By using a methodology based upon different disciplines (respectively, the French “*géohistoire*”, literary theory, sociology), the research analyses many phenomena attached to other and recent historiographic domains, such as environmental history. The main hypothesis is the following: the complex organization and the discursive construction of the myth of *Heimat* fostered by the *Riesengebirgsverein* [Giant Mountains' Association] participated to a strong identification and attachment of the locals to their territory, and to a certain recognition within the Lower Silesian (regional) and imperial German (national) space, in spite of varying dynamics and critical accounts.

The first chapter retraces the evolution of the concept of *Heimat* in both its common and academic discourse. The second chapter looks at the process of institutional process of constructing *Heimat* and its organization, relying on a plurality of criterion and non exhaustive examples. A last analytical chapter interrogates the development of the local identity in the Silesian Giant Mountains through material and discursive dynamics. The conclusion outlines the results of the research, its limits, and the possible continuations of such a scientific endeavour.

Key words: Heimat, Identity, Development, Organization, Discourse, Giant Mountains, Lower Silesia

1 J. K. Wilson, *Imagining a Homeland: Constructing Heimat in the German East, 1871–1914*, in “National Identities”, 2007, 9, p. 333.

Abstrakt v českém jazyce

Německo se vyznačuje dlouhou tradicí politické fragmentace, během níž lokální a regionální identity hrály důležitou roli v utváření německví. V posledních desetiletích historická věda popsala proces sjednocování lokálních identit s národními cíli. Diskuse o tomto tématu je zásadní, neboť poukazuje na rozmanitost pojmu Heimat (domov či rodný kraj) v různých oblastech císařského Německa. Nicméně tento proces odehrávající se v lokální úrovni nebyl dosud důkladně zkoumán v případě krkonošského regionu v období před první světovou válkou. Vzhledem ke geografické poloze Krkonoš a silné místní soudržnosti, jež utvářela tuto užší vlast, umožňuje případová studie daného regionu posunout výzkum v uvedené oblasti bádání, které se dosud soustředilo na německé historické regiony, spíše než na studium území, jež bylo utvářeno turismem.

Diplomová práce si klade za cíl prozkoumat významy, jež byly ideji Heimat přisuzovány ze strany místních aktivistů a obyvatel slezské části Krkonoš, a touto cestou sepsat dějiny utváření Heimatu. S pomocí metodologie nejrůznějších vědních disciplín (francouzská „géohistoire“, literární teorie, sociologie) výzkum analyzuje několik fenoménů, jež se pojí s některými dalšími a v současnosti aktuálními historiografickými obory, jako např. environmentální dějiny. Hlavní hypotézy jsou následující: složitá organizace a diskurzivní sestavení mýtu Heimat podporovány Riesergebirsvereinem [Krkonošský Spolek] se podílely na silné identifikaci a poutání lokální populace k vlastní území, a na jakémsi poznání v rámci prostoru Dolního Slezska (regionální) a německé říše (národní), přes pohyblivé dynamiky a kritické záznamy.

První kapitola rekonstruuje vývoj pojmu Heimat v obojích diskuzích všeobecné a akademické. Druhá kapitola je věnována institucionálnímu postupu konstruování a organizace Heimatu, s odkazem na několik případy, které téma nevyčerpají. Poslední analytická kapitola prozkoumá vyvíjení místní identity ve Slezských Krkonoších prostřednictvím materiálu a diskurzivních dynamik. Závěr nastíní výsledky výzkumu, jeho hranice a možné pokračování tohoto vědeckého postupu.

Klíčová slova: Heimat, Identita, Vývoj, Organizace, Diskuse, Krkonoše, Dolní Slezsko

Résumé

L'histoire allemande est la longue histoire d'une fragmentation politique, avec des identités locales et régionales ayant joué un rôle crucial dans la construction de la germanité. Durant les dernières décennies, des historiens ont décrit le processus d'agrégation d'identités locales à celle de la nation. Traiter cette question est essentielle pour mieux comprendre la diversité et la complexité du concept de germanité et de *Heimat* (la « petite patrie » ou lieu d'origine)² dans les différents espaces de l'Empire allemand. Néanmoins, ce processus au niveau local n'a pas fait l'objet d'une étude systématique dans le cas des Monts des Géants avant la Première Guerre mondiale. Du fait de la forte cohésion autour de la « petite patrie » qui se met en place dans la région, et des efforts des activistes travaillant en ce sens, le cas de figure des Monts des Géants souhaite approfondir ce questionnement historiographique, trop souvent cantonné aux régions historiques allemandes, et non à l'étude d'un territoire alors en voie de touristification.

L'objet de la présente analyse est de questionner ce que signifie le *Heimat* dans la partie silésienne des Monts des Géants avant la Première Guerre mondiale pour les activistes et résidents locaux, et ainsi, d'écrire l'histoire de la construction de ce même *Heimat*. En s'inspirant de méthodes issues de différentes disciplines (géohistoire, théorie de la littérature et sociologie), la recherche aborde de nombreux phénomènes relevant des questions se rattachant à d'autres récentes disciplines historiques tels que l'histoire environnementale. L'hypothèse principale est la suivante : l'organisation complexe et la construction discursive du mythe du *Heimat* promues par le *Riesengebirgsverein* [Association des Monts des Géants] participèrent à une identification et un attachement fort des résidents à leur territoire local, à une certaine reconnaissance dans l'espace régional silésien et impérial allemand, malgré des dynamiques variantes et des récits critiques.

Le premier chapitre expose l'évolution du concept de *Heimat* dans son usage courant et scientifique. Un deuxième se consacre s'intéresse au processus de construction institutionnelle du *Heimat* et à son organisation à partir d'une pluralité de critères et exemples non exhaustifs. Un dernier chapitre analytique interroge le développement de l'identité locale dans les Monts des Géants silésiens à travers ses dynamiques matérielles et discursives. La conclusion permet de dresser les résultats de la recherche, ses limites, et les possibilités de continuation de l'enquête scientifique entreprise.

2 S. Plyer, *Historiographie sudète et mémoire collective. Le cas du Heimatbuch de Braunau, 1971*, in "Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin", 2008, 28, p. 27.

Mots Clés : Heimat, Identité, Développement, Organisation, Discours, Monts des Géants, Basse-Silésie

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Table of Contents

1.) Introduction	11
1.1.) General Context	11
1.2.) Local Context, Research Questions and Hypotheses	13
1.3.) State(s) of the Art and Research Contribution	17
1.4.) Primary Sources and Basics of Methodology	27
1.5.) Geographical Denominations and Translations	29
2.) Heimat in Academic Discourse	32
3.) The Organization of Heimat in the Giant Mountains	39
3.1.) Brief Historical Survey until the 19 th Century	39
3.2.) Structuring the Heimat. The Association of the Giant Mountains	41
3.3.) The Distribution of Heimat	46
3.4.) Delimitating the Heimat	49
3.5.) The Agency of Heimat	54
4.) The Making of Heimat: The Discourse about the Giant Mountains	58
4.1.) Methodology	58
4.2.) The Discourse on Heimat until the Turn of the Century	61
4.2.1.) The Affirmation of a “Sense of Place” in Theodor Donat's Poetry	61
4.2.2.) The Representations of Heimat on the Front Covers of the Local Periodical of the Giant Mountains’ Club	67
4.3.) Popularizing a Giant Mountains’ Myth: The Example of Postcards	73
4.3.1.) Context	74
4.3.2.) Analysis of Postcards	77

<i>4.4.) Landscape Preservationism and Criticism</i>	<i>86</i>
5.) Conclusion	96
6.) Indicative Sources and Bibliography	100
7.) Appendix	109

1.) Introduction

“[...] we must grasp the statement in the exact specificity of its occurrence; determine its conditions of existence, fix at least its limits, establish its correlations with other statements that may be connected with it, and show what other forms of statement it excludes.”³

1.1.) General Context

From the end of the 18th century, many of the most famous German poets complained about the lack of political unity for the German lands. At this time, they were divided into two different political entities: a nation of many states (the Holy Roman Empire) and a state of many nations (the multilingual Habsburg lands).⁴ In the 95th epigram entitled “The German Empire”, published in the *Xenien*, which Goethe and Schiller composed together in the 1790s, the latter famously wrote the following: “Germany? But where is it? I don't how to find any such country/ Where the erudite starts, leaves off the politics.”⁵ Locating Germany was a difficult, if not impossible task, since no political unit existed as such yet. Intellectuals, poets and others defined and assessed the value and the specificity of a German culture, even though they met serious oppositions explained by the diversity of social, economic, religious, and historical components that shaped German lands.⁶ The political instability of German lands is a fundamental feature to bear in mind for the historian. One could sum up German Modern history as a vast laboratory of political and cultural experiences in Central Europe, which usually ended up with different kinds of social conflicts and dramatic wars.

Germany has a long history of political fragmentation, with regional and local identities that still subsist today, which played a crucial role in the formation of the national consciousness. Because of the instability and lack of territory, rallying local and regional identities was one of the most important feature in the development of imperial Germany after the unity with the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) was achieved in the *Galerie des Glaces* in

3 M. Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, New York 1972, p. 28.

4 D. Blackbourn, J. Retallack, *Introduction*, in D. Blackbourn, J. Retallack. (eds.), *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe 1860-1930*, Toronto 2007, p. 4.

5 *Xenien und Votivtafeln* (1797), in J. W. v. Goethe, *Werke. Weimarer Ausgabe*, Munich 1987-1990, 1, p. 218.

6 See, for instance, the summary and the content of the following introductory book written by J. Retallack: *Imperial Germany 1871-1918. Short Oxford History of Germany*, Oxford 2008.

Versailles. Nevertheless, such an event was fundamental since it put an end to the endless debate about what is Germany as a political unit—i.e. whether to opt for a 'Greater Germany' (*Großdeutschland*) or a 'Lesser Germany' (*Kleindeutschland*).⁷ The strong Prussian State with the leading figure of Bismarck was at the initiative of such an undertaking. However, its political power was contested by other German regions within imperial Germany. These disputes were symbolized by the conflict around the Bismarckian policy of *Kulturkampf* (literally "culture struggle") led against the Catholics of the empire. The subtle parliamentary interplay and consensus made between Liberals and Conservatives is another example of how the heterogeneity of imperial German culture could establish a horizon for the newly formed nation-state.⁸

Although the political power of imperial Germany proved to be strong, the local endeavour to integrate the newly formed entity remained decisive in the eyes of current historians of Modern Germany. As it lacked a cohesive national identity, imperial Germany quickly faced a range of challenges. To paraphrase Italian statesman Massimo d'Azeglio: "We have made Germany; now we must make Germans."⁹ One understands that political unity did not necessarily induce a change of identity, a feeling of belonging, and loyalty towards the newly formed political structures or the older reformed units.

Most certainly, the very German idea of *Heimat* helps to locate, explain, and understand some sections of what Germany was, if never entirely what it was as a whole. Examining some geographical portions of the German territory as many historians are doing is a necessary step towards a better historical understanding of the German territories. However, since the 1980s, new approaches of transnational/transborder history adopted and adapted by historical scholars have demonstrated that such an understanding of regional history is ultimately reductive. Much more, the interrelations and interactions between different territories (regions and their nation) and their representatives (agents on regional and national levels) can offer more specific information about the conditions of organization within territories (and their actors) as well as about the formation of discursive strategies and specific traits to defend their own idea of self-identifications.

Some American and German scholars have stressed the heuristic power of the concept

7 See, for instance: J. Le Rider, *Allemagne, Autriche, Europe centrale*, in "Le Débat", 1991, 67, pp. 96-114.

8 In English-written scholarship, the works of James J. Sheehan remain exemplary on this issue: *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century*, Chicago 1978. A revised version about liberalism and conservatism in German history was provided by the famous historian Dieter Langewiesche: *Liberalism in Germany*, Princeton 2000.

9 Quoted by J. Jenkins, *Particularism and Localism*, in M. Jefferies (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Imperial Germany*, London 2015, p. 198.

of *Heimat* for historical, linguistic, and social sciences. According to author Peter Blickle, *Heimat* refers to “the word Germans reach for to express the attachments of place [...] *Heimat* is a particular place and landscape, a particular set of associations in both spatial and temporal terms”¹⁰. For Celia Applegate, professor of German history at the Vanderbilt University in Nashville, it also “embodied a vision of national unity as the gathering together of diversity, especially local diversity”¹¹ during the nineteenth century.

1.2.) *Local Context, Research Problems and Hypothesis*

In this thesis, I will argue that the emergence of tourism associations from the 1870s onwards had a strong symbolical meaning in the making and/or the consolidation of a *Heimat* consciousness. I also argue that the *Wandervereine* [Hiking Associations] were structured in a crucial dimension of geographic and social scales. Such a dimension will be followed as an object of analysis throughout this research.

The organisation and the representation of the *Heimat* on the local scale, as in other regions of imperial Germany, gained accuracy through the association movement and local activism. Largely inspired by the example of the Alpine Clubs and other German associations already created in the 1860s and 1870s¹², the *Wandervereine* were understood by the local promoters as an opportunity to popularize their local homelands to tourists coming from the Silesian regions and other parts of imperial Germany. By doing so, the members of the association could not only find a voice for their region, but also orientate through their various activities the identity of the local territory and influence the consciousness of its inhabitants. A German-Polish historian, Mateusz Hartwich, has noted the role of the German *Riesengebirgsverein* as the “coordination and reconciliation of interests between enhancement and nature protection, between national claim and regional demands, at last, between mass tourism and preservation”¹³. One of their most important roles was to mediate their claims to defend the local identity of their region in the whole newly formed nation.

As mentioned, different mountain organizations were created in Europe from the 1860s onwards; the Giant Mountains saw their first ones appearing in 1880. Created by school teacher Theodor Donat (1844-1890), on August 1st, 1880, in Hirschberg, the German *Riesengebirgsverein* [Giant Mountains’ Club] was very active to develop the infrastructures needed to construct the space as a tourism resort. This necessitated a close cooperation of its

10 P. Blickle, *Heimat. A critical theory of the German idea of homeland*, Rochester, NY 2002, p. 50.

11 C. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat*, Berkeley 1990, p. 10.

12 G. Musa, J. Higham, A. Thompson-Carr (eds.), *Mountaineering Tourism*, New York 2015.

13 M. Hartwich, *Das schlesische Riesengebirge. Die Polonisierung einer Landschaft nach 1945*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 2012, p. 34.

members, mostly inhabitants of the region, by fostering the mobility of tourists into the Giant Mountains and the study of the local homeland, to get the acknowledgment of their *Heimat* all over imperial Germany, and thus the support from its inhabitants. The organization was growing very fast and after just one year, as the founder noted in his appeal to the members, already more than 1,200 people had joined the association.¹⁴ Comparatively, the Austrian *Riesengebirgsverein*, created shortly before the German in 1880, had 427 members in 1882.¹⁵ Right before the First World War, the German organization united more than 12,000 members divided up in less than a hundred sections, each section being located in one village, town or city.¹⁶ In contrast, the Austrian association counted only 1,402 members. The Czechs were represented from 1888 by the *Klub českých turistů* (Club of Czech tourists), mainly active in Starkenbach/Jilemnice.

Invention and diffusion of patterns of tourism and their efficiency are assessed by a constant process of renewal and replacement of practices, representations, and experiences of a place. In turns, the changing experience of a space by a community of actors provides the basis of a continuity. Such a continuity, even if discontinuous, forms step by step a specific relation to the space dimension, from which traditions and values emerged. Such a spatial system is often referred to as a territory. The notion of territory is described as a system appropriated by a range of actors who regulate, administrate, and control the space through political, economic, and cultural institutions. It articulates the result of the action of actors and the result of representations about the territory.¹⁷ Through this process, a “sense of place” can emerge, connected to characteristics seen and disseminated as specific and proper for an integrative synthesis. The space is step by step transformed and reconstructed on the basis of ideological and historical facts, which some geographical scholars depict as the territory. The territory is never finite as it associates the local action with the appropriation of space by local and outside populations. Only the conjunction of both elements gives way to what French researcher Sylvie Biarez calls a “*lieu de constitution d’une société historique et d’une possibilité de vivre ensemble*”, where conflicts do not alter such a collective plan.¹⁸

This text focuses on a particular period of over thirty years, framed by 1880 and 1914. This era was special in many ways: first of all, Germany was constituted as a state for about a

14 T. Donat, *Vereinsgenossen!*, in “Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge” [“WRG”], 1881, 1, p. 1.

15 “Riesengebirge in Wort und Bild” [“RGW”], 3, 1882, p. 35.

16 M. Hartwich, *Das schlesische Riesengebirge* cit., p. 34.

17 A. Moine, *Le territoire comme un système complexe : un concept opératoire pour l’aménagement et la géographie*, in “L’Espace géographique”, 2006, 35, pp. 115-132.

18 S. Biarez, *Pouvoirs et organisations locales : vers un nouveau paradigme politique*, in “Sciences de la société”, 1996, 38, pp. 23-46.

decade. Second, several factors had influenced the local actors, such as perception of new economic opportunities. The means of transportation was advanced by the quick spreading of the railroads.¹⁹ In 1914, both the Habsburg Empire and imperial Germany engaged in the First World War as allies. The First World War caused a major breakpoint in the development of large-scale tourism in the Giant Mountains, as all human activities were subordinated to the conflict, although the *Heimat* continued to play a strong symbolic role to which inhabitants could attach themselves. With the beginning of the great conflict, the local discourse in *Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge* was mobilized intensively for the war efforts and was supposedly based upon the results achieved since the construction of the German Giant Mountains' Club.²⁰

This master's thesis seeks to discover how the *Heimat* was constructed by the Silesian Giant Mountain's Club. Our main hypothesis is that the Giant Mountains' Club was successful in the making of *Heimat* both in the organization of the concept and in its generative discourse. Our main questions are as follows: Who were the actors engaged in the association? What were the main roles of the association on both personal and collective levels? Under which circumstances did they develop their strategies and for which purposes? How was the Giant Mountains region represented by the local promoters in and outside the association from 1880 to 1914, and how did they participate in the making of their local homeland? Were the criteria and the specificities uniform in those representations or did they change over time? Which geographical specificities, local traditions, references to the past, historical narrations, and visual means of expression were taken over and adopted for fostering the *Heimat* discourse? To what extent did such a representation of the mountains shape a local or national self-identification?

Hence, the focal point of this thesis takes some distance from administrative and political processes and seeks to analyse from below the everyday life of local people and the regional development by using the concept of *Heimat*. Nevertheless, the historical context in imperial Germany should not be forgotten, since many of the challenges we explore were influenced by historical, structural, and geographical processes altering the Giant Mountains and, more generally, Central Europe at the end of the 19th century.

19 See the book published by the Deutsche Bahn: DB Museum (ed.), *Ein Jahrhundert unter Dampf. Die Eisenbahn in Deutschland 1835–1919. (1)*, Nürnberg 2005.

20 No study was dedicated to this issue. However, many articles in the newspaper of the organization let suppose that the association was not diverging from the broader national rhetoric used at that time.

The study is based upon two main hypotheses which explain the two-sided investigation. It relies on the recent scholarly idea influenced by cultural studies that considers 'localism' persistently meaningful within Modern German history to understand its evolution.²¹ Such a statement contains an underlying, but not less significant hypothesis for this research that considers a place shaped by a community as the outcome of everlasting changes, exchanges, and tensions between the actors— whether located within or outside of the places.²² A recent wave of *Heimat* scholarship has largely renewed the understanding of nationalism in imperial Germany. By exploring, and thus incorporating, various social groups which sought to define the nation in their own ways, the top-down perspective largely privileged by historians could not sum up German nationalism as simply an “instrument of manipulation from above.”²³ The national idea was also penetrating from below as a result of the activities of seemingly non-political, but cultural activities that sought to integrate their regions into the nation by stressing their local belonging and specificities. Promoting *Heimat* was a way to reconcile the interests of asymmetrical visions within the local territory. In this regard, *Heimat* activists constitute important sources of analysis for historians, as the standing point of reference is necessarily a local perspective on social phenomena and cultural claims.

The second hypothesis is about the role of the Silesian *Riesengebirgsverein* in the process we intend to analyse and interpret. One German-Polish historian specializing in the Giant Mountains, Mateusz Hartwich, defends the idea that the association was the “most important local organization” and contributed to the “coordination and reconciliation of interests between enhancement and nature protection, between national claim and regional demands, at last between mass tourism and preservation”²⁴ until the expulsion of Germans after 1945. This thesis follows these ideas, but aims to illustrate them by looking at the specific evolvement of representations, such as the changing uses of myths associated with a variety of “signifiés”, based upon the idea that mountains are complex social constructs that also evolved specifically in locality. Moreover, this thesis will illustrate how the association played a major role in the Giant Mountains region both as a producer of cultural patterns that could reconcile national and local self-identifications, and as a mediator of different interests in the local society. It takes a closer look at the cultural written production and the practical activities they organized and fostered during the period which experienced the first golden age

21 See: J. Jenkins, *Particularism and Localism* cit., p. 195-208.

22 The book published by J. Retallack, illustrates the complexity of the interactions between spatial concepts, their uses, and broader social phenomena: *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe 1860-1930*, Toronto 2007.

23 J. K. Wilson, *Imagining a Homeland* cit., pp. 332-333.

24 M. Hartwich, *Das schlesische Riesengebirge* cit., p. 34.

of tourism as scholars observes²⁵, at the same time as imperial Germany was struggling to rally regional identities to the nation. More specifically, it is argued that in the Giant Mountains, the promotion of a sense of belonging, commonness, and togetherness during the 1880s and until the First World War by using the concept of *Heimat* which was central in the establishment and organization of the place locally and on broader scales (regional, national, transnational).

To sum up both hypotheses, one can assume that the specificity of the Giant Mountains region in contrast to other German localities lies in the territorial and cultural integration promoted by the association that defined an assertive and discursive *agenda* based upon cultural idioms, practices, and a powerful discourse relying on the myth of *Heimat*.

1.3.) State(s) of Art and Research Contribution

a.) General State of Art

The historiography of the Giant Mountains' region has enjoyed significant popularity since the late 1990s, diversifying the objects of inquiry. One should examine both exogenous and endogenous impetuses and clues in order to explain such a strengthening trend and first, will outline of the main studies dealing with mountainous borderland regions in Central Europe as contested spaces and landscapes, and more specifically, with the Giant Mountains. Ultimately, such a survey should support the basic arguments of the following research and uphold its usefulness and practicality.

Exogenous reasons may explain the intensification and the variety of research on the region. First of all, the new geopolitical environment has been playing an important role: the Giant Mountains were, as was the case with Central and Eastern Europe in general, becoming more accessible for the conduction of researches with the end of mobility restrictions carried by communist regimes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, the Baltic and the Balkan countries around 1990-1993.²⁶ Thus, researches from Western European countries

25 Scholars recently interested in the region are speaking of a *Blütezeit* [golden age] for tourism or stressing the importance of the *Jahrhundertwende* ["turn of century"] in the Giant Mountains. See, for instance, both titles presented at the 3rd International Scientific Conference organized by the German Historical Institut in Warsaw and the University of Wrocław in Zakopane (14.-16.10.2015) : J. Pacholski, *Das Preußische Riesengebirge – einige Worte zur Ideologisierung der höchsten schlesischen Berge in der Blütezeit des Massentourismus*, or E. Greda, *Koppenbuecher an der Jahrhundertwende*.

The so-called Tourism Studies notice that tourism organized as a collective project through mountain clubs was a forerunner of commercial tourism highly expanding throughout twentieth century. See: R. Hachtmann, *Tourismus und Tourismusgeschichte*, in "Docupedia-Zeitgeschichte", 2010. Retrieved from [http://docupedia.de/zg/hachtmann_tourismusgeschichte_v1_de_2010] Accessed on 04.04.2017.

26 Z. Beneš (eds.), *Facing history: the evolution of Czech-German relations in the Czech provinces, 1848-1948*, Prague 2002; T. Tönsmeier (ed.), *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung, Themenheft Grenzen und Räume: Neue Forschungen und Forschungsimpulse*, Marburg 2014 ;

could also examine and conduct substantial studies about some of these spaces very rich in interactions and historical exchanges in its history.

Second, the heterogeneousness of the scientific questions in various social sciences' disciplines such as geography, history, sociology, archeology or literature proved to be an empowering force in the obtention of academic results. The cultural, spatial, linguistic and other 'turns' were participating in the disentanglement of academic disciplines from their respective traditions.²⁷ Interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary practices were inciting a dialogue between different schools and scholarly traditions. One famous example of this is the work of French historian Pierre Nora in the middle of the 1980s, which illustrates the considerably growing field of the *lieux de mémoires*.²⁸ The collective and cultural memory of spaces, if not first examining the history of spaces and not using a transnational perspective, soon surpassed the framework of national history.²⁹

Lastly, examinations of repudiated spatial entities such as the sea or the mountains provided the groundwork enhancing the knowledge of spatiality contiguous to environmental history or history of mentalities.³⁰ Conducive to the emancipation of the academic research, external changes and incentives promptly affected the evolution of the academic disciplines in Central Europe and arose thorough change in the formation of academic objects.

Inherent to the case study chosen, numerous factors played a part in the renewal of academic studies dedicated to the mountainous, transnational borders located within Central Europe. As I have mentioned before, the researches about this region have largely been influenced by the historical outcomes of the late 1980s. Central Europe contains a diverse history, ranging from the political presence of the German-speaking population and their cultural importance all over the region to the presence of multicultural states or subregions with shared, mixed places and the affirmation of more or less exclusive/inclusive identities. Such historical datas and elements gained an ample and hefty consideration from academics within the turnover of social sciences disciplines. They encompass a collection of possible enquiries, such as postcolonial prospect, vibrant migration processes, the stimulation and shortcomings in multicultural spaces, minorities in a long-term perspective, etc.

27 T. Siebs, *Historische Schlesienforschung : Methoden, Themen und Perspektiven zwischen traditioneller Landesgeschichtsschreibung und moderner Kulturwissenschaft*, Köln – Wien 2005; U. Wardenga, *Writing the history of geography: what we have learnt - and where to go next*, in "Geographica Helvetica", 2013, pp. 27-35.

28 P. Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French past*, Chicago 1998.

29 S. Kmec, B. Majerus, M. Margue, P. Péporté (eds.), *Dépasser le cadre national des 'Lieux de mémoire'. Innovations méthodologiques, approches comparatives, lectures transnationales*, Frankfurt 2009.

30 P. Poirrier, *L'histoire culturelle en France. Retour sur trois itinéraires : Alain Corbin, Roger Chartier et Jean-François Sirinelli*, in *Cahiers d'histoire*, 2007, 26, pp. 49-59.

For these reasons, many German-, French- and English-speaking researchers tied important links and interrelations between the existing academical structures from those countries, thus promoting an active rejuvenation of scholar attitudes and viewpoints while confronting any of the Central European regions.³¹ Therefore, the interactions between Polish, Czech, Slovakian, Austrian and Hungarian and foreign countries stimulated the analytical scope of research about Central Europe, their national borderlands and subsequently their mountains.

A number of studies instilled interest in the borderland and mountainous regions, given the variety of local histories embodied in these places. Most of them are the result of the intricate endogenous and exogenous factors described above. From a broader perspective, the recent works and projects of the German Post-Doc researcher Bianca Hoenig at the University of Basel, discovered during an internship at the Institute for German Culture and the History of Southeastern Europe in Munich in 2015 inspired the author to deal with mountainous borderlands regions. Her project about the Tatra mountains as “divided mountains” coping with its “conflict history of the use of nature” is a good example of the new scholarly approach of spaces.³² Inspired by German historian Karl Schlögel and his famous book *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit*³³, the study examines the continuity and discontinuity of the manifold national, social, or even economic ascriptions, imputations and attribution of complex systems by the local and national *agents* to the natural space that the Tatra Mountains forms. The materiality (monuments, plaques...) incorporated within the mountainous lands, as well as the one given by the depictions and representations of the mountains in literature, newspapers, magazines, postcards, and paintings demonstrates the growing struggle of Polish- and Slovakian-speaking people to ascribe for themselves the natural spaces and resources since the nineteenth century.

A similar approach considering nature as a “non-neutral” space was adopted by the American regional and environmental scholar Pavel Cenk. If the study does not involve a Central European territory, its author proves that historical narratives connected to the local environment intrinsically evolved hand in hand with changes of mentalities on a federal level, with subtle interactions between them both.³⁴ Thus, some writers such as Henry David

31 Collegium Carolinum in Munich, Deutsches Historisches Institut in Warsaw, Centre de Recherche en Sciences Sociales in Prague

32 See her project on the following website: *Geteilte Berge. Eine Konfliktgeschichte der Naturnutzung in der Tatra*. [<https://dg.philhist.unibas.ch/nc/departement/personen/personen-details/eigenseiten/person/hoenig/content/dissertationsprojekt-19/>]. Accessed on 02.06.2017.

33 K. Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit. Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik*, München 2003.

34 P. Cenk, *This Vast Book of Nature: Writing the Landscape of New Hampshire's White Mountains: 1784-1911*, Iowa City 2006.

Thoreau infused the development of a pre-modern environmental consciousness in the United States throughout his works about the White Mountains in the 1830es and 1840es. However, the author argues that the economic interests associated with tourism and resources utilizations were in conflict with the early depictions and views about this portion of nature during the second half of the 19th century.

To return to the question of the Central European region's, multiple works have stressed the historicity of the discourse on landscape representations and their formations. An American historian, Caitleen Murdock, from the Californian State University in Long Beach, contributed to the exploration of the Bohemian-Saxon borderlands. She analysed the discursive power of a multiplicity of local actors, ranging from businessmen, political authorities, journalists, *Heimat* and tourist organizations in the changing dynamics of the region between 1870 and 1946. She demonstrates that the borderlands was an “open”, disclosed and appealing space in need of labor force until the First World War, with a lot of commuting workers crossing the border without any regards to the language they were speaking. However, the industrial decline and the radical discourse engaged by politicians stressing the “slavic threat” as a danger for the local community provoked a considerable shift in the history of the region. In one of her article, she scrutinizes the construction and the changing discourse regarding the Bohemian-Saxon landscape in relation to multiple categories namely tourism, nature, and industry each developing the others according to the considered period.³⁵ Such an inspection both reveals that landscapes are ascribed to a multiplicity of traits and characteristics through the time and that those traits and characteristics are neither culturally or politically neutral nor arbitrary and aimless. They follow the mindset and the state of mind of dominant cultures through changing “grids of specification”³⁶ (to re-quote Foucault on his thoughts about the discursive regularities in the formation of objects).

Concerning the Czech historiography, one important research was conducted in a similar category of analysis, relating itself *in fine* to a broader research study. Though Czech historian Eduard Maur entitled his book *Paměť hor* [The Memory of the Mountains], his analysis demonstrates the subtle relation between the modern national ideology of the Czech nation and the ascription of the “sacred mountains” of Bohemia and Moravia as the projected ideal of a national landscape.³⁷ His study connects to the ambitious and more general research

35 C. E. Murdock, *Constructing a Modern German Landscape: Tourism, Nature, and Industry in Saxony*, in Retallack J. (Ed.), *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe 1860-1930*, Toronto 2007, pp. 195-213.

36 M. Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* cit., p. 42

37 E. Maur, *Paměť hor*, Praha 2006.

of François Walter about the declinations of landscape as discursive notions in relation to the definition of a national territory in most of contemporary Europe.³⁸ Very interestingly for our case study, Swiss historian F. Walter investigated the formation of a concrete sense of place in Swiss-speaking localities associated to the idea of landscape, and how these formations played a considerable role in the making of regional or subregional spaces as components of the Swiss nation.³⁹

Major researches about mountainous borderlands as spaces of conflict and as discursive resources in literature, cultural movements, the political sphere, and so forth (via the concept and category of landscape) illustrates the relevance of the spatial category for historians.

b.) Giant Mountains in Academic Scholarship

After such an indicative (however incomplete) state of art about mountainous borderlands, considering the existent literature will shed light both on the recent headways and on the domains of paucity in the contemporary historiography tackling the subject of the Giant Mountains. Different methodological approaches have increasingly enriched the history of the Giant Mountains in both a local and transnational perspective throughout time. Local historians have analysed local actors and organizations, while academic historians focussed on the meaning of the Giant Mountains in a broader historical perspective. Nevertheless, this research study aims to re-articulate in another way the local, regional and national historical facts based upon the construction of *Heimat*, which have thus far been neglected by scholars.

First, a range of studies have been dedicated to the development of tourism by analysing the formal organization of local association and their deeds. Several Polish authors from different disciplines, mainly from the University of Wrocław, have been researching regional tourism in the so-called *Sudetenland* [the region of the Sudetes], if not always specifically within the Silesian Giant Mountains' Club.⁴⁰ A scholar specialized in tourism studies, Marcin Dziedzic, dedicated several monographs to the organizational issues of the local and regional associations, amongst others about the Austrian Giant Mountains' Club or one about the Moravian-Silesian Sudete Mountains' Club.⁴¹ A historian attached to the

38 F. Walter, *Les figures paysagères de la nation: Territoire et paysage en Europe, 16e–20e siècle*, Paris 2004.

39 F. Walter, *La Suisse : Au-delà du paysage*, Paris 2011.

40 An exception in this view, which also illustrates the renewal of studies interested in the German heritage in the Silesian region, is the study of Edmund Szczepanski: *Towarzystwo Karkonoskie (1880-1945)*, in "Śląski Labirynt Krajoznawcz", 1989, 1, pp. 75-86. A good general overview is provided by Jan Potocki: *Rozwój zagospodarowania turystycznego Sudetów od po owy XIX wieku do II wojny wiatowej*, Jelenia Góra 2004.

41 An overview of the works of M. Dziedzic is offered here: *Morawsko-Śląskie Sudeckie Towarzystwo Górskie 1881-1945*, Wrocław 2006; *Niemieckie Towarzystwo Górskie Ještědu i Gór Izerskich 1884-1945*, Wrocław

department of Silesian history, Tomasz Przerwa, explored in many of his books the history of tourism in the same region⁴², emphasizing the importance of the *Schneekoppe*⁴³ as a peculiar memory space for both German and Polish regional history in an article published as part of a collective work depicting the Silesian memory spaces.⁴⁴ These local and regional investigations are useful to contextualize the development of tourism in a historical perspective, as well as to apprehend the organization of the mountain association in a sociological and historical manner.

In the same wave, many local Czech studies emphasized the development of tourism prior to First World War as a decisive phase for the formation of a local consciousness. F. Jirasko stresses the role of the mountain association in the region, when Svec analyzes the main characteristics of the museum created by the association in Hohenebel/Vrchlabi.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, they both do not take into account the trans-border interactions with the brother association in Lower Silesia. Also, the fact that many tourists came from the German Empire is avoided from their studies because the sources are difficult to find or to interpret. Quite differently, a work written by a Bachelor student at the Charles University deals with the experiences and the mental representations of the first Czech tourists delivered in guidebooks and printed books in the Giant Mountains during the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century.⁴⁶ It shows how the mountains became a “vacationscape” (Orvar Löfgren) during the period. However, neither the German Bohemian nor the Silesian context is stressed by the author. The Czech mistrust towards Germans is depicted, but on a level that details only the integration of the national category inserted into the broader historiographical corpus dedicated to the “community of conflict.”⁴⁷

However, one Czech study tackled the German representations and forms of organization of the broad movement of German tourism associations in the Czech lands from

2009; *Austriackie (Niemieckie) Towarzystwo Karkonoskie 1880-1945*, Wałbrzych 2009; *Kłodzkie Towarzystwo Górskie 1881-1945*, Wrocław 2013.

42 T. Przerwa, *Odkryli dla nas piękno gór. Trzy sudeckie organizacje górskie 1881–1945: Verband der Gebirgsvereine an der Eule, Waldenburger Gebirgsverband, Zobtengebirgsverein*, Toruń 2003; *Wedrówka po Sudetach. Szkice z historii turystyki skiej przed 1945 r.*, Wrocław 2005.

43 The *Schneekoppe* is the highest peak of the Giant Mountains (1603 meters) and was the highest one in imperial Germany after the Bavarian Alps.

44 T. Przerwa, *Die Schneekoppe – der höchste Gipfel des Riesengebirges*, in Czaplinski M., Hahn H.-J., Weger T. (eds.), *Schlesische Erinnerungsorte. Gedächtnis und Identität einer mitteleuropäischen Region*, Görlitz 2005, pp. 12- 28. Compare with K.C. Kasper (ed.), *Mythos Schneekoppe : ein facettenreicher und unterhaltsamer Streifzug "rund um die Schneekoppe" von anno dazumal bis 1945. Bilder, Berichte und Dokumente*, Bonn-Oberkassel 2003.

45 F. Jirasko, *Krkonošský spolek a jeho význam pro poznání regionu*, in “Z Českého ráje a Podkrkonoší : vlastivědný sborník Semily”, 1997, 10, pp. 87-108.

46 F. Herza, *"Pookrát na čerstvém horském vzduchu." Zážitky prvních turistů v českých cestopisech a tištěných průvodcích po Krkonoších 19. a počátku 20. století*, (Bachelor thesis), Prague 2009.

47 See J. Křen, *Die Konfliktgemeinschaft: Tschechen und Deutsche, 1780-1918*, Munich 1996.

their beginning to the expulsion of the Sudete Germans.⁴⁸ The author, Martin Pelc described tourism as a purely modern phenomenon, in other words, a modern attitude to nature as a *landscape*.⁴⁹ His extensive contribution enables one to set a general pattern of the development of tourism through the articulation of many problem-oriented chapters. The work brings a better understanding of the past German tourist landscape in a multi-faceted way, by linking together the associations to nationalism, to the construction of infrastructures, and the conflicts it involved. One can regret that the work focusses on the general outline, while not always depicting the complexity of each local setting. In the case study of the Giant Mountains, M. Pelc neglects to describe thoroughly the links between both sides of the borders and a precise analysis of the influence practiced by the Silesian Giant Mountains' Club on the cultural production in the Bohemian context. Only by considering such interactions and power relations could a better understanding of the making of this Giant Mountains region be reached in its complexity. Nevertheless, this does not degrade the quality and the importance of the contributions of the author.

More interestingly, and in connection with the last subchapter, the valuable and long practice of cultural geographers and historians of geography recently provided basic works for anyone interested in the Giant Mountains. One pioneer study in the research of tourism geography is the work of geographer Hans Poser, with his notorious “Geographische Studien über den Fremdenverkehr im Riesengebirge” [Geographical studies about the tourism geography in the Giant Mountains], in which he defined tourism geography as “the local and spatial cumulation of foreigners each with a temporary stay, which has as a content the sum of interrelations, on the first hand, between the foreigners and the local population and, on the other hand, the locality and the landscape.”⁵⁰ The interdependence on both scales– the one involving local actors and tourists and the one between the human settlement and their subsequent territory– already announces more complex studies about the regional history of spaces with (pre-)mass touristic destinations available.

More thorough and more general descriptions of the region have been written in different languages since the 1980s. In this regard, the current standard research delineating an exhaustive regional depiction is represented by the monograph of Marek Staffa published in 1996.⁵¹ In contrast to other, and more recent analyses better inclined to the interest of geologists and natural scientists⁵², M. Staffa first composed an accurate study about the

48 M. Pelc, *Umění putovat. Dějiny německých turistických spolků v českých zemích*, Brno 2010

49 M. Pelc, *Ibid.*, p. 358.

50 H. Poser, *Geographische Studien über den Fremdenverkehr im Riesengebirge*. Göttingen 1939, p. 5.

51 M. Staffa, *Karkonosze*, Wrocław 2006.

52 See, for instance, A.Jahn (ed.), *Karkonosze polskie*, Wrocław 1985; M. P. Mierzejewski (ed.), *Karkonosze*.

cultural geography of the Giant Mountains. The broad survey of the changes occurring in the 19th century is depicted with efficiency due to the vast and diverse amount of sources accumulated and put into perspective. Path signs, guidebooks, paintings, representations of the nature, poetry, and excerpts of local newspapers all help to convey a tangible depiction of the cultural life in the Giant Mountains and to outline an idea of a “mental map.” However, his efforts were not addressed within a particular methodological and scientific framework enabling one to answer such important questions as the organizational form of the local cultural life.

Sophisticatedly and more recently, Mateusz J. Hartwich provides important researches about the relation between landscape and the cultural identities resulting from its appropriation. Such an appropriation, he emphasized, was possible through two distinct features: the first one is the outcome of the settlement and the management of the territory, the second being the discursive parameters to “polonize” the landscape through its appropriation.⁵³ In the aftermath of the Second World War, the void engendered by the expulsion of the Germans left the territory of the Giant Mountains, as many others, under the control of the Poles.⁵⁴ The main questions are related to the process of appropriation (the strategies of locals, such as the semiotics engaged with cultural and topographical features, the role of inherited tourism infrastructures, the (non-)appropriation of the remaining German heritage, and the actors involved in this process etc.) after the Second World War. If the focus of the study is laid on the second half of the 20th century, M.J. Hartwich also describes the landscape perception during the 19th century, and its role between economic use and nation claims. A turning point, the author argues, happened in the late 19th century with the deeds of the Silesian Giant Mountains’ Club. The brief history of the association and its contextualisation through the study of the academic scholarship interested in the making of cultural identities (national, regional, local) and their links to categories (such as landscape) inspired the following research. Furthermore, it is based upon a certain lack of analytical analysis that this research was undertaken.

Indeed, M.J. Hartwich hardly used any historical sources to depict the past history of Germans during the period analysed in his work.⁵⁵ To be sure, the context of tourism

Przyroda nieożywiona i człowiek, Wrocław 2005. In the Czech language, the first exhaustive monograph came out in 2007: J. Šmatlák, J. Zykánová (eds.), *Krkonoše – příroda, život, historie*, Praha 2007.

53 M. J. Hartwich, *Das schlesische Riesengebirge. Die Polonisierung einer Landschaft nach 1945*, Köln – Weimar - Wien 2012; *Tourism and the appropriation of landscape: The Karkonosze mountains, 1918-1948*, GRACEH conference, Budapest 2007.

54 M. J. Hartwich, *Das schlesische Riesengebirge* cit., p. 1.

55 M. J. Hartwich, *Das schlesische Riesengebirge* cit., pp. 34-46.

expansion was perceived in its totality (economic, political and cultural perspectives, as well as on local and national scales), but did not stress the input and interaction between the diverse actors nor the strategies they implemented to organize themselves. Also, the discursive endeavours of the local activists had not completely been analysed. Although he dedicated paragraphs to the making and reception of local myths, such as the Rübzahl motives⁵⁶, and to the national ascriptions of the landscape through major constructions such as the “Path of the Jubilee” (for the 25 years of existence of the organization), amongst others. However, the author did not evoke in detail the internal debate and interrelations between the actors on the broader regional and national scales and the specific reactions from the part of the association relative to other ambiguous constructions such as the *Sagenhalle* (The Hall of Myths). Certainly, this does not alter the brilliant quality of M.J. Hartwich's contributions to the Giant Mountains' region and its usefulness for the current research.

A very recently article published in a collective book by the German historian Roland Gehrke, from the University of Stuttgart, grants an interesting study about the Giant Mountains' Club.⁵⁷ While his research seeks to analyse the cultural and historical meaning of the association for the Giant Mountains which he thoroughly portrays through in a subchapter dedicated its organization, including a formal analysis of the newspaper, his focus relies on the historical narratives used by the association about the figures and events of national importance. He demonstrates that the association can be considered a significant actor in the fixation of such national narratives in a local and rural area, and that the quality of the articles were of scientific relevance. Further, he concludes that such a discourse on history yielded the recognition of local actors of the mountainous region within the whole region of Silesia, and particularly, within the scientific centre of the region, Breslau. The use of various sources produced by the association proves the meticulousness of the analysis and provides a more developed history of the club, essential for anyone interested in the topic. And yet,, while the question of national identity and the organization of the association are brilliantly interrogated, the question of the local *Heimat* is not faced directly.⁵⁸

56 M. J. Hartwich, *Rübzahl zwischen Tourismus und Nationalismus. Vom unkämpften Symbol zum einigenden Patron des deutsch-polnisch-tschechischen Grenzlandes?*, in Lozoviuk P. (ed.), *Grenzgebiet als Forschungsfeld. Aspekte der ethnografischen und kulturhistorischen Erforschung des Grenzlandes*, Leipzig 2009, pp. 192-218.

57 R. Gehrke, *Der Riesengebirgsverein und seine Zeitschrift Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge (1880/81–1914): Tourismusentwicklung, Landschaftswahrnehmung, Geschichtspflege*, in J. Bahlcke, R. Gehrke (eds.): *Institutionen der Geschichtspflege und Geschichtsforschung in Schlesien. Von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 2017, pp. 273-294.

58 Recent studies have emphasized the construction of the local identity hand in hand with the national identity by local promoters and writers. See, for instance the study of Jaroslav Ira: *Creating Local and Broader Identities: Historical Monographs on Bohemian, Moravian, and Galician Towns, 1860-1900*, in L. Klusakova, L. Teulières (eds.), *Frontiers and Identities: Cities in regions and nations*, Pisa 2008, p. 251-266.

Lastly, one can indicate other studies from different disciplines. For example, a contribution came from the collective book edited by K. Bedziach⁵⁹ about the artists' colony in Krummhübel, which played an important role in the cultural life of the region and its outward knowledge. A local historian published monographs about small cities in the Bohemian Giant Mountains, as well as one book about the specific folk architectural houses, the *Bauden*, used originally in the region as shelters for the lumberjacks and farms for the shepherds, before becoming an object of attraction for tourists and hikers in the second half of the 19th century.⁶⁰ Another study, if less scientific, was edited by F.-W. Preuß about the song still known by the generations of evicted Germans, the “*Riesengebirgslied*” [Song of the Giant Mountains].⁶¹ The informations given by these authors serve both as primary sources and contextualisation for one subchapter of the research dedicated to the delimitation of *Heimatt*. Such references demonstrate the intensification of research and interest of the subject of study.

Therefore, this study connects to scientific researches about local cultural associations and their impact on the representation of spatial entities. It also connects to recent scientific trends in Nationalism Studies in the case of Modern German History by exploring the concept of *Heimat* in a specific territory (mountainous region and borderlands). This research analyses the association between significant local cultural production that conferred to their region a formal organization of *Heimat* and the discursive strategies encompassed in order to popularize the region, both inside and outside. The question of multiple and plural sources of identification through the construction of *Heimat* has been analysed so far by means of recent literature which mainly focussed on the Western parts of imperial Germany– Saxony or East Prussia. The focus on the Giant Mountains expands the geographical scope of such enquiries and adds another narrative on the complex issue of 'localness', regionalism and 'Germanness' in Modern Germany. In this study, factors such as infrastructures, geography and buildings should play a role since they explain the emergence of large-scale tourism. They also provide examples of what the construction of *Heimat* and the self-identification discourse of local activists was built upon. This main emphasis may enable a methodological extension in the *Heimat* studies.

Studies on Giant Mountains can not only benefit from the already extensive field of research on nationalism, but also contribute inductively to it by shedding light on more details

59 K. Bedziach(ed.), *Die imposante Landschaft. Künstler und Künstlerkolonien im Riesengebirge im 20. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1999.

60 In Czech, *boudy*.

61 Preuß F.-W. (ed.), *Bloe Barche, griene Täla: das Riesengebirgslied, die Hymne einer Region*, Schönaich 2006.

of a region that has its own special features as well as many similarities with other regions in Europe. As such, studies with a regional object of investigation should in a further step always be the foundation of larger comparative studies.

The following work offers a different methodology and another object of study not related directly to the history of mountain associations in order to palliate such a difficulty. If an economic approach to the history of the organizations does not constitute the main point of the research, the research also explores the economic dynamic. Much more, the discourse and self-representation of the region stands at the centre of the study.

1.4.) Basics of Methodology and Primary Sources

A valuable number of sources have been selected to answer the questions presented in the last section. The sources are divided into two distinct categories, printed sources and visual sources. Each encompasses a diversity of texts, documents, and formats. The aims, the goals, and the roles of those sources vary largely according to their target audience. Facing both the formal aspect of the sources (what kind of source, why it is presented in such a format) and thus defining their public to which they are addressed will help to understand the organization of the *Heimat* activists. In turn, the formal analysis aspect informs the intentions and the strategies of the producers of the sources— i.e. the discourse of the actors using the notion of *Heimat*.

The analysis of the sources will be addressed by using a methodology based upon historical geography, sociology, and literary theory. By splitting the research into an analysis of the organization of *Heimat* and an analysis of the discursive strategies of the local activists and inhabitants by taking into account historical and geographical factors, the research should open new understandings of the Giant Mountains' region.

The social process of organizing the *Heimat* is considered a 'community of interest' by the activists. Their actions consisted of giving a form to the association, aiming to structure (institutions), to share and split (the actors organised in sections), to delimit (what can be part of the organization, what cannot), to act and harmonise (agency), and eventually, to articulate the whole 'body' around a collective consciousness. Those distinctive features of an organization emerge out of the practices and the promoted activities of popularizing, branding, and 'marketing', whether successfully or not, their object.

The social process of discourse pertains to a certain way of thinking involving communicated concepts and terms. As Foucault developed in *The Archeology of Knowledge*, a discourse corresponds specifically to institutionalized patterns of knowledge that become

manifest in disciplinary structures and operate by the connection of knowledge and power. Therefore, he recommends looking at how those statements are created, what can be said (or written) and what cannot, how spatiality is depicted and imagined in the sources, and linking cultural practices with material and discursive features.

To follow such a methodology, the body of sources is crucial. While the study relies mainly on the articles, poems and illustrations provided by the periodical of the German *Riesengebirgsverein*, “*The Hiker in the Giant Mountains*” [“*Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge*”], that was published from the year 1881 to the Second World War, it also analyses a range of postcards found on the internet and in private collections.

The articles selected in the periodical are encompassing the whole considered period with a special emphasis on articles dealing with the beginning of the organization. The periodical was created less than one year after the creation of the association. The first edition was published and distributed the 1st of July 1881. It was the first issue out of the 699 published until the 1st of January 1943.⁶² The first chief redactor of the newspaper was the founder of the association, Theodor Donat. It was retaken in 1885 by Prof. Dr. Paul Scholz, only for four years before Prof. Dr. Regell. The most influential redactor was the last period under the direction of Prof. Dr. Rosenberg from 1897 to 1922.

A last body of sources is composed on theoretical and analytical studies linked to the question of landscape preservationism and nature conservation. Their analysis emphasizes the last part of the considered time period and provides information about the reception of such ideas that the local promoters had to review in order to define their position towards the critics addressed on their deeds.

62 H. Herr, *Gesamtinhaltsverzeichnis*, [-], p. 3. [<http://www.difmoe/pdf-files/Gesamtinhaltsverzeichnis.pdf>]
Accessed on 08.09.2016.

1.5.) *Geographical Denominations and Translations*

A short explanation about the denominations should be provided as a result of the geographical complexity of the region. In the thesis, we use the term “Giant Mountains” not primarily as the strictly geographical space stretching from the mountain pass in Jakobsthal (as the western boundary) and Liebau in Silesia (as the eastern boundary), but as the mountainous region that includes the back country, the valley of Hirschberg, playing a central role in the construction of *Heimat*. Also, it does not include the independent mountains located westwards from the Giant Mountains, the *Isergebirge* [Jizera Mountains], for practical reasons (Figure 1).

The geographical terms of (Lower) Silesian/Bohemian Giant Mountains are preferred to the political denominations German/Austrian, even though I generally differentiate the associations by using those last in compliance with the sources. For practical and historical reasons (economy of work, relevancy of the German *Riesengebirgsverein* in contrast to the Austrian one, relevancy of primary sources in both the content and the format⁶³), the thesis concentrates mainly on the German part. However, references about the Bohemian Giant Mountains will be repeatedly done, since the perception of the Giant Mountains also was influenced by the other part of the mountains

Also, one must insist on the fact that referring to the German *Riesengebirgsverein* may imply activities organized in very different localities. Prior to the First World War, the German *Riesengebirgsverein* counted more than 90 sections in all imperial Germany, and even one in New York. The *Heimat* construction was not a spatially restricted phenomenon, since various actors from a vast territory had their word to say, or influenced local activists.

Eventually, each locality situated in Lower Silesia will only be referred under the German form, when each locality situated in Bohemia under the German and Czech form.

The translations to the English language are made by the author, when necessary. Some of the quoted excerpts were not translated to enable a better understanding. The French quotations were not translated, according to the TEMA rules.

63 In 1910, the German association counted almost ten times more members than in the Austrian one.

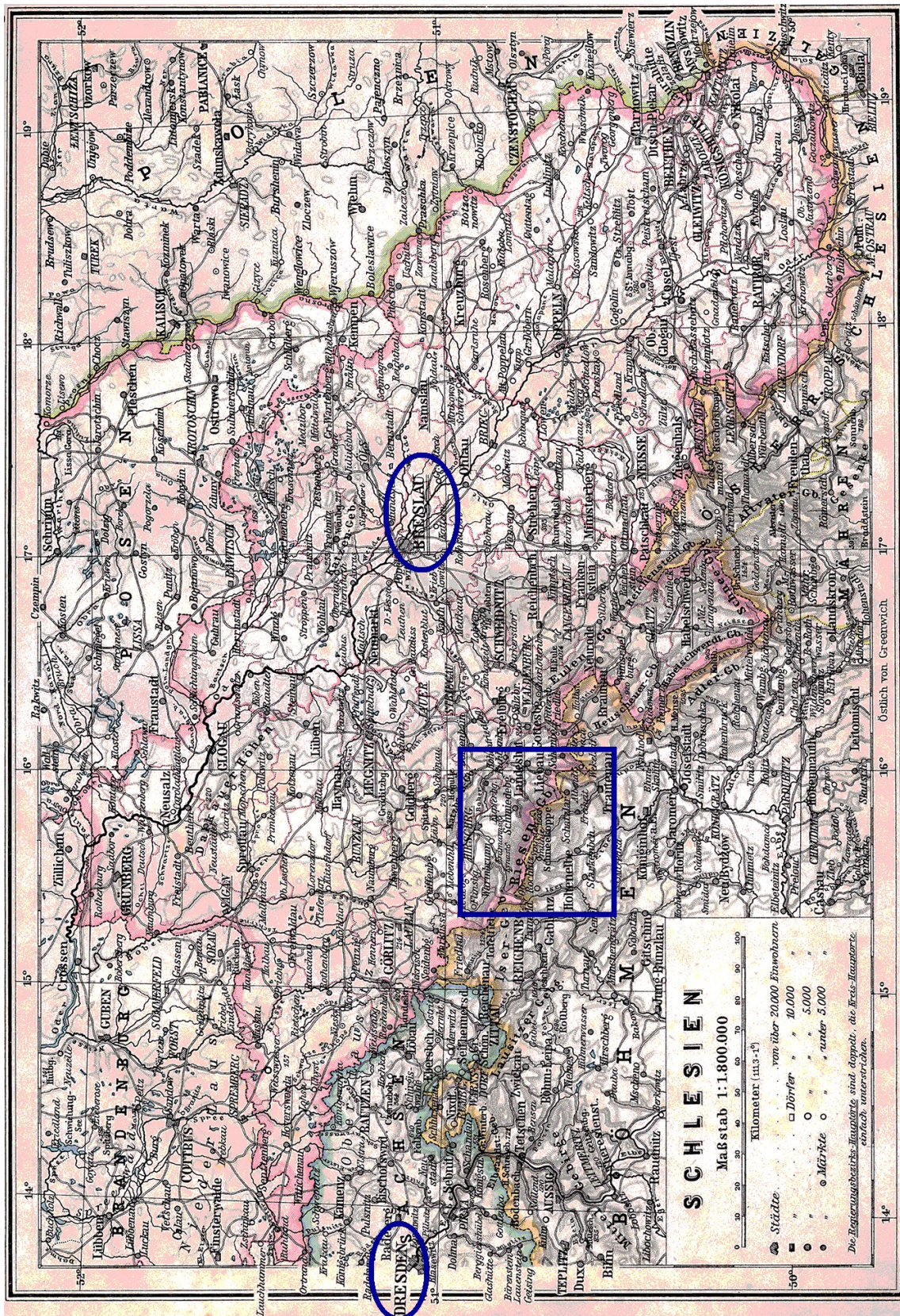


Figure 1: Historical Map of the Province of Silesia
 Source: Based on a map from 1905, taken from: *Bibliothek allgemeinen und praktischen Wissens für Militärwärter*, 1, 1905. Wikimedia Commons. (Key: Urban Centres in circle, Giant Mountains in rectangle)

First, a theoretical background will be reframed in order to analyse and interrogate the role of *Heimat* in German history on national, regional and local level. The last part will expose the advantages of adopting the chosen methodological and theoretical framework already and briefly mentioned in the introduction. In the following chapters, it will then tell the history of the dynamic between the organizational process and the discursive variety contained in the notion of *Heimat* in the specific case of the Silesian Giant Mountains through the considered period, and address the research questions formulated in the introductory chapter.

2.) *Heimat in Academic Discourse*

Heimat is the main object of study inspected in this master's thesis. This sub-chapter aims at retracing both the meanings and the theoretical frameworks of the historical scholarship developed and used to enrich the understanding and the role of *Heimat* as an analytical tool in German history. Indeed, a short overview of the main and formal definitions (and their characteristics) assigned to the notion during the nineteenth century will be followed by a more extensive review of the recent scholars' discourse on the matter. Recently, scholars have challenged the idea that *Heimat* is a fixed discourse, and thus, generally defend the notion that social actors tended to define throughout time this concept for their own purposes according to respective geographical units. Such a juxtaposition will help to justify the articulation of *Heimat* as an organization and as a discourse, as it is offered in the following research, as well as some of the methodological and research hypotheses underlying said research.

Nowadays, *Heimat* is a word that refers to a relationship between one person and a spatial social unit. The common sense of the word implies a distinct spatial unit. However, the concept bears fuzziness and ambiguity. By the end of the 18th century, the term started to be popularized by German Romanticism, and famous historical dictionaries stressed such an ambiguity in regards to the spatial component. In the famous, scientific work of Johann Christoph Adelung (1732-1806), a German intellectual and philologist active in Dresden, the Grammatical-Critical Dictionary of the High German Language [*Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart*]⁶⁴, an entry “*Die Heimath*” offers the following definition: “the place, the country, where someone is at home, that is his or her birthplace, his or her fatherland. God, who took me from my *Heimath*, 1 Mos. 24, 7.”⁶⁵ Seven decades later, the Grimm brothers describe *heimat* in their German Dictionary in the following way: “1) *heimat*, the country or only the area [*landstrich*], in which one was born or has enduring stay. [...] 2) *heimat*, the place of birth or steady place of residence.”⁶⁶ Two different, interconnected dimensions appear in these definitions.

First, *Heimat* fundamentally denotes the common-sense use of the word, which is the link between a proper and individual trait or characteristic of the personal biography and a place relative to its birthplace, its childhood. The lived and experienced place within a spatial social unit, in which the formative socialization process takes place, constitutes the core notion of *Heimat*. In addition, the notion is supplemented by a broader, spatial element:

64 Johann Christoph Adelung is known as being the first German intellectual that worked extensively for the German language by fixing rules.

65 “*Die Heimath*” in J. C. Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart*, 2, Leipzig 1796, p. 1077.

66 “*Heimat*” in J. Grimm, W. Grimm (eds.), *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 10, Leipzig 1868, p. 865.

Adelung and the Grimm brothers associates to *Heimat* the country, respectively the fatherland. The possibility of an evolution of the self-identification to the *Heimat* is entailed by the two-fold meaning of the notion. *Heimat* is not an exclusive, single nor permanent entity for an individual, but an evolving notion shaped by every person and his or her actions during his or her own life, proper to German language. Most of the time, the concept evolves and changes along with a life trajectory, but also depending on the context. For example, a man from the Palatinate region would refer to Palatinate when using *Heimat* while speaking to a German from Hamburg, whereas he would refer to Germany when using the same term while speaking to an Austrian.

Another element appears as an essential trait in the *Heimat* definition, which is not clearly put into tension in the definitions we analysed: the collectively shared emotional aspect. An insightful definition is provided by Peter Blickle, Professor of German at the Western Michigan University. This one describes the notion as “the psychoanalytical concept of sublimation to show how the social phenomenon of *Heimat* is energized by transformative processes in which the qualities that each historical period deems most desirable are projected onto an idealized geography.”⁶⁷ Hence, *Heimat* appears as a notion that connects the individual in a strong psychological way to a place through a shared perception of the experienced place encapsulated by its geographical features. When thinking back about the definition of tourism geography given by Hans Poser in the introduction, it becomes clear that the tourism phenomenon and its impact on the construction of territory shares many of the categories of interrelations contained within the notion of *Heimat*.⁶⁸ The perception of the surrounded landscape conveys inherently conveys in *Heimat* a positive value and assertiveness by the help of the imaginative projection onto its space. Not only as a mere location where someone lives or was born, *Heimat* is also a necessarily affective place and this affection and connectedness to a location is the result of a process shaped collectively by social actors seeking to map out the spatial entity with distinctive and instinctively sentimental features. The production of such a sense of place makes *Heimat* “the word Germans reach for to express the attachments of place [...] *Heimat* is a particular place and landscape, a particular set of associations in both spatial and temporal terms.”⁶⁹ The success of the notion results from its malleability, as well as from the discursiveness that is attached to it.

Thus, every *Heimat* is *a priori* particular, as it is designed by a local community and for the local community as a way to differentiate itself from other places. Defining *Heimat*

67 P. Blickle, *Heimat. A critical theory of the German idea of homeland*, Rochester, NY 2002, p. 62.

68 See the definition given on page –28– .

69 P. Blickle, *Heimat* cit., p. 50.

appears as a strong analytical way for their local promoters in the context of modernity.

Hermann Bausinger, one of the founder of the German school of empiric cultural studies (*Empirische Kulturwissenschaft*) formulates this tension between the preservation or claim of the local sense of place (via the cultural goods available to foster such a sensitivity) and the growing impact of structural changes in the societies. In his book dedicated to *Volkskunde* [folk culture], he argues for another understanding of the notion.⁷⁰ Against the stereotype and common idea that the folk culture is a construct from the past, both long-standing and unable to adapt itself along with the challenge of modernity, Bausinger argues that it emerged both as a science (the writing of the territory) and as a collective experience (the range of diverse cultural events entering into the local community) in connection with the rise of a technical world. If the frame of references in folk culture's themes, customs, objects is mainly composed by elements inherited from the past, the constitutions of them as a scientific and entertaining object are a counter-product of modernity, a reaction to modernity. Such a reaction is neither to be (mis-)judged as progressive nor reactive, but as a social phenomenon of its time. Curiously, Bausinger notices the following:

“The transition from a pre-industrial, rural culture to a folk culture of the technical age was barely noted down by the *Volkskunde* [Folklore studies].”⁷¹

Certainly, one of main reasons lies in the fact that the formation of the *Volkskunde* was equivocally achieved by the slow institutionalization of the discipline on both local and national (if not European) level, each level experiencing and altering the object of the discipline for its own purposes. Hence, the composition of the objects were not directly converging, and tended to diversify themselves in many directions, according to the availability of the “cultural goods” in the territory.

The collective self-consciousness of the *Heimat* via institutionalizations of mountain clubs (amongst others) helped the local community to take benefit of the technical shifts inherent to the second half of the nineteenth century. They acquired the value of the local, surrounding materiality (from the landscape, to architecture, to traditional dresses) and strengthen both their local identity and their differences vis-a-vis from other localities. If local promoters were not independent from the dominant national culture and science, they certainly have a room for manoeuvre and creation, whether to use it for their own purposes and/or the one's of the local community.⁷² Thus, it is no wonder that Bausinger defines

70 H. Bausinger, *Volkskultur in einer technischen Welt* [Folk culture in a world of technology], Tübingen 1961

71 H. Bausinger, *Volkskultur* cit., 1961, p. 86.

72 See on that issue, for the French context, the excellent work of Odile Parsis-Barubé, in which she shows the inventions of new forms of exploration and knowledge about territories by regional public figures and their role in the formation of the French identity: *La province antique. L'invention de l'histoire locale en*

Heimat as “as a near world, that is understandable and transparent, as a frame, in which expectations of behaviours stabilize, in which meaningful and assessable actions are possible, therefore *Heimat* as an antipode to strangeness and estrangement, as an area of appropriation, of active permeation, of reliability.”⁷³ The validity of the frame, the antipode and the area was made possible through the emergence of local associations, and their active participation in the formulation of meaningful aims for the disappearing, independent community and the re-formulation of their collective past and memory.

In a similar approach, Celia Applegate stresses *Heimat* as a social process in interaction with the past that constituted a contemporary linguistic pattern all over Germany during the “long 19th century” (Hobsbawm). According to her, *Heimat* was “a nostalgic construction that reproduced the localness of hometown life without preserving its qualities of isolation and independence.”⁷⁴ In addition to Bausinger, she notes that the reproductive quality included in the notion of *Heimat* constitutes a kind of social artefact to the changing relations of a locality within a certain environment. Researcher Alon Confino, from the University of Virginia, adds to C. Applegate that “the dubious historicity and remarkable imprecision” made the notion similar to a never-ending “debate in German society about the proper relation between the locality and the nation, the particular and the general, the many and the one.”⁷⁵ There is no doubt that the concept of *Heimat* embodied a certain “German language of nationhood”⁷⁶, since the dubious historicity and remarkable imprecision (the notion exemplified) corresponded to “a certain way of talking and thinking about German society and Germanness.”⁷⁷

The persistent interrogative element available in the concept makes it even more interesting for cultural historians. Certainly, the question surrounding the definition of *Heimat* that Germans addressed through the century indicates that the model of a unilateral spreading of cultural ideas and ideologies from the capital to the provinces has never worked well for understanding imperial Germany. As indicated in the introduction, C. Applegate stresses how the *Heimat* was a performative tool for national activists that could deliver a vision of unity through the association of local diversity.⁷⁸ However, according to Jenkins, it is “not enough

France (1800-1870), Paris 2011.

73 H. Bausinger, *Heimat und Identität*, in H. Bausinger, K. Köstlin (eds.), *Heimat und Identität. Probleme regionaler Kultur*, Neumünster 1980, p. 20.

74 C. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials* cit., p. 9.

75 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918*, Chapel Hill 1997. p. 6.

76 C. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials* cit., p. 14.

77 C. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials* cit., p. 6.

78 C. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials* cit., p. 10.

to note that the local is both embedded in the nation and distinct from it,” because local self-identifications tied up with a growing national feeling, transforming both in the process.⁷⁹ In contrast to the reactionary *Heimat* movement organized on a national level from the late 1890s, representations from the provinces allowed different, local meanings to the German national idea that were usually influenced by specific cultural practices.⁸⁰

A somehow even more integrative definition of *Heimat* is provided by Alon Confino. According to him, the efforts of voluntary associations were, consciously or not, defining *Heimat* so that German culture would be equipped “with the emotional accessibility of a world known to one's own five senses.”⁸¹ In fact, this psychological approach of *Heimat*, consisting of a system of knowledge and sensibilities, would offer a presence in the nation. In his view, the construction of a common corpus of the nation, locally embedded through tangible and graspable parameters, was a process staggering over 30 years from the 1880s relying on a more and more complex interpretation of *Heimat* as an analytical tool fostering ideological purposes. By defining broader objects connected to the notion, for instance *Heimat* history (conceived as “vivid, conceivable, popular”)⁸², *Heimat* nature (“poetical and practical”)⁸³, or *Heimat* ethnography (“commemorating the good old days”)⁸⁴, the unity of imperial Germany was conceived through diversity and this interconnection constituted the ideal to reach for the German nation. In other words, *Heimat* was used in three various ways: first, it was becoming an object of study for local “scientists” (mainly part of a German *Kleinbürgertum* [“petty bourgeoisie”] encompassing educated people such as pharmacists, high school and great school teachers, or local businessmen), part of the strategies to educate locals about their nation, and also as another concept illustrating what the nation was about. However, A. Confino demonstrates the fact that such an analytical description was not part of a national, imperial *agenda* encouraged by the government and the officials of the state.

Indeed, it was mainly the outcome of local and regional efforts to incorporate and publicize their territories as part of imperial Germany. Indeed, according to A. Confino, *Heimat* clubs started to become “places where the local was imagined as part of a national whole.”⁸⁵ In fact, the term of *Heimat* played a mediating role in the 'nationalizing' of Germans through these spaces and through their rhetoric and idioms. Later, he wrote that “those who

79 J. Jenkins, *Particularism and Localism* cit., p. 203.

80 C. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials* cit., pp. 104-107.

81 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* cit., pp. 97-124.

82 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* cit., pp. 101-107.

83 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* cit., pp. 108-114.

84 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* cit., pp. 115-119.

85 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* cit., p. 203.

created and promoted *Heimat*, consciously or not, were suggesting a basic affinity between the new, abstract political units and one's home."⁸⁶ Somehow, the growing cultural life that imperial Germany enjoyed developed a raise of political consciousness by supporting the idea that a good German should take care of and make known the local territory and homeland where he or she originated from.

Moreover, A. Confino supports the idea that *Heimat* was evolving on the basis of a non-political idea. The growing cultural associative life was, in his view, the outcome of the decline of liberalism on the national level due to impact of the Long Depression (1873-79). He declares that the concept "exhibited a fine ability to criticize abstract paradigms of social analysis, such as class and nation, in order to focus on the particular forms and geographically specific expressions of subjectivity and identity so central to German culture."⁸⁷ The *Heimat* organization took its roots across the country relying on a discursively apolitical idea which was enlightened by the contemporarily common concept of universality diffused by the bourgeoisie. However, one should not study the *Heimat* idea as an "inventory of variety constitut[ing] the wholeness of the culture."⁸⁸ Indeed, the risk of studying *Heimat* in such a way would lead historians to take for granted how culture was not structured by other discursive tools. In this case, that would induce an essentialist idea of *Heimat* and thus, of the German culture as a whole. The differences analysed between such a theoretical model developed via case studies focussing on Western regions and the Eastern part of imperial Germany are crucial in order to avoid falling into such a simplistic idea of what a society is about.

Those studies show the variety of the reception of *Heimat* ideology and its aims, including the feeling of belonging to the local homeland, depending on the geographical factors.⁸⁹ In East Prussia, the construction of a modern German landscape was, for instance, far from being the repository of *völkisch* ideas, even though the local homeland did not massively mobilized the participation of local inhabitants. Indeed, no significant *Heimat* consciousness emerged prior to the First World War, probably due to the political history of the region. In another case, the Swiss Saxony, the *Heimat* consciousness was central in the justification of the modification of the landscape. However, it was not until the 1920s that it received major influences from strongly conservative and national mindsets, as a consequence of the conservative revolution. The following study aims to characterize, by using the recent

86 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* cit., p. 10.

87 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* cit., p. 206.

88 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* cit., p. 51.

89 C. E. Murdock, *Constructing a Modern German Landscape* cit.; J. K. Wilson, *Imagining a Homeland* cit.

advances in the *Heimat* historiography, the local *Heimat* movement and consciousness.

3.) *The Organization of Heimat in the Giant Mountains (1880-1914)*

3.1.) Brief Historical Survey of the Giant Mountains⁹⁰

The Giant Mountains forms a complex historical region. This subchapter shortly outlines the territorial, political, economic and religious dynamics of the region until the formation of the Silesian Giant Mountains. It only aims to give a small historical survey for the reader.

The whole mountain chain was part of the same political territory only two times during its existence in very different circumstances. The first time was from 1526 under the Habsburg House until 1742. The region was experiencing an intensification of economic and commercial links, as well as movements of migration due to the religious wars. The second time was very short and the consequence of Nazi annexation of the so-called *Sudetenland* from 1938 to the end of World War II (with the expulsion of Germans on both sides of the border), within a broader process of acculturation of the so-called *Sudetenland* [Land of the Sudetes] through a radical, ideological and cultural movement structured by local and national activists based mainly in Reichenberg/Liberec.

Except for these periods, the political boundary was rather continuous as it was located on the main ridge of the Giant Mountains along 30 kilometres. Under the Polish Piast dynasty, the Giant Mountains were rather deprecated in the public opinion and judged as inhospitable (the mythological tales defined the mythical shape of *Rübezahl* as repulsive, frightening and terrifying until the end of the 18th century), thus the frontier position was set on its foothills where remain traces of fortified castles. The situation was slowly changing from the 16th century. Not only was there a growing interest in the mountains from the part of the upper class, as the journeys of exploration undertaken by the cartographer Martin Helwig and a pioneer of botanics, Caspar Schwenckfeld demonstrates, but also for peasants, who brought the cattle in the mountains and stayed there during the summertime. More and more accounts were given about the tours and voyages of the upper stratifications of the society in the region. The second step into the accessibility of the Giant Mountains occurred while the region was increasingly integrated as a link in the commercial and industrial network between major cities such as Dresden, Breslau, Prague or Vienna. Until the 19th century, the mountains provided raw and manufactured resources. Amidst others, the implementation of mining and textile industries gave, later, resources for local activists to re-discover these ethnographical lifestyles of local inhabitants.

The Silesian part of the mountains was located in the periphery of imperial Germany.

⁹⁰ This introductory subchapter relies on the historical depictions provided by M. Hartwich and M. Staffa, already mentioned in the state of art.

Although it was not considered as a part of the so-called *Ostgrenze* since no slavic minority was mixed with the Germans, such a narrative gained in importance during the 20th century.⁹¹ Also, the population was mainly Lutheran in Lower Silesia, in contrast to Upper Silesia, where mainly Catholics lived. On the other hand, the Bohemian part was mainly Catholic and a Czech population lived in the south-eastern part in villages such as Starckenbach/Jilemnice or Rochlitz/Rokytnice. The mountain region was thus mainly dominated by a German-speaking population, even though it does not imply that Bohemian Germans were not capable of speaking the Czech language.

The 1880s were the first decisive moment of affirmation of a *Heimat* promoted by local actors in the Giant Mountains. They organised themselves in institutions defined in the contemporary literature as part of the *Wanderbewegung*. The creation of the German *Riesengebirgsverein* shaped an institution and stressed the possibility to assert, share and benefit from the natural and cultural goodness of the own region. The choice they made to put tourism in the middle of the project for the region was connected to the potential attraction of both the renewal of narratives lending common, mythical themes, and the particular personality of the nature in the Giant Mountains. The discourse of the making of *Heimat* does not stand in the centre of this first analytical chapter. It does not imply that some elements of such a theme will not be raised. The following analysis focuses on the formal depiction of the organization of *Heimat* in the Giant Mountains, by looking at its evolving and complex structure, distribution, delimitation, agency, and articulation, due to the elasticity and ambiguity of the concept.⁹² Even though it is not possible to explore thoroughly all aspects attached to these questions, it seeks to depict and analyse the spatial and historical insertion of the organization of the *Heimat* within the local, regional and national framework.

91 See, for instance, the article dedicated to the renewal of research about the history of spatiality and the discourses about spatiality of Central Europe in the German context; P. Haslinger, *Der spatial turn und die Geschichtsschreibung zu Ostmitteleuropa in Deutschland*, in T. Tönsmeier (ed.), *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung, Themenheft Grenzen und Räume: Neue Forschungen und Forschungsimpulse*, Marburg 2014, pp. 74-95.

92 C. Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials* cit., p. 1.

3.2.) Structuring the Heimat. The Association of the Giant Mountains

The following subchapter covers the study of the construction of a structure for the local homeland. By looking at the efforts made by local activists, it shows the purposes of an institutional structure for their *Heimat*. With the help of the informations provided in the *Wanderer im Riesengebirge*, it stresses the formation of the Giant Mountains' Club.

The efforts for the formation of the Giant Mountains' Club provided by the creator of the German *Riesengebirgsverein*, Theodor Donat, must come under scrutiny. T. Donat was born near Görlitz in the Oberlausitz region. He spent most of his life in Erdmannsdorf-Zillerthal, a small village ten kilometres south-eastward from Hirschberg, the main city in Silesian Giant Mountains. Working as a bookkeeper, he enjoyed his new *Heimat* and soon explored the mountains. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Giant Mountains' Club, an article retraced the process of forming the association.⁹³ In 1880, during the spring time, and in a train coming from Berlin, between Lauban and Reibnitz, little villages located northwards from Hirschberg, on April the 20th, 1880, after a tempest which broke many trees the day before, in a “complete wintry majesty”⁹⁴, T. Donat expressed his incomprehension of the lack of a structure for the local homeland. Further, the local promoter understood that the reason why so few tourist goes in the Giant Mountains had to be explained by this lack. Within a “day and night”, the idea of creating an association emerged from the moment he heard about other mountain clubs active in other regions.

Soon after, T. Donat read an article about the section of Nieder-Sedlitz, near Dresden, part of the *Erzgebirgsverein* [Association of the Ore Mountains], and wrote a letter to the chairman of the section, a teacher called Gröschel, to get a copy of the statute of the section. By doing so, T. Donat sought to structure the project of the future association in the Giant Mountains. On the 27th of May the same year, he received a letter from Gröschel, which stated:

“Your *Heimat* region, one piece of land in every respect so beautiful and marvellous deserves to find friends and caregivers. Indeed, it is for the warm friend of the fatherland in the leisure time a nice and noble activity to get to know better the area (*Landstrich*), in which he was whether born or currently lives, in its current relationships and in its past. It is noble, when brave men, friends of the nature, assemble in a union, which gives itself the fine tasks to feel out and delve into the forests and to support its faithful guardians and keepers. The one, which also undertakes to care for the ripely valorization and scientific exploration of a German landscape, the arrangement and the achievement of common excursions, which does not only refresh the soul,

93 P. Hoehne, *Rückblick auf die Entstehung des Riesengebirgs-Vereins sowie auf seine 25jährige Tätigkeit 1880-1905*, in “WRG”, 272, 1905, pp. 83-88.

94 P. Hoehne, *Rückblick auf die Entstehung* cit., p. 83.

and harden the body, but also nourish the sense of comradeship and the spirit of brotherliness. Hopefully, your idea will be accomplished really soon. As regards to a possible public request, put only men on the top, whose give a good name for the venture, as well as that can be also conducive and on business for it.”⁹⁵

Such a letter informs about the support, expressed by another organization, in the formation of a structure. In the view of the Saxon teacher, the Giant Mountains should be equipped with a sense of homeland for the benefit of both the region and its inhabitants. By defining a broad concept of *Heimat*, he defined not only the duty to research the local homeland and the greatness to participate in cultural activities, in which “lovers” of *Heimat* would be able to bring about a sense of commonness and collectiveness. According to him, the national idea was very connected to the local structures fostering a common corpus of scientific knowledge, a particular cultural sensitivity, and a way to unfold the local territory to a broader audience which would also enrich the concept of Germanness. A last and precious point concerns the need of the support expressed by local distinguished figures for optimizing the chances of implementation of the structure.

A few days later, in June, T. Donat wrote the first draft of a program about the association’s intentions in a letter⁹⁶ addressed to the administrative head of the Hirschberg district, the Prince Henry IX from the Reuss family.⁹⁷ He analysed and exposed the chief causes explaining the backwardness of tourism in the mountains. Eight reasons are exposed. First, the “dreadful, and partly wrong opinions in the public of the big cities about our mountain, one holds this one for inhospitable and little accessible.” The second reason is the lack of propaganda for the local cause in the main newspapers. The third is connected to the poor train circulation and the non-reduced prices of train tickets in contrast to other middle mountains such as “the Harz, the Thuringian Forest and the Saxon Switzerland” that already benefited from those conditions. The fourth is about the mountain guides and their lack of knowledge of the mountains— i.e lack of organization. The fifth concerns the lack of order and diversity in the itineraries of the active train companies, unable to prevent the “overreaching of tourists.” The sixth reason is about the owners of estates located in the mountains that are “everything else, but not landlords”. Thus, there is a lack of people keeping an inn to reply to the demands of tourists in terms of accommodation. The seventh reason lies in the bad conditions of the hiking paths. The last one he notices is the expansive vegetation that make the lookout points less valuable to appreciate the landscape in the mountains.

95 P. Hoehne, *Rückblick auf die Entstehung* cit., p. 83.

96 P. Hoehne, *Rückblick auf die Entstehung* cit., p. 85.

97 Biographical datas about Prinz Heinrich IX. Reuss, in B. Mann, *Biographisches Handbuch für das Preußische Abgeordnetenhaus 1867–1918*, 1988, p. 318.

In response to this letter, Prince Henry IX, the noble politician from Schmiedeberg, expressed “his willingness to collaborate with endeavours or the realisation of such an idea.” By agreeing to the grievances contained within the letter, the local activist gained a considerable support from an influential sponsor. On the 21st of July, a first official sketch of the standing rules of the association was outlined. After four days, 49 signatures were collected from various social groups in the homeland. These signatures included businessmen, doctors, pharmacists, school teachers, civil servants, amongst others.⁹⁸ The initial support was a way to distinguish themselves from the workers and farmers and people of lower social status in the community. It exhibited the active petty bourgeoisie of the surroundings which sought to affirm their status and allegiance to the leaders of the coming structure.

A week later, the local newspaper, *Boten aus dem Riesengebirge*, wrote the following in their issue:

“[...]to spread the interest for the Silesian mountains, at first for the Giant and *Iser* Mountains, then in vast circles, to facilitate and make the visit of these mountains enjoyable, and to increase the scientific knowledge about those.”⁹⁹

This excerpt illustrates the strategy of the local *Heimat* to gain considerable influence, by depicting a vision on the short, middle, and long term. For the author of the article, the local would be supplanted by the “vast circles” which would furnish the tourists to the local homeland. The association would further specialize themselves within scientific tasks, after the community would be able to organize themselves the touristic territory.

On August the 1st, the Giant Mountains’ Club was institutionalized within a local restaurant located in Hirschberg. During this meeting, five persons were assigned to usual tasks within an association: Friedrich Semper, a merchant and the owner of the *Koppenbaude*, Eduard Fiek, a pharmacist, a rector called Wäldner, a retiree, Schwahn, a high school teacher, Bieluf, and the leader of the association Carl Bassenge, mayor of Hirschberg. Later, they stressed that, “[a]lthough the share of the mountain inhabitants in the interests cannot be a universally equal one, however, the interests of the people come all in all to the best. Because even if not every one gains direct earnings, one can still benefit from the important transport facilities and from the conveniences of any kind, which will be necessary directed for the sake of tourism”.¹⁰⁰ The universal direction that the association had taken as one of its main goals was, in the eyes, not possible to reach considering the inequalities in propriety and goods

98 P. Hoehne, *Rückblick auf die Entstehung* cit., p. 87.

99 P. Hoehne, *Rückblick auf die Entstehung* cit., p. 87.

100 P. Hoehne, *Rückblick auf die Entstehung* cit., p. 88.

located in the mountains. However, they saw in the development of tourism a good way for anyone to get more connected to the broader Lower Silesian region, as well as to imperial Germany. In this way, the principle of equality could be respected and attract anyone who cared for the *Heimat*.

In 1882, the section would also mobilize some symbols to give a structure to the *Heimat*. A member of the association, Heinrich von Fallersleben wanted to equip all members with “a well successful, artistic, absolutely practical and inexpensive badge of the association, our *Habmichlieb*.”¹⁰¹ The flower, characteristic of the Giant Mountains, would stand both on the documents proving the membership to the association, as well as extra-badges that people could attach to their shirts. Further, he said that “the sections will be then asked to do without delay their orderings to get the emblem by the redaction of the newspaper.” The newspaper, created in 1882 and printed in Hirschberg until 1923¹⁰², was becoming one of many entities stressing the structure of the association.

Already in the 1880s, some members started to write scientific studies about their *Heimat*, and collect the books in order to create, later, a library. One illustrious example was the deed of Carl Bassenge, the mayor of Hirschberg, who dedicated many years of work to compose a history of the city. In 7 articles, one published every year, he retraced the history of the city from its beginnings to his contemporary situation.¹⁰³ C. Bassenge emphasized the role and the location of the city within German history, the region was, indeed, many times affected by the major events from the 16th century onwards.¹⁰⁴ In 1884, it was announced to create a library with a collection of many works about the local region.¹⁰⁵ The localities in the Giant Mountains were depicted the most in the newspaper, with more than three quarters dedicated to it, according to R. Gehrke. Right before the First World War, the association celebrated the opening of its museum, constructed by an architect from Breslau, Karl Grosser, presenting a specific mix between natural, folk cultural, and historical objects and narratives, that worked as a prototype of the future *Heimatmuseum*.¹⁰⁶

This subchapter has demonstrated the institutional process of structuring the Giant Mountains' Club by looking at the various activities and purposes of the association. First, the

101 H. v. Fallersleben, *Das Blümchen Habmichlieb*, in “WRG”, 1882, 8, p. 5.

102 R. Gehrke, *Der Riesengebirgsverein und seine cit.*, p. 278.

103 P. Lenich, *Bürgermeister Bassenge, der erste Vorsitzende des Riesengebirgsvereins*, in “WRG”, 60, pp. 38-39.

104 R. Gehrke, *Der Riesengebirgsverein und seine cit.*, p. 290.

105 R. Waeldner, *Bibliothek des Riesengebirgs-Vereins*, in “WRG”, 29, 1884, pp.5-6.

106 R. Gehrke, *Der Riesengebirgsverein und seine cit.*, p. 282.

account delivered by P. Hoehne, by giving so many detailed informations about the institutional process of constructing *Heimat*, was a good way, twenty-five years later, to mobilize the values and the purposes of the mountain association in a new way. Also, the article enabled to better understand the interaction between different organizations dedicated to the love for their *Heimat* via the development of tourism. The local support acquired by the association, such as influential landlords and members of the nobility (the family Schaffgotsch expressed some letters which could not be included in the present analysis), indicated the strong impetus and ambition of the association, which demonstrates the seriousness of the project. Later, the variety of activities, such as the scientific tasks with which the association also participated, or the construction of a museum for the local homeland, expressed the institutionalization of the structure within the *Heimat*. The next subchapter will look into details at the expansion and development of the association at different geographical scales.

3.3.) *The Distribution of Heimat*

This subchapter analyses the spatial distribution of the members and sections in the association during the considered period of research. Looking at the spatial distribution of the association's sections helps to both understand and highlight the tendencies of the development the association experienced over the researched period and the ambitious project of the Giant Mountains' Club. The following table goes over the significant data for the distribution of the sections and their quantitative importance between 1881 and 1913.

Year	1881	1890	1905	1913
Number of sections	/	59	/	93
Number of members	1460	6569	11235	12276
Hirschberg	243	643	1001	905
Breslau	106	844	1071	1147
Görlitz	/	441	831	886
Dresden	/	/	/	560
Berlin	/	120	424	730

Figure 2: Table of the main sections and members in the German *Riesengebirgsverein* (1881-1913)¹⁰⁷

Different elements must be highlighted, ranging from a formal analysis of the development of the number of members by year, the number of sections by year, and the number of members year and by section. The different years were chosen within the temporal frame of the research and for different reasons. 1881 shows the results of the association after one year of activity, when 1890 displays the distribution after a decade. 1905 corresponds to the 25th anniversary of the association and was the occasion of a growing activity within the association.¹⁰⁸

In 1881, T. Donat stressed the fact that the association was only “at the beginning of [their] work” and the need to build “sprightly forward” the conditions for a future blossoming. Indeed, the spread of the association on a regional level indicates that those ambitions were justified and that the Giant Mountains' region enjoyed significance in Lower Silesia. One can

107 Sources used for the table: “WRG”, 1881, 3, p. 8; “WRG”, 1891, 103, p. 53; “WRG”, 1905, pp. 86-87; “WRG”, 1914 (5), 379, p. 76

108 R. Gehrke, cit., p. ; M. Hartwich, *Das schlesische Riesengebirge* cit., p.

note that the section of Görlitz, a main city of Lusatia located 70 kilometres northwest of Hirschberg, was created only three weeks after the one in Hirschberg. Notably, a section was growing up in Berlin not later than 1883. With Breslau, both cities provided the massive stream of tourists. In 1881 Breslau, located at 120 kilometres from the mountains, registered a number representing already about half of the number of the members in the section of Hirschberg, with 107 members. In this year, the section of Hirschberg was the most frequented with about 20% of the whole association. During the first year of activity, the organisation sought to disseminate itself mainly within the local territory.

In 1889, those efforts were paying. From 1881 to 1890, the number of members was multiplied by 4.5, distributed through 59 sections, registering 6569 members. By this time, the section Breslau counted about 12% of the members in the association and became the largest section, outclassing Hirschberg and Görlitz. However, the section of Berlin was not expanding as quick as the others, considering the large population of the capital of imperial Germany. This might be explained by the position of Berlin, closer to the middle-range mountains located in Thuringia, where local associations, such as the Taunus-Club, were already strongly implemented due to their longer existence compared to the Giant Mountains' Club. At this time, the Giant Mountains were still anchored more locally and regionally than nationally.

During the years 1890 and 1905, the whole association almost doubled its number of members, with the number of the largest sections of Breslau and Hirschberg expanding about the half of their members. Even though the population of those cities also massively grew during these years, the rise of the number of the members and of the section should not be underestimated. Notably, the number of the members in the section of Berlin tripled, when the one of Görlitz doubled. When the association had troubled to mobilize more members in Lower Silesia, the fame of *Heimat* exceeded increasingly outside the administrative sub-province of Silesia, and not only within the Kingdom of Prussia, where the Giant Mountains were included until the end of the First World War. Famously, a section in New York was constructed in 1893 and active until the death of its founder in 1918.¹⁰⁹

In 1913, the number of sections reached 93 with a total number of members consisting of 12.276. The progression was slowed down during these years, especially in the local homeland. Nevertheless, if the association could not attract more members from the villages and cities surrounding the mountains (Hirschberg was even losing more than a hundred members), the quality of the newspaper and the building-up of a museum and other touristic activities were different signs proving the activity and the powerful institution in the local

109 [-], *Richard Müller ist verstorben*, in "WRG", 433, 1918, p.

homeland and on a regional level, symbolizing the *Heimat* it became within 30 years of activity. Also, the number of members in the association still progressed by about 10% and the sections of Dresden and Berlin increased significantly.

Such a development of the distribution of the association through the local territory, the region and imperial Germany is an indicator stressing the pivotal role of the association in the making of the Giant Mountains as a considered territory at different scales. Moreover, the repartition matched with the strategy defined as inherent to the structure of organizing *Heimat* as the local activists planned in 1880. However, this subchapter could not trace the limits of the organization of the local homeland imposed by local activists in the making of *Heimat*.

3.4.) *Delimitating the Heimat*

As any organization, the *Heimat* needed to fix the limits of its endeavours. However, in the case of the Silesian Giant Mountains, many indicators suggest the spatial limits of *Heimat* were not obvious due to its geographical position and the development of the Giant Mountains' Club outside the local homeland. One approach would consist of assuming that the organization and the purposes of the club indicate the limits of the club. However, the hypothesis of the research involves that the local activists and inhabitants identifying with the local homeland participated in the making of *Heimat*. Thus, it is not enough to look at the narratives and limits set by the Giant Mountains' Club to delimit the *Heimat* organisation. This subchapter seeks to demonstrate the fuzziness of the notion of *Heimat* used by local activists and inhabitants in their discourse. A number of examples will show that the inclusion or exclusion of the *Heimat* territory were associated to particular criterion, whether implicit or not.

Less than one year after the creation of the Giant Mountains' Club, the association decided under the initiative of T. Donat to build up establish a medium, which sought to articulate and mediate both scientific, artistic, playful and practical information to the members of the association and other subscribers.¹¹⁰ The chosen format took the form of a small newspaper, published generally every month, consisting of between 8 to 24 pages, mainly depending on the chief redactor. Local promoter, T. Donat declared:

“The love of *Heimat*, of the sacred soil keeping the ashes of the ancestors, of the powerful mountains with its grey colossus rocks and dark, spruce and *Knieholz* [knee timber] forests, of the laughing valleys with pleasant homes, pushes fellow countrymen forward to act, so that the reputation of the *Riesengebirge* natural beauties would always expand further.”¹¹¹

In this excerpt, the criteria of delimitation for the organization of *Heimat* relied mainly in the “love for the *Heimat*.” The criteria chosen by the Giant Mountains' Club suggests a personal feeling, an emotional attitude, expressed towards the community of *Heimat*. Such a vague statement was a way to foster the participation of the local inhabitants: the love of *Heimat* should push the people into the action aiming at the popularization of the Giant Mountains. Next to these two criteria, the emotional positive feeling and the action of the people, two others appeared, the love for “the sacred soil”, the perception of “the natural beauties”, and the

110 T. Donat declares the following in the first issue: “Our [periodical] *Der Wanderer in Riesengebirge* will provide geological, botanical, historical and mythical contents in preferably popular statements, as long as it will have an explicit reference to our association's zone and alongside still retains some place for a full attention turned towards the activities of the sections, their claims and wishes. Hence begins a new and vast field for the activities of the club.” : T. Donat, *Vereinsgenossen!*, in “WRG”, 1881, 1, p. 1.

111 T. Donat, *Vereinsgenossen!*, in “WRG”, 1881, 1, p. 1.

spirit of the valley.

The first one is expressed by the “love [...] of the sacred soil keeping the ashes of the ancestors.” Such an indicator implies that some lineage between a person identifying with the territory and the *Heimat*. One can assume that the formula was rather used as a rhetorical tool than as a strong and exclusive criteria, since many members were not having a direct link expressed in their genealogy with the *Heimat*. That was the case of T. Donat himself, his family originally coming from Görlitz and its surroundings.¹¹² However, it strengthened the idea of appropriation of the material territory through the blood criteria. Such an idea was popularized later, during the 1900s, while the Bohemian part of the mountains was progressively becoming a contested territory by the Czech promoters, active mainly in Starkenbach/Jilemnice, where they created a section of the Club of Czech Tourists in 1888.

Another example indicating the demilitation of *Heimat* is provided by the reception in the “Hiker in the Giant Mountains” of the death of the landlord on the *Schneekoppe*, Friedrich Sommer. The article, probably written by T. Donat, and referring to this “sad” event, stressed the blurred boundaries of the *Heimat* organization, while paraphrasing F. Sommer. Active during 25 years on the top of the mountains, he died at the age of 82 years on October the 24th, 1881, and considered himself as the “subject of two empires” and, also, “as he liked to call himself with humour, the highest civil servant of the German Empire (as he was in charge of of a post office in his guesthouse).”¹¹³ Such a statement demonstrates the relativity of the political boundary as a criterion of the *Heimat* delimitation for local inhabitants of the mountains, since the landlord saw himself as part of imperial Germany, as well as part of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. Moreover, he elevated his duty to the most eulogious one in imperial Germany, considering the symbolic position he had.

Further, in a pray pronounced shortly before his death in the Laurentius chapel, the one located on the top of the mountains, F. Sommer said: “I bless Silesia and Bohemia, I bless princes, civil servants and citizens, I bless all the fellow countrymen, all the priests and laymen, all the meadows and drifts, I bless everyone, all the inhabitants of the valley [...]. But the mercy comes from above! I bless you in the name etc. Amen!”¹¹⁴ The innkeeper of the *Koppen* guesthouse also used religion as a way to transcend the quarrels between the empires for the power. The blessing made God as the ultimate power in the Giant Mountains, and testified the religious factor as being still of important relevance at the end of the 19th century,

112 “Theodor Donat”, in S. Wycisk-Müller, *Schöpferisches Schlesiens von A bis Z. Band 2*, Leipzig 2016, p. 197-203.

113 T. Donat(?), *Koppenwirth Friedrich Sommer*, in “WRG”, 4, 1881, p. 3.

114 T. Donat(?), *Koppenwirth* cit., p. 3.

even though both associations of the mountains did not use such a criterion in their contemporary discourse, except for the case of historical narratives about the past.

Only after around 20 years, the Silesian Giant Mountains' Association re-used the criteria of blood and language in order to warn the inhabitants and the members about the activity of the Czechs in the mountains. Seven short accounts were reported in the newspaper.¹¹⁵ They emphasized the appropriation of a small part of the mountains by Czechs, located in the surroundings of Starckenbach/Jilemnice, where the “language appears on the signalisation of paths and is more spoken than the German language.”¹¹⁶ Some establishments were constructed by the local Czech activists, hosting “numerous pupils from the Czech schools.”¹¹⁷ They were worried about a possible “Czechisation” of the mountains, even though the Giant Mountains were still mainly occupied and appropriated by the Germans. The criterion of language was implemented, in accordance to the heritage criterion, already expressed in 1880. Before the First World War, the *Heimat* organization delimited the belonging to *Heimat* via language and ethnicity, creating a hierarchy between the criteria: the “love [...] for the natural beauties” was less decisive than the one of Germanness.

A last example should focus on the criterion of Germanness and gives a hint about the relations between the Austrian and German Giant Mountains' Clubs. The German Giant Mountains declared in its status the purpose of “stir[ring] up the interest of non-members and supply our large fraternal mountain association to them.”¹¹⁸ Also, with the creation of the German Giant Mountains' Club, a “competition” started between both associations “with mutual respect.”¹¹⁹ Later, they would organize jointly an annual meeting to speak about their challenges and aims, while celebrating *Heimat* together in an inn, that would change every year. In 1897, due to the financial problems the Bohemian Giant Mountains faced, they were welcomed by the German Giant Mountains' Club to join the redaction of the “Hiker in the Giant Mountains.” Such an event symbolized the disbalanced influence on the Giant Mountains between both organizations, even though some accomplishments of the Bohemian association enlarged the purposes of their brother association. This was illustrated by the setting of school hostels, the first one in 1886 under the impulse of Guido Rotter, a forerunner

115 E. Rosenberg, *Tschechische Schülerherbergen*, in “WRG”, 324, 1909, p. 9 ; E. Rosenberg, *Tschechisches vom Riesengebirge*, in “WRG”, 329, 1910, p. 15 ; E. Rosenberg, *Tschechisierung des Riesengebirges?*, in “WRG”, 335, 1910, p. 14 ; E. Rosenberg, *Zum Kapitel Tschechisierung*, in “WRG”, 337, 1910, p. 15 ; E. Rosenberg, *Tschechische Ansprüche auf das Riesengebirge*, in “WRG”, 370, 1913, p. 13 ; E. Rosenberg, *Tschechische Ansprüche auf das Riesengebirge*, in “WRG”, 372, 1913, p. 16 ; E. Rosenberg, *Tschechisches*, in “WRG”, 375, 1914, p. 14.

116 E. Rosenberg, *Zum Kapitel Tschechisierung*, in “WRG”, 337, 1910, p. 15

117 E. Rosenberg, *Tschechische Schülerherbergen*, in “WRG”, 324, 1909, p. 9.

118 T. Donat, *Vereinsgenossen!* cit., p. 1.

119 T. Donat, *Vereinsgenossen!*, cit., p. 1.

of the modern youth hostels.¹²⁰ Before the First World War, the most notorious achievement was made with the composition of a song, later elevated as one of the main *Heimat* symbol.

O mei' liewes Riesageberche, wu die Elbe su hemlich rennt, wu dar Rübezohl mit seinen Zwergen heit noch Saga on MärLAN spennt. Riesageberche, Riesageberche, meine lewe Hemert du!	O, my dearest Gigant's Mountains, where the Elbe Flows hidden therein. Where the Ruebezahl with his dwarf-folk Still fables and fairy-tales does spin. O, Giant's Mountains, you German Mountains, You my dear homeland, my place of birth ¹²¹
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In 1912, German Bohemian teacher from Trautenau (the main city in Bohemian Giant Mountains region), Othmar Fiebiger (1886-1972), wrote these verses in *Gebirgsschlesischer Dialekt* [Mountain Silesian dialect] during an evening travel in *Petersbaude* [Peter's mountain hut]¹²² on the border crest between imperial Germany and the Habsburg Empire.¹²³ Two years later, with his friend and teacher, Vinzenz Hampel, from the city of Hoheneibe, composing the melody, he published the first version of the *Riesengebirgslied* [Giant Mountains' song] in the commemorative publication of the local choral association.¹²⁴ In 1920, a translation into Standard German was provided in the songbook of the German Singers Association.¹²⁵ In 1936, the Silesian local newspaper, *Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge* ["The Hiker in Giant Mountains"] of the *Riesengebirgsverein* [Giant Mountains' Association] reported that the song was forbidden by the Czechoslovakian administration.¹²⁶ The cultural production of the German minority (its population was reaching 3.2 millions in 1930) located mainly in the northern, western and southern boundaries of the territory was considered more and more as a political expression of their Germanness and subsequently as a threat for the newly constructed Czechoslovakian State after the First World War.¹²⁷ In fact, the construction of the

120 E. Gorys, *Tschechische Republik: Kultur, Landschaft und Geschichte in Böhmen und Mähren*, Cologne 1994, p. 318.

121 The English translation of a 1920's Standard German version is reported online by: A. Skall, *Riesengebirglers Heimatlied*, in "Rathay-Biographien", [1997-2010]. Retrieved from: [<http://www.rathay-biographien.de/Lieder/LiedTexte/Riesengebirgslied.html>] Accessed on 05.06.2016.

122 *Bauden* were mountain huts and shelters used for the agro-pastoral activities of shepherds or woodcutters, and are typical of the Giant Mountains. They started to be popularized around the mid-19th century through tourism and hiking trips made in the mountains by hosting the travellers.

123 R. Hemmerle, *Sudetenland. Wegweiser durch ein unvergessenes Land*, Flechsig 2002, p. 339.

124 F.-W. Preuß, *Bloe Barche, griene Täla: das Riesengebirgslied, die Hymne einer Region*, Schönaich 2006, p. 13.

125 F.-W. Preuß, *Riesengebirgslied* cit., p. 19.

126 "Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge" ["WRG"], 1936, 10, p. 171.

127 See, for instance: C. Jacques, *L'invention de la littérature sudète et ses enjeux politiques (1918-1938)*, in "Cahiers du CEFRES", 31, Prague 2011, p. 110.

local *Heimat* was not respecting the political boundaries.

The chorus of the *Riesengebirgslied* dives into the cultural atmosphere of the Giant Mountains right prior to First World War. Two aspects are important to stress. First, through poeticalness and imagination, the sextet gives the impression of deep affection and loyal attachment the local *Bürgertum* [bourgeoisie] feels for the local mountain landscape. Every words refers directly or indirectly to the mountains, conveying a strong self-identification to the mountains thanks to the variety of symbols, mythical images and specific natural elements. The association of space with a “sense of place” is appealing. One can argue that the author invented a tradition.

The fact that the song was meant to be sung by everyone going to visit the mountains indicates the transnational links between the different parts of the mountains. Local groups and people sung and, consequently, celebrated the mountains and its landscape in many events such as local festivities, meetings, hiking trips etc. It enabled to communicate and spread a certain knowledge about the mountains in a tangible, direct and cheerful way. The singing, collective voice acts as a mean to recreate in leisure activities a special self-identification to a broader body of people living in the mountains. The translation and mediation from an individual, personal, and peculiar feeling to a collective, common, and shared feeling was made possible by local activists. Through the mediation between the diverse associations, works as the conveyors and mediators of specific cultural frameworks and idioms that created a collective “system of knowledge and sensibilities”¹²⁸ not exclusive to the local community from Bohemia, but to also to the one of Lower Silesia. The complex concept of *Heimat* will, later, evoke the cultural production and activities which brought about the development of a self-identification to the nation and the local region. Nevertheless, such an example illustrates the fact that one criterion for delimitating *Heimat* was more connected to the cultural/national question than the political one. Such a process of nationalization will be interrogated as well in the 4.) chapter.

The following subchapter depicted the different criteria that were used by the local inhabitants to delimit their *Heimat*. When political boundaries were blurred through the close cooperation between both German-speaking associations, the Czech presence in the mountains was only becoming part of the exclusive discourse at the end of the 1900s. By the beginning of the First World War, the delimitation tended to be based on the language criterion more than any others that were described in this subchapter.

128 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* cit., p. 97.

3.5.) Agency of the Heimat

In contrast to the question of delimitating the *Heimat*, this subchapter aims to specify and locate the agents of *Heimat* by underlying the role of the city of Hirschberg in the process of institutionalization of the organization. By using this city as an example of how local identity helped shape the structure of the city, one can specify the agency of the activists who were involved in its establishment.

The following map from the 1930s gives hints towards the growing agency of *Heimat* and local activists in the city of Hirschberg:



Figure 2: Map of Hirschberg >1930¹²⁹

In 1909, Hirschberg was home to 20,000 inhabitants— about 5% of the total population was involved in the German Giant Mountains’ Association. The association aimed to configure the city within diverse patterns of identity. The city centre with the traditional buildings, such as the churches, the market, and the city hall, was expanded southwards at the end of the 19th century. In this newly formed district, the new local and influential agents within the local homeland made their apparition and claimed their territories. For instance, a

129 Retrieved from [http://www.landkartenarchiv.de/historischestadtplaene.php?q=landkartenarchiv_hirschbergimriesengebirge]. Accessed on 08.07.2017.

new theatre was built as well as the local institutions of imperial Germany. The toponymy in the district also indicates the new symbols of the loyalty towards the empire. Indeed, the *Wilhelmstrasse* was set at the turn of the century forming an artery suitable for modern vehicles and transport, and named after the contemporary *Kaiser* Wilhelm II. Perpendicular to it, the *Bergstrasse* joined the *Museumstrasse*, which hosted the German Giant Mountains' Association museum, which officially opened in 1914. Also, the street surrounding the Cavalierberg was named after Hugo Seydel, the second president of the association, who was a member of the State Diet from 1896 to 1908.¹³⁰ Moreover, the association constructed an observation tower in 1891, from where a vista on the southern part of the Giant Mountain was offered, in memory of chancellor Bismarck.¹³¹ Below the Cavalierberg, on the eastern side, was a meadow called the *Sedanwies*, which commemorated the event of Sedan in 1870. The fact that *Heimat* agency structured the new district with the notorious symbols and names of imperial Germany, the mountains, and the museum of the local homeland makes it obvious that the toponymy was framed by patterns of identity referring to a multiplicity of geographical and political entities.

Another hint showing the centrality of the city of Hirschberg relies on the preponderance of the city in the organization of the annual meeting of the association. Indeed, the chosen place for the *Vereinstag* (Annual meeting of the Association) from 1880 to 1915 was taking place eight times in Hirschberg— compared to three times in Schmiedeberg, two times in Lauban, Petersdorf, Görlitz, Flinsberg, and only one time in Breslau.¹³² One could wonder why Breslau was only chosen one time for these meetings, considering the importance of the its section to the Giant Mountains' association. However, this reveals the attachment to the local homeland from members of the association. The geographic centrality and available infrastructure in Hirschberg was a decisive factor explaining this distribution of the annual meetings.

The association always sought to give power to some agents involved in the local politics. The first president of the association, Carl Bassenge, was also the mayor of Hirschberg. Also, Theodore Donat, sought at the beginning of the 1880s to involve the Count of Schaffgotsch of Warmbrunn. He was, in fact, the biggest landlord of the Silesian mountains, and wrote back T. Donat of his personal support so that the association could develop the touristic infrastructures as long as they did not disfavour the propriety of the noble man. Also, in contrast to the Austrian Giant Mountains' Club, which was not able to

130 Dr Lampp, *Nachruf für Dr. h.c. Hugo Seydel*, in "WRG", 52, 1932, p. 1.

131 A. Gleitsmann, *Ein Aussichtsturm auf dem Cavalierberge bei Hirschberg*, in "WRG", 102. p. 4.

132 Based upon the search of "*Generalversammlung*" in the inventory provided by H. Herr.

gain the support of the Count von Harrach, the Silesian association received favourable reception of the second biggest owner in the mountain. In another letter, written in Branna bei Starkenbach/Dolní Branná by Ludwig Schmid, a forest labourer, gave “on behalf of his Illustrious Sir Johann Count from Harrach [...] the approval of the construction of hiking paths, resting places and the same on the territory of Starkenbach power, [...] if the due request of the laudable *Riesengebirgs-Verein* will be set at time and from there no servitude will arise nor won't the rights of the entailed estate power be infringed.”¹³³ Such a strategy was, in fact, fostering the activity and forming the agency at this time of the Silesian Giant Mountains' Club.

Another example of the strategy of implementing the local agency of the association is illustrated, for instance, by the protection of a famous building– the church Wang, in Krummübel. An article related the deeds of Hugo Seydel in the case of the protection of the building, stating: “How practical and successful *Heimatschutz* is driven in our mountains, and to prove it anew, we brought an excerpt from the official account about these negotiations during this year in the House of Deputies [of the State of Prussia].”¹³⁴ The article's author, a member of the association, used the example of this case as an illustration of the efficient action related to landscape preservationism. What did Hugo Seydel actually do? The following excerpt corresponds to the session and the speaking of the member of the association:

“the danger, which threatens thereby the treasure of our mountains, the church Wang, that the terrain directly underneath the church will be built from the owner of the plot. Thus, if it should happen, that would compromise in large degree the vista from and to the church Wang.

Last year, Mr. the Minister had the kindness to assure his support in this issue. [...] But, Gentlemen, the danger of the obstruction of the church Wang still exists. [...] All the efforts given to ensure the man to yield voluntary this plot or at least to register hypothetically a restriction of the building construction were without avail. Actually, nothing now remains left apart from proceeding to the expropriation of this plot, and in fact very soon, otherwise the help could come too late. [...] Henceforth, the *Riesengebirgsverein* plans to request the expropriation and to operate as the conductor, as its tasks amongst other things include also the protection of the art and of natural monuments of the *Heimat*.

My request to Mr. the Minister is directed towards supporting our action the most benevolently. The costs to raise are not insignificant. We hope that it will be succeeded to cover the biggest part of the costs through voluntary contributions. This hope can deceive after all, and I would be very grateful to Mr. the Minister, when he would hold out the prospect that it could be expected a state support in case of shortfalls. Yes, that is about a creation, which we owe the House of

133 P. Hoehne, *Rückblick auf die Entstehung* cit., p. 85.

134 [-], *Heimatschutz inbezug auf die Kirche Wang im Abgeordnetenhaus*, in “WRG”, 260, 1904, p. 82.

Hohenzollern, and about the protection of an architectural monument, which does not exist for a second time in whole Germany in such a peculiar beauty.”¹³⁵

The case was related to the envisioned project of an inhabitant to build a house on a plot located right next to the church. Due to the proximity of the church, and the threat for the vista, Hugo Seydel presented a request to expropriate via the Giant Mountains’ Club the owner from his plot, if the construction of the building would take place. Such an idea is still in vigour, nowadays, in the concept of landscape preservationism, as exposed by the UNESCO.¹³⁶ Thus, the member of the parliament asked for a voluntary raising at the State Diet in order to stop the building construction. The answer of the Minister of Education, Conrad von Studt, was favourable to such an undertaking:

“I am very willing to express afresh the concern to this case, which I have been confirming for a year, when the respective motions should come up to me.”¹³⁷

The financial and moral support gained by Hugo Seydel in such a case illustrates the way the local *Heimat* agency was mainly used, by relying on a strategy based upon the institutionalized structures.

To conclude with, the *Heimat* agency was asserting its power through the institutions and powers from which it could obtain the support. In the other way round, the Giant Mountains’ Association made efforts to elevate themselves as a driving force for the local homeland by way of institutionalization. The topography of the city of Hirschberg has demonstrated that, within 30 years of activity, the *Heimat* club was considered as a prestigious institution that shaped the local territory.

All in all, the first analytical chapter has addressed questions related to the structure, the distribution, the delimitation and the agency of *Heimat*. It has depicted the various strategies and some part of the discourse the local promoters or inhabitants were using to represent or give a shape to the local territory. The local territory was more and more appropriated by the local *Heimatlers*, which found their place through the example of an institution acting for the fame of the local territory and its landscape. A second analytical chapter will analyse the development of the discourse and the way such a discourse was articulating within the German society, amongst others.

135 [-], *Heimatschutz inbezug auf die Kirche Wang im Abgeordnetenhaus*, in “WRG”, 260, 1904, p. 82.

136 G. Sonkoly, *The critical analysis of the concept of historic urban landscape*, in A. C. Fernandes, N. Lacerda, V. Pontual (eds.), *Desenvolvimento, planejamento e governança: O debate contemporâneo*, Rio de Janeiro 2015, pp. 401-420.

137 [-], *Heimatschutz inbezug auf die Kirche Wang im Abgeordnetenhaus*, in “WRG”, 260, 1904, p. 82.

4.) *The Making of Heimat: The Discourse about the Giant Mountains*

“Still not one year has past, since the association of the Giant Mountains was formed through a [considerable] number of nature lovers from the villages of the mountain. The love for the Heimat, for the sacred soil keeping the ashes of the ancestors, for the powerful mountains with its grey colossus rocks and dark, spruce and Knieholz [knee timber] forests, for the laughing valleys with the pleasant homes pushes fellow countrymen forward to act, so that the reputation of the Giant Mountains natural beauties would always expand further.”¹³⁸

One year after its creation, the takeoff and expansion of the association around the surrounding villages and cities truly rejoiced local activists and bolstered their discursively metaphorical rhetoric about the Giant Mountains. Indeed, spatial and visual associations of images were mobilized to create a complex pattern of meanings for the new readers and members of the association. In the quoted excerpt of the first issue of the newspaper, the local activist T. Donat used the indicator of collective memory conjointly with the indicator of nature, and with the “joyful” behaviour of the inhabitants of the region as criterion symbolizing the mythicized local homeland, the *Heimat*. The *Heimat* itself was later on used by their organizers as a symbol for the nation, as we will see. Inspired by cultural geography and literary theory, the following chapter aims to specify such a model of interpretation outlined by this example for understanding the local territory of the Giant Mountains. Thereafter, it will enable to sketch the processes of identity construction implicit to territorial and spatial dynamics.

4.1.) *Methodology*

Relying on the works provided by Bernard Debarbieux, professor of cultural and political geography at the University of Geneva (Switzerland), his frame to interpret the concept of territory helps historians to decipher the process of constructing a territorial identity without omitting the element of spatiality, central for geographical analysis.¹³⁹ The model is dynamic and circular. In his view, each territorial project, as a sign of an “affirmative territoriality”, is confronted in its setting up with complex, territorial realities; in other words, with structural

138 T. Donat, *Vereinsgenossen!*, “WRG”, 1881, 1, p. 1.

139 B. Debarbieux, *Imagination et imaginaires géographiques*, in A. Bailly, R. Ferras, D. Pumain (ed.), *Encyclopédie de géographie*, Paris 1995, p. 906. His more recent works about the imaginary of mountains have been discovered too late to be included in the following research, such as: G. Rudaz, B. Debarbieux, *Les Faiseurs de montagnes. Imaginaires politiques et territorialités : XVIIIe-XXIe*, Paris 2010.

factors in motion depending upon two kinds. On the one hand, the ones coming along with demographics, economics, politics or technologies, on the other hand, the confrontations of social groups present on the territory. The discrepancy between both of them produces a situation of imbalance, source of social frustration within particular social groups or the society itself.

Next to such a dialectic interpretation of the territory, Bernard Elissalde, professor of geography at the University of Rouen (France), insists precisely on the definition of the territory as a social project aiming the appropriation and the development of the space.¹⁴⁰ He develops the idea that “affirmative territorialities” are overlaid by “compensatory territorialities” from the moment the territorial project and the social cohesion, the affirmative territoriality, are threatened. Thus, the social actors produce a “compensatory territoriality” translated under the form of mythical, symbolic production as well as ideal representations connoting spatiality. A reformulation of the territorial project occurs based on those last, aiming to guarantee the cohesion and avoid a disintegration jeopardizing the territory. The territorial project faces again a new structural configuration of the territory, source of other frustrations. This permanent cycle of the territorial identity transforms discourses, even though they tend to draw on the same resources offered by the space in which social actors live.¹⁴¹

Nevertheless, within such a frame (inspired by the discipline of “géohistoire” or historical geography) highlighting the moments affecting the territorial dynamic, how to then interpret discourses relying on mythical and symbolic resources available in visual images, (such as postcards or illustrations), in poems, or in any other kind of written production in the case of the Giant Mountains?

In this case, literary theory proves to be helpful. The analysis of contemporary myths by Roland Barthes in his book published in 1958, *Mythologies*, provides a methodology in the interpretation of myths.¹⁴² Myth is defined as a form of speech in subtle interaction with language. He relies on the definition of the sign coined by Ferdinand Saussure, one of the founder of semiology (the study of signs and symbols and their use or interpretation) at the beginning of the 20th century, described as the outcome of the interaction between signifié-signifiant (the object and the linguistic representation). With the definition of Saussure,

140 B. Elissalde, *Une géographie des territoires*, in “L'Information géographique”, 3, 2002, p. 193.

141 Appendix 1. This appendix presents the example of New Zealand in a concise table following such a theoretical framework, appearing in an article written by Francois Cognard about the geographical and historical dynamics of the main identities of social groups in New Zealand: F. Cognard, *Une approche géohistorique de l'identité territoriale néo-zélandaise*, in “L'Information géographique”, 2011, 2, pp. 6-24.

142 F. Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, Paris 1964, pp. 98-101.

“France” corresponds to the word, thus to the linguistic representation – the signifiant – that corresponds itself to the geographical object of a territory which one bears in its mental map as a united entity delimited by borders taking the form of a hexagon and surrounded by other countries – the signifié.

Further, R. Barthes argues that the myth is an added sign in close relation with the language. The sign is the outcome of a rational, but subjective mental operation linking an apprehended content to a word. Such a sign becomes a myth when the sign becomes the signifiant (or signifier) itself. Thus, the signifié does not act as a concept anymore, but rather as an indicator, whether material (an object, a sound) or mental (a symbol, another myth) for the sign.¹⁴³ For instance, the *drapeau tricolore*, the French flag, a mental image (already a myth), is an indicator the addressee associate with the French state and territory. Indeed, in this mental operation, France becomes the signifiant of the flag, to which the colours assign to France particular characteristics that has evolved in time and has varied for different social and political groups. The changing meanings of the myth of France varies with the attributes given to it via the interpretation of the signifié by subjective actors, that is the colours of the French flag. The first order of signification of Saussure is not invalidated, but juxtaposed with what R. Barthes names the second order of signification.¹⁴⁴

The study of the myth is central for R. Barthes, since, as he assumes, myths help to acclimate and accustom people with particular world-views and ideologies. According to him, “every object of the world can pass from a closed, mute existence to an oral state open to the appropriation of the society.”¹⁴⁵ This general statement reveals more than it seems. Indeed, language is a conveyor of identity through the various concepts speakers forge. The use of language brings to create or define an object, whether material or mental. As Foucault demonstrated later with the case of the creation and the evolution of the meaning assigned to the word “madness”, the language offers the permeability to alter and change significations of certain words which can therefore be used in the interest of institutions to maintain or orientate a system of belief.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, one understands that the effects of myth vary largely according to the context and the spatiality where the myth exists. Then, the myth is subjected to a state of constant change, as well as it is a tool for ideology which is supposed to realize the beliefs, of which the doxa is the system, in the discourse.

143 R. Barthes, *Mythologies*, Paris 1957.

144 Appendix 2.

145 R. Barthes, *Mythologies* cit., p. 216.

146 M. Foucault, *Folie et Dérison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique*, Paris 1964.

4.2.) *The Discourse on Heimat until the Turn of the Century*

4.2.1.) *The Affirmation of a “Sense of Place” in Theodor Donat's Poetry*

The first subchapter explores the affirmation of a “sense of place” in the *Heimat* by analysing a range of poems. Published in the association's newspaper, T. Donat's poems contributed to an early corpus of texts¹⁴⁷, all playing a role in the making of a “sense of place”¹⁴⁸, by “inventing traditions” relying on the use of myths, symbols and cultural practices associated to tourism and playful experiences summed up by a range of anecdotes. In fact, they corresponded to a first territorial project in which an “affirmative territoriality” was expressed for the local homeland. Their historical survey enables a better understanding of the discursive means used by the GiantMountains’ Club in pursuit of becoming a major institution in the local homeland.

In his poems, T. Donat, the founder of the Giant Mountains’ Association, constructed a typical and diverse imaginary for Giant Mountains. In the selected corpus, he stressed in each of his poem a particular component: the [1] one is about the fairy primrose (in German *Zwerg-Primel*), the [2] about typical agricultural shelters in the higher part of the mountains (in German, *Bauden*), the [3] about the death of a stranger on a cliff and the reaction of the local inhabitants. The [4] is about the *Knieholz* trees located above the spruce-fir forests over 1200 meters, when only the [5] distinguishes itself one is about the more general history of Silesia. Using elements of natural geography and cultural/historical resources the mountains had, the writer offers the readers a symbolic introduction to the main characteristics of the mountains.

In poem [1], the author presents the fairy primrose tourists and inhabitants can observe in the mountains. He declares in the last verse: “You exquisite flowers soft and fine / You should be our jewel and symbol.” The appeal addressed to the flower is also an appeal to the reader: everyone has to elevate the flower of the mountains. The institutionalization of the flower as a symbol of *Heimat* was achieved two years after the foundation of the association. The members could order a member card with the flower depicted on it.¹⁴⁹ The poem is constructed in three sextets. The first one plays with the contrast between the noisy city, the valleys of seeds agitated by the sea, and the calm and peaceful mountains, where one finds from time to time “das Blümchen Habmichlieb.” The name of the flower was given by the

147 Donat published five of his poems in *Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge*. The titles are: “*Habmichlieb*” [1] (“WRG”, 1881, 1, p. 5), “*Die Baude*” [2], “*Der todte Fremdling*” [3] (“WRG”, 1881, 2, p. 3), “*Pascherzug im Riesengebirge*” [4] (“WRG”, 1881, 3, p. 3), “*Das schlesische Lied*” [5] (“WRG”, 1884, 28, pp. 1-2).

Poems will be quoted as following [*] (with * referring to the respective number).

148 C. Applegate, cit., p. 32.

149 See chapter 3.).

mountainous miners, instead of *Zwerg-Primel*. In the second sextet, the author claims a spiritual king, *Rübezahl*, from the deep of the mountains, plants whole the flowers, among others the *Habmichlieb*. In the last sextet, the flower is personified and “begrüßt den Wand'rer”, when this last comes to the final part of the ascent. The rise of the flower as a symbol of the mountains comes along with its discovery by the hikers when he travels up. In a sense, the flower, the pleasure and joy to see them (just as its insertion in a mountain full of mythical “treasures”) is commodified to attract people, just as mountain air was in the air cure town of Davos.¹⁵⁰

In [2], mountainous shelters are introduced through a generic depiction. If the plural speaks of the whole, the description given by the poet does not take into account the diverse impressions that a night spent in the *Bauden* can evoke. T. Donat's structure of the poem follows a positive narrative: the hiker needs a place to rest after a day of wandering up to the mountains, a shelter take the tourist under its protection, one has to be polite and grateful for the dinner and the rest, not to take into account the unconscious noise of others during the night, one is welcomed in a bed, the sunny morning wakes the guest up, the last enjoying a great view over the world “deep under his feet”, before leaving the house with a goodbye from the host. Those seven steps described in seven sextets does not only take the form of a guide for the visitor of the mountains, but stressed positively the experience of calm, rest and entertainment during an evening, a night and a morning spent in such an establishment. The poet uses the contrast between the inside and the outside (“Sturm” and “Dach”), the rest and the tiredness (“Ruh” and “Müh”), with the help of rimes, to strengthen the hospitality and the protective value of the touristsite accommodations. The comparison of the straw eiderdown with the down of the hummingbird emphasized the idea of the well-being at home. The metaphor of the bird, “D[ie] Prinzessin im Fabelreich”, is reflected into the human being: is not the tourist a prince or a princess in a fairy world as well? As analysed, the *Bauden* constitute a specific genre and forms one the main tourist attraction thanks to its specific architecture: the one who hikes in the Giant Mountains is welcomed in the houses to take a rest over the night and share a dinner with the others.

In [3], the author stressed not directly any symbol. Indeed, the story of a *Fremdling*, a stranger to the Giant Mountains, is reported in the poem composed of four quatrains. The stranger reminds the figure of the tourist. As he faces an irrevocable accident, local mountainous residents have to face the grief on their own. Unfortunately, no one knows “aus

150 A. F. Frank, *The Air Cure Town: Commodifying Mountain Air in Alpine Central Europe*, in “Central European History”, 2012, 45, pp. 185-207.

welchem fernen Reiche” (v.3) he comes, only can a fisher bring the corpse “zur Ruh’.”(v.4) The second quatrain presents a sordid atmosphere that unites the experience of death with the danger of the mountains in the eyes of a shepherd: this last is “erschrocken”(v.5), when the “Rauher Wind zersaust die blut'gen Locken”(v.7) of the corpse. The death is connected to the dangerous cliff, where the foreigner stepped on carelessly, when one moment of reflection made him know its certain death (the eyes starred in the sky (v.8)) the third stanza. In verses 9 to 11, the shepherd asks himself, if the stranger intended to die, or was a mere victim of the harsh mountains: “Keine Schrift, kein Zeuge theilt dies mit.”(v.12). The last two stanzas evokes the honorific funerary rite: the tomb is placed next to natural flowers, the stars “[s]trahlen freundlich auf sein einsam Grab!”(v. 20). For the reader, the discovery of the death of a tourist suggests dread and fear: the poem is acting as a warning. The mountains is a place of entertainment and of danger. Some adventurers would appreciate this aspect of the mountains, when others would get afraid. The story of this stranger's death inserts itself in a typical depiction of the mountains as a place of uncertainty. However, such a feature is used in the narrative of the mountains positively at the end of 19th century: just as the *Bastei* in the Swiss Saxony, the Giant Mountains was considered above all else for its “wild ruggedness.”¹⁵¹

In [4], the reader discovers a striking story about the fall of knee timber trees and the robbery for their value by some locals. The poem is composed of 14 quatrains in AABB rimes. The first two ones depicts the sounds in the mountains. A change occurs though, as the calm and melodic night lets place to a “langen, dumpfen Laut[.]”(v.6) The third quatrain speculates about the origin sound. In the fourth, a man appears and looks for the origin of the sound with a “scheuer Spähenblick[.]”(v.15) The fifth introduces the famous tree, and several others that “sinken fast zusammen.”(v.19) Sixth to twelfth describes a crowd of people in a *Bauden* and a conversation around a glass of wine: one assumes that “[d]ie Grenzwacht schläft im Dunkenthal”(v.26), an another notices that it may not be a good idea for a man to go outside (“Will noch einer ein tiefres Grab?”(v.44)). The thirteenth quatrain comes back to a personified *Knieholz's* fall that “flüstern noch im Nebelmeer”(v.50), before the mountain gets back its still. The drop of the poem depictis the theft robbing the tree, probably by the man in the verse 15:

53. Die Nacht entweicht, die Sonn' ersteht,
 54. Der Grenzer kommt, er kommt zu spät-/
 55. Der Pascher nahm mit kühner List
 56. Dem Kaiser, was des Kaisers ist.

151 J.K. Wilson, *Ibid.*, p. 31.

The frontier guard could not catch the thief as he woke up too late, thus the fancy tree is not a good of the emperor any more. The emphasis on the emperor shows the identification of the region as part of the German empire, even though it might relate to the one of Austria-Hungary, as the robber probably passed next to the house of the border guard. The questionable location of the scene displays the general ambiguity of places in the mountains' narratives, when the storyteller does not relate unequivocally its own position. Such an uncertainty appeared also in many of the maps produced for touristic purposes on which the borders were either not depicted or in a fragmented way.¹⁵² If the tourist got in the guidebooks the presence of the border, he would have been probably surprised to find it while walking materially. But the poem highlights especially another symbol of the Giant Mountains, those massive and curious trees. The story of the fall of the tree was used by the author connected to the *Bauden*, with inhabitants being the witnesses of the spectacular scene with the knee timbers. As with the presence of the emperor, the stirring narration combines archetypal elements available in the mountains to stimulate the imagination of the reader and to make him or her feel an idea of the same experience encountered by the witnesses.

In [6], T. Donat evokes over hundred of verses about the specific history of Silesia and what it inspires him as a poet. Made of 17 sextets (AABCCB), he begins the first one with a question-answer, the answer being developed in the rest of the poem:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Warum, o Sangerstimme der Poeten, | 1. Why so, oh singer's voice of the poets, |
| 2. Wahlst Du so am Joche der Sudeten | 2. Do you choose at the Sudetes pass |
| 3. Den klagevollen, schweren Rythmen-Flug? [...] | 3. The complaining and grave rhythms' flow? [...] |
| 6. Verbirgt sich oft ein Schattenzug. | 6. Often hides a train of shadows. |

The poet asks himself why he has chosen to write about such a demanding journey in the *Sudete* mountain. A “shady train” hidden in his mind took him up to the mountain pass. Behind the metaphorical expressions denoting the movement of his mind to the mountains (“Rythmen-Flug” and “Schattenzug”), it first arouses the reader, or the tourist, to take a similar choice and makes himself a poet by taking the train from its city up to the mountains. This indirect allusion to the infrastructures suggests that T. Donat as a local promoter was aware of the need of infrastructures and train connections to foster tourism. It implies also that the Poet needs to do the effort to get inspiration and to arrive in the “restless nature from the realm of shades.”(v.96) Going up to the *Schneekoppe* and its lake downside (the highest peak of the Giant Mountains: v.85/v93) with a hidden train and then the rhythm of the feet enables the Poet to look back on the history of his country thanks to “what only his prophet's eye

152 Richters Reisefuhrer (ed.), *Riesengebirge*, Hamburg 1912-1913.

saw.” (v. 102) As such, T. Donat claimed that the spatial and temporal distance he took from the top of the mountains is the only possibility to make one's conscious of the history of his region.

The circular construction of the poem brings the reader from this initial question through an aesthetic narrative of the region's past made of violence. However, the second and third stanzas are describing other German regions: the North next to the seas and the South with the Rhine region. Both of them have typical features such as the image of the fisher and its salty shores, used to big storms (for the North), and the winemaker on his hills with the cheerful air and its golden drink. Next to them stands the “ungetrübter Quelle”(v. 19) and the “ungefälschter Luft” of the Giant Mountains, that reflects its “innere Wesen” by sweeping away the hearts of all others (v.19-24). The spreading of Silesian songs and reputation to other regions is metaphorically expressed by the movement of the water downwards the mountains. Then succeeds various episodes of despair encompassing the millennium. If the “Grenze wahr[t]e] der Slenza” (v.27) against the Tsar, the region suffered from a streak of bad luck under the Piast family in 12th century, with the Tartars invasion and looting in 13th century (stanza 6), with the religious wars between the Hussites and Taborites in 15th century, with an imagined “grausam Lichtensteins Dragoner” in 18th century (stanza 7), with the troops of Sweden (“Da war das Elend ein gewohnter Gast” in stanza 8). Not only wars, but also diseases such as the pest affected the inhabitants’ life (stanza 9). The Poet deplores then that unfortunately “das Geschehene kann nicht untergehen.”(v.60) The next stanzas stressed other episodes such as the Silesian wars in 18th century when Frederic the Great “sich zum Gipfel höchsten Ruhmes schwang” (stanza 12), or the Napoleon wars in 19th century. Donat's narrative steps back to the past, but his act of writing is a way to step away from the sordid events occurring centuries ago. Clearly, his use of words shows the proud he had to share such a history, in which strolling and wandering in the mountains was not only offering possibilities of contemplation, but also freedom.

An overlook of the themes, narratives and images employed by Donat in his poems helps to understand how local promoters could proceed in the place-making of the Giant Mountains. Natural elements are displayed sometimes as what the urban cannot get, sometimes as what offers surprises, adventures or simply rest. From flowers, lakes, altitude to the trees, the reader is invited to discover the nature of the mountains. On the top of that, he connects astutely the folk culture of the mountains to add a positive value to this image, one which makes the tourist feel curious and amused. The natural elements meets harmoniously a human heritage made of specific habitations that would bring joy, rest and pleasure to the

tourist after his trip up there. Personifications, myths and symbols are used not only to make the local people proud of their locality, but at the same time to make the mountains attractive for whole Germany. The wit of T. Donat is bore in the open, warm and welcoming “sense of place” in the Giant Mountains that speaks to a broader public than the local one. Such a analysis will be completed in relation to the concept of representation and identity provided by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and their possible heuristic use for a reflection on regions.¹⁵³

Such a connection with the main cultural centres of Eastern German Empire spoke of the approval of Donat's project. An ingenious analysis of visual sources will come under scrutiny in the next subchapters to write a social and cultural history of Giant Mountains' *Heimat*. However, the efficiency of Donat's project, which supported the cooperation and the communication between a growing number of members in- and out-side the local region, cannot be understood without the impulse of cultural production he brought in people's everyday life.¹⁵⁴ The example of diversity of metaphorical images used by Donat described in this sub-chapter was not stressing completely the discursive production of Giant Mountains symbols in relation to the time perspective. Indeed, from the existence of the association on, symbolic and mythological beliefs were cleverly articulated in a discourse fostering specific *Heimat* ideas.

153 Bourdieu P., *L'identité et la représentation : éléments pour une réflexion critique sur l'idée de région*”, in “Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales”, 1980, 35, p. 63-72.

154 He wrote from 1881 to his death in 1890 a total of 53 articles about the culture in Giant Mountains. As a chief redactor, not less than 42. (The amount was calculated based on the inventory made by Horst Herr)

4.2.2.) *The Representations of Heimat on the Front Covers of the Local Periodical of the Giant Mountains' Club*

Primarily, the Giant Mountains symbols and myths were not invented with the institutionalization of tourist associations in the nineteenth century. From the 16th Century, symbols and images associated to Giant Mountains were created and circulated. In 1561, the oldest Silesian map conserved in the archives, conceived by Martin Helwig, used the mention *Rübenzal* in the depiction of the Giant Mountains.¹⁵⁵ *Rübezahl* is the main symbol associated to the mountains, and very much was written about the “spirit of the mountains” in manifold fairy tales and folk accounts. The few people dealing with *Rübezahl* has referred themselves as *Rübezahologen*, indicating the persistent interest into the figure in nowadays scholarship and literature.¹⁵⁶ Notwithstanding the constant debate about its origins and, thus, the legends associated to it, one of the common understandings lies in the fact that its cultural history retraces the “development of an imaginativeness from the Giant Mountains’ inhabitants overlaying many layers for centuries.”¹⁵⁷ Such a statement builds up as the hypothesis of the following subchapter. Rather than focussing on the myth of *Rübezahl*, it seeks to demonstrate a changing attitude in the created myth of the local homeland (institutionalized through the “affirmative territoriality” encompassed in the project of T. Donat) at the end of the 19th century through the depictions of the front covers appearing successively on every issues of “The Hiker in the Giant Mountains.” In order to explore the representation of the *Heimat* on the front covers, the context of production of the document and a formal analysis should be examined first.

The newspaper of the association, as already noted down in the introduction, began to be published in the third of July 1881. Fifteen months later, in the 14th issue of the newspaper, the readers discovered an illustration that accompanied them for less than 14 years every month.¹⁵⁸ Such a drawing was conceived by the technician from the city of Schmiedeberg (14 kilometres south-east from Hirschberg), Höpfner, supported by the “meticulous execution of the firm Giesecke & Devrient¹⁵⁹ from Leipzig.”¹⁶⁰ The informations about the image were provided by T. Donat. It went along with a poem transcribed from the *Provinzialblatt*

155 M. Hartwich, *Das schlesische Riesengebirge* cit., p.

156 M. Hartwich, *Das polnische Riesengebirge* cit. p. 30.

157 P. Wiater, *Karkonoski Duch Gór – rozpowszechnienie pewnej legendy*. Retrieved from:

[<http://www.karkonosze.org.pl/kategoria/duch-gor>] Accessed on 07.07.2017.

158 Except during the operative years from 1885 and 1899 when Paul Regell was the chief redactor, the newspapers was published every month.

159 Founded in 1852 in Munich, the company is still a leader in the banknote and securities printing. See, for instance, K. W. Bender, *Moneymakers. The Secret World of Banknote Printing*, Weinheim 2006.

160 T. Donat, *Rübezahl*, in “WRG”, 1882, 14, p. 1.

[Provincial Newspaper] of 1795 dedicated to *Rübezahl* on the same page, as well as with substantial informations dealing with the mythical figure through the eyes of the “ancestors” of the region.¹⁶¹ The links between the text and the image (of the drawing) highlighted the weight of the figure of the *Rübezahl* in the making of the *Heimat*, although that is not formally mentioned.

In the structure of the issue, these discursive strategy and enunciative modalities avoided the subject of *Heimat* at the same time as defining and reenforcing it. Indeed, by establishing and affirming the importance of *Rübezahl* as an object of study and of curiosity, T. Donat sought to popularize its myth to better impose its ideological frame for the *Heimat*, connected to what we defined as “sense of place” in the last subchapter. In the process of self-identification with the place, the theme of *Rübezahl* was playing a fundamental role, since that one enabled the circulation of diverse narratives on the mountains, in a contiguous relationship with the making of *Heimat*.

The analysis of the front cover empowers such an idea, while stressing the length of its publication.



161 T. Donat, *Rübezahl*, in “WRG”, 1882, 14, p. 1.

Figure 3.1: Front Cover of *Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge* from 10.1882 to 12.1896¹⁶²

Whereas the illustration in the first issue was highly tied to the symbol of *Rübezahl*, the depiction did not make a hierarchy between the symbols of the association. The signifiers of the *Organ des Riesengebirgs-Verein* [the Institution of the Giant Mountains' Club] stood in the middle of the drawing both below and above the title of the newspaper. When the mountains were symbolized by the most significant symbols associated with the mountains, the *Habmichlieb* and the mythical shape of *Rübezahl*, they were both also acting as the emblem and image of the association. Those major elements were associated to a harmonious vision of *Heimat*, where the nature espoused the creativity of the artists, carving decorations out of the wood from the forests in the mountains. In the process of constructing *Heimat*, such a spatiality had the advantage to stress the central position of the club being, by assuming the role of regulation in the mountains, the safeguard of such a local concord between nature and culture.

Itself, the title of the newspaper associated to these “invented” symbols¹⁶³ added a new parameter to the “affirmative territoriality” expressed in the structure and organization of the association. Indeed, next to the natural and mythical element, the *agenda* of the club was to foster the mobility towards the region by using a new vocabulary evoking tourism. In the German language, the use of the terms *Fremdenverkehr* [literally, the “transportation of foreigners”], *Wanderer* or *Wanderbewegung* were rather preferred than the latin-rooted word of “tourism”¹⁶⁴ to stress the specificity of a German idea of leisure and recreation in the mountains before the First World War.¹⁶⁵ The “hiker of the Giant Mountains” became also a reader, and was plunged into the *Heimat* science, the *Heimat* history, the *Heimat* symbols, the *Heimat* ethnography and traditions.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, while the depiction made readers remember the symbols of their *Heimat*, they were also enriching their knowledge about it. However, they remained primarily hikers, and thus, the newspaper suggested that all of its readers also had to associate the reading practice with a more tangible experience of the region, via tourism. Such

162 Retrieved from: “WRG”, 14, 1882, p. 1.

163 The concept of “invented traditions” coined by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger can be extended to other processes of identity constructions than the national one; E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger(eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1983.

164 In many articles of the newspaper, metaphors of tourism were also used to refer indirectly to the process of tourism. On these linguistic issues and others (such as the use of the word “hotel” or “restauration” rather than “*Bauden*”, see the debate between a member of the association and the locally prominent surgeon Oswald Baer: [R.K], *Deutsche Wünsche*, in “WRG”, 79, 1889, pp. 58-60; O. Baer, *Deutsche Wünsche*, in “WRG”, 82, 1889, pp.100-101.

165 The following book gives an idea of the interaction between nature, nation, and national identity by evoking the case of the Rhine valley, though not focussing on the *Wandervereine* [Hiking Clubs] and their role in the process of construction of *Heimat*: T.M. Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945*, Cambridge 2004, p. 19-79.

166 A. Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor* cit., p. 97-124.

a complex rhetoric aimed to suggest and encourage cultural practices (reading, hiking, participating etc.) connected to the *Heimat*.

A shift was produced in the rhetorics with the second front cover, used permanently on from the issue of January 1897 to the aftermath of the First World War. This change of the representation coincided with the change of the chief redactor. Indeed, Paul Regell, in charge from 1889, ceded his place to Emil Rosenberg. This last would remain in this charge until 1922. In January 1897, in a short text below the illustration, he stated:



Figure 3.2: Front Cover of *Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge* from 1897 to 1922¹⁶⁷

“With the following issue, the Hiker in the Giant Mountains changes well its head, as, after the decision of central committee, the drawing of an artist from Leipzig changes the old picture, but neither its attitude, nor its purposes. The new chief redactor would see its wishes accomplished, when he could also serve the interest for our association and the expansion of the power of the Giant Mountains’ Club through his activity, as his so well preserved predecessors (Donat, Dr. Scholz. Dr. Regell).”¹⁶⁸

First of all, the new chief redactor put himself in the direct continuation of the deeds of its

¹⁶⁷ Retrieved from: “WRG”, 171, 1897, p.1.

¹⁶⁸ E. Rosenberg, [-], in “WRG”, 171, 1897, p. 1.

precursors, that he highly praised. Such a uniform approval of the works of other chief redactors was part of a common strategy consisting of never denying the missteps of the association in the past. In point of fact, T. Donat decided to resign from the position after internal quarrel at the beginning of January 1885.¹⁶⁹ The term of Paul Scholz was the period when the newspaper published the less articles and the less frequently distributed issues of the newspaper. When Paul Regell was in charge, the newspaper provided increasing internal debates about questions generally faced in imperial Germany and local projects such as the construction of monuments¹⁷⁰, at the same time as the Giant Mountains was gaining considerable attention from outside the *Heimat*. With the increase of the circulation of postcards, as we will see later, the region was becoming during the 1890s more and more visited, when E. Rosenberg was appointed the chief redactor.

Secondly, E. Rosenberg declared that if the front cover was changing, neither the “attitude, nor [the] purposes” of the newspaper were changing. Nevertheless, such a statement is dubious. E. Rosenberg remained very general in his words. If, in fact, the newspaper continued to perpetrate similar contents in the newspaper, the narrative for the territoriality was shifting within the new context. The methods to achieve the social project of T. Donat, was not relevant enough since they were no longer available. The arrangement and construction of touristic paths was achieved in the popular places, the association was gathering soon more than 10.000 members distributed within more than 90 sections, and the mountains were hosting many more tourists. When the objectives of popularization of the mountains and of the increase of the strength of the region remained, the attitude and the representation of the *Heimat* were changing.

The discursive analyse of the front cover helps to understand such a shift. If the author of the drawing is not known by the author of the thesis, the fact that he came from Leipzig indicates the scope the association was taking during the decade. That lets suppose that the *Heimat* of the Giant Mountains was celebrated in many urban centres in the Eastern part of imperial Germany. The representation of the cover, in itself, did not change a lot compared to the first one. The illustration emphasized no visible elements: by then, the mythical figure of the *Rübezahl* stood equally to the metaphorical newspaper’s name, while the emblem of the association appeared above the name of the association. Yet, another mental element came into view: the landscape. Whereas the first cover used a frame in wood as a symbol of the landscape, the second cover accentuates the spatiality where the association was active.

169 Gehrke, R., *Der Riesengebirgsverein* cit., 2017, p. 282.

170 See 3.6.1.)

The landscape symbolizing the Giant Mountains, noticeable via the depiction of its summit, *Schneekoppe*, was, as the other elements represented, object of mythification. Indeed, the landscape did not depict any of the many touristic facilities, neither on the tops of the mountains, nor under the form of hiking paths. One can assume that the landscape keeping the appearance of a primordial, congenial and peaceful place through the imaginary protection of *Rübezahl*. Nonetheless, the representation of this last had also changed and evoked the figure of the tourist strolling around the hills facing his allegorical empire. Only the presence of the stick made it undoubtable that the mythical shape was actually not a shepherd or a tourist. The disproportion between the “imagined” territory and the actual development of the region indicates a sort denial of the deeds of the association in fostering mass tourism by conserving the aspect of intact and unspoilt *Heimat*.

As we have seen, the first front cover used the mythological and symbolical signifiers of the Giant Mountains conjointly with the aims of the association to foster tourism. In a way, the idea was to use such a mythology to assemble, organize and articulate the interest of the inhabitants in the participation and the making of the opening up and valorisation of the local territory. They served as tool to signify the importance of *Heimat*, since the local inhabitants were acquainted to such mythical themes. The second cover appearing on the newspaper’s issues from 1897 revealed the interest of the local activists to strengthen the myth of *Heimat* as a harmonious place in which tourism, nature and culture were well preserved by the care and protection *Rübezahl* brought about. Facing an increasing trend of tourism (demographics), building and infrastructural constructions (technique and technology), and the increase of private investment in the mountains (economics), a “compensatory territoriality,” based on a mythical *Heimat*, relying on many imbricated signifiers of the concept mostly connoting spatiality and practices connected to it, was formulated in reaction to the growing discrepancy between the social project of the region and the structural factors underlying the territorial dynamics.

4.3.) *Popularizing a Giant mountains' Myth: The Example of Postcards*

Different media were used by tourists and hikers to share their experience in the mountains with their friends, family, and broader social circles. Postcards constituted one of the most popular media. Not only can they narrate their journeys, feelings, and adventures, but the format enables to plunge the addressee into the landscape where the stories take place. However, this subchapter focuses on the narratives. Postcards are a construction of a representation for particular addressees. For local promoters, postcards soon took a key role in the popularization of the region and its landscapes. The visualisation was a crucial element for marketing and branding the Giant Mountains. Linking it with the role of senses and emotions in the valorisation of the mountains is a fruitful exercise to give account of the representation of the mountains, since they mobilised patterns of self-identification in images. Such a media business was also participating in the making of the *Heimat*, and ascertain a new economic position after a slow decline of industrialization taking place since the beginning of the 19th century. An indicator of this process relies in the study of the circulation of postcards sent from different touristic sites in imperial Germany produced by local companies, inventing diverse patterns of representation for the *Heimat*.

Recently, the scientific study of postcards has quickly become a research field for historians, anthropologists and social scientists. In the German context, the establishment of such a scientific study was influenced by the emergence of the “pictorial turn” in the 1990s that sought to provide new interpretations about the picture. In the 2000s, historians have also used the term of “visual turn” or “iconic turn” that enabled to look at a broader scope of material, such as photographs, graffiti digital resources.¹⁷¹ Prominent studies such as the one carried out by Rudolf Jaworski, interested in the conflict involving language in the mixed Czech-German regions of the Habsburg monarchy, demonstrates the complexity and the usefulness of such a methodological frame in order to understand better, in this case, the relations of language and nationalism from a bottom-up perspective, as well as defining semiotic landscapes in relation to the expression of ideologies of place and identity.¹⁷² Among

171 See, for instance, the introduction of K. Sachs-Hombach, *Das Bild als kommunikatives Medium. Elemente einer allgemeinen Bildwissenschaft*, Cologne 2013, pp. 16-32.

172 R. Jaworski, *Linguistic Landscapes on Postcards: Tourist Mediation and the Sociolinguistic Communities of Contact*, in “Sociolinguistic Studies” 2010, 4, pp. 569–594; R. Jaworski., C. Thurlow, *Introducing Semiotic landscapes*, in R. Jaworski, C. Thurlow(eds.): *Semiotic Landscapes. Language, Image, Space*, London 2010, pp. 1-40; R. Jaworski, *Nationale Botschaften im Postkartenformat. Aus dem Bildarsenal deutscher und tschechischer Schutzvereine vor 1914*, in Haslinger, P. (ed.): *Schutzvereine in Ostmitteleuropa. Vereinswesen, Sprachenkonflikte und Dynamiken nationaler Mobilisierung 1860–1939*, Marburg 2009, pp. 142–285; R. Jaworski, *Deutsche und tschechische Ansichten. Kollektive Identifikationsangebote auf Bildpostkarten in der späten Habsburgermonarchie*, Innsbruck/Vienna/Bolzano,

those resources, historians have noted the importance of postcards as a visual mass medium that cannot be detached from the patterns of self-identification and broader systems of ideology involving spatiality.¹⁷³

Of course, diverse approaches can be taken. In this sub-chapter, we decided to focus on two issues. First of all, it seeks to depict the context of the postcards' reception in imperial Germany, before analysing their receptions by local promoters and their efforts to increase their divulgation and to encourage it. Secondly, a selection of postcards both shows that it articulated the idea of *Heimat* with a constant, mythical representation of the territory, even though they articulated changing symbols. The importance of postcards relies in the scope they acquired to brand and spread the local and mythical idea of *Heimat* on a broader circle of addressee.

4.3.1.) Context

In the case of tourism development, the cultural commodification of landscape was a means used as a response of local actors to the growing impact of modernization and infrastructures on their territories in order to establish their region within. In 1872, the so-called "correspondence card" was recognized by authorities an official mean of written communication. In 1885, the first illustrated versions came into distribution when private companies were authorised to print their own illustrated postcards within imperial Germany. In 1896, a new technical and more perfected method of photomechanical reproduction was adopted as a standard printing method. Colours appeared on the postcards and participated to the quick development of postcards dissemination. The social use of postcards emerged in these years and was noticed by multiple local *Heimatlers* that viewed in them a new possibility of recreating the landscape. Private companies soon saw a new available and contributed to a golden age of postcards' dissemination. From 1890 to 1900, the number of postcards sent in imperial Germany tripled from around 330 millions to more than 900, according to the sources delivered by the imperial post administration.¹⁷⁴ Such an increase within ten years marked the golden age of postcards.

In 1897, in a small article published in the chronicle of the association, the chief redactor Emil Rosenberg noticed that "hundreds of thousands [postcards] now fly through the world."¹⁷⁵ What was the position of the association towards the use of postcards? Further, E.

2006.

173 K. Walter, *Die Ansichtskarte als visuelles Massenmedium*, in K. Maase, W. Kaschuba (eds.), *Schund und Schönheit. Populäre Kultur um 1900*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 46–61.

174 H. Leclerc, *Ansichten über Ansichtskarten*, in "Archiv für deutsche Postgeschichte", 2, 1986, p. 30.

175 *Vereinschronik*, in "WRG", 1897, 10, p. 158

Rosenberg gave an insight about the reaction of the association by saying: “It has become the newest mode thing and I explicitly don't say: mode foolishness... Such postcards are doubtless adequate to vivify the joyfulness of hiking.”¹⁷⁶ The association already understood the possible strength of the circulation of such a trendy visual media, not only for its economic value, which was obviously available for the local producers of postcards, but also for the popularity of the local territory in broader circles. Indeed, in his view, they enabled to share a common feeling and perception of the beauty of the mountainous region. The addressee would, in turn, get interested in both the landscape and the local beauties sheltered in the region. Thereby, one may assert that the exponentiation of the sent postcards converged with the fame of the mountains over the *Heimat* itself.

Then, local hand-crafting was required to offer such postcards that would be sent far out from the region, and eventually foster the popularization of the mountains far above the region. In November 1897, the German *Riesengebirgsverein*, under the guidance of the Hirschberg section, intended to organize a competition for artistic postcards.¹⁷⁷ However, according to E. Rosenberg, this one “temporarily” could not be carried out due to financial reasons. The Giant Mountains’ Club did not anticipate the all costs associated with the organization of the competition.¹⁷⁸ However, during the meeting, the poet Max Heinzl from Schweidnitz pressed to continue the competition by arousing interest in broader economic investors of the region.¹⁷⁹ He even started to write eloquent verse about the mountains in order to spread them later to his personal acquaintances. Max Heinzl had connections to the upperclass leading regional newspapers because of his prolific writings as a journalist. Soon, he attracted many producers in the Silesian commercial circles, willing to contribute from their private resources.

One firm that emerged as a result of Heinzl’s efforts was *Max-Leipelt Verlag* [publishing house]. Directed by Max Leipelt from Bad Warmbrunn, it soon became the regional forerunner in the mass-production of postcards. Leipelt owned a bookshop and printed many books and magazines about the lower Silesian region. He was also enjoying a solid reputation in the whole region thanks to his civic engagement in diverse positions, such as being a member of the local Catholic church and, in the 1900s, entering local politics in Bad Warmbrunn. He decided to diversify his publishing business by entering the market of postcards in the 1890s, after the Federal Law accorded to sell printed postcards . At this time,

176 *Vereinschronik*, in “WRG”, 1897, 10, p. 158. [ibid.]

177 *Vereinschronik*, in “WRG”, 1897, 12, p. 191.

178 *Vereinschronik*, in “WRG”, 1897, 12, p. 191.

179 *Vereinschronik*, in “WRG”, 1897, 12, p. 191.

many artists were being published by his printing company. The local support engaged by Heinzel and the Giant Mountains's Club, as well as the growing number of tourists in the region, vivified his business. His connections to these local artists guaranteed the success of his postcards. In effect, most of the postcards sent from the Giant Mountains were printed by *Max-Leipelt Verlag* after 1897.

On the other hand, infrastructures were crucial for the circulation of postcards from the Giant Mountains throughout imperial Germany. Such a setting-up was connected not only to the advances of transport technologies and the emergence of postcards high-scale production, but also to the growing construction of accommodations through the mountains. Indeed, the construction of touristic facilities greatly accelerated from the beginning of the 19th century. Symbolically, the first mountain hut on the top of the Giant Mountains, on the *Schneekoppe*, was built to enable better conditions of accommodation in 1850.¹⁸⁰ Local activists also narrated about such a trend of infrastructures' construction in their newspaper, without a lack of pride. The most notable, renowned and visited infrastructures were the *Bauden* already mentioned earlier in this chapter, which worked as a symbol and eventually came to include post offices due to the rising numbers of hikers and tourists. Post offices became available even at the top of the mountain, where tourists could buy postcards and send them directly from the *Schneekoppe*. This was also the case with the *Bauden*.

Indeed, according to the Club of Tourists for the Margraviate of Brandenburg, no less than 140.000 postcards were sent from the highest peak of the Giant Mountains by the turn of the century.¹⁸¹ Some historians stress the fact that this period corresponded to the first moment of mass tourism in Central Europe.¹⁸² A short analysis of the number of postcards sent from national sites during the years 1893-1898 enables historians to compare their popularity and its tendency at the turn of the 20th century. From the following table, a few observations can be made regarding the number of postcards sent from the *Schneekoppe*:

180 T. Przerwa, *Die Schneekoppe* cit., p. 23.

181 Quoted by J.K. Wilson, *The German Forest: Nature, Identity, and the Contestation of a National Symbol, 1871-1914*, Toronto 2012, p. 30, from *Verschiedenes*, in "Mitteilungen des Touristenklubs für die Mark Brandenburg", 8, 1899, p. 87. Only few other sites did better, among others, the Niederwald Monument, the Brocken in Erzgebirge, or the Wartburg Castle, much more popular than the Heidelberg Castle by then.

182 R. Jaworski, *Einführung in Fragestellung* cit., in P. Stachel, M. Thomsen (eds.), *Zum Tourismus in der Habsburgermonarchie* cit., 2014, p. .

Figure 4: Number of postcards sent from national sites (1893-1898)¹⁸³

Site	1893	1896	1898
Niederwald Monument	139,000	128,000	216,000
Kyffhäuser Monument	14,000	148,000	168,000
Die Bastei	51,000	77,000	154,000
Wartburg Castle	64,000	117,000	146,000
Brocken	80,000	119,000	144,000
Schneekoppe	n/a	n/a	139,000
Rudelsburg Castle	n/a	n/a	57,000
Heidelberg Castle	n/a	n/a	45,000

In 1898, postcards were just starting to be registered by local authorities from the Giant Mountains. Although the data for the years 1893 and 1896 are not available, one can suspect that the increase during these years up to 1898 was equivalent to the one in Kyffhäuser Monument, located in Thuringia. Indeed, by transferring his publishing house to Bad Warmbrunn in the 1890s, the business of M. Leipelt was a pivotal factor in the expansive volume of postcards sent from the Giant Mountains, in combination with the voluntarily erected post offices in many touristic facilities. Impressively, the Giant Mountains quickly became one of the most visited and frequented sights amongst the middle-ranged mountains in imperial Germany.

4.3.2.) Analysis of Postcards

On the postcards, the depictions of the Giant Mountains' *Heimat* connoted patterns of identifications by displaying active, idiosyncratic spatial representations. Likewise other visual sources, postcards corresponded to a medium enabling the promotion of the *Heimat*. As we have demonstrated with the analysis of the front covers, the visual display promoted a simplified, mythical and affirmative/compensatory vision of the territory. Dealing with the medium of postcards is important, considering its popularity. Rudy J. Koshar, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, stated that the "interaction between consumption, leisure and memory is of particular interest."¹⁸⁴ The idea that the postcards are not a neutral object of consumption led to a selection of postcards disseminating ideal representations of *Heimat*. Four postcards were chosen according to their discursive qualities and the richness of their representations, each emphasizing different *signifiés* associated with

183 Retrieved from J.K. Wilson, *The German Forest: Nature, Identity, and the Contestation of a National Symbol, 1871-1914*, Toronto 2012, p. 29.

184 R. J. Koshar, *Germany's Transient Past*, Chapel Hill 1998, p. 12.

the making of the *signifiant*, the myth of the local territory.



Figure 5.1: Postcard with the greetings of *Rübezahl* from the Giant Mountains (1903)¹⁸⁵

The first postcard is a complex christlike depiction of *Rübezahl* [Figure #] dating from 1903, corresponding to the most famous pattern of representation. The postcard was distributed by a smaller publishing house than the one from M. Leipelt, the *Rübezahlbazar*, located in Krummhübel, a small tourism resort located at the foot of the mountains less than twenty kilometres from Hirschberg by train. If little is known about L. Siebert, his choice to pick up such a name for his business, referred both to the popularity and the

¹⁸⁵ Retrieved from [<http://images.zeno.org/Ansichtskarten/I/big/AK08584a.jpg>] Accessed on 05.08.2017.

institutionalization of the mythical figure in the Giant Mountains.¹⁸⁶ For around 70 years (from the end of the 19th century to the end of the World War II), the apparition of *Rübezahl* on postcards was accompanied with the corollary dictum: “Es grüßet Euch viel tausendmal, der Herr der Berge *Rübezahl*” [It greets you many thousand times, the master of the Mountains *Rübezahl*].¹⁸⁷ Such a common slogan escorted many of the tourists during their journey in the mountains, using the mythical “signified” linked to a “signifier”, the spirit of the mountainous territory, that created a special symbol for the “sign”, the mythical local homeland. The specialization of the L. Siebert’s publishing house with this particular motive helped to develop and brand the artistic value of the Giant Mountains’ postcards.

The composition of this postcard associates two connected kinds of mythical spatiality. On the left of the postcard, the first space takes the form of the “imagined” territory where *Rübezahl* rules. The leitmotiv on postcards written above his head conveys such an idea, as well as the crown and the stick with which the mythical shape is equipped. The green and brown colours indicates its presence in the Giant Mountains, as well as the panel with the summit of the mountains, the *Schneekoppe*. The two flowers on its feet are material elements denoted the mountains within such an imagined kingdom. The second space appears on the left of the postcard. The rounded top of the mountains is depicted as a dream in the prolongation of the first space. On it, a meteorological centre appears next to the church and the other touristic facilities. The link between both spaces takes the shape of a Christlike cross, transforming all the Giant Mountains’ material and symbolic elements as sacred. Whereas the national element is skipped (one can only perceive the shape of a flag without ascertaining that it is the German one), the element of tourism is not excluded. Indeed, the postcard can be interpreted as the idea of the tourist plunging into a dream, in which he would hike on the top of the mountains. The shape of *Rübezahl*, if Christlike, also exposes itself as a hiker ready to reach the top. Then, the religious motives confers the idea of the hiker’s experience of sublimation during his or her adventures. This message is propagated outside of the mountains by sending a postcard. In this way, the postcard uses similar themes as the second front cover that was analysed in the 4.2.2.), with the common elements of introspection and divination manifested by the distance between the iconic figure of *Rübezahl* and the mountainous territory. Such an ideal representation extends the affirmation of the Giant Mountains’ territoriality associated to the “signifié”, the tourism idea, and the sacrality of the mythical local homeland.

186 I. Vettin-Zahn, *Alte Postkarten mit Rübezahlmotiven aus der Sammlung Vettin-Zahn. Auszug aus der Gesamtbibliographie des schlesischen Herrn der Berge ‘Berggeist Rübezahl’*, Rüti-Ferrach 2002, p. 5-6.

187 Compare with M. Hartwich, *Das polnische Riesengebirge* cit., p. 32.

In contrast to the focus on a spiritual depiction of the Giant Mountains' spatiality, the second chosen postcard varies the symbols to emphasize the idea of a sociable and recreative region. The postcard was disseminated in 1902 by the publishing house *Max Leipelt-Verlag*.



Figure 5.2: Postcard of the Giant Mountains (1902)¹⁸⁸

Interestingly, ten illustrations represent points of interest for the tourist during his or her journey in the mountains. When some of the depicted places are located in the Bohemian part of the mountains, the others are positioned right in the borderland. The postcards do not show famous natural landmarks of the mountains, except for the Koppenbaude, situated on the summit of the mountains. This last appears on the middle of the postcard's composition above a poem. The others illustrate places, mainly villages and the touristic accommodations with the typical local architecture (Petzer/Pec pod Sněžkou, Große Aupa/Velká Úpa, Grenzbaude/Pomezní boudy, the Hübnerbaude, the Schwarz-Schlagbaude). Such an architecture presents the locality as authentic and aesthetic. The elements of nature are depicted in the same style, with flowers and branches of fir trees decorating the postcard. With a playful poem, the bourgeois couple of hikers and the *Bauden*, the postcard stresses the

¹⁸⁸ Retrieved from [<http://images.zeno.org/Ansichtskarten/I/big/AK08580a.jpg>] Accessed on 05.08.2017.

entertaining and recreative aspect of the mountains. A scene on the bottom of the postcard evokes an entertaining moment of sociability (*Sitz-Pech* [Misfortune of the seat]) with two hikers sitting on a trunk. The little box text on the bottom, in which the writer of the postcard describes the weather, his or her relation with beer, the mood and the companionship, adds up to these traits of representation the feeling of conviviality and safety to the addressee. On the top of that, the selection of places incorporated on the postcard corresponds to a two-day hike the hikers can undertake. The joyful journey of the couple is the occasion for them to celebrate and praise the *Heimat* beauty. Interestingly, the thermal baths, which were a forerunner of tourism, are not depicted, even though Johannisbad/Janské Lázně is close to the depicted places. Thus, the postcard delivers an ideal representation of the local community and its landscape, by creating a modern “vacationscape” (Orvar Löfgren).¹⁸⁹

On the third postcard, the Giant Mountains as a “vacationscape” is projected with another element. The vision of the future proposed by the *Max Leipelt Verlag* is instructive for the understanding of the local mindset and attitude towards their homeland at the turn of the century. The *Heimat* idea in the Giant Mountains is depicted in relation to technology. Recent scholarship has explored the links between materiality and identity with the help of case studies.¹⁹⁰ The technology takes an important role in the making of the image of the future in the Giant Mountains. Indeed, the mountains are associated along this parameter, technology. Paradoxically, the technology presented does not correspond to the newest one (the Zeppelin was patented as soon as 1885), but to a commercialized technology. One can assume that the commercialization of the Zeppelins by the *Deutsche Luftschiffahrt* (the German Airship) in 1910¹⁹¹ was the motive and the origin of the postcard. Soon, the mountains would be accessible via blimps, aerial tramways (or cable cars) and hot air balloons. The aerial tramways started their commercial development during the 1890s. In South Tyrol, an aerial tramway was built in Bozen/Bolzano in 1908. The postcard hints that the present moment is in a medium stage of such a process of technologization. The history of European technology is praised through the depictions of these three inventions, although appropriated to the German context by linking it to another contemporary phenomenon, tourism. The postcard implies that, in the future, tourists from all over the country would meet up at the top of the

189 F. Herza, *Zážitky prvních turistů v českých cit.*, p. 14. See, further, O. Löfgren, *On Holiday. A History of Vacationing*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 2002.

190 J. Schueler, *Materialising Identity: The Co-Construction of the Gotthard Railway and Swiss National Identity*, Amsterdam, 2008, p. 122-126; J. Janáč, *European Coasts of Bohemia: Negotiating the Danube-Oder-Elbe Canal in a Troubled Twentieth Century*, Amsterdam.

191 See G. de Syon, *Zeppelin! Germany and the Airship, 1900–1939*, Baltimore, 2001.

highest peak in imperial Germany by using transport technology.



Figure 3.3: Vision of the Future from the Schneekoppe, Schreiberhau (1910)¹⁹²

The touristic phenomena is depicted as a recreative and positive cultural practice enabling a specific form of social gathering. With the predominance of technology, the possibilities of transport are stressed to discover the Giant Mountains and the highest peak in imperial Germany, if one excludes the Bavarian Alps. Indeed, the Zeppelin can arrive from Berlin, the aerial tramway from a village on the foot of the mountains, the hot air balloon from a village or a city in the valley. A hiking path also guides to the top of the mountains. The tourists can decide to hike the trail to reach the summit. Such a choice is made by a group of hikers, probably from a major urban city. The positive and healthy aspect of their practice is stressed. The hiking guide is stopping to explain them the landscape. The mountainous landscape linked to technology becomes an object of celebration. The mythical shape of *Rübezahl* disappears here and is supplanted by the vertical plan, in which humankind, through technology, is elevated at the level of the mountains. To conclude, the future idea of *Heimat* is mythicised with an ideal representation of the mountains through the arrival of technology

¹⁹² Picture from the author's private collection.

and tourism, the “signifiés” of the projected local territory.

However, such a representation of the human technology was also becoming the object of critics. The same year, the *Max Leipelt Verlag* published another postcard relating such a critical statement. Many projects of transport technology penetrating the Giant Mountains and its landscape were conceived during the second half of the 19th century. One of them consisted in building a train connection to the top of the mountains. After the construction of the *Riesengebirgsbahn* in 1895, linking Hirschberg and Krummhübel, designers and private companies wanted to further the transport in the mountains.¹⁹³ A cable car called the “Snowfall” was crystallizing the public debate. Within this context, the following postcard was propagated:

193 [-], *Krakonoš a „Koppenbahn“*, 24.01.2009. Retrieved from [<http://www.freiheit.cz/5-krakonos--dobry-duch-nasich-hor/114-krakonos-a-koppenbahn.html>] Accessed on 07.08.2017.



Figure 3.4: *Rübezahl* and the *Koppenbahn* 1910 [?]¹⁹⁴

The mythical and iconic figure reappears on the postcard. This time, it is again depicted as threatening the mortal individuals, as in the depictions of the Early Modernity. However, much more than being a dreadful creature, the postcard presents it as the safeguard of the Giant Mountains. Forming a storm, it actually protects the landscape from ambitious and harmful technological projects, which would distort the aesthetic value of the mountains. Such a postcard testifies the emergence and importance of nature conservationism and landscape preservationism ideas and awareness. By destroying the train leading to *Schneekoppe*, the illustration bears a critical message denoting the dangerous appearance of technology. Thus, the mythical figure is again a “signifié” of the ideal and mythical local territory, though in another context compared to the previous postcards. The affirmative territoriality expressed in the precedent postcard, which associates *Heimat* with the strong elements of technology and tourism is contested in this postcard. However, in the following

194 [-], *Krakonoš a „Koppenbahn”*, 24.01.2009.

postcard, a compensatory territoriality is not expressed through actual means, relying only the mythical figure as a way to protect the *Heimat* territory.

As we have seen in this subchapter, postcards became an important conveyor of representations, that both disseminated ideal depictions of the Giant Mountains and a variety of themes branding the local *Heimat*. As Rudy J. Koshar, “the media [...] were highly varied, including not only political sphere and “elite” culture but also as commercial culture.”¹⁹⁵ In contrast to the front covers, the postcards were also a way to analyse the rising tensions and threats perceived in the public debate. The mythology of the Giant Mountains’ *Heimat* was varying through time. If a mythical and spiritual depiction of the mountains strengthened the ideal representation used by the Giant Mountains’ Club, another postcard stressed the link between geography, sociability and recreation, corresponding more to the touristic cultural practices of that time. An image of the future published by Max Leipelt played with the ideal representation by supplanting the idea of authenticity with technology. Tourism would still play a central role, but the commercialization and commodification of the local *Heimat* would displace the common narrative describing the territory as a myth hand in hand with a mythical figure as a “signifié”. All postcards bear witness of the imaginative vivacity to invent and re-invent patterns of identification with the territory associated to symbols and myths of the *Heimat*, varying according to the historical context and the structural changes of the local territory. Eventually, the rising awareness of landscape preservationism and nature conservation was described with a last postcard depicting the wrath of *Rübezahl* discarding a train threatening its mythical “kingdom”. The last subchapter will focus on this issue.

195 R. J. Koshar, *Transient Past* cit., p. 9.

4.4.) *Landscape Preservationism and Criticism*

At the turn of the century, in the broader context of imperial Germany, the confrontations of social groups about the concept of *Heimat*, *Denkmal* (monument), or *Geschichtspflege* (literally, “Care for history”) were having a significant impact on the public opinion as well as on the governing powers. The legal institutionalization of such concepts helped to develop an attitude and a mindset that historians have recently been studied, intensively since the beginning of the 21th century, under the name of landscape preservationism and nature conservation.¹⁹⁶ The questions debated by historians about such issues are fundamental within

196 See, for instance, the work of R. Haufe focussing on the case of Thuringia region, *Geistige Heimatpflege. Der „Bund der Thüringer Berg-, Burg- und Waldgemeinden“ in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, in J. Radkau, F. Uekötter (eds.), *Naturschutz und Nationalsozialismus*, Frankfurt am Main 2003. Another introduction about this field of research is provided by A. Hubel: *Denkmalpflege. Geschichte. Themen. Aufgaben. Eine Einführung*, Stuttgart 2006. In English, see the work of Thomas Lekan: *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945*, Cambridge 2004 and T. Lekan, T. Zeller (eds.), *Germany's Nature: New Approaches to Environmental History*, New Brunswick 2005.

environmental history and was broadened with other disciplines.¹⁹⁷ Focussing on these objects of study helps to retrace and incorporate the efforts for a better balance between economics, culture and nature, made by social and political actors in the previous century within the new issues societies are facing. However, in the German case, some of the German preservationists like Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl and Julius Langbehn, were depicted as part of the intellectual origins of Nazism, because of their anti-modern ideologies, discourse of racial hatred and dissemination of antisemitism.¹⁹⁸ The following subchapter aims to briefly analyse the deeds and discourse of key figures of the landscape preservationism' movement and the reception of their works by the *Heimat* promoters. The local *Heimat* had to face these issues, in order to balance their discourse. Moreover, an interesting and critical *Landeskunde* [Applied Geography or Regional Studies] provided by the famous German geographer Joseph Partsch¹⁹⁹ was published right before the beginning of the First World War und will come under scrutiny with its reception.

The thought and deeds of several authors from the landscape preservationism movement should first be retraced. One of them, the botanist Hugo Conwentz (1855-1922) wrote a book entitled the *The Endangerment of the Natural Monuments*²⁰⁰ addressed to the ministry in charge of these questions. His book aims to raise awareness of conservationist practices among the governance of imperial Germany, in order to “prevent a complete destruction of the original nature in the future.”²⁰¹ He relied on the concept of natural monument from Alexander von Humboldt and exposed the different threats affecting them. Mass tourism, ostensible advertisement, excessive harvest, the drainage and drying up of the soils and the excessive exploitation of materials required in construction acted, in his view, as a panel of threat the government had to take charge of. His agenda was to first make an inventory and a cartography of natural resources, second, to adopt measures protecting them from the marking such as a name, a distinctive sign, and the question of their delimitation and

197 See, for instance, in the French scholarship an introduction to the history of environment by Jean-Baptiste Fressoz, Frédéric Graber, Fabien Locher, and Grégory Quenet: *Introduction à l'histoire de l'environnement*, Paris 2014. See, further, the important study of Francois Walter, in which he analyses the development of the concept of landscape in European countries as a process of constructing national territories, *Les figures paysagères de la nation: Territoire et paysage en Europe, 16e–20e siècle*, Paris 2004. For a collective study dealing with environmental history in the case of Central Europe, see: H. Förster, J. Herzberg und M. Zückert (eds.), *Umweltgeschichte(n) Ostmitteleuropa von der Industrialisierung bis zum Postsozialismus (Vorträge der Tagung des Collegium Carolinum in Bad Wiessee vom 4. bis 7. November 2010)*, Göttingen 2013.

198 J. Radkau, F. Uekötter (eds.), *Naturschutz und Nationalsozialismus*, Frankfurt am Main 2003.

199 J. Partsch, *Schlesien. Eine Landeskunde für das deutsche Volk auf wissenschaftlicher Grundlage [2]*, Breslau 1913.

200 H. Conwentz, *Die Gefährdung der Naturdenkmäler und Vorschläge zu ihrer Erhaltung. Denkschrift, dem Herrn Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinal-Angelegenheiten überreicht*, Berlin 1904.

201 Quoted by F. Walter, *Les figures paysagères de la nation* cit., p. 258.

integration within the natural landscape, and third, to make them known.²⁰² The possible social actors that would have to proceed in this way were the tourism and scientist clubs, as well as the local *Verschönerungsvereine* [Association of Embellishment], or all other organized, social groups aiming at the territorial protection of “our near *Heimat* and of the German fatherland.” His activities such as conferences and appeals to the government on the European level throughout his life symbolised and synchronized an “affirmative territoriality” in many regions and countries. The local promotion of *Heimat* in the German East was also having a positive impact on the local territory and its identity.²⁰³ Hugo Conwentz was a pioneer in the development of the protection of the nature.

A somewhat more ambiguous figure was Ernst Rudorff (1840-1916). According to him, the *Heimatschutz* [Protection of *Heimat*] that he institutionalized had for objectives to condemn and fight against the evils of the modern world. With the collaboration of Paul Schultze-Naumburg (1869-1949), a prominent German architect, they founded in Dresden the *Bund Deutscher Heimatschutz* [The League of German *Heimat* Protection] in 1904. Their interest for the nature and the heritage was described as a social practice to encourage and spread within the German society. It was an association mainly composed of national bourgeois. Their ideas relied on a binary pedagogy stating what one was supposed to do and to avoid.²⁰⁴ They criticized the modern German landscape in contrast to the Swiss landscape: the German landscape was focussing on monumentality, when the Swiss one was emphasizing the banality of nature. For them, tourism, electricity and socialism were presented as indicators of an irrevocable process of destruction of the German culture. The use of a backward nostalgia was central in the ideology they propagated, and gained influence in the context of imperial Germany with certain associations claiming themselves from his heritage.

The institutionalization of those concepts used by preservationist promoters led to significant results. In 1909, another association, the *Verein Naturschutzpark* [Association of the Natural Protection of the Park], founded in Munich by Germans and Austrians, aimed at the creation of natural protected areas, by following the example made by the American national parks (the first in the world being the one of Yellowstone, created in 1872).²⁰⁵ Their biggest achievement prior to the First World War was the creation of the Lüneburg Heath

202 F. Walter, cit., p. 259.

203 J. K. Wilson, *Imagining a Homeland: Constructing Heimat in the German East, 1871–1914*, in “National Identities”, 2007, 9, p. 331-349.

204 F. Walter, cit. p. 262

205 See the recent history of Yellowstone written by Paul Schullery that studies the environmental dynamics of the park: *Searching for Yellowstone: Ecology and Wonder in the Last Wilderness*, Helena, 2004.

Nature Park in 1910, under the impulse of a Protestant pastor, Wilhelm Bode.²⁰⁶ The size of the nature park was, at this time, 200 square kilometres, when it represents nowadays around 1.000 square kilometres.²⁰⁷ To do so, private investors acquired lands from farmers. Such an example shows the impulse of the theoretical thinkers and a possible action to protect the nature at the turn of the century.

However, how such ideas of landscape preservationism were received by the *Heimat* promoters? The local newspaper “The Hiker in the Giant Mountains” gives a hint to answer this question. The question was not raised directly by local promoters, even if they declared in the first issue of the newspaper the following:

“And you, beloved Heimat country, could you flourish under the protection of the providence, and could you always be more content with refreshing and rejuvenating the mankind, just as you always remain young and beautiful yourself. [...] For as much the world can change / Restless in weaving and striving,/ Mountain race and green mountain world/ You have eternal life!”²⁰⁸

The idea of protecting *Heimat* was clearly stressed by T. Donat in a rhetorical way. The local homeland had to be protected so that he could further flourish. However, rather than speaking of the protection of the landscape and of the nature, the protection of *Heimat* was supposed to be given by the stability of the natural environment. Such a view was rather underestimating the possible threats against the nature and the landscape.

In 1902, the position of the association towards landscape preservationism and nature conservatism was gaining consistency with an article written in 1901 by Joseph Demuth, a high school teacher famous for his monograph about the political districts in the Bohemian Giant Mountains²⁰⁹ in Marschendorf/Horní Maršov, a small village located between Petzer/Pec pod Sněžkou and Johannisdorf/Janské Lázně in the western part of Bohemian Giant Mountains. Joseph Demuth was publishing eight articles between 1899 and 1908 in the Silesian version of the newspaper after the cessation of “Das Riesengebirge im Wort und Bild” (1881-1897), the organ of the Bohemian Giant Mountains’ Association.²¹⁰ One of them dealt with the protection of the local birds.²¹¹ J. Demuth followed the recommendations provided by Hugo Conwentz on the natural monuments by listing and classifying the different

206 R. Lürer, *Geschichte des Naturschutzes in der Lüneburger Heide*, Bispingen 1994, p. 10.

207 F. Walter, *Les figures paysagères de la nation* cit., pp. 265-266.

208 T. Donat, *Vereinsgenossen!*, in “Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge” [“WRG”], 1881, 1, p. 1.

209 J. Demuth, *Der politische Bezirk Trautenau*, Trautenau 1901.

210 Based upon the research of “Demuth” in the index of contents produced by Horst Herr, the current president of the Giant Mountains’ Association.

211 J. Demuth, *Schutz den heimischen Vögeln*, in “WRG”, 228, 1901, pp. 156-157.

kind of birds, both characteristic and specific to the Giant Mountains and other popular ones. Also, he described the history of other scientists and persons interested in birds and what they brought about as knowledge and relationships with the birds. If the protection of birds was already mentioned in some articles in the 1890s, the author made clear his awareness that some species were threatened. In this way, he participated to the development of a discourse about the necessity of taking care of the *Heimat* environment to enable a future enjoyment of the natural beauties entailed in the region.

A few months later, a critic of the lack of landscape preservationism's ideas in the Giant Mountains' Association was published the same year by a local teacher, Karl Kaspar, from Hain, a small village in the valley of Hirschberg.²¹² The editorship contrasted with the views of the author as indicated in a footnote: "We don't take quite the view of our honoured colleague and get back to the work."²¹³ What did Karl Kaspar write about and what was his standpoint? He began by stating the condition of landscapes, that he considered in always motion and alteration ("As everything in the world, landscapes are also submitted to a constant change."). However, this circumstance was always in force. In his view, in the past, the nature had the resources, due to the good conditions of the nature, to revive from the damages shaking the nature:

"Everywhere, the wild animal was sure at home [...] When the life conditions broke off at one place, they regenerated at another place. Mankind stepped in this wild situation of nature and made its rights effective. The woods thinned out; lawns, meadows and fields spread out in between. However, the natural condition of the landscape remains still enough preserved. We know well, that our forebears worshipped their Gods in sacred groves."

Even if the humankind were using the natural resources for their own needs, the author argued, the balance between their activities (pastoral or industrial) and the nature was guaranteed due to the respect the locals had for their environment. In his view, a shift took place in the recent decades, from the second half of the 19th century. Indeed, according to K. Kaspar:

"Only during the last century, especially during the last 50 years, the landscape has been experiencing the biggest and most harmful change, and yet we are just now about to detract it from the magic. We are degrading the nature into a maidservant, no, into a slave, the one in front of which our ancestors leant just as in front of a woman priest. She will be stolen from all her rights and let her mastered as a child to only serve us. We have forgotten to see the evil which we help to feed, although we are endlessly suffering from it."

212 K. Kaspar, *Heimatschutz*, in "WGR", 231, 1902, p. 6-8.

213 K. Kaspar, *Heimatschutz* cit., p. 6.

His argumentation followed a similar discourse about the development of nature as the one from Ernst Rudorff. In fact, the author relies on a mythical vision of the environment, where the harmony between nature and culture would be active. The behaviours of the humans are depicted as inherently harmful and dangerous, disturbing the force of nature personified by the “maidservant.” Thus, the cultural practices and economic development of the region corresponds to a return to slavery, a backward stage in history, when the “ancestors” of the region were praising and worshipping the nature, without not using it for insuring their survival. Such a metaphor enables to develop a narrative of the thief and victim of theft, parallel to the one of the master and the servant. The hiatus created by such a story made the local *Heimat* suffering from a psychological pain.

The ideas of pain, anguish and discomfort in the modern world were raised by Ernst Rudorff. The author described these ideas in a review which constitutes the next part of his article. K. Kaspar wrote about E. Rudorff:

“[H]e talks about the changes of the overall appearance of Germany, the change of the landscape and of the men, the traditional constructions methods, the disappearance of old forests and trees, of rare animals and plants, of folk costumes and customs, the painful and damaging effects of rail roads and tourism [...] and eventually of the German art.”

In fact, by degrading such a harmony, it is the whole nation which is suffering by losing its traditions and its spiritual endeavour and force. The folklore, the traditions, and the architecture lose of their significance through the rise of tourism in the local territory, just as in the whole imperial Germany. He differentiated himself completely from the association he was part of, and knew his opinion was not matching with the objectives of the club:

“the views of the redactor about the consequences of the stream of tourists won't be fully shared with the *Riesengebirgsverein*, which expanded its tasks to the development of transports in our mountains. Nevertheless, when he declares the war to high-altitude trains, as one of them is actually planned to reach the *Schneekoppe*, to be sure should he find the approval of a big part of the association members. Rudorff indicates that the principle of use, the material and rational philosophy of life (“*Weltanschauung*”) carry the can in the downfall of the real nature. They have generated a range of contradictory oppositions, such as the tenement house, the coupling and the foolish partition of the fields, the rational forest management and so forth. The cosiness of the German home decreases always more, field and forest only preaches the profit. In spite of the means of transport, mankind is not happier, even more unsatisfied than before.”

The contradictions between the support of the touristic facilities and transports had been degrading, according to him, the local homeland, rather than meliorated and enriched it. For him, the *Kultur Mensch* [Man of Culture] was threatened, since the way of life of his or her contemporaries was clashing with the idea of nature. The origin of the German power is

referred to the formation of the German culture, as a counterpart of the French idea of civilization. Nevertheless, the German culture was, in his view, deprecated, and could not bear its mission in the world. Such an article stresses a clearer opposition than the one described with the postcard depicting *Rübezahl* destroying the project of the train to reach the *Schneekoppe*. Moreover, K. Kaspar related the fact that many members of the association were not opposed to the construction of such an infrastructure altering considerably the landscape.²¹⁴ If the project was not carried out until the replacement of the old chairlift between Petzer/Pec pod Sněžkou by a cable car system to facilitate snow activities right after the Second World War, in 1949, after the expulsion of Germans.²¹⁵ Further, K. Kaspar stressed the need, in this case, to use the concept of *Heimatschutz*. In his conclusion, *he* acknowledged the fact that:

“[w]ith regards to contents, the concept of Heimatschutz is not something new for the Riesengebirgsverein. Its espousal of the protection of the mountain flowers, in particular of its chosen emblem, seeks not something else. In addition, when the Giant Mountains gathered so many friends, this is well mostly to trace back to the nativeness and the wildness of certain areas, and not to the “cultivated” parts. There are also some still wild and interesting areas available in the further surroundings of the cities, in which the members of our association lives. Rudorff makes them estimable. It is only desirable for the preservation of the naturalness in our mountains as well as in our peculiar Heimat that really a lot of members read the book *Heimatschutz*, so that a rich motivation from there on is gathered. Hence, that it will be strongly felt [by the readers] through the often sharp words, which lead us to our sober, narrowly defined and misdirecting sense of usefulness and profitableness.”²¹⁶

In this way, K. Kaspar stood for a better use and protection of the natural resources that remained authentic and “intact.” He advised the members of the association to inform themselves about the related questions of *Heimatschutz* to understand better the development of the mountains and the deeds the association was pursuing in the last decades. The harsh critic delivered by K. Kaspar, based on the works of Heinrich Riehl and Ernst Ruddorf gives precious informations about the relations of local inhabitants towards the local homeland, while emphasizing the penetration of affirmative and powerful national ideas from the 1900s.

The responses given by the Giant Mountains’ Club tended to relativize the discourse of the landscape preservationists, at the same time as they had to answer them, given the fact of their popularity in the public opinion. This demonstrates the fact that the national context played an increasingly more influential role in the development of the local territory. The institutionalization of the concepts of nature conservatism was also visible through the legal

214 K. Kaspar, *Heimatschutz* cit., p. 7.

215 M. Staffa, *Karkonosze* cit., p.

216 K. Kaspar, *Heimatschutz* cit., p. 8.

system. Indeed, in an article published by Alfred Knappe, a local activist from Kiesenwald, informed the members of the club of a new decree adopted by the minister of public work and of the inner minister.²¹⁷ The 29th December 1905, they voted it to “support[-] the endeavours towards aesthetic and artistic values in the constructional arrangement of our cities and villages.”²¹⁸ Such a decree was adopted under the pressure of landscape preservationists on the government of imperial Germany, noticing that the “pictorial look of the cities and villages is [...] on the wane, [which is] also partly valid for our Giant Mountains.”²¹⁹ Such an answer recognized the changes of the architectural landscape in the local territory. If the mythical depiction of the Giant Mountains exposed in the front covers and some of the postcards already analysed in this analytical chapter tended to avoid the subject, the 1900s marked a rise of consciousness related to these issues. In the conclusion of the article, the behaviour of some private investors was formally admitted, regretting the structural changes and denouncing them:

“With what a melancholy does the friend of the *Heimat* step into such villages, with what a concern does he think about the future, who guesses it? The few constructions which will be created never can replace the nature. I really think that these changes of many villages had slowed down the arrival of foreigners. Protect, care about and nourish your *Heimat*. Do not steal it its innate dress, and it will be more useful for every villages and the whole mountains than all organizations, advertising and statistics.”

Facing these changes, A. Knappe saw in them the main cause of the deceleration of tourists in the Giant Mountains, and the relative slowing down of the expansion of the association, already noted in Chapter 3.3.). The mythical, ideal representation of the mountains was underpinned with such a range of critics. Nevertheless, the author claimed the protection and the care for the *Heimat* local inhabitants should bring about. In 1906, the structural change of the aims and purposes of the association was, by then, becoming more and more vivid. From the quantitative approach, the association aimed at the qualitative preservation of the mountains and the further institutionalization of science and knowledge as emphasized by the creation of the museum in Hirschberg at the beginning of 1902²²⁰ and the House of the Giant Mountains presented in 1905²²¹ at the Lower Silesian Trade and Industry Exhibition that attracted around than 1.5 millions of visitors and 1.140 exhibitors in Görlitz.²²² However, the

217 A. Knappe, *Heimatsschutz !*, in “WRG”, 282, 1906, p. 57-58.

218 A. Knappe, *Heimatschutz !* cit., p. 57.

219 *Ibid.*

220 [-], *Die Eröffnung des Riesengebirgs-Vereins-Museums mit der Rede des Herrn Landgerichtsrat Hugo Seydel*, in “WRG”, 233, 1902, p. 6.

221 [-], *Das Riesengebirgshaus auf der Görlitzer- Ausstellung 1905*, in “WRG”, 266, 1904, p. 192.

222 See in: A. Micklitza, K. Micklitza, *Görlitz: Sehenswürdigkeiten, Kultur, Szene, Umland, Reiseinfos*, Berlin 2016, p. 34.

chief redactor, E. Rosenberg, stood somewhat critical to what he called as “excessive *Heimatschutz*”²²³ and did not hesitate to criticize the newspapers relying increasingly on the rhetoric used by landscape preservationists as narrated in the following excerpt:

“one reads today not only in our daily press, but in the widespread newspapers how poor spirits gripped the very ugly word “disfigurement”²²⁴ to display the beauty of the modern.”²²⁵

E. Rosenberg discredited the newly used vocabulary impregnated by an attitude close to cultural pessimism, and attacked the “poor spirits” of the newspaper press that lacked critical judgment. These two excerpts offers a complex image of the reception of the newly formed system of beliefs by keeping some distance from it, at the same time as they followed the recommendations and respected the laws adopted by the national politics.

Yet, another critical account appeared in right prior the First World War by the renowned cultural geographer J. Partsch. In his book composed of two parts about Silesia, he dedicated the second one to the description of the region where he came from and denigrated some of the structural changes that occurred in the Giant Mountains.²²⁶ For him, “[t]he modern transport has shown up a new age for the whole Giant Mountains.” Indeed, the transportation in the Giant Mountains was facilitated via the regional railway transport system achieved in the 1870s with the connection between Hirschberg and Breslau, and the Bohemian Giant Mountains and Prague.²²⁷ In his view, the new spread of tourism chased the calm and serenity of the region:

“where in the past only a weak and barely distinguishable path led the “smuggler” over the country's frontiers and the poacher through the forest coppice, a web of well-kept navigable trails, and occasionally pedestrian hill-climbing with well measured slope over the backrest and the crest of the mountains, spans now across.”

The region was passing roughly from isolation to overexposure threatening the environment. The infrastructures took in assault the *Heimat* with excessive exploitation of the site, such as the hiking paths and the transportation systems going directly through the mountains. The significance of such an account relies both in the critic and the capacity the author had to perceive changes of mentality. He concludes the part dedicated to the time with the following:

“When earlier centuries only held the medicinal springs of Warmbrunn and Flinsberg in high esteem as an auxiliary to recovery, the new time has also put purposefully its efforts in the service of the medicine, the pure air and the strong solar radiation of the mountains.”²²⁸

223 E. Rosenberg, *Vom Gebirge*, in “WRG”, 300, 1907, pp. 158-159.

224 In German, *Verschandelung*.

225 E. Rosenberg, *Vom Gebirge*, in “WRG”, 305, 1908, pp. 40-41.

226 J. Partsch, *Schlesien. Eine Landeskunde für das deutsche Volk auf wissenschaftlicher Grundlage [2]*, Breslau 1913, pp. 469-478.

227 See M. Hartwich, *Das schlesische Riesengebirge* cit., p. 24.

228 J. Partsch, *Schlesien* cit., pp. 478.

Thus, if the thermal baths had become less popular, especially in contrast to the ones located in the Western part of Bohemia, in the Ore Mountains, the emphasis was made on the development of sanitary institutes and the climatic conditions of the local territory. The reception of the work by the Giant Mountains' Association was harsh in the review written by E. Rosenberg in 1912, stating the "nostalgia" that its author (supposedly) embodied, and the "backwardness" of the presented ideas.²²⁹ His account testifies of his precise knowledge of the Giant Mountains, in contrast to the theoretical accounts of the key figures of landscape preservationism. Also, he detached themselves from hyperbolic and ideological statements, and a pessimist vision of the future by stressing some of the positive aspects that should be prolonged. All in all, the idea of the *Heimat* protection was delivered by J. Partsch in a similar way that the one H. Conwentz presented in his works, by focussing less on a spiritual approach of the German lands and emphasizing the structural changes and imbalances the region had to face.

This last subchapter aimed to present the main themes connected to the emergence and breakthrough of landscape preservationism and nature conservation in the case of the Giant Mountains. It has retraced the ideological tights and links hand in hand with the political factor and has shown that the reception of those ideas varied according to private opinions on the matter. The Giant Mountains' Club distanced itself from the intellectual studies of the landscape preservationist movement, even though it paid attention and fostered the institutional frame to protect the *Heimat*. In fact, the "affirmative territoriality" defended by the association in the 1890s was increasingly criticized under the name of preservation and conservation.

More generally, this chapter has shown the evolution of the discourse between the creation of the Giant Mountains' Club and the First World War. The search of symbols and myths to strengthen the local identification of the inhabitants with the *Heimat* territory was starting under the guidance of the founder of the association, Theodor Donat. This one re-created a new vision of the territory with the help of "affirmative territoriality", in which tourism, nature and myths cohabited harmoniously. The depictions of the front covers of the local periodical "*Der Wanderer im Riesengebirge*" stressed such a territoriality in relation to the central figure of *Rübezahl*, which was used in the discourse as the "signifié" of the mythical, local homeland. However, the visual depiction of tourism only emerged with the second front cover, with the presentation of the mythical figure personified as a tourist. The

229 E. Rosenberg, *Vom Gebirge*, in "WRG", 352, 1912, p. 31.

analysis of postcards have demonstrated the popularity of such a visual medium at the turn of the century, corresponding to the golden age of the region. Further, it has argued that the representation of the *Heimat* was constructed with the help of new elements characterizing it, with always the presence of ideal representations of the local territory. The last two postcard has indicated the emerging debate about the future of the local homeland in a world more and more exposed to technology. The structural factors within the German society (as in the more general European context) and the quickness of the modernity impregnating and altering the local territories were the basis for a discomfoting attitude expressed in the works of landscape preservationists and nature conservationists. The Giant Mountains' *Heimat* promoters had to face these ideas, while not betraying their original project for the local territory. A subtle mix between preservationism and development was defined by the association, aiming to protect the Giant Mountains within an institutional frame. In fact, local activists constructed their object, the local territory, through the joint use of two concepts, tourism and landscape, via the use of strategies and enunciative modalities evolving in the time, according to the structural changes affecting their community and defined by social groups.

5.) Conclusion

This analysis aimed to investigate the emergence of tourism associations from their creation in 1880 in the Giant Mountains, in relation to the concept of *Heimat*. The first chapter retraced the meanings of the concept in common sense and academic discourse. The second chapter looked at the institutionalization of *Heimat* in the Giant Mountains by using a methodology based upon a sociological approach of organization. The third chapter was dedicated to the making of *Heimat* in the discourse about the Giant Mountains by using a methodology inspired by historical geography and literary theory. The following conclusion will discuss the results, the limits, and the possible continuations of the study.

I think it is a good idea to explore this case study. I combined three different

approaches: the action made by the local activists and promoters, the perception of the landscape, and the development of the territory with the emergence of tourism in this region. I chose a relatively short period of time that historians dealing with this question have analysed from the beginning of the 19th century up to the Second World War. Furthermore, I focused on the construction of patterns of identity from the local perspective, and not on the perspective of nationalism within the historical development of German history, which tends to overlook the factors and reasons to explain conservatism. In fact, the Silesian Giant Mountains were shaped prior to the First World War as a result of the efforts of the local Heimatlers. These local activists based the vision of their territory in terms of ideal and positive affirmation. Such an “affirmative territoriality” was, however, not regular and uniform, but the results of dynamic social movements, the influence of advances in technology, and economic pressures.

Throughout this research, I have analysed articles available in the main medium used by the Silesian Giant Mountain’s Club, “The Hiker in the Giant Mountains”, data and statistics about the distribution of the organization– as well as about the distribution of postcards sent from the Giant Mountains, a collection of poems written by Theodor Donat– a main agent of the association, several maps from the region, a selection of postcards depicting mythical and ideal representations of the *Heimat*, and historical monographs dealing with both social and ideological movements, and also scientific accounts on the Giant Mountains. Through these varied sources, I have attained a clearer perception about the actors engaged in the *Heimat* movement.

Local activists were conveying peculiar and specific traits in the category of *Heimat* through their active elaboration of an agenda and curriculum for their own locality. Indeed, local associations were the main *medium* to both formulate, define, distinguish, popularize and stabilize the “expectations of behaviours” of the people. They brought about a subtle, inclusive relation between significant cultural practices, rituals (*modus operandi*) they were fostering and a quasi-scientific structural organisation based upon the agreements they discussed internally when facing new challenges (*modus vivendi*). These actors, the local bourgeoisie as well as artists and printmakers, established the association on both personal and collective levels. They also benefited from the local prestige that they acquired or were able to reinsure the power and the loyalty that inhabitants have expressed for it by constructing a sense of togetherness and collectiveness through the elevation of the myth of the association. However, such a myth was not more than the direct expression of the myth of the local homeland.

Based on the research results, one can assume that the confrontation of social groups in the Giant Mountains' region was not felt as strong as in other German regions due to the strong ideological *mise en scène* set up by the local *Heimatlers*. Another consequence could be stressed by further researches about the region that would demonstrate the febrility of the socialist and communist ideologies within the Giant Mountains. Indeed, the following research let infer that the Giant Mountains was more subjected to the first range of factors described by Bernard Debarbieux, that are politics, migration, or technological advances (as related in his methodological frame for the joint study of territory and identity), rather than the social conflicts between the different political, religious, and economic groups. Even the critical account provided by landscape preservationists and nature conservationists had only a limited impact on the “affirmative territoriality” expressed by the local *Heimatlers*. If a member of the association contested the contemporary development of the local territory, just as the famous geographer J. Partsch, the local promoters were able to active “affirmative” indicators to stress the centrality of *Heimat* and its subsequent positivity for the future.

When, in the 1880s, the local promoters, I emphasized particularly the role of the founder of the association, T. Donat, created the first project of developing *Heimat* in the local homeland and further in the regional circle via the idea of tourism, the “invented” discourse emphasized the inherited myths such as *Rübezahl*, playing the role of protecting *Heimat*, to ensure both the local support of the inhabitants and their confidence towards the project. Hence, in the 1890s, the institutionalization of *Heimat* was already assured.

However, the development of mass tourism due to technological and the reputation the Giant Mountains gained, the “affirmative” territoriality of the last decade was expanded further in the direction of tourism by relying of an ideal representation through the reliance on myths guaranteeing the positive development of the territory. If this research could not include the invention of a collective memory celebrating the local *Heimatlers*, one can assume that German national narratives were accepted better in parallel to the ones of the local *Heimat*. By doing so, the territory was reaching the first golden age of mass tourism, while maintaining the local support of the inhabitants and agents of power.

In the 1900s and until the First World War, while the quantitative expansion of the association stagnated after the turn of the century, the year 1905 symbolized the most fruitful moment of the association in qualitative terms. The association could elevate their *Heimat* as the most active institution dedicated to the local cultural activities and region. It relied on the

strategy consisting of using the institutional frame to assert the power it had when facing some challenges or issues. In fact, the association played the role of mediation between different geographical, social and ideological groups, while keeping in mind its purposes to become the most popular and influential group via the use of a discourse shaped upon an “imagined”, but ideal territoriality. Such efforts were transforming the Giant Mountains’ territory as part of the collective consciousness in imperial Germany, just as a number of places located in other middle-ranged mountains.

The methodological framework helped to obtain these results and validated some of the hypotheses. Indeed, ‘localism’ proved to be fruitful to articulate the development of a territory hand in hand with the development of identity. Also, ‘localism’ in the case study of the Giant Mountains stressed the differences of the *Heimat* idea in contrast to other German regions. If *Heimat* was conceived in every German part as an ideal agenda to reach – making it gain a considerable recognition within imperial Germany, the Giant Mountains succeeded by articulating the idea of tourism with the local territory.

Nevertheless, the research could not explore more the use of collective memory in the making of *Heimat* as an institution in the case of the Giant Mountains. Also, if the time frame enabled to dress some important results and raise new questions, such as the role of tourism associations in imperial German society and its influence on the ideas of landscape preservationism and nature conservation, the long-term perspective would enable to articulate better the dynamics of such an “affirmative territoriality” with the history of the period preceding it and the one following it. Lastly, the corpus of sources could be expanded to gain in accuracy, such as the relations between both parts of the mountains or the influence of the *Heimat* cultural associations on German conservatism.

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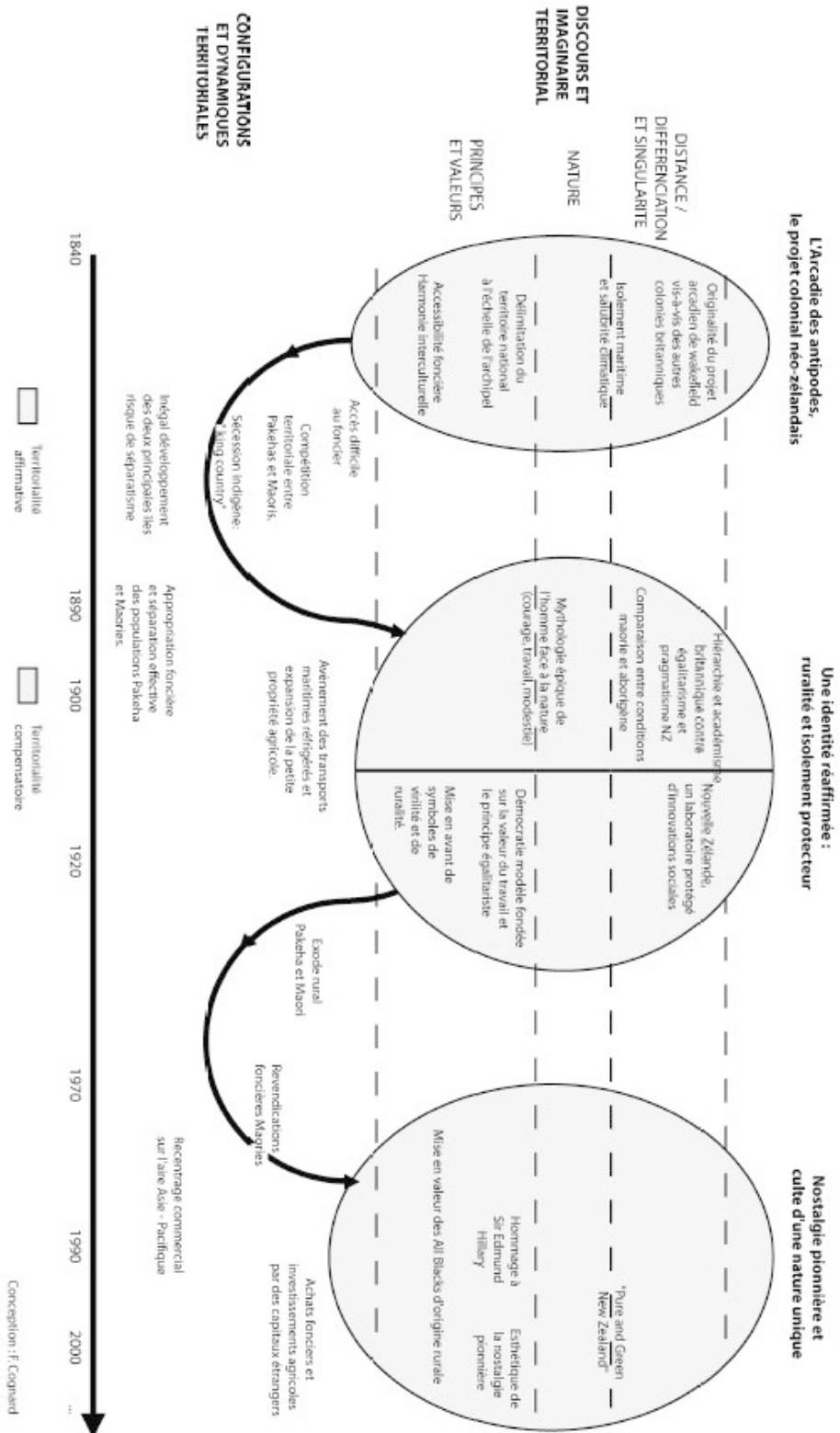
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6.) Appendix

Appendix 1: Le dialogue entre les dimensions matérielles et idéelles du territoire dans le processus de construction de l'identité agreste néo-zélandaise. Taken from F. Cognard, *Une approche géohistorique de l'identité territoriale néo-zélandaise*, in "L'Information géographique", 2011, 2, p. 22.



Appendix 2: The model of semiosis offered by Barthes. Conceived by the author.

