INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or “target” for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is “Missing Page(s)”. If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in “sectioning” the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from “photographs” if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of “photographs” may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms
300 North Zeib Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106
COLE, Jean Amspoker, 1944-
CARNIVAL AND SOCIAL INTERACTION: A STUDY OF THE
UPPER SOCIAL STRATUM OF A GERMAN CITY.

Rice University, Ph.D., 1973
Anthropology

School lists name as Mary Jean Amspoker Cole.

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan
RICE UNIVERSITY

CARNIVAL AND SOCIAL INTERACTION:
A STUDY OF THE UPPER SOCIAL STRATUM OF A GERMAN CITY

by

Jean Amspower Cole

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis Director's signature:

Houston, Texas

May 1973
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Rice University for financial assistance that made my study possible. Members of the faculty and friends from Rice who have been particularly helpful are Dr. Ronald Provencher, Dr. Frederick C. Gamst, Dr. Edward Norbeck, Dr. John Rath, Christine Drake, and Barbara Podratz. I also wish to thank Dr. Wayne Wheeler, formerly of Rice University, who was influential during an important period.

The Augsburgers who assisted with my study are far too numerous to mention individually but I am grateful to each of them and I remember many with great affection. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Hans Goldbach, Mr. Tino Lang, Mr. Joseph Müller, Mr. and Mrs. Gustl Pürsch, Mr. Heiner Seybold, Mr. and Mrs. Werner von Stetten, Mr. and Mrs. Heinz Theinert, Mr. Hugo Trapp, Mrs. Judith Wilhelm, and Mrs. Maria Wohrl.

My greatest debt is to my husband, Warren, and I dedicate my study to him.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**TITLE PAGE**

**ABSTRACT**

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

**MAPS**

**PART I: INTRODUCTION** ........................................... 1

  Chapter 1: **THE RESEARCH** ........................................... 2

    Objectives .......................................................... 2
    Fieldwork ............................................................ 5
    The Report ........................................................... 12

  Chapter 2: **THE CITY** .............................................. 14

    Historical Development ............................................ 14
    The Present .......................................................... 23

  Chapter 3: **FASCHING** ............................................. 31

    The Cultural Pattern of Carnival ............................... 31
    The Significance of the Season ................................... 37
    Fasching in Augsburg ............................................. 42
    The Fasching Calendar for 1972 ................................ 51

**PART II: TWO CONCEPTIONS OF AUGSBURG** ......................... 55

  Chapter 4: **PERLACHIA** ............................................ 56

    The Club ............................................................ 56
    The Court ........................................................... 58
    Activities .......................................................... 64
    Membership ........................................................ 83

  Chapter 5: **THE UPPER SOCIAL STRATUM AS COMMUNITY** ........ 90

    The Bürgerstand .................................................. 90
    The Importance of Being Known ................................... 96
    Participants ....................................................... 100
    The Community and the City ..................................... 105
CENTRAL EUROPE

Showing the Via Claudia Augusta running from Venice northward over the Brenner Pass through Augsburg to the Danube.
PART I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the first section of the thesis is to provide background information as a context for placing the ethnographic data of Part II in perspective. Chapter 1 outlines the objectives and methods of research. Chapter 2 provides a sketch of the city that portrays both its historical development and present character. Chapter 3 describes Fasching, the south-German version of carnival which was used as a tool for gathering data on social interaction in the city.
Chapter 1

THE RESEARCH

Objectives:

This study examines social interaction among members of the upper social stratum of a medium-sized German city in light of the theoretical distinction made by Emile Durkheim between mechanical and organic social solidarity. Mechanical solidarity, which Durkheim considered characteristic of simple societies and small communities, is defined as social cohesion resulting from affective ties between a set of individuals who have essentially similar roles in society. In societies where mechanical solidarity prevails, relationships between individuals are conducted on a personal basis and similar beliefs and values are shared by almost all individuals. In contrast organic solidarity, which Durkheim considered characteristic of complex societies and large cities, is defined as social cohesion resulting from functional interdependence of dissimilar and specialized social elements with relationships between individuals being primarily impersonal and anonymous. Societies where organic solidarity prevails are characterized by a diversity of beliefs and values (Durkheim 1933:70-132, 147-199). Ferdinand Tönnies (1957) spoke of these contrasting types of solidarity as Gemeinschaft or community and Gesellschaft or society.

These ideal types have appeared frequently in the literature of the social sciences (Weber 1925; Wirth 1938; Redfield 1941). They are based on the assumption that the population size and density of a social entity, its degree of economic specialization, its degree of cultural
heterogeneity, and the nature of interpersonal interaction and social cohesion, must necessarily vary together. Agreement seems to be fairly general that for small communities this assumption is reasonable, and many writers have asserted that smallness of population, lack of elaborate economic specialization, cultural homogeneity, and personal social interaction are functionally related (Benedict 1966; Frankenberg 1966; Firth 1951). In recent years, however, urban anthropologists have challenged the assumption that large population size, elaborate economic specialization, cultural heterogeneity, and impersonal social relationships are necessarily related in cities, and they have stated that various parts of complex societies may be characterized by different types of social interaction (Bascom 1968; Hauser 1965; Mitchell 1966). My research in Augsburg, a city of some 250,000 residents, provides evidence from a Western cultural context that these factors do not necessarily vary together. In the years since World War II the population size and degree of economic specialization of Augsburg have remained relatively constant, but the degree of cultural heterogeneity and the nature of social relationships in the upper social stratum have been undergoing a significant change from relative cultural homogeneity and interaction conducted on a personal basis toward cultural heterogeneity and greater predominance of impersonal interaction. The theoretical significance of this change from mechanical to organic solidarity in Augsburg's upper social stratum is examined at length in the final chapter.

A study of carnival was used as a means of gathering data on
patterns of social interaction in Augsburg. There are two major car-
nival-sponsoring associations in the city. The older club is charac-
terized by personal face-to-face interaction between its members who 
conceive of their social stratum as an interactive community where 
mechanical solidarity prevails. The German term Bürgerstand is used 
to designate this interactive community. The newer of the two asso-
ciations is characterized by impersonal and anonymous interaction 
between most of its members who view the city as a pluralistic social 
system held together by bonds of organic solidarity. These differing 
conceptions of the city and contrasting styles of social interaction 
are related to short-term historical factors. After the Second World 
War conditions occurred in which having many close personal contacts 
with individuals and "having a name in the community" were highly 
valued by members of the upper social stratum, resulting in the de-
velopment of a tightly-knit community at this level of society. In 
the last five years a process of pluralization into smaller interactive 
groupings based primarily on occupation has evolved from the introduc-
tion of heterogeneous social and cultural elements into the city. Im-
personal bonds of organic rather than mechanical solidarity are now 
beginning to prevail among separate segments of the upper social 
stratum.

Pertti J. Pelto (1970) and Ronald Frankenberg (1966) have dis-
cussed studies of public celebrations as ways of viewing abstract 
social relationships in concrete terms. Studies of carnival have 
been used for this purpose by Munro Edmonson (1956), Nancie Gonzalez
(1970), and Andrew Pearse (1956). In my research participant observation of activities of carnival also served as a tool for gathering information on social relationships and for generating hypotheses about patterns of social interaction which could be investigated later using interviews and other research methods. The celebration of carnival might have been analyzed from other theoretical perspectives as a form of play or of ritualized license. I discuss these perspectives in chapter 3, but they are not the major focus of the present report.

The notion of considering common interest associations as reflections of underlying social categories and relationships has been discussed by Anderson (1962) and by others who analyze associations on the basis of recruitment of personnel (Hammond 1972; Bohannon 1963). In this report I contrast the two major carnival-sponsoring associations in Augsburg according to the type of members belonging to each and according to the size of the associations. Consideration is given to the effect of size on the nature of relationships between members. It should be clear, however, that no attempt is made in the report to provide an overall analysis of associations in the city.

**Fieldwork:**

Augsburg was chosen as the setting for research for both practical and theoretical reasons. I had lived there for 22 months from 1968 to 1970 and was familiar with the history of the city and with many behavioral patterns of Augsburgers. I had developed personal contacts with individuals who could assist me in entering the community. This
previous experience led me to expect that Augsburg would be a particularly appropriate setting for a study of non-anonymous interaction and mechanical solidarity in an urban context. Statements made by Augsburgers and my own impressions indicated that a large proportion of the members of the upper social stratum knew one another personally and that having a name and position in the community were highly valued. Augsburgers refer to the predominance of personal interaction in a tightly-integrated upper social stratum when they make the statement "unsere Stadt ist ein grosses Dorf" (our city is a large village).

The research lasted from September of 1971 through May of 1972 and was coordinated with the Fasching season which begins on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month and continues through Shrove Tuesday which was on February 15th in 1972. I used the first few months of my stay to develop contacts with members of Fasching clubs and to conduct general interviews with persons representing a variety of different age and occupational groups and different lifestyles. These interviews provided a background of information against which I could view the more specific data I would gather later from persons actively interested in the celebration of Fasching. My informants were chosen on the basis of availability and intuitive representativeness, and I do not claim that they are statistically representative of Augsburg's population. Workers and foreign workers are particularly underrepresented.

During the carnival season itself my time was largely occupied by participant observation of the activities of Fasching. I attended public activities sponsored by both major carnival clubs of the city
and accompanied the courts of both clubs on visits they made to activities of Fasching sponsored by other associations. Also I was allowed to attend weekly meetings of the officers and active members of one of the Fasching clubs, and these sessions provided a valuable opportunity to observe backstage behavior and planning.

Participation in the activities of Fasching helped me to acquire a large network of acquaintances and potential informants, and my observations of social interaction in these contexts also enabled me to make tentative statements about social relationships that I later investigated in detail using interviews and other methods of research. Interviews with members of both carnival clubs and also with persons who were not active participants in Fasching focused on the interaction patterns of each individual, on his conceptions of the social system of Augsburg and changes in the system, and on his interpretation of the significance of Fasching in the city. These interviews usually began with a set of questions which were valuable in themselves and which also provided take-off points for many long discussions.

Other types of data supplemented the information that I gathered from interviews and participant observation. One of these was a collection of lists of prominent Augsburgers that I obtained from a variety of sources. My collection included the list of persons invited by a local newspaper to its VIPO (Very Important Persons Only) Fasching ball, the list of prominent businessmen and professionals to whom one of the major Fasching clubs sent requests for sponsorship funds, lists of persons invited to receptions given by the City of Augsburg, the Landkreis or county government, and the Suabian government which is an
administrative district of the state of Bavaria, and the list of persons invited to a procession on Corpus Christi Day sponsored by the Catholic Church. Each of the groups explained that their list of names would vary depending upon the nature of the activity for which it was prepared. While this is undoubtedly true, the degree of overlap among the lists was striking. The list prepared by the Catholic bishopric differed most widely from the others in that it included many members of the local nobility who live in the vicinity of Augsburg. Most of their names did not appear on the other lists.

From these lists I prepared a set of 160 note cards. Each bore the name and occupation of an individual who appeared on several of the lists. I also included some other individuals such as university professors who might be known by certain segments of the population of the city but not by all segments. This procedure was devised as a substitute for the usual method of gathering data on personal networks from informants. I had asked many persons to provide such information and was told that this would be too time-consuming and difficult because of the large numbers of their acquaintances. Instead I presented my set of cards to each informant and asked him to sort them into categories of persons who were gut bekannt (well-known to him), bekannt (known to him), and unbekannt (personally unknown). Most informants expressed the opinion that my set of cards was a good list of prominent Augsburgers.

I obtained various kinds of information from other sources. The statistical office of the city provided general census data. The city archives had numerous references to Fasching, and I also was shown old programs, posters, newspaper clippings, and photos dealing with Fasching
from as far back as 1886 from the office of one of the Fasching clubs and from personal collections of several of its individual members. This club has a complete set of Fasching programs from 1950 to the present that list in detail the Fasching activities of the city as a whole. I also kept files of newspaper clippings on various subjects from the two newspapers of the city. These provided valuable information on Augsburgers who "have names in the community." And I attended various kinds of activities to gather data on social interaction. These activities included receptions, political meetings, premiers at the city theater, meetings of the city council, protest demonstrations, and funerals.

On the whole I was surprised at how openly the Augsburgers responded to my requests for information and assistance, for I had expected people to be courteous but guarded in talking to me. Some informants did behave in this way, but many went far beyond the degree of frankness I thought I might encounter. I have been discrete because I know the report will be read by some Augsburgers. I attribute this openness in responding to my study to several factors. One is the subject of the research. Most people were quite amused when they learned that I was writing a doctoral dissertation on Fasching. The unexpectedness of the topic often prompted them to ask questions about it, and usually their amusement at its supposedly frivolous nature changed to curiosity and interest in the underlying factors I wanted to investigate. Their first serious reaction was usually to assume that I was concerned with what they called the psychological significance of Fasching, and people often talked at some length about this. Some persons were a bit dubious
at first when they learned I was most interested in using Fasching as a
tool to understand the social system, but usually they responded posi-
tively after a brief explanation. After being introduced to various
groups and individuals I became known to many persons in the community
as "the American who is studying Fasching".

Another significant factor in my favor was the manner in which I
was introduced in the city. By a fortunate coincidence I was introduced
very early in my stay to one of the most active members of Perlachia,
the older of the two major Fasching clubs in the city. This individual
responded very favorably to my work, presented my proposed research to
other members of the club's executive committee, and arranged for me to
attend its activities and meet many of its members. The sponsorship
(Forderung) of this individual and of many of his friends was a great
asset in developing contacts not only among members of this club but
throughout the upper social stratum. I had expected that being personal-
ly introduced would be very important in developing rapport with Augs-
burgers and I became more and more convinced of its importance during
the course of my work, both through observation and through comments
people made to this effect. When I met people "cold" without this kind
of groundwork I was treated courteously, but such relationships seldom
developed the degree of warmth or openness as those with people to whom
I had been introduced.

Often I was pleasantly surprised at how quickly relationships
developed from a formal informant-interviewer basis to one of friend-
ship. Many Augsburgers were very generous in inviting me to their
homes, giving me gifts or suggesting ways to assist me or provide
contacts. This good will is extremely important when one is doing re-
search among the kind of people I studied. In many societies anthropolo-
gists can offer to pay informants or provide reciprocal favors such as
transportation, but in this case I believe most Augsburgers assisted me
because they found my project rather intriguing and because of a genuine
desire to be helpful rather than because of any concrete reciprocities
I could offer. In a few cases I think people were helpful because they
felt they could not afford to be uncooperative; I attribute this feeling
to what such informants believed others would think of them. The typi-
cal German attitude of respect for scholarship was probably helpful as
well, though many Augsburgers considered it strange that an anthropol-
gist would be conducting research in a city.

There is one other factor that I think assisted me in gaining
acceptance and cooperation from Augsburgers, this being the fact that I
am female. Many writers have commented on the significance of the
appearance and personality of the researcher for the type of response
he receives. I am aware of both positive and negative aspects of my
image as researcher but on the whole I think it was a significant advan-
tage to be a reasonably attractive woman by German standards. The per-
sons with whom I needed to work most closely, those who cultivate posi-
tions in the interactive Bürgerstand and who are active participants in
the activities of Fasching, were primarily men from age 25 or 30 upward.
Persons of this social position adhere to a rather chivalrous and gal-

dant ideal of behavior for men and they usually defined me as a woman
who needed assistance. Whereas a male researcher could have developed
rapport with these persons, he could not in my opinion have evoked the
same desire to be helpful because in the view of these Augsburgers a man should be much more self-reliant than a woman. The negative side of this coin, the possibility of provoking resentment and perhaps jealousy among women, was for the most part avoided in my judgment through careful efforts to prevent any improper connotations in my relationships with men and by the fact that I always made very clear that I am happily married, though my husband was unable to accompany me during the research.

The Report:

The report is divided into three parts. The first deals with background information and includes a chapter on the research project, a chapter providing information on the city that develops a context for viewing ethnographic data on social interaction, and a chapter on the general cultural pattern of carnival and on Fasching in Augsburg. Part II presents detailed ethnographic data on Augsburg's two major carnival clubs and on patterns of interaction and conceptions of the city characteristic of each. In this section chapter 4 deals with Perlachia, the older of the two carnival clubs, and includes information on the general structure of the association, its court of carnival royalty, the activities sponsored by the group, and the kinds of persons who are members. Chapter 5 contains a discussion of the nature of interaction between members of this group and their conception of the upper social stratum of the city as an integrated community. Chapter 6 examines ACV, the newer of the two Fasching clubs, in terms of the criteria used to analyze Perlachia. Chapter 7 discusses the founding of this club as a manifestation of greater social pluralism in Augsburg and deals with
the view of the city held by members of ACV. Part III presents the theoretical significance of my findings. It includes a chapter that examines mechanical and organic solidarity as related to short-term historical processes in Augsburg and considers possible directions of future development in the city. The final chapter deals with Augsburg and its social system in relation to cities in general and discusses relevant theoretical perspectives found in the literature of sociology and urban anthropology.
Chapter 2

THE CITY

This chapter is about Augsburg's historical development and about the general character of the city today. It serves as a background and context for examining social interaction among members of the upper social stratum. Documentary sources provide this general perspective on the city before the focus of attention is narrowed in Part II to more detailed information which was gathered through intensive ethnographic methods of research. The historical sketch is intended to show Augsburg's changing role as a city of central Europe and to examine the internal development of its social structure. An awareness of these factors is important for understanding the present nature of social interaction in Augsburg. The following discussion of major contemporary institutions and general characteristics of the population gives the reader an overall view of how the people and events discussed in Part II relate to the city as a whole.

Historical Development:

Several books deal with the history of Augsburg in greater or lesser detail. I found Zorn (1955), Graf (1954), and Eberlein (1938) to be particularly useful, and since interpretive differences between these accounts are minimal I have used all of them in compiling this summary of the development of the city. Unless specific references are stated all data are drawn from these sources.

Augsburg is located on a high terrace between the Lech and Wertach
rivers near the point where they join and flow northward to the Danube. Traces of the first settlement indicate that the soils of this area were cultivated by agriculturalists as early as four thousand years ago, and by 1000 B.C. a trade route led from the northern Lech valley to Italy. Celts from the middle Rhine, eastern Gaul, and Switzerland reached this area after 450 B.C. and in mixing with the earlier population formed the subtribe of the Vindilici (Gutkind 1964:330-332).

In the course of northward expansion of Roman civilization during the reign of Augustus, Roman legions took the area that is presently Augsburg around 16-15 B.C. and established a garrison and supply center for further operations to the north. In the middle of the first century A.D. the Via Claudia was established along a trade route over the Alps which was to play an important role in the history of the city throughout the medieval period and the Renaissance. Augusta Vindelicorum became capital of the province of Ratiens, and near the end of the first century A.D. an east-west road that crossed the Via Claudia in Augsburg was built connecting Gaul with the Black Sea. By 200 A.D. the Romans had brought Christianity to the area. At the height of Roman influence Augsburg was a provincial administrative center, a focal point of local trade, and an axis of long-distance trade.

By the beginning of the third century Alemannen from the north started to overrun this area and in the next two centuries Roman troops and administrators were gradually withdrawn. With the interruption of long-distance trade Augsburg's sphere of influence declined to the level of a regional center. The withdrawal of Roman administrators and the political disorganization of the Alemannen who settled in this area left
a power vacuum that was filled with increasing effectiveness by the head of the church. This largely local system continued to develop until in 739 Augsburg along with Speyer, Constance, and Passau was established as an official bishopric of the Catholic Church. The walled Bishopfsberg at the north end of Augsburg's high terrace in time grew to contain the cathedral, residences of the bishop and of his officials, monastic areas, and residences of bound peasants and craftsmen. Merchants lived in a small settlement surrounded by wooden palisades outside the walled Bishopfsberg.

Near the middle of the eighth century the Alemannen in the area to the west of Augsburg were conquered by the Franks and from this time on the city played a role through political activity of its bishop in struggles within the Holy Roman Empire. Augsburg's location along a cultural and political boundary between Swabia and Bavaria added to its importance in these political struggles.

During the 11th and 12th centuries the craftsmen and merchants of Augsburg began to become more prosperous and self-assertive and to develop in directions that in time would allow them to replace the Church as primary sources of power and vitality in the city. Their growing importance was fostered by an active building program of the Church, by the dependence of the bishop on their services and loyalty in his political struggles, and particularly by a general revival of commerce in medieval Europe. In the 13th century merchants became increasingly influential in Augsburg and were granted formal positions of predominance in the council of the city by the first Habsburg Kaiser in 1276. Graf and Zorn assert that it was during this period that the
great gulf between the city's prominent commercial families or Geschlechter and the common citizenry began to develop (Graf 1954:45; Zorn 1955:87-88). In 1316 Augsburg was made a Free Imperial City governed by a council of merchants and subject only to the Holy Roman Emperor. In the latter half of the 14th century craft guilds began to challenge the great merchant families, and after a rebellion in 1368 the seventeen guilds of the city were granted representation on the governing council. The power of these social segments was manifested in the physical structure of the city as large patrician residences of the merchants and guild houses of the craftsmen were built during the 14th century.

Augsburg continued to prosper as a center of manufacturing and commerce in the 14th and 15th centuries and reached its period of greatest prominence in the affairs of Europe during the reign of the Habsburg Kaiser Maximilian (1459-1519) who often conducted his affairs of state and held court in the city. The many buildings and fountains of Renaissance style that remain today testify to this prosperity and position of economic and political importance. Maximilian's reign saw the beginning of the stormy 16th century, however, in which the Protestant Reformation and the great expansion of commercial contact with Asia and the western hemisphere led to major changes in all of Europe. As an active center of commerce and as a Free City of the Empire and center of a bishopric, Augsburg was strongly affected by these developments. As long as Spain was active in trade with the western hemisphere the commercial and merchant families of Augsburg such as the Fugger and Welser continued to prosper, for their ties with the Habsburgs who also ruled
Spain were beneficial. But by the latter part of the 16th century Spain lost predominance in trade to the maritime nations of western Europe, particularly to England and Holland, and from this time onward Augsburg's position along a trans-Alpine trade route would no longer permit her merchants to compete effectively with those of the maritime nations that had easy access to oceanic lanes of commerce.

During the first half of the 16th century the Protestant Reformation caused much internal strife within Augsburg, for merchants tended to remain loyal to the Catholic Kaiser and guilds tended to support Protestantism. The religious struggles of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation grew to a European-wide scale in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), and Augsburg's ties with the Catholic Kaiser brought severe destruction from the forces of France and Protestant Sweden.

With its loss of commercial predominance, destruction by the war, and decimation of the population by the plague, Augsburg underwent a severe decline in the mid-17th century. A degree of prosperity based primarily on handwork and finance gradually returned, but the city found itself in a backwater with respect to the main currents of economic activity in Europe. Economic vitality had shifted to the nations of western Europe where it was stimulated by maritime commerce and the beginnings of industrialization. The political center of gravity in central Europe would in time shift northward. Augsburg was tied culturally to the south, rather than to German states of the north. Political and social leadership were lacking in the city, and a long period of stagnation occurred. A detailed study made by Mack Walker (1971) emphasizes the significance of isolation and stagnation in
influencing the course of development taken by towns and cities of central Europe from the end of the Thirty Years' War until the declaration of the German Empire in 1871.

Changes brought about by the industrial revolution finally began to reach Augsburg in the 18th century, but the continued existence of old social forms and lack of adaptibility tended to stultify this development until after Augsburg was incorporated by Napoleon into the Kingdom of Bavaria with Munich as its capital in 1806. This political formality was greatly resented in Augsburg but actually reflected the greater vitality Munich had possessed for some time (Graf 1954:88-94). Since it has been in Munich's sphere of influence Augsburg has lacked the cultural and social heterogeneity it once possessed in its own right as a major center of commerce, politics, and culture.

Incorporation into Bavaria did inject new elements into Augsburg's upper social stratum including governmental bureaucrats and the officer corps, and this loosening of the ingrown and tightly-knit social structure stimulated greater vitality in the city (Zorn 1955:189). Graf (1954:105) considers the growth of many common interest associations based on leisure-time activity to be evidence of greater dynamism in the social system and of new patterns of interaction. Industry began to flourish with particular emphasis on the manufacture of textiles and machines. In 1840 the large Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nurnberg (MAN) was founded and in that same year a railroad line between Augsburg and Munich was opened which was followed by the rapid development of an extensive rail network. In Augsburg, as in other areas of German culture, a major line of social cleavage developed between workers and
bourgeoisie as a result of industrialization (Veblen 1954:206-210), but little support was aroused in the city for the social revolutions that occurred in many areas of Europe in 1848 (Zorn 1955:196). The Franco-
Prussian War in 1870 and declaration of the new empire in 1871 spurred economic development in Germany as a whole, and Augsburg's prosperity was reflected in physical expansion of the city with the incorporation of several suburbs shortly before the First World War.

The loss of World War I caused some degree of disillusionment and hardship in Augsburg, but in contrast to many larger cities the response to this situation was not one of social conflict and political radicalism but rather of determination to revive industrial production and commercial vitality. Political radicalism of the right and left found little support in Augsburg until the worsening economic crises of the late 1920's and early 1930's. Gains by the National Socialist Party lagged behind those in Munich. After assuming power in the 1930's the Nazis forced much of the Jewish population of Augsburg to sell their businesses and leave the city. In 1933 some 1030 Jews had constituted 0.6% of the population; in 1939 this group was reduced to 554 persons and constituted only 0.3% of the population of the city (Statistisches Amt der Stadt Augsburg). Most informants with whom I discussed the Jewish segment of the population asserted that the Jews were more significant in the social system than their numbers might indicate because they were especially prominent in the business community.

During most of World War II the Augsburgers fared relatively well, until February of 1944 when a massive bombing raid destroyed 75% of the residences of the city and killed 730 persons. The toll in the city
rose to 1350 persons by the end of the hostilities (Zorn 1955:238).

The first years after the War were a time of great hardship because of losses of life and property, shortages of material goods, and hostility between native Augsburgers and the 12,600 refugees who entered the city from present areas of Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, and other parts of West Germany. In 1948 the economy began to regain vitality, spurred by the currency reform of that year and by economic aid. As a center of industry and commerce Augsburg shared in the "economic miracle" of Germany's postwar recovery. Residential dispersion continued after World War II as it had after World War I, and new suburbs were added to the city in the 1930's and 1950's. Throughout the 1950's refugees and newcomers to Augsburg gradually were incorporated into the social system. During the same period the upper social stratum became a tightly-integrated community, a development that is discussed at length in Part II. In the 1960's and 1970's this upper stratum has begun to fragment into a plurality of separate interactive groupings, due in part to the introduction of heterogeneous social and cultural elements. These elements include the new university which opened in 1970 as well as sizeable groups of foreign workers from Italy, Turkey, and Yugoslavia that totaled 13,500 persons in 1970. Though not potential members of the upper social stratum, these foreign workers are significant for the city as a whole in that they add disparate segments to what was formerly a relatively homogeneous population sharing a common cultural tradition.

In reviewing the history of Augsburg's development it is useful to note the role the city has played in economic and political activity of central Europe generally. In some periods Augsburg has been a nodal
point of activity that ranged over a wide area. At other times the city has been a relatively isolated and closed system. During the centuries of Roman presence in Augsburg external contacts were prevalent, including both administrative ties to Rome and commercial connections with distant areas. In the early medieval period, after the withdrawal of the Romans and interruption of long-distance trade, Augsburg became essentially a closed economic, political, and social system. External connections gradually regained importance with the revival of larger-scale political spheres of influence and commercial activity of the later medieval period, culminating in the Renaissance when Augsburg was a focal point of both economic and political activity in central Europe. For one and a half centuries after the Thirty Years' War, until incorporation into the Kingdom of Bavaria, Augsburg underwent a period of stagnation in which external economic and political intercourse were minimal and the city became a relatively closed system. Commercial contact with other areas certainly existed at this time, but in general Augsburgers did little to cultivate outside interests and contacts and the city began to be overshadowed by Munich as a focal point of large-scale activity. Incorporation into Bavaria again spurred external economic and political contacts, but by this time Augsburg had clearly become a provincial city in Munich's sphere of influence. It seems reasonable to suppose that the relative isolation of Augsburg's population and the position of the city on the periphery of major economic and political activity from the time of the Renaissance onward have led to a lack of cultural and social heterogeneity that fostered a relatively closed and tightly-integrated upper social stratum in the city. The significance of this lack of
heterogeneity is discussed more fully in chapter 9.

The Present:

Data used to provide a general view of the nature of the city at present are drawn from publications of the statistical office of the city of Augsburg and from the *Adressbuch der Stadt Augsburg*, a volume published annually that contains detailed information on various elements of the social structure of the city.

Today Augsburg has a population of some 250,000 persons including residents of suburbs. It is an important center of manufacturing and commerce and serves as a focus for other kinds of activity as well, though in many respects it continues to be overshadowed by Munich, the Bavarian capital located 50 miles to the southeast. Many Augsburgers acknowledge that Munich outranks their city as a center for music and other arts, as a university city, and as a setting where cultural diversity and cosmopolitan influences prevail, though they also assert the advantages of living in Augsburg where congestion of residential areas and of transportation facilities are less problematic and where the individual is not "an anonymous face in a crowd".

An examination of basic associations that organize different kinds of activities in the city provides an overview of Augsburg's social structure. Associations may be analyzed on the basis of various principles including their purpose or function, qualifications for membership, and procedures for incorporating members (Bohannon 1963:144-163; Hammond 1972:1-22; Brown 1973:309-310). Purpose or function is the most useful criterion of analysis for providing a general overview of the social
structure of Augsburg. Grouped in this way there are five basic kinds of associations in the city including economic associations, political associations, religious associations, associations to provide special services such as medical care, education, and cultural activities, and a fifth category of associations for organizing leisure time activity.

Major economic associations in Augsburg include factories, firms conducting wholesale and retail commerce, financial associations such as banks and insurance firms, and firms that sell services such as hotels and restaurants. In 1970 54.0% of Augsburg's employed population were engaged in production and manufacturing, 20.4% in commerce and transportation, and 25.1% in a category that includes banking and insurance, governmental administration, and the provision of services. These figures indicate the relative number of persons who are incorporated into various kinds of economic associations and point out the importance of manufacturing in Augsburg. Closely related to these organizations are a number of occupational associations such as unions, craft guilds, and professional associations.

Major political associations in Augsburg include governmental apparatus of the city, of the county (Landkreis), and of the Suabian administrative district of the state of Bavaria. Political parties also belong to this category of associations with the Christian Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party being the most important. In the election for mayor in 1970 the Christian Democrats won 49.6% of the vote and the Social Democrats won 50.4% which is indicative of the close balance between these two major parties in Augsburg. Smaller parties including the Free Democratic Party, the Communist Party, and the German Union
may be active in some elections such as those for members of the city council and for representatives to the state and federal legislatures.

The two predominant religious associations of the city are the Roman Catholic Church with 72.7% of the population as members and the Lutheran (Evangelical) Church with 20.2% of the population as members. Both of these general organizations preside over a system of smaller-scale parish associations, and their administrative bureaucracies link the local associations to larger structures of the Catholic and Lutheran Churches. In addition to these two organizations other small religious associations also exist in Augsburg including groups of Jews, Baptists, Methodists, Seventh Day Adventists, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

There are many non-profit associations in Augsburg whose purpose is the provision of special services. These include hospitals, various kinds of schools, associations to provide transportation, and associations for sponsoring cultural affairs. It is noteworthy that in Germany many associations that provide services are linked to branches of government whose counterparts in the U.S. may be privately owned. Examples include the federal railroad system, a local transportation system of buses and trolleys owned by the city, and the city theater (Stadttheater) of Augsburg which is an association as well as a physical location that sponsors a symphony orchestra, companies for the production of plays and operas, and various concert artists.

The fifth basic category is that of leisure-time associations, a category of associations that Hammond labels "expressive" as opposed to "instrumental" (1972:2-3). It is these voluntary associations that R. H. Lowie refers to in stating that "Germans are preeminently joiners"
Stereotypes of German culture often emphasize the prevalence of clubs based on a shared interest in sports, singing, or various other hobbies, and I learned that there are a large number of such clubs in Augsburg. The city register of leisure-time associations (Vereinsregister) lists over 800 clubs in Augsburg, and this number does not include countless less structured associations such as Stammtisch groupings which are sets of 6 to 8 individuals who meet on a regular basis at a special table in a Gasthaus to drink beer or coffee, to play cards, or to compete in a game similar to bowling. The two major Fasching clubs of Augsburg also belong to this category of leisure-time associations. Because of their importance in this thesis we will examine the general category in greater detail, using the analytic criteria of qualifications for membership, procedures for incorporating personnel, and size that have been suggested in the literature on associations cited above.

Among the leisure-time associations of Augsburg there are some that have explicit or implicit rules about eligibility for membership. These qualifications may include belonging to a specific social class which is particularly true of associations with upper class members. Usually this requirement is not explicitly stated but is enforced by such factors as the expense involved in belonging to the club or the necessity for prospective members to be sponsored by present members. An association of pilots of privately-owned planes and various tennis clubs exemplify the type of association characterized by class exclusiveness where wealth or being sponsored are important. There are also some leisure-time associations with membership restricted to persons of lower class standing such as sports clubs for workers employed by
certain firms. In addition to social class, other qualifications for membership may be the possession of certain skills. Some singing groups, brass bands, or sports clubs will admit only talented performers, though the majority of associations do not have such strict requirements. In a few leisure-time associations a particular cultural background is a qualification for membership. Shortly after World War II various organizations were made up of refugees from specific areas such as Silesia and Pomerania, but today such associations have lost much of their importance. Today there are some associations with a particular cultural background as a qualification for membership among foreign workers from Italy, Turkey, and Yugoslavia. Although there are associations with special membership requirements in Augsburg, there are also many clubs that readily admit persons with no consideration of their social class, degree of skill, or cultural background. This is particularly true of large associations where members are not known personally to one another.

In terms of this criterion there is a significant difference between the two Fasching clubs of Augsburg. Membership in Perlachia, the older and more prestigious of the two clubs, is restricted almost entirely to persons who belong to the upper social stratum of the city composed of self-employed businessmen, professionals, and high-level white-collar employees. New members are sponsored by someone who already belongs to the club. In contrast anyone is welcome to join the second club called ACV. Persons of high status are particularly desired as members because of their financial support and because of the prestige their names lend to the club, but such individuals constitute a minority of the entire
membership which is heterogeneous with respect to social status. It is noteworthy that persons of differing status tend to have different roles in ACV as discussed at length in chapter 6, but this is not a result of requirements imposed by the club.

The two Fasching clubs also differ with respect to the criterion of procedures for incorporating members, a distinction between associations emphasized by D. E. Brown (1973:309-310). Persons may join the older club only by serving for at least one season on the court of carnival royalty, a procedure that is very demanding of time and effort that must be invested by the individual. In contrast, persons may join the second club by the simple procedure of mailing a business-reply card and paying a modest fee of DM 5 (Ca. 3.2 DM per dollar at the time of this study). I have tried to find parallels for this distinction between the two Fasching clubs based on procedures for incorporating members among other leisure-time associations of Augsburg, but I know of no club other than Perlachia in which a comparable amount of service to the group is required as a procedure for incorporating new personnel.

Leisure-time associations in the city may also be analyzed in terms of their size which has an important effect on the nature of relationships between members. Some associations are very small with fewer than ten members as exemplified by the Stammtisch mentioned above. Persons in such groups usually consider the other members as close personal friends. Associations of intermediate size may be characterized by personal ties between members, though this is not necessarily the case. The Fasching club Perlachia has some 220 active members who know one another personally and interact as a group, but a contrasting case is
provided by a tennis club of similar size in which each member tends to interact with a relatively small number of other members that play matches together regularly. Some large associations in Augsburg have several thousand members and in these organizations it is impossible for the entire membership to be on close terms with one another. In some cases the membership of such associations tends to cluster in separate interactive segments based on specialized interests. For example in a club for furthering ice sports there are separate segments for those interested in figure skating, ice hockey, or in a game similar to shuffleboard called *Eisstuckschiessen*. The newer carnival club, ACV, is also a large association with over 2000 members. Personal contacts are limited primarily to leaders of the club and the majority of members interact as persons in an anonymous crowd during activities sponsored by the club.

Belonging to leisure-time associations is an important means of developing personal networks for individuals of almost all social levels in Augsburg. These associations are thus important elements of the social structure fostering social relationships that overlap and supplement those provided by work context and by residential proximity.

In providing an overview of the city of Augsburg it is useful to look briefly at general population categories as well as basic elements of the formal social structure. A recent study by George Spindler in a village called Burgbach in Baden-Württemberg reveals that three basic social categories based on occupation constitute major social aggregates within which a high degree of interaction occurs (1973:16-25).
My personal observations and interviews with informants indicated that differences between similar categories are also major lines of cleavage in Augsburg. These categories include an upper social stratum composed of self-employed businessmen, professionals, and upper-level white-collar employees, a middle stratum composed of most white-collar employees, and a lower stratum of workers. Census data from 1970 indicate that in Augsburg these categories as defined strictly by occupation contain 9%, 43%, and 48% of the population respectively. It is clear, however, that many persons listed as self-employed businessmen are actually not considered members of the upper social stratum because of the small scale of their operations.

German sociologists have made many efforts to analyze the post-War social system of their country and the nature of social stratification based on criteria of occupation, income, ownership of property, education, lifestyle, self-placement into categories of status, and "mentality" or shared values. Although there is little agreement on the precise structure of the social system, most writers recognize these three occupational grouping as major lines of cleavage. Summaries of literature on the German post-War social system can be found in Fürstenberg (1971: 117-141), Dahrendorf (1967:87-104), and Merkl (1965:126-147). My study of social relationships and patterns of interaction was focused primarily on the upper social stratum made up of owners of medium and large sized business firms, professionals, and managerial-level employees of private firms and of the government. Special characteristics of this stratum and its relationship to the social system of the city as a whole are examined in Part II.
Chapter 3

FASCHING

Information on social interaction in Augsburg was gathered by studying the celebration of carnival, and chapter 3 provides general information on this cultural pattern. It includes a sketch of the pattern as it has appeared in Catholic cultures of Europe and in parts of the western hemisphere, an interpretation of the significance of this season in terms of anthropological theories of play and ritualized license, a brief review of the history of carnival in Augsburg, and a summary of activities of season as celebrated today.

The Cultural Pattern of Carnival:

Fasching is the Bavarian version of carnival which derives from festivals of nature surrounding the passing of winter and coming of spring in cultures of the circum-Mediterranean and European area. Early in its history the Roman Catholic Church adopted carnival as a pre-Lenten period of revelry, recognizing that this pagan rite of nature was too deeply rooted in popular cultures to be effectively suppressed and also recognizing that sanctioning a prior period of revelry would make it easier to enforce regulations of fasting during Lent.

Common to spring festivals of Dionysius in Greece, the Bacchanalia, Saturnalia and Lupercalia of Roman culture, and the festivals of the earth mother Nerthus or Perchta of Teutonic areas is the theme of carrying an earth goddess about the fields in a ship-cart to insure fertility. Though there are various alternative interpretations of the derivation
of the term carnival, one interpretation reflects this theme and is the Latin phrase *carrus navalis* meaning ship-cart (Rademacher 1913:226). (Another common interpretation is based on the phrase *carnem levare* meaning to remove meat (Encyclopedia Britannica 1973).) The source of the ship image is unclear, especially for areas located some distance from the Mediterranean, but apparently it is related to the notion of water as a source of fertility. There is a body of evidence which suggests that masquerading and dancing were traditionally associated with these ship-cart processions (Rudwin 1920:39-46). It is noteworthy that the ship-cart theme has persisted and appears in a pen and ink drawing of a float carrying *Prinzkarneval* in Augsburg's Fasching parade of 1843. There is also a miniature silver ship on wheels in the city museum which is the work of an 18th century craftsman. During the 1971-72 Fasching season I found no evidence of the ship symbol. Some Augsburgers were aware that the ship-cart was traditionally associated with carnival but they could offer no explanation for the origin of this theme.

Historically there have been differences in the content of the celebration of carnival in areas of heavy Roman influence and those where Teutonic culture predominated (Rademacher 1913:228). These distinctions remain today between Roman-style carnival as celebrated in France, Italy, and the Rhineland (formerly the Rhenish provinces) and the Teutonic or Germanic *Fastnacht* or Fasching as celebrated in southern Germany and in Alpine areas of Austria, Switzerland, and northern Italy. The term *Fastnacht* is derived from the verb *fasen* and means to talk nonsense (Rademacher 1913:225). Historically the distinctions between Roman and Teutonic versions of carnival were based at least in part on
differences between a basically urban and a basically rural cultural context, though today Fasching in cities of southern Germany has much in common with the celebration of carnival in the Rhineland.

Celebrations of carnival or Fastnacht were common throughout the medieval period. Reminiscent of the activities of rural populations of Europe are the huge carved wooden masks still found in Alpine areas for the Perchtenlaufen or Perchten running, a procession in honor of the earth goddess Perchte or Berthe (Dorrer 1938). The tradition of having a masked procession at this season was also adopted by growing urban populations, and such processions were frequently sponsored by artisans' guilds. In Nurnberg, for example, the butchers' guild received permission in 1350 to have a masked street dance and procession called the Schembartlaufen or bearded procession. This tradition lasted until 1539 and is considered an important source of the literary genre of Fastnachts spiele or Fastnacht plays which flourished in Nurnberg. These plays were a significant form of literature in the 15th century and contributed toward the development of German drama (Catholy 1966; French 1925; Rudwin 1920; Simon 1970). The nobility and merchants of many areas also adopted these traditions as discussed in the following section on the development of Fasching in Augsburg.

Adherents of the Protestant Reformation were generally opposed to the revelries of carnival and advocated their suppression. In Augsburg the Lutheran church spoke out strongly against Fasching and succeeded in having celebrations strictly regulated during some periods, especially in the 18th century. Today carnival is found only in Catholic areas of Europe including Italy, Austria and France, and in parts of Switzerland,
Germany, and the Netherlands. Strongly Protestant areas of the latter three countries have no such celebrations. The intensity with which carnival has been celebrated in Catholic areas has varied in different periods with changing social and political circumstances, and the content of such celebrations has often taken on a particular character reflecting other aspects of local culture.

After a decline during the 18th century, the celebration of carnival was rejuvenated in the 19th century. The carnival procession was revived in Cologne as a major parade presided over by Prinzkarneval in 1823, and since that time the parade of this Rhineland city has become increasingly elaborate. This revival in the Rhineland sparked new emphasis on carnival and especially on parades in much of Catholic Europe (Hill 1972). It also gave impetus to the celebration in the Western hemisphere in areas of Catholic and especially French influence, including islands of the Caribbean, some cities of South and Central America such as Rio de Janeiro and Panama City, and parts of rural Louisiana as well as New Orleans in North America. Studies of carnival in Trinidad, the Dominican Republic, New Orleans and rural Louisiana and reports from Rio de Janeiro emphasize the importance of highly varying local cultures and social situations in influencing the content of the celebration (Edmonson 1956; Gonzalez 1970; Hill 1972; Pearse 1956; Wheeler 1973). Common elements shared by carnival in all of these areas include dancing, street processions, feasting, music, and masquerading.

Cologne, where the revival of the parade took place in 1823, is now one of the cities where the celebration of carnival is a tourist attraction and has become big business. This is also the case in New Orleans,
Rio de Janeiro, to some extent in Nice, and in the German cities of Mainz and Dusseldorf and to a lesser degree in Munich. The major drawing card in these cities is the street procession which has been elaborated into a lavish parade requiring immense amounts of money and organizational effort for its production. Because of the publicity focused on these large parades many people have gained partial images of carnival which do not encompass its celebration in less urban areas such as villages of the Alps and in a large number of smaller cities and towns. The general public is also unaware of much of the behind-the-scenes activity.

The major carnival activities of masquerading, dancing, parading, and feasting are combined in a multitude of ways in the various social and cultural systems where the season is celebrated. These various celebrations share three common themes. The first is that of revelry. Carnival is usually a time for singing and dancing, a time when food and drink are plentiful or relatively so and when the limits of acceptable behavior are stretched to allow greater social familiarity and behavioral tolerance. The figure of the clown embodies this spirit of revelry and appears in French and Caribbean areas as a Harlequin or Pierrot and in Germany as the fool Till Eulenspiegel. The clown has no individual identity and is a comic figure who is himself jovial and carefree and who seeks to spread this spirit to others. This figure was one of the most popular costumes during the 1972 Fasching season in Augsburg. The importance of revelry is also embodied in the tradition of enthroning royalty who symbolize the rule of humor and fun during
the carnival season. This rule of revelry is symbolized by Prinzkarneval's scepter which is usually topped by the head of a clown.

A second theme common to carnival celebrations in various cultures is that of social and political satire. The relaxation of usual behavioral restrictions often permits costumed parodies of figures of authority and social prominence. In Augsburg records exist of the mock baptism of a goat in 1503 and of the mock coronation of the emperor Karl V by Pope Leo in 1530, both aimed at the Catholic Church. Well-known contemporary figures such as Napoleon III in 1870 or Willy Brandt and Leonid Breshnev in 1972 are often portrayed in carnival parades. Social classes may be the objects of satire as in the case of a mock knighthly tournament held in 1570 by merchants in Augsburg. Respected occupations are also parodied as exemplified by a masquerader in Augsburg who dressed as a doctor carrying a saw, hammer, pliers, and wrenches in his black bag. Such satire may go beyond humorous parody to symbolize violent protest. For example, in 19th century Trinidad a belligerant Pierrot and a procession glorifying African culture embodied the hostility of newly-freed slaves toward the white upper social class (Hill 1972:29-31). This hostility seems to have been prevalent in the history of carnival in islands of the Caribbean (Gonzalez 1970; Hill 1972; Pearse 1956).

A third basic theme of carnival is fantasy or imagination which transports participants from their everyday social and cultural context into settings of long ago and far away. Fantasy occurs, for example, in tableaus or plays which are traditionally presented at carnival balls by the krewes of New Orleans (Edmonson 1956) and which are also important at Fasching balls in Augsburg. Parades as well as balls are
frequently based on themes of fantasy. Participants and spectators may be symbolically transported to the contexts of Greek or Roman mythology, distant periods of history such as the Baroque 16th century, or to exotic cultures such as those of the Orient, medieval Russia, or various Pacific islands. The theme of fantasy also can be seen in the costumes chosen by individual masqueraders which may reveal the kind of social role a person would like to hold or behavior he would like to imitate. Popular figures are roles of authority and prestige such as kings and queens, military generals, cowboys, or ballerinas, and roles embodying strong disregard for usual behavioral norms such as pirates, gypsies, "wild Indians" or bawdy night club girls. An interesting distinction was apparent among kinds of costumes observed at Fasching balls in Augsburg. Some individuals played specific roles such as night club girls or Russian noblemen which suggested fantasy or perhaps satire. Others chose an eclectic assemblage of odd clothing or wigs which instead of providing a specific role suggested a general spirit or revelry and Unsinn or senselessness.

The Significance of the Season:

The themes prevalent in celebrations of carnival clearly indicate the relevance of this cultural pattern to anthropological writings on rituals of reversal and on the study of play. Pierre van den Berghe (1963) has specifically cited carnival in the Rhineland as an example of institutionalized license in which usual behavioral norms may be set aside and the hierarchy of status may be attacked through parody and satire. He refers to what I have called themes of revelry and of social
and political satire. The fact that he "has exaggerated the amount of license that actually takes place" (1963:421) makes it impossible to meaningfully compare carnival in his Rhineland city with Fasching in Augsburg, though my impression is that in general Augsburger are more conservative than Rhinelander in altering usual behavioral norms during carnival.

A point which van den Berghe does not mention about his city but which is clearly emphasized in many published studies of carnival is the existence of differences in everyday behavioral norms for various social strata and for different age groups and concomitant differences in patterns of permissible license for these aggregates. Such differences in behavior based on class and age are discussed at length in chapters that follow, but the point may be illustrated by considering attitudes toward female performers appearing topless ("Oben ohne") at Fasching activities in Augsburg. This behavior is considered typical entertainment at a party sponsored every year by a local newspaper but was thought to be rather risqué when for the first time a girl in a topless costume appeared briefly in a tableau at the costume fest of the most prominent Fasching club of the city. Class distinctions are also illustrated by the use of the familiar form of address, Du, during activities of Fasching. Most members of the upper social stratum would ordinarily use the polite form, Sie, in addressing adults. Consequently it is a significant departure from normal usage that in becoming members of the prominent Fasching club, Perlachia, persons are automatically on a Du basis with other members of the club. In contrast many supporters of the less prominent club, ACV, address their
peers as Du on a day-to-day basis so that their form of usage does not change during Fasching.

Edward Norbeck has discussed ritual expressions of apparent social conflict and other institutionalized departures from everyday norms and makes a statement which is of particular interest for studies of carnival. He asserts that "where other safety valves are inadequate, ritual expressions of hostility seem most expectable in societies that exercise firm control over the behavior of their members through formal social units and highly formalized institutions" (1963:1274). This point is particularly relevant to celebrations of carnival in various cultures of the Caribbean where class distinctions and the degree of control over lower social segments have frequently been pronounced. In this context carnival has consequently served as an important means of institutionalizing expressions of hostility. His statement is also useful in understanding varying degrees of interest in the celebration of carnival in Germany. In periods when rigid adherence to strict behavioral norms has been enforced, ritual departures from such norms during carnival are particularly significant. In other periods such as the present when a relatively wide range of behavior is tolerated, activities of carnival are considered less important. Augsburgers express this by saying that "formerly the only chances one had to dance, to dress up in odd clothing, or to behave on a relatively familiar basis were during activities of Fasching. Today's young people don't need this safety valve (Ventil) because they may dance every night and they wear clothing all the time that is as strange as any Fasching costume."

Carnival seems to be particularly relevant to the anthropological
study of play which has been defined as "voluntary, in-some-way pleas-
surable behavior that is separated from other activities in time, and
most markedly separated by a quality of make-believe or transcendence
of ordinary perception and ordinary psychic states" (Norbeck 1973:1-2).
This clear separation of play as recognizeably different from normal
behavior both for participants and for observers has been discussed at
some length by various scholars (Bateson 1956; Norbeck 1971, 1973;
Miller 1973). Norbeck states that in many cultures religion has served
an important function in permitting, defining, and controlling forms
of play. This has clearly been the case for the carnival season when
the Catholic Church sanctioned play but controlled it in terms of time
limits and in terms of behavioral boundaries within which its activities
could be conducted. In Germany today, however, most people consider
carnival as a purely secular cultural pattern.

The two types of cultural patterns governing normal behavior and
play may be considered as cases of binary opposition (Norbeck 1973:12-
13). In the case of carnival the unusually liberal norms of this season
are opposed to the unusually strict norms of Lent with the patterns of
the remainder of the year seen as a mediation between these opposites.
Such binary opposition is evident in norms governing the consumption of
food and drink, for example. Carnival is a time of feasting and drinking;
Lent is a time of relative fasting and abstinence. The usual norms
of consumption lie between these extremes. Binary opposition is empha-
sized in Augsburg by a traditional meal on Ash Wednesday called the
"Karpfenessen und Beutelwäsche" which follows the climax of the carnival
season on the preceeding weekend. The eating of fish and washing out of
ones wallet or Geldbeutel symbolizes the beginning of a period of fasting, and the mood of this occasion is much quieter than at occasions of Fasching with no dancing taking place. It is noteworthy, however, that with increasing secularization the fasting which occurs after carnival is often motivated more by self-imposed dieting for aesthetic reasons rather than by the traditional religious motivation of penance.

It is also noteworthy that in the last decade clear separation of the binary opposites of Fasching and Lent has received relatively less attention than was formerly the case. Before World War II and during the 1950's the climax of the Fasching season occurred on Shrove Tuesday with an important feature of the final ball being the burial or Beerdigung of Prinzkarneval which was an obvious parallel to Christ's death at the end of Lent. The theme of resurrection was important in both death ceremonies, for all participants in the Beerdigung knew that when the carnival season arrived the next year a new Prinzkarneval would reign. Today the climax of the Fasching season in Augsburg occurs with the costume fest on Saturday and the parade on Sunday and in the Rhine-land the climax is the parade which occurs on Rose Monday. The Kehraus or sweeping out party on Shrove Tuesday receives relatively little attention and a burial is no longer staged that evening. This lack of emphasis on the separation of binary opposites is related to the fact that the norms governing behavior during carnival are no longer very different from those governing everyday behavior. People may dance at any time of the year with the exception of special religious holidays like Good Friday, and the clothing regularly worn by young people is "as strange as any Fasching costume". Carnival is still popular in many areas because
it provides a context for play among relatively large groups of people and serves other social functions, but with growing toleration of alternative behavioral styles including many other forms of play and with growing anonymity it has lost its significance as the only season in which individuals may transcend strict everyday norms of behavior.

**Fasching in Augsburg:**

A discussion of sources of information about the history of Fasching in Augsburg may be found in the bibliography. The first mention of Fasching in the archives of the city occurs in prohibitions against wearing masks on *Fastnacht*. General prohibitions were issued by the city government in 1370 and 1391, though in 1400 the restriction applied only to priests and their assistants. One can only guess what sort of masks were worn at this time and their significance. Presumably they were part of a general evening of revelry immediately preceding the Lenten season. It has been suggested that the prohibitions were issued in these years either because the celebration had become too raucous the previous year or because the city wanted to prevent the infiltration of spies during periods of conflict with political rivals.

During the 15th century a number of knightly tournaments were held in Augsburg to celebrate *Fastnacht*. Records remain of those occurring in 1428, 1438, and 1457 for such guests of honor as the Herzogs Albrecht and later Johann von Bayern. In 1458 the tournament was attended by 107 noblemen from Ulm and Nurnberg. Apparently at this time the revelry was not restricted to members of the nobility, for a letter establishing the benefice of St. Anna in 1445 gave explicit permission for the whole
populace to enjoy special foods and drink and to hold a mummers' dance in the streets on Fastnacht. Presumably the guilds of Augsburg also began to sponsor activities on Fastnacht as they did in Nurnberg.

In 1503 an incident occurred which implied that the celebration of Fastnacht by the common people often poked fun at figures of authority. A chronicler records that a young man dressed in priests' robes performed a mock baptism and christening of a goat in one of the fountains of the city. His punishment was three days with rations of bread and water and penance at Communion. A newspaper of 1938 comments on the leniency of this punishment in a period when petty thievery was punishable by physical mutilation. Presumably this was the case because usual behavioral restrictions were loosened during Fastnacht.

During the 16th century dancing became an important element in celebrations of Fastnacht, a custom which was adopted from the common people by the nobility and prominent burghers. Augsburg at that time was a prominent imperial city and in 1504 the Kaiser Maximilian attended a tournament and dance given in his honor. He also was present in Augsburg at such an occasion in 1518. Two large paintings, one in the city historical museum and one in the Ratskeller restaurant in the city hall, illustrate scenes from these masked balls for prominent families (Geschlechtertänze) and testify to their popularity which lasted through the end of the century. The custom of having 11 costumed young men or Elfer to provide entertainment and create a mood of gaiety at Fasching dances has been traced to the year 1538 when it was mentioned in the chronicle of Burkhard Zink. This is the first recorded instance of the number eleven being associated with Fasching in Augsburg, though the tradition
of considering eleven a *Narrenzahl* or fools' number is much older. In his writings Augustine spoke of eleven as a number of sin because "it went beyond the law" of the ten commandments and beyond the Pythagorean ideal number ten (Hooper 1938:87, 101). In folk culture eleven did not "make sense" in terms of general numerical symbolism where ten was the number of fingers and hence the base of the counting system and twelve was considered significant as the number of months and number of signs of the Zodiac (*Tierkreiszahl*). Thus eleven became identified with fools. (Endres 1935:143-148).

The attitude toward political and social satire during Fasching was at times surprisingly lenient, and in 1530 the Kaiser Karl V himself took part as a comic figure in a theatrical presentation. He played his own role as emperor in a satire on the authority of church and state and the conflict between them and was crowned in jest by an old man playing Pope Leo X. In 1590 a mock tournament was held by the young men of prominent merchant families which poked fun at the Fasching tournaments of noblemen during the 15th century. The prize for most successfully stabbing a goose hanging upside down went to a member of the Fugger family.

According to Paul von Stetten who published a lengthy and detailed history of the city in 1742, masked sleighrides through the city became very popular at the end of the 16th century. These processions with decorated sleighs and costumed riders echo the ship-cart processions of the distant past and are forerunners of the Fasching parade.

The 17th century saw a great decline in the celebration of Fasching in Augsburg. The city's economic situation was steadily worsening, there
was religious strife between Catholics and Protestants, and the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) was a period of great hardship in the city. In 1628 all activities of Fasching were prohibited because of the war. Von Stetten writes that the nobility and businessmen had much smaller and quieter dances during most of the 17th century, and only the common people continued to celebrate in the streets though in a more subdued fashion than formerly.

In the 18th century dances and masked sleighrides again became very popular. The custom of having redoutes or masked balls which featured elegant costumes and a variety of new styles of dancing was adopted from "southern lands". The Hotel Drei Mohren which opened in 1722 was the setting for many of these redoutes. Games of chance became popular and these, as well as the general tone of the dances which had begun to mix businessmen and nobility, were strongly criticized by the Lutheran Church. In 1729 masked balls and redoutes were prohibited. By special request Fasching balls could be held for ministers of the Kaiser, generals, and nobility who were traveling through the city, but the burghers were fined for attending such activities. Finally in 1776 the manager of the Drei Mohren was given permission to have masked balls without games of chance which were open to the burghers. The degree of formal regulation of these balls by the police is noteworthy. Guests had to come masked but were required to remove their masks and identify themselves to a police officer at each ball. Certain dances were prohibited and regulations governed those that were allowed. For example couples were expected to stay in a row when waltzing. I suspect that this is the source of the expression "er tanzt aus der Reihe" or "he
dances out of the row" used today to refer to people who refuse to do things as everyone else does.

Masked sleighrides continued to be popular in the 18th century even during the prohibition on balls, and many were organized around particular themes. A program from a masked sleighride sponsored in 1754 by students is in the city archives. Included in the 47 entries are allegorical figures such as Hope and Despair, various Greek and Roman gods, Spaniards and Lapplanders, and personifications of the moon and various planets. A similar sleighride in 1758 satirized science and art, and in 1759 the Chinese calendar was the theme of the sleighride. Elements of pointed political and social satire are not in evidence. Presumably they were not acceptable in a period when regulations of behavior at balls was taken quite seriously.

The 19th century saw an increase in Fasching activity emphasizing both balls and parades. After the city was taken by Napoleon and incorporated into the kingdom of Bavaria, Fasching balls and redoutes were often sponsored by the royal Bavarian police. The official governmental newspaper of the city announced six such redoutes in 1808, eight in 1812, and five in 1836. Regulations governing the revelers included prohibitions of frightening costumes and of entry into private residences by uninvited maskers. They specified that more than six masked persons together on the street must have a special permit and that children could be masked on the street only if accompanied by adults. Many balls were also sponsored by various hotels and restaurants, and costumes could often be rented at the site of such balls. The pantomime or tableau emphasizing fantasy and occasionally political satire became a
regular feature of the balls and continues as such today. The first recorded children's ball was staged in 1816.

A number of common interest associations were founded in the 19th century to sponsor Fasching activities. In the particularly active year of 1843 there were ten such organizations. Frohsinn (happiness) and several other groups sponsored masked dances for the public almost every weekend, and Erbeiterung (cheerfulness) and die Harmlosen (the harmless ones) had many private parties. Three parades were produced and the largest of these included for the first time on record a Prinzzkarneval following a custom that had been revived in the Rhineland city of Cologne in 1823. The Prince was accompanied by clowns, a pompous military guard, and a group of ladies dressed in Rococo style. The parade ended in the city theater with a coronation of the Prince and was followed by a masked ball.

Parades continued to be very popular in the 19th and early 20th centuries and often incorporated elements of political satire as well as general comic themes. In 1870 the figure of Napoleon III of France in a cage was a highlight of the parade. In 1906 the main figure was "General Lebudy as Kaiser of the Sahara" and in 1907 the "Prince of Pontevedro" was a satire on political happenings in the Balkans. These parades were sponsored by a number of organizations such as the sports club Schiessgraben and a club of artists called die Ecke (the corner) that was active in Fasching for many years. A businessman founded a carnival club in 1886, and the Fasching club Perlachia still has a copy of a poster that the founder circulated to recruit interested persons for the organization. The mounted military regiment of Augsburg also
played an active role in parades during the period before World War I.

Fasching activities were suspended during the First World War and during the long period of hardship that followed. In 1929 the city travel bureau and a club called the Rheinlanderverein which was strongly influenced by traditions of carnival in the Rhineland presented a parade on Fasching Sunday. Apparently there was little enthusiasm for the celebration because of the economic hardships that were becoming increasingly severe. Activities of Fasching again lapsed until 1934. In that year the press sponsored a ball and the artists' organization die Ecke had a party in the Hotel Drei Mohren. By this time some degree of optimism had been aroused after Hitler's entry into the government in 1933. The Fasching society Perlachia was founded in the fall of 1934 by a group of persons including an artist, the head of the city travel bureau, several individuals from the city theater, and members of the press. They chose as their first Prince a school principal and as Princess a performer from the city theater for the 1935 season. Eleven young men were chosen as Elfer. In 1938 the club celebrated the 400th anniversary of Fasching in Augsburg, taking as the original date the year the first Elfer appeared in records. From 1935 to 1939 Perlachia held outdoor coronation ceremonies for their Prince and Princess who with the Elfer visited many balls sponsored by hotels and by clubs and also visited old age homes and orphanages. The club sponsored parades on Fasching Sunday and at the end of the season held a mock funeral service at which Prinzkarneval was buried for another year.

During the Second World War Fasching activities ceased and were not resumed until 1950 when Perlachia again became active under the leadership
of some of its original personnel from before the war. The city had seen a great influx of refugees, and a girl from East Prussia was purposefully chosen as Princess in an effort to promote their integration into the society of Augsburg. In 1952 Perlachia originally decided not to have a Prince and Princess because of a presumed lack of interest. After a great outpouring of letters to the newspaper, however, the club hastily found a court and planned activities after the season had officially started. During the 1950's the Perlachen visited many balls sponsored by hotels and restaurants and by other organizations. Many of these balls were sponsored by refugee groups from specific areas such as East Prussia and the Sudetenland, an indication that these groups were still important social entities.

In 1956 the Rhineland cities of Cologne, Mainz and Dusseldorf decided not to have their usual celebrations of carnival because of widespread disaster caused by a flood of the Rhine and because of the revolution in Hungary. Augsburgers had chosen the same course. Once again this decision was changed at the last minute and carnival was celebrated all over Germany. The Prince and Princess of Augsburg launched the season dramatically by taking off in a hot air balloon from a square in the center of the city, a tradition that has been continued since then.

In succeeding years many new activities have been added to the Fasching calendar. During the 1950's Perlachia began sponsoring trips by train to nearby towns with participants all in costumes. They added a costumed swimming party, one private party each season only for club members, and a major costumed ball on the last Saturday of the season. In the 1960's they began sponsoring evenings in the city theater. In
1963 Perlachia borrowed the idea of a *Mädchengarde* or group of 11 dancing girls from carnival clubs in the Rhineland, and this guard has become an integral part of the Fasching court. Additions to the schedule in recent years include a special visit to the *Fuggerei* (a noted social settlement) and an afternoon party on the city ice skating rink.

During the 1960's six Fasching clubs were established in various suburbs of the city. The structure of these clubs and their activities are very similar to those of Perlachia, though they are specifically identified with individual suburbs and not with the city as a whole.

One element which has for centuries been identified with Fasching is no longer a major part of the celebration in Augsburg. This is the Fasching parade which was produced for the last time by Perlachia in 1966. Reasons for the lapse of this tradition include rapidly rising costs of production and a decline of interest among Augsburgers who prefer to watch the much more spectacular parades in Cologne, Mainz and Dusseldorf on television rather than stand outdoors in the cold for Augsburg's parade. Munich which has long had a large Fasching parade also decided to end its production in 1970 for the same reasons.

In 1968 a new Fasching club was founded in the city, the Augsburger Carneval Verein. Activities sponsored by ACV are basically similar to those of Perlachia and include balls and dances, children's balls, outdoor entertainment in open squares of the city, occasional trips outside Augsburg, and visits by the court to Fasching activities sponsored by other organizations. The new club has sponsored a few Fasching parades though on a much smaller scale than that of former parades in the city. ACV has borrowed an element from carnival celebrations in the Rhineland
called a Sitzung or meeting. Entertainers who are often professionals and various speakers perform before an audience seated in a meeting hall with the content of the performance including political satire as well as general humor.

Today the Fasching season in Augsburg is celebrated with numerous activities sponsored by both major carnival clubs as well as a number of balls and parties sponsored by other kinds of associations and by hotels and restaurants in the city.

The Fasching Calendar for 1972:

Fasching in Augsburg officially begins 11 minutes after the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month with outdoor ceremonies sponsored by both Perlachia and ACV in the center of the city. On the evening of the 11th Perlachia has traditionally sponsored a formal Chrysantheme Ball in the Hotel Drei Mohren. This ball is one of the main occasions in the social calendar of Augsburg. ACV also has a party the evening of the 11th, though it has not yet become an established tradition in the city. Both clubs stage an additional party before Christmas, the Nikolausfeier on St. Nicholas Day, December 6. In the case of Perlachia the Nikolausfeier is traditionally a private party for members of the club and guests, and St. Nikolaus always delivers the Princess for the coming season to her Prince and to the club as a whole. During the remainder of the Advent season and during the twelve days of Christmas neither club sponsors additional activities.

Intensive celebration of Fasching begins on the first Saturday after Three Kings Day on January 6. Both clubs again hold outdoor ceremonies
in the center of the city followed by formal Inthronisation Balls that evening in major hotels. For the next several weeks there is a long series of parties and dances sponsored by a variety of organizations in addition to those of the regular Fasching clubs. One of the major occasions of the season is the Red Cross formal charity ball, traditionally staged the first Saturday after the Inthronisation. Other well-known parties of the season include the VIPO or Very Important Persons Only Ball sponsored by a local newspaper, the Schiessgraben Redoute sponsored by the prestigious sports club Schiessgraben, and a Valentines Ball sponsored by an occupational association of flower growers and florists of the city. Balls are also sponsored by many leisure-time associations such as sports or hobby groups, and by occupational organizations such as craft guilds and professional associations. A few business firms have company Fasching parties, though these are less prevalent than they were in the 1950's and 1960's. Formerly there were a number of such balls sponsored by associations of refugees from particular areas such as the Silesian or Sudeten Germans, but in 1972 there was only one such ball as compared with 11 in 1955. At the beginning of the season formal evening clothes are often worn, with increasing emphasis on costumed occasions toward the end of Fasching.

In addition to balls sponsored by common interest organizations, the night clubs and restaurants of the city encourage celebration of Fasching by providing special decorations and music for the season, inviting guests to come in costume many evenings, and often presenting special entertainment with visits of the Prince and Princess and court from one of the Fasching clubs. Two hotels stage elaborate balls and
parties and may also sponsor children's balls. I was told that this style of celebrating at a night club or Gasthaus is becoming increasingly prevalent and that parties sponsored by organizations are decreasing in importance. There are also many private parties given by individuals during the season. These are particularly popular among young people.

Many of the activities of the season including those sponsored by businesses and organizations are listed on a Fasching program or calendar published each year by Perlachia and available for about 20c at the city travel bureau. This booklet usually has some 60 to 70 pages and includes pictures and information about Perlachia's Prince, Princess, and court as well as the calendar for the city. Activities are sometimes advertised in the newspapers of the city. Major activities also are reported in newspaper articles and may on some occasions prompt letters to the editor.

The intensity of the celebration of Fasching increases as the season progresses, reaching a peak the last week of Fasching. The Thursday of that week is called Lumpenden Donnerstag or Ragged Thursday, and on this day many night clubs and Gasthauses have special parties where participants wear ragged clothes. On the last Friday of Fasching Perlachia has often had an evening in the city theater, and many clubs schedule balls that evening. On Fasching Saturday Perlachia sponsors its major costume ball in the Hotel Drei Mohren. Fasching Sunday had traditionally been the day for the parade, though since 1967 this has been replaced by an outdoor presentation in a city square presented by Perlachia and since 1969 also by ACV. Rosen Montag or Rose Monday is the day of the lavish carnival parades in the Rhineland, and many
Augsburgers stay home on this business holiday to watch telecasts. Perlachia traditionally sponsors a costumed swimming party on Rose Monday. There are outdoor street dances on Rose Monday and Fasching Tuesday which are staged in the city center by a record company. These dances are well-attended by youth. Fasching Tuesday is the day for the costumed Kehraus, literally sweeping out, a farewell to the season with parties given by the Fasching clubs and by many Gasthauses. Formerly this celebration included a funeral service and burial for the Prince, but only one Gasthaus staged such a burial in 1972. At midnight on Shrove Tuesday all festivities of Fasching cease and Ash Wednesday marks the beginning of the Lenten season. On Ash Wednesday it has become tradition for Perlachia to sponsor a dinner called the Karpfenessen und Beutelwäsche or fish eating and wallet washing. The eating of fish and washing of ones wallet symbolize the end of the revelry of Fasching and the beginning of the more solemn Lenten season.
PART II

TWO CONCEPTIONS OF AUGSBURG

I could go blindfolded into the ballroom of the Hotel Drei Mohren on the evening of one of Augsburg's main Fasching balls sponsored by Perlachia and tell you who is sitting at almost every table, certainly at each of the 28 tables for ten which form the inner circle around the dance floor. It's the same arrangement at every ball. Knowing the people you encounter and being recognized personally is much better than being an anonymous number in a crowd which happens in a larger city like Munich.

I was glad to see a second major Fasching club founded and have supported ACV because I think that Perlachia is too one-sided (einsichtig). There should be more than one way to celebrate Fasching and more than one group of people who organize such events in Augsburg.

These quotations summarize two basic conceptions of the social system of the city which are prevalent among members of Augsburg's Bürgerschaft, the upper social stratum of businessmen, professionals, and high-level white-collar employees of the city. One view pictures the Bürgerschaft as a community in which participants in interaction are known to one another on a personal basis. In this view Augsburg is "a large village". The second view conceives of the city as a pluralistic system in which personal networks overlap but are not all congruent and in which no single unitary group exclusively represents any social level. Each of these conceptions is characteristic of one of the two main Fasching clubs of the city, and by investigating each of these organizations we will examine the two conceptions, the kinds of people who hold them, and the effects they have in patterning social interaction.
Chapter 4

PERLACHIA

Perlachia, the older of the two main Fasching clubs of Augsburg, was founded in 1935 by a group of persons connected with the city theater, the head of the city Verkehrsverein or travel bureau, and several artists and journalists. Activities of the club were suspended in 1939 because of the War and were resumed in 1950 under the sponsorship of several of the original members. In 1950 the revived club was an outgrowth of the Verkehrsverein, an organization of hotel and restaurant owners which provides tourist information for visitors to the city. It is subsidized by the city treasury but is not a part of the city bureaucracy. The connection between Perlachia and the Verkehrsverein has continued, and presently the Verkehrsverein performs a number of housekeeping chores for Perlachia.

Perlachia has some 220 active members. They became members by being appointed to the Fasching court composed of a Prince and Princess, a group of 11 courtiers called Elfer, and a group of 11 girls called the Mädchengarde. This means that by definition all Perlachen have devoted a considerable amount of time and effort as active participants in the club for at least one Fasching season and that they have all been specifically selected for membership. In 1969 a new category of membership was established whereby a person can become a sponsor by purchasing a Fasching medallion for DM 50 or approximately $17. These patrons do not play an active role in conducting the affairs of the club, however.

In theory the club is governed by a council of 11 Wise Men (Rat der
Elf Weisen), another occurrence of the fool's number traditionally connected with Fasching. The function of this group, which includes only former Princes and leaders of the group of Elfer, is largely symbolic. Affairs of the club are actually conducted by the Präsidium or directorate which includes elected officers and may also include other persons whom the president has appointed to carry out specific administrative tasks. This group usually includes all of the 11 Wise Men but may include other persons as well. Its size depends upon how many additional persons the president wishes to appoint. The organizational structure of the club is outlined below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRÄSIDIUM OR DIRECTORATE</th>
<th>TEAM OR COURT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elected Officers:</td>
<td>Prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President</td>
<td>Princess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Vice-President</td>
<td>Hofmarschall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Vice-President</td>
<td>Elfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>11 Members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>of the Mädchen-garde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eighteen other members of the Präsidium were appointed in 1972 by the new president.

Officers are elected by the general membership every three years. In addition the president in 1972 appointed 18 other members of the Präsidium, giving each of them a title and some specifically assigned responsibilities such as sending Fasching medallions to potential sponsors or planning programs for the various activities. The Präsidium is responsible for planning and carrying out all of the activities of the club which are discussed at length below. It usually meets one evening a week during the Fasching season and these sessions, together with the time spent in carrying out individual responsibilities in preparation
for activities and in attending the activities themselves, mean that members of the Präsidium devote a great deal of time to the club.

The club has a budget of some DM 70,000 or about $23,300 per year. It derives funds from membership dues of DM 10 or $3.20 per member, from the sale of medallions to sponsors for DM 50 or $17 each, and from larger donations from various Augsburgers. Entrance fees for public activities that the club sponsors are also an important source of funds, and in general the amount derived from admission to these activities balances quite evenly the costs of their production. Admission to balls and costume parties usually costs DM 20-25 per person. Visits by the court of Perlachia to balls and parties sponsored by other associations such as sports clubs, craft guilds, or firms are a third major source of income. A visit costs an organization DM 200 or DM 300 if the Mädchengarde performs ($62 or $94), and each medallion which the court awards to selected members of the organization costs DM 50.

The Court:

The Prince and Princess and the 11 men and 11 women who comprise the Elfer and Mädchengarde are together known as the Team of Perlachia. They are elaborately costumed and formally represent Perlachia at balls and other activities of the season. In addition to appearing at functions of the club itself the Team visits many activities sponsored by other organizations, sometimes performing at as many as five or six balls in one evening, and represents the city of Augsburg at appearances in other cities.

It is a great honor to be chosen Prince or Princess, and the process
of selection is an elaborate one which centers primarily on members of prominent families in the city. The Prince is usually 25 to 30 years old. He must be relatively handsome, of a respected social status though not necessarily wealthy, and most importantly he must be charming on a face-to-face basis and very poised and adept at speaking before a large group. It is preferable that he be unmarried but this is not always the case. Finding a good Prince is difficult because in addition to possessing these personal characteristics the candidate must also be willing and able to devote a great amount of time to playing his role.

Selection of a Prince usually begins during the Fasching season a year before he will actually serve. Members of the Präsidium, and often their wives as well, will observe the behavior of suitable young men at various social occasions, and any of these persons may propose the name of individuals to be considered as candidates for Prince. Young men who wish to be chosen Prince may subtly suggest to a friend on the Präsidium that he is interested in the position, but this is no guarantee that he will be chosen or even considered unless he meets the strict requirements of the job. The members of the Präsidium discuss the suggested names informally and often tell their wives who is being considered in order to get the wives' evaluations. Hopefully by summer there will be three or four names under serious consideration. In the early fall the club president and perhaps a few other members of the Präsidium call on each candidate to tell him that he is being considered as Prince. Potential Princes usually decline when they are first asked. Reportedly this is because of the great amount of time involved and because most persons
find it hard at first to imagine themselves playing the role of a celebrity. Many decide after further consideration that they will accept if they become the final choice of the selection committee. It is a great honor to be Prince because it provides an opportunity to make one's name known in the community and has business and social advantages. Also, playing the role is enjoyable. The relative weight of these factors in influencing the decision whether or not to be Prince varies with each individual. The final choice of Sein Tollität (His Madness) is not announced until a few days before the formal Chrysanthemen Ball which opens the new Fasching season.

The selection of a Princess is made in a similar fashion, though in her case physical attractiveness and charm outweigh the importance of speaking ability which is of greatest concern for the Prince. The Princess almost always belongs to a prominent family of the community and is always single. She is usually between 20 and 22 years old. (On two occasions Princesses have later married the Prince with whom they were paired for Fasching, and on one occasion a Princess later married the Hofmarschall of her Team.) Reportedly it is much easier to find a good Princess than a good Prince. The Princess or Ihre Lieblichkeit (Her Lovliness) is not introduced at the Chrysanthemen Ball but is instead delivered in an elaborate package by St. Nicholas at the Nikolausfeier on December 6.

Costumes for the Prince and Princess are very elaborate and are designed in a traditional courtly style. Perlachia usually assumes the cost of these, though the Princess' family sometimes pays for her dress.
Like the roles of Prince and Princess, the group of 11 Elfer dates back to the founding of Perlachia in 1935 and far beyond that in the general history of Fasching as discussed in Chapter 3. The function of this group of courtiers is to accompany the Prince and Princess and to generate enthusiasm among audiences at appearances of the court. Being an Elfer is also an honor and is almost as time-consuming as being Prince, but the selection process is not so stringent because an Elfer does not play an individual role. The exception to this statement is the Hofmarschall who is the chief member of the group of Elfer. He acts as master of ceremonies at all appearances. It is extremely important that the Hofmarschall be a talented performer who can conduct himself with poise and wit before a large audience. He is also responsible for managing the schedule of performances after being given the list of places to be visited each evening by the Ordensmeister who is contacted by organizations wishing to arrange visits by the Team. The Ordensmeister is responsible for financial records and general scheduling of visits. The Hofmarschall is the organizer of the Team and must see that they are properly assembled and ready to perform at the times expected. He is usually chosen from among the Elfer of a former season so that the Präsidium will have had ample opportunity to evaluate his abilities and so that he will be familiar with his duties. This is not always the case, however. Reportedly it is more common to seek the role of Hofmarschall than the role of Prince. There are various reasons for this difference. It is considered a bit presumptuous and gauche for a man to suggest himself to play the leading role of Prince. Actually the two positions provide almost equal opportunities for meeting people and becoming known
in the city, though the role of Prince carries somewhat higher prestige. In addition, the role of Prince is more stereotyped and allows less individual interpretation than does the role of Hofmarschall, and the type of person who would volunteer for either of these roles would probably be attracted to the greater chance for self-expression. The process of selecting the Hofmarschall is similar to that for Prince. Physical attractiveness is an asset, but the ability to perform well and to manage the Team and its schedule of engagements are much more important.

The Elfer are selected from a list of potential members compiled by the Präsidium. These young men may be business associates of Präsidium members or co-members of other common interest associations such as sports clubs. Sometimes the Elfer, the Hofmarschall, and the Prince may all be recruited from the ranks of one organization. In 1958 the male members of the Team were all from a swimming club, in 1960 they were all flyers, and in 1971 they were all members of a tennis club. These overlapping ties are significant in augmenting a feeling of solidarity among members of Perlachia and may also influence the development of new kinds of Fasching activities. For example many former Team members are pilots of hot-air balloons, and through this common interest a tradition has developed for the Prince and Princess to take a balloon ride one Sunday afternoon during each Fasching season. Costumes of the Elfer are often of a courtly style but these vary in different years. Their cost is assumed by Perlachia.

In the 1963 Fasching season the Mädchengarde or group of 11 dancing girls was added to the Team, an idea borrowed from the carnival clubs of
the Rhineland. These girls are called Zirbelnusschen after the city symbol, the Zirbelnuss, a plant shaped like an artichoke of ambiguous significance. They are costumed in short dresses, boots, and Roman style helmets in the red and green colors of Augsburg. The Zirbelnusschen do a short marching routine at each appearance of the court which is similar to the precision maneuvers of girls' drill teams at American high schools. The girls are trained by a ballet instructor connected with the city theater. The group is lead by an Obristin (feminine form of the German word for colonel), though choreography and training are done by the ballet instructor. Try-outs for positions on the Mädchengarde are announced in the newspaper and attractiveness, coordination, and gracefulness are the criteria of selection. There are usually two rounds of try-outs with a bit of instruction in between in order to trim the group to 11 regular members plus a substitute.

The social status of the girls is not a major consideration, though care is taken that they not be an embarrassment to Perlachia in terms of behavioral style. The girls agree not to drink while representing the club as Zirbelnusschen and also agree not to form close friendships with any of the Elfer for the duration of the Fasching season. Most firms are quite willing to let their employees have time off to participate as Elfer or members of the Garde because of the honor connected with these positions. Occasionally prominent families who want their daughters to be chosen as members pressure the ballet instructor and members of the Präsidium who select the Garde, but girls from such families who are obviously unsuitable can usually be tactfully discouraged.
Activities of Perlachia:

The Fasching activities sponsored by Perlachia have varied during the club's history. There are a number of traditions which have been maintained since the founding of the club, but there are also many activities which have been initiated, emphasized for a few seasons, and then allowed to die out because of lack of interest or because they became financially unfeasible. Members of the Präsium make an effort to appeal to the current interests of their audience. The following list of activities was sponsored by Perlachia during the 1972 season, a relatively short Fasching.

ACTIVITIES OF PERLACHIA, FASCHING 1971-72

November 11: *Chrysanthenem Ball*, a formal dance in the Hotel Drei Mohren

December 8: *Nikolausfeier*, a private party for club members in the Hotel Drei Mohren

January 8: *Outdoor coronation of Fasching royalty in the city center (10:30 a.m.)*
*Inthronisation Ball*, a formal dance in the Hotel Drei Mohren (8:00 p.m.)

January 16: *First Kinderball*, a costumed children's party in the Hotel Drei Mohren

January 19: *Second Kinderball* with costumes in the Hotel Drei Mohren

January 23: *Ballonstart*, a balloon ride for Princes and Princesses of nearby clubs at the airport

January 29: Dance for youth in the Jet Set night club

February 2: Masked Festival with a name band in the Jet Set

February 5: *Afternoon in the Fuggerei*, a well-known social settlement
"Dance for youth from 8 to 80" in the Jet Set
February 6: Children's afternoon in the city theater
Perlachia geht auf's Eis, an afternoon party at the city ice rink

February 11: * Evening in the city theater for the operetta "Night in Venice"

February 12: * (Fasching Saturday) Kostümfest, costume fest with the theme Dance on Mount Olympus in the Hotel Drei Mohren

February 13: * (Fasching Sunday) Outdoor performance in the city center with music and gifts for children

February 14: * (Rose Monday) Katerschwimmen, a swimming party with costumes in the indoor city pool

February 15: * (Fasching Tuesday) Kehraus, sweeping out party, a dance with costumes at the Hotel Drei Mohren

February 16: * (Ash Wednesday) Karpfenessen und Beutelwäsche, fish eating and wallet washing which marks the beginning of Lent

*Activities considered important traditions of the club are marked with an asterisk. Additional relatively inexpensive dances or perhaps an additional private party may be included during long Fasching seasons.

One of the major types of activity sponsored by Perlachia since its founding is the evening dance or ball. The Chrysantheme Ball which opens the Fasching season on November 11, the Inthronisation at which the new court is installed the first Saturday after Three Kings' Day (January 6), the Kostümfest on the last Saturday of the Fasching season, together with the Red Cross Charity Ball which is not sponsored by Perlachia, are defined as the main occasions in Augsburg's social calendar. All of these take place in the ballroom of the Hotel Drei Mohren, an old and prominent hotel in the center of town.

The Chrysantheme Ball is a formal or schwarz-weiss (black and white) occasion where men wear tuxedos and women wear evening dresses.
About one half of the tickets for the ballroom of the Hotel Drei Mohren which seats some 600 persons are reserved for members of Perlachia and their guests. A large proportion (perhaps 250) of the others are reserved for Stammgäste (other regular patrons) of the Hotel. In addition space for some 200 persons is made in rooms which can be opened onto the ballroom. These tickets are available to the public at large and are usually sold out for the Chrysanthemen Ball, the Inthronisation, and the Kostümfest.

The Prince and Princess from the preceeding season, members of the club's Präsidium and the new Prince and Elfer are introduced at the Chrysanthemen Ball. The program is presented in the form of a pantomime or play which is thematically tied to the coming Fasching season or to its cast of participants. In 1971, for example, persons to be introduced were costumed as antique figures from history such as Caesar or Napoleon and were auctioned off for kisses by the new Prince who is an antique dealer by profession.

The presentation of a program of this sort is an important characteristic of Fasching activities, and an individual who can write with wit or perform cleverly is greatly admired for his talents. It is significant that one member of the Präsidium does not hold a social position in the community comparable to that of the others in terms of occupation. He has an office job with the American Army which is not a position of prestige among Germans. Both he himself and several other members of the Präsidium have told me that he is an exceptional case who has gained firm acceptance in the group in spite of his lack of social position because of his considerable talents in writing and performing.
Perlachen emphasize the distinction between laymen (*Laien*) and professionals (*Profis*) in evaluating one's ability to perform. Excellence is routinely expected of professionals but a comparable degree of skill in the performance of a layman is much more admired because it is considered an aspect of one's personal appeal rather than something one does to earn a living. The ability to perform well is expected primarily of men. The number of women's roles in Fasching performances is minimal, and for the most part the women who do take part are expected to look graceful and attractive rather than to be witty and clever.

Seating arrangements at formal balls are quite firmly fixed from year to year as indicated in the quotation cited in the introduction to Part II. The first five tables to the right of the stage are always reserved for members of the *Präsidium* and special guests who are usually political figures such as the lord mayor and 2 mayors of the city, officials of the county and state governments, or representatives to the Bavarian or the federal legislatures. I was regularly invited to sit at one of these tables as a guest of some member of the *Präsidium* and his wife, usually by the club president, which proved to be a great advantage in meeting people and in developing contacts to be pursued later.

Most of the evening at the *Chrysanthenen Ball* is occupied by drinking wine, conversing with acquaintances and dancing. Among prominent Augsburgers dancing proceeds according to a definite series of partner exchanges. A man always dances first with his wife or date and then in turn with each of the other ladies from his table for a series of three dances with each lady followed by a pause. He then will choose partners
from other tables and is careful to ask "all of the ladies that he should dance with", a category which includes wives of good friends or of special guests who are seated at adjacent tables. Only after this will he return to dance with his wife or date and with other close friends.

The Inthronisation occurs on the Saturday after Three Kings' Day, January 6, and marks the beginning of the intensive celebration of Fasching which lasts through Shrove Tuesday, the day before Ash Wednesday when Lent begins. In 1972 the season was relatively short because Ash Wednesday was on February 16. In 1973 it will be on March 7 which will mean a long Fasching that allows for more activities and a less hectic schedule.

An outdoor coronation of the Prince and Princess takes place in the city center in the morning, and the Inthronisation Ball is held the same evening in the Hotel Drei Mohren. Formal evening clothes are again the appropriate dress. This is the first ball at which the new Prince and Princess appear in their courtly costumes, and they are officially crowned by the lord mayor and begin their reign over the city. The Mädchengarde also makes its first appearance at this ball and performs the precision routine that it will present at balls and parties many times before the season ends. During the evening coronation ceremony members of the Präsidium wear elegant red fur-trimmed coats in the style of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian of the 15th century. Political figures of the city and four non-member Senators who are wealthy patrons that add prestige and also financial support to the club also
take part in the ceremony wearing the long red coats which the club purchased last year for a sizeable price of over DM 500 each (about $190).

A special feature of the Inthronisation Ball is the awarding of Orden or medallions which are newly designed each Fasching season with a topical motif. In 1972 the design of the Orden was based on the fact that the canoe slalom for the 20th Summer Olympic games would be held in Augsburg the following August. The design is sometimes based on previous affiliation of members of the Team. For example in 1971 the Orden reflected the fact that the Elfer, Hofmarschall, Prince and Princess were all members of the Tennis Club Schiessgraben. At the Inthronisation Ball a limited number of these Orden are awarded on special metal chains, and receiving one of these Ehrenkette (honorary medallions) is a much greater honor than having an Orden on the usual ribbon necklace. Ehrenkette are given only to members of Perlachia who have devoted special service to the club or to honorary members of the club such as the lord mayor and mayors of the city, other political figures, or the Senators mentioned above who are financial patrons and who also lend their names as sponsors of the organization. The awarding of these Ehrenkette was begun during the 25th anniversary celebration of Perlachia in 1960, and 25 members of the club have received them to date. Regular Orden on ribbons are presented throughout the Fasching season by the Prince and Princess to specially selected persons at each of the balls or parties they visit.

The Red Cross Charity Ball is not sponsored by Perlachia but is a regular feature of the Fasching season, always occurring the first
Saturday after the *Inthronisation Ball*, and is considered to be a major appearance of the newly-inaugurated Team of Perlachia. Admission to the ball costs DM 40 or $13 per person so the participants are all prominent and well-to-do Augsburger, and an explanation would be expected of many prominent persons if they were not in attendance at this occasion. Dress is again formal, and a great deal of attention is given to protocol in the order of appearance in the grand march and in the seating of guests. This ball is also held in the ballroom of the Hotel Drei Mohren. The importance attached to the performance of the Team from Perlachia is indicated by the reaction to their appearance there in 1972. Though the Prince performed with poise at all other major appearances during the 1972 season, he was struck by stage fright at this ball and was not very articulate. His faux pas were mentioned in a newspaper article and in a letter to the editor the following day and were discussed at the next meeting of the Präsidium. The Prince was almost unanimously defended by members of the Präsidium, but their degree of concern about the matter was noteworthy.

A far more extreme case of inappropriate public behavior by a Prince occurred during the 1969 Fasching season and resulted in the removal of one Prince from office and the selection of another midway through the season. The original office-holder reportedly got into a fight with a bartender at the Hotel Drei Mohren during a major ball. He had previously behaved in ways that were thought a bit risqué such as arriving for his outdoor coronation in a manure spreader, so the Präsidium decided to install a new Prince instead of risking further embarrassment. This case illustrates very clearly the falseness of the impression often held by
outsiders that "anything goes" during Fasching when usual behavioral rules are suspended. The special norms and patterns governing behavior during Fasching are as firmly adhered to as are other norms and patterns, though they are different in some respects from those which prevail during Lent and during the rest of the year. The differences between norms for Fasching, for Lent, and for the remainder of the year are becoming less and less significant as tolerance increases for alternative behavioral patterns practiced most frequently by young people. My observations indicated that today differences in behavioral style are more pronounced between social strata during any given season than they are within any one stratum with a change from Fasching to Lent. In spite of what is sometimes very elaborate costuming, members of the Bürger- schaft never lose their personal identity and concomitant concern for public image in Augsburg. This situation is reportedly somewhat different in Munich where the size of the population affords easy anonymity should it be desired. It is noteworthy, however, that some Augs堡gers do choose to challenge extremely conservative expectations. One former Prince who is a lawyer told me he decided to accept the position in spite of warnings of censure by the professional association of lawyers in Augsburg because the role was deemed inappropriate for someone of his profession. His decision was apparently a wise one, for the publicity he gained by playing the role well seems to have been an asset in building his practice.

Perlachia's Kostümfest occurs on Fasching Saturday and is the last major party before Shrove Tuesday when the season ends. It is the only
major ball of Perlachia at which all of the participants wear costumes rather than evening clothes. Like the others it is held at the Hotel Drei Mohren, and tickets were sold out in 1972. The evening begins with the dancing, wine drinking, and conversation which are typical at balls, though the mood is somewhat merrier and more spirited. A variety of nationalities and occupations are represented in the costumes. In 1972 people were dressed as medieval Russians, as Spanish senoritas, as traditional Chinese, or as clowns, nurses, or military officers. The majority of costumes, however, were merely assemblages of odd clothing, hats, and wigs of various colors rather than portrayals of specific characters.

The main feature of the Kostümfest is a play centering on the theme of the Fasching season. Because the coming Olympic games were chosen as a theme for 1972, the play was a satire on Goethe's experience on Mt. Olympus and on general scenes from Greek mythology and literature. The plot was somewhat disconnected but the important aspect of the play was the appearance of many Greek characters who were played with great relish by members of the Präsidium, a few former Princes, and members of the current Team. The city theater was the source of elaborate costumes for Goethe, Apollo, Dionysius, Neptune, Mars, Pallas Athene, Venus, Hercules, Circe, and various other characters. The lines were cleverly written in verse, and the scenes were impressively choreographed by the ballet instructor of the city theater who also trains the girls of the Mädchen-garde. Many of the actors and actresses gave excellent performances, and the general humor of the scenes was greatly augmented by the fact that the characters were personally known by members of the audience. It is much more amusing to see someone one knows in everyday life as a
dentist, lawyer, or businessman playing the satirical role of a god or goddess than it is to see an anonymous stranger in the same role. This again emphasizes the statement made to me by many members of Perlachia that self-participation is of great importance in their activities. They do not wish to have professional entertainers putting on a show to be watched from the sidelines by spectators.

Another traditional evening activity of Perlachia is the Kehraus (literally sweeping out) which always occurs on Shrove Tuesday, the evening before Ash Wednesday when Lent begins. It is here that everyone bids farewell to Fasching and to the Prince, Princess, and Team for that season. In the first years of Perlachia's existence from 1935-39 and also during the 1950's this was one of the main occasions of Fasching. The Prinzkarneval was given a mock funeral service which was called a Beerdigung (burial), a custom which reportedly took place during earlier Faschings centuries ago. An Elfer from the year 1935 whom I interviewed had a photograph of the Elfer of that year carrying their Prince on a bier, and this ceremony of the Beerdigung also appears in Fasching programs published by Perlachia in the 1950's. Today, however, the burial theme has disappeared and the Kehraus on Tuesday is something of an anti-climax after the hectic last weekend of Fasching which includes an evening in the city theater on Friday, the Kostümfest on Saturday, an outdoor presentation on Fasching Sunday, and the traditional costumed swimming party on Rose Monday. The significance of this change has been discussed in chapter 3. At the Kehraus members of the Team are thanked for their time and effort and are presented gold bars stating their position on the
court to hang from their Orden. Wives and special guests are given flowers, and any other persons who have lent support are thanked. After the dance there is a private meal for the Team and Präsidium in the Drei Mohren.

In addition to these open balls for which tickets are available to the public, Perlachia has also traditionally sponsored one or more private parties each year for club members. The existence of such private parties is interpreted by some Augsburgers as an indication of social exclusiveness with interest focused on a small and closed group rather than on activities for the city as a whole. These parties have assumed different forms since their inception in 1957. Each year a private Nikolausfeier is held on St. Nikolaus Day, December 6, and since 1958 the new Princess has been delivered by St. Nicholas at this occasion. Whether or not there is an additional private party for club members and guests depends on the length of the Fasching season and on the funds available. The Nikolausfeier was the only private occasion in 1972, but in composing a tentative calendar for the 1973 season the president included another such party because of their continued popularity. Since 1959 there has also been a private dinner for Perlachen on Ash Wednesday called the Karpfenessen und Beutelwäsche which symbolizes the start of Lent. In 1972 this meal was eaten by Perlachen at a public buffet, but in the future they intend to return to the tradition of holding a private party in the Ratskeller, a prominent restaurant in the basement of the city hall.
In many years there have been various special dances in addition to the major balls which are considered club traditions. For example in 1956 Perlachia sponsored a Valentines Dance on February 6. From 1957 to 1961 they sponsored a Lumpenball (ragged ball) each year, an idea that reportedly came from the traditional celebration of Lumpendendonnerstag (ragged Thursday) when young girls dressed up as old and ragged women. In 1972 Perlachia held a special costume-dance with a name band in the newly opened Jet Set night club which is very popular with Augsburg's young people. The entrance price of DM25 ($8.33) per person was a built-in selective factor in determining what sort of people would attend and precluded many of the usual customers of the Jet Set. The tone of this party with loud music, chrome decor, strobe lights, and unreserved seating was quite different from the much more reserved style of the Hotel Drei Mohren, and some Perlachen objected to what they regarded as a rather jarring experience. In spite of this reaction the club intends to have other activities in the Jet Set in the 1973 season because they want to keep abreast of current trends and not become old-fashioned (altmodish) and thus cut themselves off from participation by young people.

Since 1969 Perlachia has sponsored one or two dances each year designed particularly to attract the young segment of the general public. Admission to these dances is much less expensive than most balls of Perlachia and cost DM 4-5 as opposed to the usual DM 20-25. The sponsoring of this type of party aimed at young people of modest means is a response to the development of the new Fasching club founded in 1968 called ACV (Augsburger Carnevals Verein) whose activities are all
much less expensive than those of Perlachia. Much more will be said in chapter 7 about this development. It is mentioned here to illustrate the fact that Perlachia continually adds new elements and deletes old ones from its set of traditional activities in response to the current interests of its audience.

Perlachia also sponsors Fasching balls for children or Kinderbälle which are among its oldest traditions, having been given every year from 1955 to the present. A children's royal pair (Kinderprinzenpaar) is chosen with the Prince and Princess being from five to seven years old. The activities of these parties are directed by a ballet instructor, and they include performances by her dancing pupils, general dances for all of the children, and an appearance by the regular Team of Perlachia who mingle with the children. The children's costumes are very much like those worn by American children for Halloween with the most popular figures being princesses or ballerinas for girls and cowboys and Indians for boys.

Until recent years a major aspect of the entire Fasching season was the outdoor parade or Faschingszug on Fasching Sunday. The tradition of street parades, as well as the tradition of the masked ball, is an element found in the cultural pattern of carnival as it appears in Catholic Europe, in many parts of Latin America, and in New Orleans. The city archives contain many references to past parades in Augsburg and a booklet published in 1886 has pen and ink drawings of floats. Perlachia continued this tradition from 1935-38 and again from 1950 to 1966 when
the last parade was held.

The immediate cause of the cessation in 1967 was financial. The city had been subsidizing Perlachia's efforts at the rate of some DM 20,000 annually which was about two thirds of the total cost of DM 30,000, but in 1967 this support was withdrawn for political reasons. Other factors were also operative in the decision to end the tradition of sponsoring parades. Many members of the club assert that television coverage of the more spectacular parades in Cologne, Mainz, Dusseldorf, and until 1970 in Munich, had greatly diminished interest in the local parade in Augsburg. Potential spectators preferred to stay home out of the cold weather and watch Germany's largest parades which are presented on a lavish scale on which Augsburg could not hope to compete. In addition to facing a much more demanding audience the Perlachen also had to contend with rapidly rising costs of producing the parade. The withdrawal of support from the city was the crowning blow in a long process of steadily increasing financial difficulties. This financial pressure was emphasized in a pamphlet published by Perlachia in 1963, several years before the parade was actually abandoned (Perlachenarbeit 1956-63).

During my fieldwork in 1972 the president of Perlachia hoped to resume the tradition of a Fasching parade and was laying the groundwork for sponsoring one during the 1973 season. He felt that a parade was feasible if Perlachia could enlist the support of ACV and of the smaller clubs in suburbs of the city. Other members of the Präsidium showed firm resistance to this idea, asserting that it was not financially feasible and was too great a risk because of the weather and the fickle
public interest. The fate of this tradition is an intriguing question, and one can find support for contradictory predictions of its revival sometime in the future after a period of dormancy (of which there have been many in the past) or for its final demise as an inevitable anachronism. The fate of the parade and of the Fasching celebration in general will be discussed at some length in chapter 8.

As a substitute for the parade on Fasching Sunday, the Perlachen now present an outdoor program in the city center similar to the outdoor crowning of the Prince and Princess on the day of the Inthronisation Ball. A band provides music, the Team makes an appearance, and candy and balloons are given to children in the audience. ACV also presented an outdoor performance on Fasching Sunday in 1972 and the city center was so crowded that it was difficult to walk about. This large audience probably was due in part to the beautiful weather that day.

In addition to the traditions of sponsoring balls and parades which are a part of the general cultural pattern of carnival, Perlachia also has a number of its own traditions which are peculiar to it or to other clubs in southern Germany and Austria. One such tradition is the visit by train to nearby towns or cities. Perlachia has sponsored a number of special trains reserved for costumed revelers who pay a modest DM 3-5 to ride amid much merriment to a destination which is kept secret. Here the Augsburgers take part in the celebrations of local Fasching clubs before returning home. In 1957 the "Fahrt ins Blaue" (trip into the blue) was to Kempten, in 1958 to Krumbach, in 1959 to Ottobeuren, in 1960 to Lindau, in 1962 to Swäbsch-Gmünd, in 1963 to Friedrichshafen,
and in 1971 to Innsbruck, all of which are within a two or three hour radius of Augsburg.

Perlachia has also sponsored a number of special trips for its own Team, Präsidium, and special guests which were not open to the public. In 1960 this trip was a flight in privately owned planes from Augsburg to Munich, then to Nurnberg, and back to Augsburg. The Prince and Elfer were all fliers that year, and the flight was part of Perlachia's 25th anniversary celebration. In 1961 the Team and Präsidium went by train to Salzburg and in the same year made an appearance along with the other prominent clubs of southern Germany at the Deutschtheater in Munich. In 1962 they went to Wurzburg where a club from Frankfurt also appeared and made visits to the clubs "Narhalla" in Munich and "Der Möbelwagen" in Stuttgart. In 1965 the Team and Präsidium visited the medieval town of Rothenburg o. Tauber and in 1966 went to Oberstdorf. During the relatively short season in 1972 there were no major out-of-town trips. The current president has thought of continuing this tradition in 1973 or 1974, however, through contacts which the fliers of Perlachia have with officers of Fasching clubs in Nurnberg.

These trips outside Augsburg are part of a general pattern mentioned earlier of visits by Perlachia's Prince and Princess, Elfer, Mädchengarde, and Präsidium to other organizations and to activities which they sponsor. Within Augsburg the Team is busy almost every evening during the season making appearances at various Fasching balls. On one evening when I accompanied the group on their rounds we visited the annual Fasching party of the National Cash Register firm, a dance in the large stadium restaurant sponsored by a sports club and the annual party of the
locksmiths guild in the Ratskeller, a prominent restaurant in the city hall building. The group also made an appearance at one of the city's wine-restaurants to perform for their customers. Their last stop was the annual Fasching party of the engineers and architects professional organization. At each of these visits the Hofmarschall introduced the Prince and Princess who spoke briefly and gave out medallions to persons whom the sponsoring organization had chosen. Then the Mädchengarde performed its usual dance, the Elfer and members of the Garde danced briefly with guests at the ball, and the Team members boarded their chartered bus for the next Fasching party.

Perlachia also makes official visits with its Team and Präsidium to a meeting of the city council and to the governmental headquarters of the county and the Suabian administrative district of the state of Bavaria which is located in Augsburg. During the visit to a meeting of the city council in 1972 a clever program emphasizing timely political satire was presented by several members of the Präsidium who were dressed in costumes, and afterwards the entire group retired to the Ratskeller restaurant downstairs for a dinner and an evening of beer and conversation. After the meal I was introduced to this group by the president of Perlachia, and the opportunity to be presented and to discuss my work informally with a number of council members and officials proved to be a great advantage in opening doors for follow-up interviewing after the Fasching season ended.

A number of old-age homes and hospitals are also visited by Perlachia, and they are proud of the fact that clubs in other cities have adopted this idea. One hospital visit near the end of the season provoked
rather severe criticism of Perlachia in the major city newspaper. The fairness or unfairness of this attack is a moot point, but the fact that it occurred and the reaction of the Perlachen to it permitted observations about the social system which will be discussed in chapter 7. The most elaborate of Perlachia's visits of this sort is their afternoon in the Fuggerei which is a 400-year old social settlement that was established in 1514 by the Fugger family of great banking and commercial repute. In 1972 the Perlachen decorated several buildings of the Fuggerei with banners and balloons and hired a marching band to take part in a small-scale parade through the main streets. An outdoor stage was set up for a short speech, the usual performance of the Team including the presentation of medallions and Fasching music by the band. Coffee and filled doughnuts were served, and the Perlachen mingled for about an hour with the residents. A few children were there in costumes. This visit was initiated in 1971 and probably will be continued for some time because of the enthusiastic response it received.

Perlachia also has a few traditions which to my knowledge are not shared by other clubs in the area. The Katerschwimmen or "cat-swimming" with all participants in costumes has taken place in the indoor city pool on every Rose Monday since 1957. Diving for gold coins which were contributed by several of Augsburg's banks added to the excitement in 1972. On years when the schedule has permitted the scheduling of this occasion Perlachia has sponsored a special evening in the city theater for which their Team and a few members of the Präsidium insert roles into one of the operettas given by the professional performers of the
theater. In 1972 the Princes and Princesses from ACV and from six clubs in Augsburg's suburbs were presented before the operetta as guests of Perlachia. Another tradition which has on occasion been shared by a club in Nurnberg is the Ballonstart. Several Perlachen are certified pilots of hot-air balloons which carry three or four passengers in a basket. This can be quite a dangerous sport, particularly in the winter when the weather is cold and windy, but it has become a tradition for the Prince and Princess to take a trip in such a balloon every Fasching season. The tradition began in 1956 when the Prince and Princess took off from one of the open squares in the center of the city. It has since been moved to the airport in the interest of safety, but one is still never sure exactly where the balloons will land. In 1972 the Princes and Princesses from Augsburg's suburbs were invited to participate, and six balloons made the trip.

In 1971 a new activity was begun called "Perlachia geht auf's Eis" (Perlachia goes onto the ice). The afternoon on the city ice-skating rink was jointly sponsored by Perlachia and an ice-skating club. The president of Perlachia at that time was also on the Präsidium of the other organization, a good example of overlapping organizational ties which will be discussed in chapter 5. In 1972 this program was cancelled because its schedule conflicted with the telecast from the winter Olympics in Sapporo and the Perlachen decided it would not be wise to sponsor an event which was likely to be poorly attended. Tentative plans for 1973 called for its resumption because of the favorable response in 1971.
Membership of Perlachia:

It has already been mentioned that to become a member of Perlachia one must serve at least one season as Prince or Princess, Hofmarschall, or as an Elfer or member of the Mädchengarde. This requirement establishes criteria which determine the type of people who belong to the club by influencing the population who would want to participate and by the selection process by which the Präsidium chooses individuals to fill the set of positions on the court. The Perlachen can thus be characterized by several traits which most of them share.

Several factors operate to limit the membership to persons of the city's upper social stratum. Persons who are chosen as members of Perlachia are expected to "have a position in the community" which is usually determined by an individual's occupation, though such a position may also be inherited by members of prominent families who themselves are too young to have an occupation. Perlachen are primarily businessmen or professionals. The membership record for 1972 which lists 223 active members provides occupational data on 172 persons. The remaining members are primarily married women who have no occupation other than housewife, though some are persons whose occupations were not known by the individual in charge of the records. Of the 172 members whose occupations are recorded, 101 are businessmen (Kaufleute with 62 of these being business owners or managers (Geschäftsführer), 3 special representatives of firms, 3 bank employees, and 32 general employees of business firms. (The 62 persons listed as Geschäftsführer include sons of business owners who have positions in their parents' firms and who will one day take over sole responsibility for management.) The 23 professionals
include 7 engineers, 5 architects, 5 lawyers, 3 dentists, and 3 educators. There are 12 governmental employees including the director of the city police and employees of the federal postal and railroad systems. Seven persons are technical assistants such as dental technicians. Seven including a book publisher are listed as master-craftsmen. Four persons are professional performers including the ballet instructor at the city theater. Four are secretaries and salespersonnel. Fifteen are students. The age for participation is gradually becoming lower which means that more students are being chosen. Among the Elfer and members of the Mädchengerde one finds some office workers from banks or business firms, but these individuals are seldom chosen for the most prominent roles as Prince, Princess, or Hofmarschall. There is a notable exception to this generalization, the member of the Präsidium mentioned previously who is an employee of the American Army and who was chosen Hofmarschall because of his unusual abilities at writing and performing. This individual considers himself an exception, as do most other Perlachen, and he is proud of his acceptance in the group.

In addition to occupation another major criterion of selection for membership in Perlachia is behavioral style. It is assumed that Perlachen will use proper language and general etiquette appropriate to the activities sponsored by the club, many of which are quite formal. This automatically eliminates a sizeable proportion of the population from consideration. An interesting case occurred during my fieldwork which points out the importance of this often subtle criterion. Quite by accident I happened to be present when an individual was making overtures to the president of Perlachia about being selected as a member
of the Team for the coming season. This individual was qualified for selection in terms of occupation and in most respects his behavioral style was appropriate, but I predict that he will not be chosen because several wives of Perlachen told me that he makes them uncomfortable. I attribute this to his failure to observe rules about eye contact. In general I observed that Germans are more conscious of a person's eyes than most Americans are, and this individual used a style of eye contact with new acquaintances that would ordinarily be reserved for close friends. Trying to be too familiar is most definitely resented by many Germans, and I suspect that it will preclude the selection of this individual as a member of the Team.

Income receives relatively little attention by itself in choosing new Perlachen, though it is often linked to other factors of occupation and behavioral style. (It is of course an advantage to Perlachia if the potential member comes from a wealthy family that will help with the cost of costumes or possibly contribute to the club, but this is not required.) Admission to all activities is free of charge during the season the individual is an active member of the Team so participation is initially not a financial burden. The factor of income does become important, however, in determining whether or not the person will continue to attend activities of the club in subsequent years. Entrance fees alone to all of the activities sponsored by Perlachia amounted to approximately DM 280 ($93) for a couple during the relatively short 1972 season, and this did not include the cost of food and drink or that of evening clothes, beauty shop appointments, or costumes. Many Augsburgers are unable to afford this amount.
The interests of individuals also play a significant role in determining the type of members belonging to Perlachia. There are many persons in the city who are qualified to be members in terms of occupation, behavioral style, and income, but who have no desire to join the club. Those who do join share an interest in one of the primary advantages of participation, the opportunity to develop contacts and to make oneself known in the community. Most Perlachen readily state that this was one of their reasons for joining the Team. This is not to diminish the importance of the desire to participate because it is enjoyable to be a part of the festivities. The relative importance of these motives for joining varies with different individuals. In joining Perlachia a new member of the Team automatically uses the familiar form of address, Du, with all other club members. Germans of this social stratum usually use the polite form of address, Sie, in addressing all adults except family members and close friends, so this immediate symbol of rapport is an extremely important advantage for a new club member in getting to know prominent Augsburgers. Having connections and being well-known is especially useful to businessmen and professionals who are self-employed or who hold leading positions in firms, and it is not surprising to find a much higher proportion of self-employed individuals as active participants in Perlachia than one finds in the general population of Augsburg (6.8%). Playing one of the major roles of Prince or Hofmarschall is a great asset in launching a career or in building up a clientele. This interest in having connections and in being known which characterizes Perlachen is a trait which has other manifestations in their lifestyles. Many of them are leading figures in various other
organizations in the city such as sports clubs or business organizations. They also tend to be more interested in entertaining than are many Augsburgers.

Once their season on the Team is over, many Perlachen retire to the passive role of spectator and never again take an active part in sponsoring the club's activities. Those who continue to be active by being on the Präsidium or by helping to arrange and sponsor activities are a special group. Of the 23 persons who are currently on the Präsidium seven are former Princes and six are former Hofmarschalls. The remaining ten were either Elfer or else have been named to the Präsidium because they are recipients of honorary medallions for their years of support of Perlachia. In terms of occupation 13 are owners or managers of businesses (Geschäftsführer) and two are professionals including one lawyer and one dentist. Thus almost two thirds (15 of 23) are responsible for their own firms. Two are white collar employees of the federal railroad system, five are white collar employees of business firms, and one is a ballet instructor. Several informants emphasized the advantages of being self-employed for Präsidium members. They can take time away from work more freely than employees and can have their secretaries help with many of the housekeeping chores of the club such as maintaining the card files of regular and sponsoring members. They also tend to be wealthier than salaried employees. Of the total group of Präsidium members, 16 are 50 years of age or over, 5 are between 40 and 49 years of age, and 3 are between 30 and 39 years of age.

The current president discussed the matter of the age of Präsidium members with me. To some extent he feels it is inevitable that many will
be middle-aged because it is difficult for a younger man just starting
his own business to spend the amount of time required to participate
actively on the Präsidium. He hopes to increase the proportion of
younger people, however, and made definite efforts in this direction
by urging the Prince and Hofmarschall of the 1972 season, both of whom
are between 30 and 35 years of age, to agree to work on organizing at
least one major project for the 1973 season. It is noteworthy that only
one woman is on the Präsidium which is consistent with the conception
typically held by Perlachen that most women are not well-suited for
managerial roles in society. The one female member, the ballet instruc-
tor, is extremely competent in her field and does an excellent job of
training the Mädchengarde and directing children's balls for Perlachia,
but she seldom expresses an opinion in Präsidium meetings on things out-
side her area of expertise. The men of the Präsidium definitely appreci-
ciate her contributions and are pleased that she concentrates on them
without trying to be dictatorial about other things.

In examining the position of women and attitudes toward them I
found that in general the wives of Perlachen assume their social iden-
tity through their husbands. The wife's network of acquaintances is
largely defined by her husband's network though some wives know and
interact with neighbors who may not be known by their husbands. Very
few wives of Perlachen have occupations other than being housewives
and mothers. Some wives enjoy going to the activities of the Fasching
season with their husbands, but there are others who prefer to stay at
home for the primary reason that many men are often kept busy most of
the evening in arranging the program to be presented or other behind-
the-scenes activities. The conception among Perlachen of proper roles for men and women and of proper modes of behavior for each of them is based on what might be termed a chivalrous ideal. Women are ideally attractive and charming, and men are ideally very cavalier. R. H. Lowie has discussed matters of etiquette which reflect these conceptions about proper roles for men and women such as the custom of greeting women by kissing their hand (1954:71-82). Today shaking hands is the usual mode of greeting in Augsburg, but the custom of kissing ladies' hands has not disappeared by any means. A man who follows this custom is said to be of the old cavalier school (altkavalierschule).

A new category of membership in Perlachia in addition to former participants on the Team was established in 1969 as a means of supplementing financial resources. A list of about 325 prominent and wealthy Augsburgers was compiled by members of the Präsidium. Every year each individual on the list is sent a medallion with a request that he purchase it for DM 50 (about $17). Persons who thus contribute to the club are called sponsoring members (fordernde Mitglieder), though they do not play an active role in the club and often do not attend any of its activities. These individuals are all professionals, owners or heads of business firms, or directors of factories and banks. About 275 persons or firms from this list contributed to Perlachia in 1972 and about 50 returned the medallion without money.

The members of Perlachia who share an interest in being known and in having connections also share a conception of their city as a social community. This characteristic is the subject of the following chapter.
Chapter 5

THE UPPER SOCIAL STRATUM AS COMMUNITY

Participant observations of Fasching activities sponsored by Perlachia and extensive interviews with members of the club revealed that social interaction on a personal, non-anonymous basis is of great importance to these Augsburgers. They view their social stratum in the city as a community (Gemeinde) in the sense of a bounded interactive system with participants who are personally known to one another, and it is for this reason that they call their city a large village. The following chapter examines this conception in some detail. It also deals with the types of people who participate in the interactive system and includes a discussion of the relationship between this community and the city as a whole.

The Bürgerstand:

At this point a distinction will be made between the terms Bürger- schaft and Bürgerstand. Bürger-schaft refers to a general social category best translated as bourgeoisie, whereas Bürgerstand carries the additional connotation of a specific set of persons generally recognized as the set of prominent citizens of a particular community. I first took special note of the term Bürgerstand when talking to an older informant about the town of some 7,000 residents where she lived as a child before World War I. The upper social stratum of the town was made up of merchants, self-employed craftsmen who owned shops, and a group of professionals that included doctors, lawyers, school teachers, and clergymen.
These persons were all personally known or "had names in the community" and were identified by the entire population as the group of prominent citizens of the town called its Bürgerstand. There were several kinds of distinctions between this group and other members of the population. Certain styles of clothing such as fur coats and certain behavioral settings such as special rooms in restaurants and Gasthäuser were reserved for members of this group. Only burghers would have considered being candidates for the city council or mayor, and there were few marriages between members of burghers' families and persons of lower social status. It is interesting that the informant who was the daughter of a burgher chose to marry a youth whose father was a farmer. This was not actually condemned in the community for the youth was recognized as being very bright and ambitious, but it was thought to be unusual and the youth was considered very lucky. The informant summed up the value placed on the status of a member of the Bürgerstand by her statement "damals hatten wir alle viel Bürgerstolz" (then we all had a great deal of pride in being burghers).

The conception of Augsburg's upper social stratum that is held by members of Perlachia shares several important characteristics with the Bürgerstand of the small town mentioned above, and I have chosen the term to refer to this view of the upper stratum in Augsburg. One such characteristic is the extremely large proportion of members of this stratum who know one another, interact on the basis of personal acquaintance, and value being known or "having names in the community". Perlachen consider Augsburg to be unlike most cities where the upper social stratum consists of a plurality of different elites and where most interaction takes place
on an anonymous basis. Ralf Dahrendorf (1967) lists seven separate elites as being typical of European societies, including businessmen, lawyers, elites of the entertainment world and various media, academic elites, political leaders, church leaders, and military elites; and he asserts that social contact between these segments is minimal. This distinction between the upper social stratum in Augsburg and that of most cities in industrial cultures is analogous to the distinction Suzanne Keller makes between a ruling class and a plurality of strategic elites (1963).

The second important characteristic of the Bürgerstand of Augsburg which it shares with that of the small town is the identification of this group of persons with a particular city or town and the fact that the group is considered representative of the geographical entity as a whole. It is extremely important to recognize this aspect of being a member of the Bürgerstand. The status is based not on conspicuous consumption or the possession of luxury goods such as fine cars or expensive and stylish clothes which are assessed in an essentially equal fashion whether one is in his home city or somewhere else. Instead possessing the status of burgher hinges on having a name in the community which of necessity implies attachment to a particular geographic area and to a particular set of people who can know one personally. This notion of being known within a particular geographic sphere is conveyed by a statement one Augsburger made about major cemeteries of the city; "Man kann immer im Friedhof die Wohlstand der Gemeinde merken" (one can always identify the set of prosperous persons of the community in the cemetery), an observation W. Lloyd Warner made about Yankee City as well.
The phrase Wohlstand der Gemeinde, like Bürgerstand, implies an identifiable set of persons attached to a geographic entity. This characteristic of Augsburg also contrasts with larger and "more modern" cities such as Munich where only a very few persons in special roles such as the mayor or heads of large institutions are recognized by name by a large proportion of the urban population.

In discussing their conceptions of the Bürgerstand of the city, a number of Augsburgers said that tight integration of the social stratum is very concretely manifested by the seating arrangements which prevail on a continuing basis at the formal Fasching balls in the Hotel Drei Mohren. These seating arrangements also show that a limited number of individuals or families are considered to "have positions in the community" (eine stelle in der Gemeinde zu haben). The number of persons who can be accommodated in the ballroom of the Drei Mohren is limited (the room will seat approximately 600, or 800 if neighboring rooms are opened onto the ballroom), and participants are made very conscious of the limited social space because the room is a bit more crowded than would be considered ideal for ease of movement and interaction. The two rows of tables around the dance floor are always occupied by the same set of persons. The statement quoted in the introduction to Part II conveys this situation well:

I could go blindfolded into the ballroom of the Hotel Drei Mohren on the evening of one of Augsburg's main Fasching balls ...and tell you who is sitting at almost every table, certainly at each of the 28 tables for ten which form the inner circle around the dance floor. It's the same arrangement at every ball.

The firmness with which this pattern is fixed is indicated by the
statement of an individual who told me that at one time some years ago he "wanted to break out of the table system" but found it impossible.

Before inviting anyone new to sit at your table you are expected to call in advance the other people who regularly sit there to ask if it is alright to bring the particular guest. Actually I just call and tell them whom I'm bringing if I ever take a guest. Another thing, if someone sits as a guest at one table this year, people would find it strange if he sat at a different table next year. They would be curious about this change and would probably suspect that some sort of quarrel had occurred.

Another example of the situation in which a strictly limited number of places is quite rigidly assigned to individuals was cited by a different informant. Before World War II attendance at the annual series of symphony concerts presented in the city theater was a matter of great prestige, and tickets for the reserved season seats were the object of spirited competition because of the social significance attached to their possession. The limited number of places were in such demand that the right to buy season tickets was inherited, and this was the only way in which they could be obtained. During the 1960's it was decided that the concerts should be more widely available and now two performances of each concert are given. It is still a matter of some prestige to attend the opening night of each concert, but for the second performance enough tickets are available so that anyone who is interested may attend.

The Bürgerstand is thus conceptualized by Perlachen as a bounded system with limits defined both by the geographic extent of the city and by the criterion of upper social status. The existence of such boundaries does not imply that the system is entirely closed but rather that the boundaries can be crossed only by following appropriate procedures. This point is illustrated by the case of the individual who is now
accepted as an active member of Perlachia in spite of the fact that he is employed by the American Army and "has no position in the community". This person was incorporated into the Bürgerstand because the Perlachen were convinced by a personal recommendation and by their own evaluations that his talents as a writer and performer would enable him to play the role of Hofmarschall very effectively. After he did fill this role with great success and had a chance to meet members of the Bürgerstand through Perlachia, he was incorporated into the interactive system and now is one of the best-known members of the club.

In investigating boundaries of the interactive system I asked an informant what would happen if someone of high occupational status moved to Augsburg, wanted to be incorporated into the interactive system, and asked about attending one of Perlachia's Fasching balls at the Hotel Drei Mohren. The reply was

If I liked the individual and thought he would be compatible with the others I would offer to get his tickets and would invite him to sit at our table. If I didn't like him I would say "Tickets are sold at the Verkehrverein or at the Hotel Drei Mohren--I think you should get them before the last minute for they are often sold out." This would mean that the unsponsored individual would surely be relegated to one of the outside tables, probably in an adjoining room rather than in the main ballroom.

This statement is indicative of boundedness because it illustrates that the incorporation of individuals into the Bürgerstand is controlled by persons who are already members. Incorporation cannot be achieved solely through the efforts of an individual unless he has gained acceptance by the group. It is thus clear that having an occupation of high social status and living a lifestyle which is considered bürglerlich is not equivalent to being a part of the Bürgerstand. Ones occupation and
lifestyle can be anonymous indicators of status, but in terms of the conceptions of most Perlachen being a member of the Bürgerstand implies being known on a personal basis.

The Importance of Being Known:

The importance of being known or having a name in the community is revealed in numerous ways. Members of the Bürgerstand want to be recognized by many people as they move about in the interaction settings of the city, and it is not hard to verify that many Augsburgers are indeed widely recognized by acquaintances they have met accidentally in a great variety of situations. The matter of being recognized is linked to specific behavioral settings of the city. Several members of Perlachia whose social interaction I observed in some detail were regularly greeted on a personal basis by owners and by service personnel such as coat-checking ladies, waiters or waitresses at the city theater, at the Ratskeller and a number of other prominent restaurants in and around the city, at the best-known cafes, and by passers-by in many public places such as the post office or on the streets in the center section of the city. One Perlachen revealed the importance of locations in telling me about a meeting he had with a member of ACV regarding a joint project of the two clubs. They met in a restaurant chosen by the member of ACV and the Perlachen, who is usually very widely recognized, specifically noted that he did not know anyone at this location whereas the representative of ACV was personally greeted by the coat-checking personnel and by various other customers. This apparently disturbed the Perlachen somewhat or was at least noteworthy because he said he made a point of
mentioning to the man from ACV that he had only been in that restaurant twice in his life. The Perlachen had "gotten outside his territory," so to speak.

The link between persons and specific behavioral settings can be viewed from the focal point of the physical location as well as from that of the individual. A great many locations in Augsburg such as restaurants, Gasthauses, cafes, or hotel ballrooms have a set of Stammgäste or stem-guests. These guests who are known personally may be customers who come on a regular schedule to meet with certain other persons, in which case their group constitutes a Stammtisch or stem-table. For example, one member of Perlachia meets three or four friends every day from 4:00 to 5:30 p.m. to drink coffee at the Hotel Drei Mohren. It is more common for members of a Stammtisch to meet once a week or once every two weeks. This is not specifically arranged each time; the members of the Stammtisch and the owners of the restaurant or Gasthaus just assume that a meeting will occur regularly. The majority of Stammgäste are not affiliated with a Stammtisch and thus do not visit the location on a regular schedule. Rather they are individuals who are customers at the location frequently enough to be known personally. The personnel at most locations are particularly cordial to their Stammgäste and may make special recommendations on food or wine, may carry on brief conversations, or may simply remark that they are glad to see the individual again.

In addition to direct social interaction on a personal basis, the two major local newspapers of Augsburg also play an important role in facilitating the operation of a Bürgerstand in which being known is
emphasized. The larger and older Augsburger Allgemeine, a daily newspaper with some 200,000 subscribers in and around Augsburg, contains international and national news as well as a large body of local information. It is quite professionally written and published, and by regularly keeping files of its articles I accumulated a vast amount of information on the events which occurred in the city, its cultural life and entertainment, and controversies which arose over such subjects as the political incorporation of suburbs or the location of the new university campus. The Allgemeine was also a source for me and for Augsburgers as well of a great deal of information on the social system. Activities of individuals and groups are reported, death announcements or Todesanzeigen reveal much about the status of various families, and a column about personalities of interest called "Leute von Heute" or People of Today serves as a sort of gossip page about travels, guests, and other personal information. Many Augsburgers are interested in this kind of news and are quite pleased if they are mentioned in the paper because of the importance of being known. Noting the names of persons who appeared in the Allgemeine over a period of time made it apparent that the same set of people appeared frequently and indeed "have names in the community".

The same is true of the other major local newspaper, the Südbische Neue Presse, a weekly paper with a circulation of some 30,000 copies. The Neue Presse is a relatively new venture begun in 1963 and is reportedly the only paper in Germany based solely on local news. It is less professionally oriented than the Allgemeine in the sense that it specifically seeks to publish items of great interest that will sell papers
without attempting to be a comprehensive source of public information. This means that many of its articles are sensationalist and emphasize subjects such as sex or violence, though it also contains articles about political and social events and about cultural activities. In addition to publishing single articles on persons of interest, the Neue Presse has a page devoted each week to gossip items including social occasions, parties given by individuals, and the travels and hobbies of various Augsburgers. As in the Allgemeine, the same set of persons received frequent mention and persons are often referred to by first names or nicknames which again illustrates the emphasis many Augsburgers place on having a name in the community.

The significance of local newspapers in a city where being known and having a good public image are important to many people is demonstrated by the concern shown by Fasching clubs for cultivating good relationships with the press. Articles or letters to the editor expressing critical opinions of various Fasching activities or of the manner in which they are conducted cause concern and sometimes angry reactions among members of the clubs. For example the Allgemeine printed a critical letter to the editor after the Red Cross Ball where the Prince of Perlachia lost his poise. At the next meeting of the Präsidium several persons were angry that this had been published. They asserted that Perlachia does a great deal for the city by sponsoring Fasching activities and that its efforts should be supported by the press. The publishing of criticism is viewed almost as a betrayal of trust, yet the Perlachen realize that they have no real recourse because there is no other daily paper in the city. Their
response is thus an expression of displeasure and efforts are made to cultivate more favorable coverage in the future. On another occasion at the end of Fasching a critical article resulted in the drafting of a long private letter to the editor requesting a meeting between the staff members involved and several Perlachen. The critical article was not retracted by the newspaper, but a vague pledge was given to "make up for this during the next Fasching season". Two members of Perlachia who were personally mentioned in the article were particularly displeased, stating that for someone who is self-employed this kind of personal criticism can be very damaging. Being known in this case can also have its disadvantages which the Augsburgers recognize very clearly as expressed in their saying "es gibt immer eine Kehrseite der Medaille" (medals always have a back side).

Participants:

Investigation of Augsburg's social structure through the Fasching club Perlachia revealed that many members of the upper social stratum conceive of this stratum as an integrated Bürgerstand. The Perlachen constituted a sample of informants that was pre-selected for certain interests and opinions, however, so I balanced this factor by interviewing other persons of the upper social stratum to investigate their conceptions of the social system of the city and to identify more specifically what kinds of persons choose to participate in the interactive community of the Bürgerstand.

Almost without exception members of the upper social stratum believe that an interactive community does exist in Augsburg. Many see
this as a very favorable characteristic permitting one to be known and appreciated as an individual and to have a sense of belonging rather than being an anonymous number lost in a crowd which they consider to be the case in Munich. Some people, especially those who do not choose to participate in the community, consider this tight integration to be a negative characteristic which stifles an individual's freedom and forces behavioral conformity and conservatism. Even those individuals who enjoy being a part of the community state that being known has this disadvantage, but for them the advantages of having a name in the community outweigh the advantages of anonymity.

The set of recognition cards described in chapter 1 was particularly useful in gathering data on participants in the interactive community. Informants were asked to sort 160 cards listing the names of prominent Augsburgers into categories of persons who were gut bekannt or well-known to them, bekannt or known, and unbekannt or unknown to the informants. I found that the people who most actively participate in the interactive community and who are most widely known are self-employed businessmen, including both merchants and the owners of service firms, and political figures. A relatively small proportion of the city's professionals (including doctors, lawyers, engineers and architects, dentists, and members of the press) and some upper-level bureaucrats are also active participants, though not to the same extent that businessmen and political figures are. Academicians from the university, performers of the city theater, educators of the local schools, and the majority of the city's doctors take very little part in the general interactive community and tend to interact primarily with members of their own professions.
Members of the German nobility who reside in the area also remain apart from the bürgersiche community for the most part. This distinction on the basis of occupation is not difficult to understand when one considers the reasons why an individual would be willing to devote the time and effort necessary to develop a name in the community. Being known is most important to persons who need to develop a clientele in their occupation, and participation in the social community is a way to win customers and clients or votes as well as leisure-time friends. Lawyers participate more actively than doctors, a situation that is probably due to a surplus of lawyers who must compete for clients but a shortage of doctors, most of whom have more patients than they can comfortably handle.

The most active participants in the community are usually 35 or more years old. There are several apparent reasons for this. Anyone who is self-employed has usually been employed by someone else for a few years before starting out on his own so that he is in his 30's before really beginning to develop a clientele. Augsburgers express this by saying that "young people often criticize the idea of being part of an establishment and of cultivating contacts until they are old enough to join the establishment themselves". Another possible factor is the wartime and post-war experience of persons over 35 years old. Such Augsburgers are most definitely aware of the importance of cultivating contacts (Kontakten zu pflegen) which they sometimes call "Vitamin B". This term was used during and after the War when foods and especially vegetables could be obtained only through personal acquaintance with someone in the country. The term has continued in
use to designate a personal contact through which some beneficial item or service can be obtained.

It is significant that post-war refugees from other areas of German culture, particularly from Silesia and the Sudentenland, are thoroughly integrated into the interactive community along with native Augsburgers. Immediately after with War there was a great deal of friction between these groups. Native Augsburgers asserted that they were not given financial compensation for their losses of home or business as were the refugees, and competition for scarce goods and positions in the devastated economy also caused much resentment. After the currency reform and economic improvements in 1948 relationships between natives and refugees began to improve though the printed Fasching programs for the 1950's indicate that many refugee groups still held their own separate parties at that time, and I was told that during this period a native Augsburger would not have wished to marry a refugee. Today one's place of origin, if German, is almost entirely irrelevant, though people can usually detect an individual's original home by the dialect he speaks. Many persons feel that the celebration of Fasching has played an important part in furthering this integration of newcomers into Augsburg, a process which will be discussed at length in chapter 8. This seems to apply particularly to refugees who were incorporated into Augsburg's upper social stratum.

Integration into the bürgerliche community of Augsburg, whether for native Augsburgers or for persons born elsewhere, takes place primarily through common interest associations or through sponsorship of one individual by another. My interviews revealed that many members of the
community met the majority of their friends through Perlachia, and being Prince or Hofmarschall was especially valuable for developing a name in the community. Many individuals have taken these positions with the objective of becoming known, though I do not wish to minimize the importance of the fun involved as a strong reason for participation. A good example of how effective participation in Fasching is in making oneself known in the community is provided by a postcard one Hofmarschall received from Austria. It was addressed only by nickname to Hofmarschall Bussi, 89 Augsburg, Germany, and was delivered promptly to the correct person. This individual and his wife told me that they had met most of their friends through Perlachia.

Perlachia is of course not the only organization which can provide a means of entering the interactive community. Examples of other clubs whose members include many active participants in the Bürgerstand are the Tennis Club Schiessgraben, some swimming clubs, or organizations of the pilots of private planes and of hot air balloons. Augsburg also has three Rotary clubs which provide the same kind of contacts. In various years Perlachia's Team or Court has been recruited from each of the first four groups which is indicative of the degree of overlap in membership between these organizations. Members of the Präsidium of Perlachia are found in leading positions in many other organizations. For example one is the president of the large Augsburger Eislauf Verein (a group of persons interested in ice sports such as hockey), and one is the elected head of the Suabian photographers' guild.

Sponsorship of one individual by another can also be a means of entering the social community, and when someone has received this sort
of sponsorship Augsburgers say that he has been "gut eingeführt" or well brought into the group. Sponsorship may be based on kinship ties and several brothers, sons, and daughters have thus been incorporated into the Team of Perlachia. Individuals may also sponsor someone they have met through business or school ties. Sponsorship in the case of joining Perlachia usually means the suggestion of a name for consideration and does not mean automatic acceptance. One former Prince told me he hopes his daughter will one day be chosen as Princess but emphasized that this will depend on the Präsidium as a whole. He can only suggest the possibility which he will have to do rather subtly because he doesn't want to make it difficult for the others to refuse if they choose to do so. I suspect that the girl's name will be mentioned by someone else so that her father need only affirm her interest in the role.

The Community and the City:

The question of why a tightly integrated interactive community exists in Augsburg's upper social stratum draws our attention to two kinds of factors which seem to foster its existence. The first of these is related to size and complexity and was called by one thoughtful respondent "Überschaubarkeit", a difficult term to translate which means literally "overviewableness". What he meant to convey was the opinion that Augsburg is small enough in terms of population size and physical extent that one is able to know a large proportion of the members of its upper social stratum, can understand the configuration of its major social aggregates and how these fit into a system, and can be familiar with most of the public spaces and behavior settings of the city. He
contrasted Augsburg (population with suburbs about 250,000) and Nurnberg which he considers still barely überschaubar (population around 500,000) with Munich (population over 1,000,000) which is so large and complex that one individual can no longer have more than a partial view of its people and of its spaces. The term überschaubar is an intuitive notion and the limits beyond which it is no longer possible are arbitrary, but it does convey the basically simple notion that too much complexity boggles the mind. It is important to recognize that the degree of complexity an individual can perceive and sort out depends upon familiarity. At my first Pasching ball I was somewhat overwhelmed by the large number of people who knew one another yet who seemed to me like a sea of faces and whose names were garbled in my mind. By the end of my stay I knew a great many of these people and understood something about their relationships with one another. The names in the gossip columns of the newspapers sounded familiar, and I was often greeted personally as I walked about downtown or attended various social occasions. Germans in general and Augsburgers in particular seldom move from city to city. Their relative lack of geographical mobility fosters a degree of familiarity with their Mutterstadt or mother city which many Americans lack.

Augsburg may be considered überschaubar for several reasons. One is its population size. It is difficult to determine from census data exactly how large the number of persons is who might be considered part of the upper social stratum. In 1970 the number of self-employed persons was 6867 and there were 2249 family members who were working in businesses owned by the family. A reasonable estimate of the universe of potential members of the interactive community or Bürgerstand might
thus be 10,000 to 15,000, a figure which allows for the upper-level bureaucrats and managerial employees who might participate if they chose to do so. This is not an overwhelming number as would be the case in Munich where there would be 40,000 to 50,000 potential members of the Bürgerstand if relative proportions of occupational categories remained approximately equivalent.

It is important to recognize the relative homogeneity of this population in terms of lifestyle, cultural background, and interests. Though there was a great influx of refugees after the War, these newcomers were of German cultural background and most of them assimilated quite quickly the behavioral patterns of their equivalent social stratum in Augsburg. A similar influx occurred in the period 1850-1900 and historians report that in this case as well the newcomers were never so numerous nor of such dissimilar cultural background as to hinder their rapid incorporation into the city. Augsburg might usefully be contrasted with Munich in this regard. The Bavarian capital has attracted persons of many nationalities and many lifestyles and this cosmopolitan character, together with the large number of students at the university, make Munich a much more heterogeneous and therefore more socially complex city than Augsburg.

Several developments of the last few years may tend to make Augsburg move in a similar direction of greater cultural and social pluralism. It remains to be seen to what extent the faculty and students of Augsburg's new university and the sizeable groups of foreign workers from Italy, Turkey, and Yugoslavia which numbered some 13,500 persons in 1970 will be integrated into the city. Perhaps they will remain as cultural
and social enclaves. It was mentioned above that the personnel of the university, like those of the city theater, tend now to remain separate from the Bürgerstand. Several members of the community expressed the desire to have personnel of the university more thoroughly integrated into the social system of the city, but I doubt that this will occur because of their divergent interests and lifestyles. I expect that the interaction between these entities will remain on an official level conducted through persons in roles as cultural brokers such as the university president or chancellor.

Another factor fostering integration of Augsburg's Bürgerstand into a community is the large number of common interest associations in the city. Because the population is relatively small there is a great overlap in personnel in various organizations. Membership in these groups tends to cluster along class lines which is the case in many societies as discussed by Anderson (1962), Hammond (1972), and other writers. For the upper social stratum there is often an element of prestige connected with demonstrating an expensive lifestyle through such organizations. The cost of active participation in Perlachia in terms of both time and money has been discussed. Membership in the Tennis Club Schiessgraben, or in flying clubs is also indicative of a costly lifestyle. As an example of the overlap between such groups, 42 of 223 Perlachen listed as active members also belong to the Tennis Club Schiessgraben.

In addition to the relative social and cultural homogeneity of the city and the multitude of overlapping organizations which tie its population together, the tight integration of Augsburg's Bürgerstand is also
fostered by the relatively small number of settings for social interaction. A larger city may have a great number of prominent restaurants, cafes, or night clubs and many social occasions but in Augsburg the number is small enough so that it is possible for one individual to be known at each of them. The close association made between locations and sets of people has been discussed earlier. The case of the new night club, the Jet Set, which opened in 1971 is a good illustration of the significance of a limited number of behavioral settings. The new club proved to be very popular with young people and in order to remain identified with this group Perlachia decided to have several Fasching parties at the Jet Set in 1972. Though many Perlachen objected to the strobe lights and loud music, much preferring the more reserved and formal setting of the Hotel Drei Mohren, it was decided to continue sponsoring several activities in the Jet Set in the 1973 season because not to hold activities in this popular setting would mean identifying Perlachia as stuffy and removed from the current lifestyle. The criterion for making this decision was not whether the majority of Perlachen enjoyed activities in the Jet Set but rather what effect a lack of involvement in this setting would do to the club's public image. Because of a relatively small number of settings people are able to keep tabs on what is going on at each of them.

The significance of a limited number of behavioral settings is also illustrated by the discussion surrounding the large civic center called the Kongresshalle which opened in June of 1972. This new setting will obviously be a focal point of attention during the 1973 Fasching season, and the Präsidium of Perlachia and that of ACV are both well aware of the
importance of sponsoring successful activities here. There was a lengthy debate in February of 1972 among the Perlachen on whether to move their prestigious costume fest to the Kongresshalle for 1973. It was finally decided to have two simultaneous costume fests, one at the traditional location in the Drei Mohren and one at the Kongresshalle. Having the club "present" at each of these major settings at the prime time of Fasching Saturday was considered so important that neither setting could be given up.

In addition to demographic and structural features which promote Überschaubarkeit, a second major kind of factor which fosters integration of the bürgerliche community in Augsburg is a set of values which emphasizes being known personally, cultivating contacts and having a name in the community and a cultural tradition which stresses loyalty to ones city rather than to the larger social aggregates of state and nation. The value placed on being known and its significance have been discussed at length above. An understanding of the loyalty and sense of identification Augsburgers feel toward their city can best be gained by considering its past. A recurrent theme in any history of Germany is the persistence of parochial loyalties as discussed by R. H. Lowie (1954), and it is clear that Augsburgers consider their own local history as a separate and unique development apart from the course of German national history. They are well aware that their loss of political freedom as a Free Imperial City and incorporation into the Kingdom of Bavaria dates only from 1806 and that Bavaria has been subordinate to a German nation only since 1870. Augsburgers know and appreciate the
history of their mother city (Mutterstadt) and are much less likely to move away than are American young people. Instead of being taught state history as in American grade schools, Augsburg's children are taught the history of their city, and this strengthens their identification with Augsburg as a primary social entity.

An examination of the nature of the bürgerliche community in Augsburg inevitably raises the important question of whether or not this interactive system can be said to represent the city as a whole. Certainly the fact that only members of the upper social stratum are potential participants and the fact that many members of this stratum choose not to participate makes this a question to be seriously examined. One finds contradictory answers to the question. It is apparent that many members of the interactive system do think of their group as being representative. This is perhaps most graphically illustrated when the Team of Perlachia makes official visits to Munich, Salzburg, Nurnberg, or Innsbruck. They do not appear as the Prince and Princess of Perlachia but as the Prince and Princess of Augsburg representing the entire city. Until recent years no questions were raised about channeling city funds into the Fasching parade sponsored by Perlachia, for this was automatically considered Augsburg's parade rather than Perlachia's parade. And the Fasching balls of the Perlachen are considered the main occasions on Augsburg's social calendar. Many Augsburgers feel this is as it should be and do not wish to see the integrated social system undergo fragmentation. But there are contrary opinions. The founding and support for the new Augsbuer Carneval Verein and the fact that many Perlachen view this organization as a rival while suburban clubs which have
existed for years are not considered as such are evidence of a challenge to the claim of exclusiveness and representativeness tacitly advanced by Perlachia. The challenge is not confined to the particulars of how Fasching activities are sponsored in the city. This manifestation of resistance to exclusiveness is indicative of the feeling that the unitary integration of the Bürgerstand should give way to a more pluralistic social order. The nature of this challenge and the reasons for its appearance are the subject of the chapters that follow.
Chapter 6

THE AUGSBURGER CARNEVAL VEREIN

The Club:

The Augsburger Carneval Verein was founded in 1968 by a group of some 20 persons and now has over 2000 members. The founders represented a variety of occupations including businessmen, office workers, an artist, a lawyer, and a doctor. Since 1968 a number of founders have dropped out of the group of active leaders because of the great amount of work and time required of this group. The purpose of founding ACV was to provide an alternative Fasching organization for the city. Many people felt that Perlachia was too onesided (einsichtig) and wanted to see a Fasching organization that was volkstümlich, an adjective meaning popular or common as opposed to bürgerlich which refers to the upper level of society. This purpose is expressed in the greeting from the president of ACV in 1971 published in the introduction to the program of the club. He stated that the club had instituted a new social order in which "Bei uns ist jeder prominent, der Spass hat an der Freud!" (in our group everyone is prominent who enjoys pleasure). Members of Perlachia express the distinction between the two clubs by saying that each of them has a "ganz andere Publikum" or an entirely different audience.

A member of the Vorstand or group of leaders whom I interviewed stated that there are many Augsburgers who are strongly against Perlachia for two basic reasons. The first is that in the past Perlachia has refused to send their court to a number of balls where visits had been requested. The Perlachen would answer, of course, that they receive far
more invitations than they can possibly accept and that some must be refused because of a lack of time. Members of ACV assert that the particular balls Perlachia chooses to attend clearly indicate social snobbishness. A second source of resentment is the fact that Perlachia quit sponsoring Fasching parades as soon as funds from the city government were withdrawn in 1967. Members of ACV assert that the Perlachen refuse to spend much of their sizeable budget on activities such as the parade for the general public but choose instead to spend most of it for balls and parties which are class exclusive.

ACV currently has over 2000 members. Joining the club costs DM 5 or about $1.67, and members are recruited primarily by handing out printed programs at visits and performances of the club which contain business reply cards for establishing membership. About 10,000 programs with membership cards are handed out each year.

The club is run by a Vorstand or group of leaders with 11 members including a chairman, two vice-chairmen, a secretary, a treasurer, and six general members. A new Vorstand is elected every two years. There are also nine additional active persons appointed to special committees. The positions of the two vice-chairmen and that of club president are honorary positions given to prominent persons of the city who lend their names in support of the club but are not expected to work. In 1972 these three positions were held by a mayor, a factory owner, and the chief doctor of a local hospital. ACV also has eight Senators who serve as sponsors and patrons but do not play an active role in the affairs of the club. Other members of the Vorstand are businessmen and office
workers, and there is a group of about three or four of them who are particularly active in the club. The chairman who has held this position for three years is especially dedicated and is a good organizer. It is said by friends and critics alike that much of the success of the club is due to his efforts and enthusiasm. He uses what he calls a "snowball system" to continually involve larger numbers of people in the affairs of the organization.

The yearly budget of ACV is about DM 70,000 to DM 80,000 or some $24-27,000, and is reportedly growing each year. This amount is derived from gifts of wealthy Augsburgers, entrance fees from dances and parties sponsored by the club, membership dues, advertising in the printed Fasching program, and income from visits of the court which cost an organization DM 150 ($50) with each medallion awarded costing DM 35 ($12).

The Court:

The court of ACV is made up of a ruler called Augustus after the Roman emperor under whose regime the city was founded, his consort called the Regentin or female ruler, a Volkstribun who in theory represents the common people and who acts as master of ceremonies at performances, and his consort called the Hofdame. ACV does not have 11 male courtiers like Perlachia's Elfer but does have a group of 11 dancing girls called the Mädchengarde. Costumes for the court are always in Roman style as opposed to those of Perlachia which are usually in Renaissance or Baroque style. The design of the medals handed out by the club also has a Roman theme. In 1972 ACV spent about DM 15,000 or $5000 for costumes.

Members of the court of ACV are chosen in much the same way they are
for Perlachia with potential candidates being sought by members of the Vorstand who as a group make the final choices. In the case of Augustus and the Volkstribun speaking ability and poise before a large audience are primary criteria of selection, while the most important characteristic of the two female members of the court is physical attractiveness. Chosen candidates usually accept these positions for the same reasons they are accepted in Perlachia. It is an honor to be chosen, it provides a chance to make one's name known in the community, and being on the court is a lot of fun. Members of the Mädchengarde are selected by having try-outs, and they are trained by a ballet instructor. The club also has a children's royal couple for its children's balls.

Functions of the court of ACV are similar to those of Perlachia's court. This group represents the club at its own parties and at activities sponsored by other groups. In 1972 114 such visits were made. Augustus and his Regentin, the Volkstribun and Hofdame give out Fasching medallions of the club at parties, and the two men speak briefly during appearances. The behavioral styles of the two courts of Perlachia and ACV at such performances are quite different. The Augustus for 1972 sought to project the image of a rather risqué playboy, whereas the Prince of Perlachia played the role of a cavalier gentleman. The Mädchengarde also performs at all club appearances in much the same drill-team style as that of Perlachia's guard, though they do add some kicking routines in the style of the follies.

**Activities of ACV:**

ACV marks the beginning of Fasching with an appearance by Augustus
in the city center at 11:11 on the 11th of November, and that evening the entire court is introduced to the city. In 1971 this introduction took place in a church hall in the center of town where many public speakers are heard, though it was scheduled in the new civic center for the 1972-73 season, a location which will play an important role in future Fasching celebrations. The club also has a Nikolausfeier on or near St. Nicholas Day on December 6, though this is a relatively quiet party because it occurs during the Advent season.

Intensive celebration of Fasching begins the Saturday after Three Kings' Day on January 6. ACV stages a morning coronation ceremony in the square in front of the city hall which is usually well-attended, and later that evening has an Inthronisation Ball. In 1972 this formal or schwarz-weiss ball was held in one of the major hotels of the city to compete with Perlachia's formal Inthronisation Ball in the Hotel Drei Mohren the same evening. Because of the very poor attendance the ball was a great embarrassment to the club. It is surprising that this outcome was not foreseen because the type of people who attend formal balls are much more likely to be supporters of Perlachia than of ACV.

The next party sponsored by ACV was a costume ball in the new Jet Set night club where an entirely different behavioral style prevails. Supporters of ACV tend to be younger and less conservative than those of Perlachia, and the rock music, strobe lights, and chrome decor of the Jet Set attracted them in great numbers. The seating arrangement at the Jet Set differs markedly from that at the ballrooms of major hotels in the city and is designed for largely anonymous interaction with many small and private areas in seemingly random juxtaposition instead of one
large room with tables for 10 arranged in an orderly pattern. During the 1972 season ACV successfully sponsored three additional costumed dances in the Jet Set, one a "turned around" (ungekehrt) ball where clothing was worn backwards, one called a Baby Doll Ball, and one a ragged ball on Lumpenden Donnerstag or Ragged Thursday. The anonymous, informal, and unstructured nature of these parties and their inexpensive entrance fees appealed to many Augsburgers. The fact that this club has "an entirely different audience" than is catered to by Perlachia was illustrated by response to the large Kostümball which ACV sponsored in the Hotel Drei Mohren the same night as their Lumpen Ball in the Jet Set. This was obviously designed to compete with Perlachia's Kostümfest in Drei Mohren two days later on Fasching Saturday, but as in the case of the Inthronisation the attendance at a relatively formal party sponsored by ACV was very low (it was estimated as 100 by an individual who belongs to neither club). It is easy to identify a strong tendency for the "audience" of ACV to gravitate toward the Jet Set with its informal behavioral style and anonymous interaction and for that of Perlachia to gravitate toward the Hotel Drei Mohren with its more formal behavioral style and interaction conducted on the basis of "being known".

ACV also held two parties in the large restaurant connected with the local stadium, an informal location which can seat some 800 persons and which is the site of many activities sponsored by sports clubs. One of these parties was an informal Fasching dance and the other was the Kehraus Party at which the Fasching season is "swept away" on the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday. As in the Jet Set, the behavioral style was informal and interaction was largely anonymous. This large restaurant
was also the setting for a series of seven very popular children's balls sponsored by ACV.

The club also sponsored a bowling party at a new bowling alley in the city, an activity that is becoming a tradition of ACV. A sport called Kegeln played with nine pins on a relatively small alley has long been popular in Germany, and many Gasthauses have these alleys. American style bowling is relatively new in the city, however. It is fairly popular with young people and is identified as a middle-class sport in the eyes of most Augsburgers, and this description characterized the participants at ACV's bowling party.

A "Fahrt ins Blaue" or trip into the blue was jointly sponsored in 1972 by ACV and a carnival club of one of the suburbs. Groups from both clubs went by bus to celebrate with music and drinking in a Gasthaus in a nearby town. This tradition as well as its name, were adopted from Perlachia, though the Perlachen did not make such a trip in 1972 because of the shortness of the season.

ACV has also begun a tradition of sponsoring Sitzungen or meetings which are identified with carnival in the Rhineland rather than with Bavarian Fasching. A member of the Vorstand reported that these Sitzungen are very popular in Augsburg with over 1000 people requesting tickets to the performance in 1972, though only 400 spectators could be accommodated. The Sitzung is presented for a seated audience in a meeting hall and is a stage variety show in contrast to the tableaux or plays traditionally presented by Perlachia as a part of their balls. The program includes performances by comedians, musicians, and occasionally by other performers such as magicians. Some of the performers are
local amateurs, as in the case of a comic quartet made up of active members of ACV, but many are professionals. The club was proud to have had one of Germany's well-known professional singers at their Sitzung in 1972 which contrasts with Perlachia's strong preference for having their entertainment provided by their own members. This is another manifestation of the distinction in styles of the two clubs with ACV presenting programs to an anonymous audience and Perlachia organizing activities among a set of persons known to one another.

When ACV was founded in 1968 one of its primary objectives was to revive the custom of having a street parade on Fasching Sunday. The founders asserted that Perlachia was failing to provide activities for the public as a whole when they stopped staging parades in 1967. Each year of its existence ACV has sponsored a relatively small-scale parade led by a group of active club members dressed as ancient Germans from Diedorf, a small town west of Augsburg. In the parade of 1970 fifteen floats were sponsored by firms and by two organizations of the city. During the last two seasons, however, the emphasis has changed from a procession to an outdoor street carnival in the center of the city. In 1972 this included five bands, two puppet shows, food stands, and various performances on a temporary stage. Balloons, candy, and small toys were given to children in the audience and portions of roast pork cooked on a spit were also given to persons in the crowd by the "ancient Germans from Diedorf". At the same time Perlachia also sponsored a performance on a temporary stage, gave out food and gifts to children, and had go-karts in a city square, but the majority of the afternoon's activities were organized by ACV. This outdoor celebration on Fasching Sunday was
a major effort of ACV but received only minor attention and effort from Perlachia. It was so well-attended in 1972 that one could barely walk through the crowds in the city center.

Another major complaint against Perlachia by the founders of ACV was their failure to make appearances at many balls which the club was invited to visit. Consequently ACV makes a great effort to send their court to appear at a large number of activities sponsored by other groups including old age homes and orphanages as well as various common interest organizations. In the 40 day Fasching season of 1972 ACV made 114 such visits. The procedure at these appearances includes the introduction of the court, the awarding of medallions, and usually a performance by the Madchengerde.

The club also sponsors a few activities outside of the regular Fasching season. These include a trip to a nearby town in the spring, an outdoor children's fest in the summer, and an informal dance in the large stadium restaurant in September.

Membership:

In spite of many similarities in the kinds of activities sponsored by Perlachia and ACV, there are important structural differences between the two clubs. These distinctions have been mentioned briefly in the general discussion of leisure-time associations of Augsburg in chapter 2. They include differences in qualifications for membership, in procedures for incorporating personnel, and in the size of the two clubs.

Membership in Perlachia tends to be restricted primarily to members of the upper social stratum. There are no explicit rules stating this as
a requirement but in actual practice only members of this stratum are likely to have the behavioral style, the interest in developing connections and in having a name in the community, and the necessary amount of leisure time to be chosen as members of Perlachia's court which is a prerequisite for membership in the club. In contrast the members of ACV are drawn from a much wider range of the population including both the upper stratum and the large category of white-collar employees in the city. Because of this heterogeneity the membership of ACV is more difficult to characterize than that of Perlachia, but my observations at activities sponsored by the club and interviews with its members revealed that three kinds of persons tend to join ACV.

Active leaders of the club are primarily businessmen or white-collar employees of relatively high position, and one is also a politician of the small Deutsche Union political party. In terms of occupational category they are thus similar to the leaders of Perlachia, though on the whole their businesses are less prominent than those of the Perlachen and they are not as wealthy. The most apparent characteristic which distinguishes them from the Perlachen is their behavioral style. Members of Perlachia are generally more sophisticated in terms of their tastes in clothing and foods, the types of residences and cars they own, and in their leisure-time activities which include various high-status and costly hobbies such as flying, sailing, playing tennis, or travelling. Active leaders of ACV generally have middle class tastes and more modest lifestyles. Perhaps the clearest indication of the different behavioral styles of these two groups can be found by observing the kinds of locations where they are known in the city. Perlachen are
often recognized at all of the prominent hotels, restaurants, and cafes of the city. Leaders of ACV tend to be recognized at locations that are considered less prestigious where middle class patterns of behavior prevail. Interviews with leaders of ACV indicate that for many of these potential members of the Bürgerstand active participation in the club is a means of developing a name and becoming known in the city. Their interest in this objective is a characteristic they share with many members of Perlachia.

A second category of members of ACV are wealthy and prominent Augsburger who contribute financial support and often the prestige of their names to the club. It is reportedly common for sizeable financial gifts to ACV to be accompanied by a note expressing the desire to foster competition for Perlachia. Much more will be said of this in chapter 7. The active leaders of ACV often seek to have such persons publicly identify themselves as supporters of the club by making them Senators or perhaps by choosing them for one of the three honorary positions on the Vorstand as president or as one of the two vice-chairmen. The use of names of prominent persons is extremely important to ACV because of their desire to challenge Perlachia and become a club of equal, if not greater stature. Most of these supporters are businessmen and politicians but the group includes a few professionals such as the doctor who was named president in 1972. There are two reasons why such individuals support ACV. For some, primarily politicians, such public service "looks good on their records" and provides an opportunity to have their names mentioned before large audiences. Such politicians include members of the Social Democratic Party and of small political parties such as the
Deutsche Union. They do not include members of the Christian Democratic Party which is identified in the city as *burgerlich*. For many patrons of ACV, however, this kind of publicity is not an asset. These individuals do not need such public service to advance in their jobs or to develop a clientele or group of loyal voters. They may support ACV strictly as a charitable gesture but there is much evidence that they often do so because they are glad to see a strong challenge to Perlachia. While prominent Augsburgers may support ACV financially or by lending their names they do not often attend activities of the club, for usually such persons do not find the style of activities sponsored by ACV to be compatible with their own lifestyles. In terms of tastes and behavior such persons are much more akin to the Perlachen. A well-informed Augsburger who is not a member of either club told me that in spite of the efforts of ACV to recruit the support of prominent persons in the city, Perlachia has by far the greater share of such support. This can be attributed at least in part to its longer existence. Lack of many wealthy financial backers is a major problem for ACV.

The largest category of members of the club are an anonymous set of persons who have sent in a business-reply card and DM 5 to join ACV but who take no part in organizing its affairs. Interviews with leaders of the club and with many other members reveal that most persons consider membership in ACV as a means of providing funds for the celebration of Fasching and not as a means of participating in an integrated social entity. To most members the club is an anonymous crowd drawn together on occasion by a shared interest in activities of Fasching. Observation of activities of the club and interviews indicate that in general these
anonymous members are younger than members of Perlaehia and are of middle social and economic status, being primarily white-collar employees. Statistical data on the general membership are impossible to obtain because there is no attempt to record occupations or ages of members.

The anonymity of members of ACV reflects a major distinction between the two Fasching clubs in terms of procedures for incorporating members. Perlaehia's requirement of serving on the court for at least one season means that the individual will necessarily be known personally by many other members of the club by the time he becomes a regular member. By devoting a considerable amount of time and effort to playing this role he will have demonstrated an interest in the group whereas joining ACV can be a spur-of-the-moment decision involving almost no commitment. This is not to imply that being on the court or on the Vorstand of ACV is any less demanding than is the case for Perlaehia, but persons who invest this amount of time and effort in ACV are a minority of the total membership.

Size is an additional factor that distinguishes the two Fasching clubs. ACV has over 2000 members compared with Perlaehia's 223 members. This difference is obviously related to the lack of strict qualifications for membership and greater ease of joining ACV in contrast to Perlaehia. Leaders of ACV are proud of the rapid growth of their association and view large size as a source of prestige and greater strength. The Perlachen are much more concerned about the kinds of members they recruit rather than the number and recognize that a great increase in size would destroy the personal bonds that link members of the group. Their attitudes about qualifications for membership, procedures for incorporating
personnel, and size are essentially a recognition of Durkheim's notion that a set of similar individuals and small size are prerequisites for the existence of mechanical solidarity. The leaders of ACV have no desire to foster personal links among the general membership of the club, recognizing that this large set of persons is united periodically during the Fasching season on a very temporary basis by a shared interest in the functional objective of sponsoring and taking part in activities of Fasching. They think of the bond that unites the group as a functional tie connecting dissimilar individuals on a temporary basis, a conception that corresponds to Durkheim's formulation of organic solidarity. Members of ACV tend to hold this conception not only of their club but also of the social system of the city as a whole. This conception is the subject of chapter 7.
Chapter 7

THE CITY AS PLURALISTIC SYSTEM

It would seem on the surface that having two Fasching clubs in Augsburg would be welcomed as an advantageous system that would permit sharing of the burden of producing Fasching and would allow each of the clubs to cater more exclusively to its own audience. There are indeed Augsburgers who see the situation in this light and feel that "the more the merrier as far as Fasching activities are concerned". But there are also many who feel that such a view overlooks much of what is currently happening in the social system of Augsburg. Though there are exceptions, most leaders of Perlachia and of ACV do not view their mutual existence as being complementary with each organization having a separate sphere of influence. The relationship between them is considered one of strong competition with each trying to out-do the other in appealing both to upper class and to middle class audiences. Though interaction between the groups of leaders is cordial, neither takes the words of the other group at face value. Both are always aware of strategies and counter-strategies for one-ups-manship.

When ACV was founded in 1968 its expressed purpose was to provide Fasching activities which were less one sided (einseitig) than those of Perlachia. Specific complaints against Perlachia included the cessation of Fasching parades for the general public and Perlachia's failure to make appearances at a large cross-section of the Fasching balls in the city. Even if the club had corrected these causes for complaint, however, there is evidence that many Augsburgers would still have wanted
an additional Fasching club in Augsburg because the real source of dissatisfaction was the exclusive and "official" status of Perlachia as the one Fasching club of the city. Reasons for this dissatisfaction go beyond concern for the nature of the celebration of Fasching and rest upon Augsburgers' conceptions of what the social system of the city is like and what it should be like. For reasons to be discussed below and in chapter 8, some Augsburgers have begun to consider the tight social integration of Augsburg's *bürgersche* community to be stifling and undesirable, and prefer to see a more pluralistic and open social system develop. Reportedly this is why some prominent Augsburgers are supporting ACV with their money and their names even though they have little or no interest in participating in the activities of this club.

**ACV's Challenge to Perlachia:**

It is quite apparent from many actions of ACV that this club is competing with Perlachia and not seeking to fill a complementary role in sponsoring activities of Fasching. One very visible form this competition takes is the struggle for public endorsement by prominent Augsburgers. ACV has three honorary positions on its *Vorstand* which are held by different persons each season, the presidency and two vice-chairmanships. The names of these persons are announced in the newspapers at the start of the Fasching season, the pictures of the office holders appear in the printed program of the club along with a short letter from the president. ACV has also created the position of *Senator*, a title it awards to prominent persons who support the club. According to leaders of the club, the use of a *Senator's* name is often more important to ACV than the financial
contribution he makes.

Competition with Perlachia also takes the form of citing numbers as indicators of the club's effectiveness, a version of the notion that bigger is better. ACV is proud of the fact that they have over 2000 members, though Perlachia makes no public statements about its membership and would not consider increased size of the club as an asset. At the end of the Fasching season in 1972 ACV placed an advertisement in the Suübische Neue Presse newspaper to summarize its achievements for the season. The club listed its carnival Sitzung which was presented free of charge for elderly Augsburgers, seven balls, seven children's balls, and the outdoor carnival on Fasching Sunday with specific mention being made of the five bands, two puppet shows, and 1000 portions of roast pork given out. This advertisement also advanced ACV's claim to be the older Fasching club in the city by citing a program from the 1887 season put out by the Augsburger Carnevals Verein founded in 1886. There could not possibly have been any overlap in personnel between the club of 1886 and ACV as founded in 1968, but it is noteworthy that the present club felt the importance of asserting its legitimacy by claiming continuity with the older club and establishment prior to the founding of Perlachia. This is the first season that such a claim has been advanced, presumably because the old Fasching program was discovered only recently. Another example of ACV's concern for publicizing its efforts appeared in the Augsburger Allgemeine. A short report on ACV appeared next to a report on Perlachia's visit in the Fuggerei, the city's well-known social settlement. ACV's section stated that "ACV has also not neglected the older people of the city" and announced activities which their club had
planned for this segment of the population.

The most direct challenges ACV made to Perlachia in 1972 were two balls designed to "beat Perlachia at its own game" so to speak. ACV sponsored a formal **Inthronisation Ball** in the prominent Hotel Weisses Lamm the night of Perlachia's traditional **Inthronisation Ball** at the Hotel Drei Mohren. It also sponsored a costume ball in the Drei Mohren two days before Perlachia's costume fest traditionally held in this location on Fasching Saturday. These two hotels are recognized as being frequented by prominent Augsburgerers, and a much more reserved style of behavior prevails there than is customary at most activities of the club. Attendance at both formal balls sponsored by ACV was extremely low and the club was unsuccessful in its effort at one-ups-manship, but it is noteworthy that the club sought to invade Perlachia's traditional sphere of influence.

**Perlachia's Response:**

Perlachia has not considered it necessary to defend itself against some of the more direct challenges of ACV such as the newspaper advertisement about the club's achievements, but it is clear that the older club is concerned about ACV and gives careful attention to its new competitor. The degree of this concern is perhaps most clearly indicated by comparing Perlachia's attitude toward ACV with that it holds toward Fasching clubs of the suburbs. Perlachia has welcomed the creation of suburban clubs, is pleased to see these groups plan activities and visit balls in their own spheres of influence, and invites the courts of suburban clubs to make official appearances at some of Perlachia's activities.
such as the balloon trip or the evening in the city theater. Their mutual existence is considered a useful division of labor in sponsoring activities of Fasching.

Among most Perlachen the attitude toward ACV is different. There are certainly plenty of spectators and participants in Augsburg so that a large crowd at the activities of one club does not detract from the size of the audience at activities of the other. The reason that ACV's existence is viewed unfavorably is rather due to their claim to represent the city as a whole, a claim Perlachia alone could make until 1968. ACV is a challenger and competitor, not a cooperative satellite club of the city at a lower level of influence as are the suburban clubs. The attitudes of members of Perlachia are expressed in various comments. One informant said "There should only be one Prince and Princess for the city. If you had many royal courts for Fasching none of them would be recognized or mean anything." Another stated that "Fasching should be fun, and this spirit is ruined when you have to keep looking over your shoulder all the time to see what somebody else is doing."

Some Perlachen state that in Fasching as in other things "competition makes the business stronger", and indeed the older club has increased its efforts in some areas in response to ACV's challenge. This response has been primarily an effort to cater to the interests of the middle class audience which has been ACV's mainstay. Efforts in this direction include a greater emphasis on inexpensive, informal, and anonymous dances at locations such as the Jet Set night club or the new civic center in addition to Perlachia's traditional balls in the Hotel Drei Mohren. Plans were also discussed in 1972 to revive a large-scale parade on Fasching Sunday
under Perlachia's direction, hopefully with the cooperation of all other Fasching clubs of the city and surrounding areas. Perlachia also adopted the idea from ACV in 1972 of naming prominent Augsburgers as Senators of the club. Many such people have been supporters of Perlachia for a number of years, but now they are being publicly identified as supporters by receiving the title of Senator. A race to recruit all the best potential Senators of the city has not yet developed, but undoubtedly there are or will be prominent persons who are wooed by both clubs. It has become an unstated rule that a person cannot be a Senator of both clubs, even in different years.

Although the local governmental dignitaries, including the lord mayor and two mayors, are careful to make official appearances at activities of both clubs, there is some competition to schedule them for certain crucial functions whose simultaneous occurrence prohibits one dignitary from attending affairs of both clubs. This was the case at the outdoor coronation ceremonies on the Saturday after Three Kings' Day. ACV put their bid in early to have the lord mayor crown Augustus in front of the city hall that morning. In response Perlachia had as a special guest at their simultaneous outdoor ceremony a greatly-beloved former lord mayor who is perhaps even better known than the current office-holder. The wife of the present lord mayor also appeared in Perlachia's skit well disguised as an old town character called Pidgeon Mary. That evening at the formal Inthronisation Ball of Perlachia her identity as the actress who played Pidgeon Mary was revealed to the great delight of the audience, and she was given an honorary medal of the club.
Reasons for the Challenge to Perlachia:

It should again be made clear that not all supporters of ACV are members or sponsors because they wish to see Perlachia challenged. Interviews indicate that there are many persons who consider the new club strictly as a means of furthering the celebration of Fasching in the city and who support it in this spirit. The many supporters of ACV who expressed a desire for their club to be a direct competitor of Perlachia, however, consider the club in this light for two basic reasons. Many individuals told me that they object to a tightly integrated social community where everyone is known personally and which claims to represent the city as a whole, preferring to see a more open and pluralistic social order. Such persons also assert that they resent the notion that one behavioral style should predominate among persons defined by society as prominent and feel that alternative styles should be not only tolerated but given equal social esteem.

ACV's supporters choose to support the club for different reasons. There are many young people who attend activities sponsored by ACV and decide to become members of the club because the informal and uninhibited behavioral style of such parties is compatible with their own behavioral patterns in contrast to the more reserved and formal style of Perlachia's activities. Such young people share values found among youth in many parts of the world that are often expressed in the growth of the "counter-culture" among younger segments of the population and in the general rise of anti-establishment sentiments. Specifically these values include a desire for the personal freedom which anonymity provides, a belief that persons should be evaluated on the basis of what they are rather than
whom they know, and a desire for increased toleration of alternative behavioral styles in matters of appearance, rules of etiquette, mores regarding sex, and attitudes about leisure activity. Such young people differ greatly from older segments of the population of Augsburg in terms of their preference for anonymity rather than having many personal connections. This generational difference may be greater in Augsburg than in many U.S. cities because of the particular historical experience of the Augsburgers. Those who were young adults during the War and post-war years (now in the 45-55 age range) and who lived through Augsburg's period of great material scarcity and social fragmentation are particularly committed to the value of a tightly integrated social system and many personal connections or "Vitamin B". Younger persons who did not live through periods of hardship tend to place much less emphasis on having connections and belonging to an integrated social entity.

In addition to the general category of young people who support ACV by being members and attending its activities, there are also a number of prominent Augsburgers who support the club for many of the same philosophical reasons as the youth. In terms of occupational status and lifestyle these prominent persons are potential members of the bürgerliche community and could participate in its social interaction if they chose to do so, but they told me of their dislike for its unitary and exclusive nature and of their desire to see a plurality of interactive circuits at this social level. Many of these persons are highly educated and attribute their philosophical liberalism to experience at a university that removed them from the social context of Augsburg and exposed them to a variety of opinions and ideas. In interviews they expressed the opinion
that Augsburg's social structure is "frozen" (einegefroren) and that many of its behavioral norms are too "stiff" (steif) and "old-fashioned" (altmodisch). Prominent persons who hold these opinions often support ACV financially as a competitor of Perlachia. Some are also willing to lend their names as sponsors of ACV by accepting one of the honorary positions of the club. As noted above such persons frequently do not have any interest in attending the activities of ACV which they often find incompatible with their lifestyles. Even when ACV staged balls in the formal style of the upper social stratum to which they belong these individuals by and large did not attend. It is clear that many persons support ACV because they wish to see Perlachia challenged rather than because they themselves have any desire to take part in activities of the club.

The VIPO Ball or "Very Important Persons Only Ball" sponsored by the Neue Presse newspaper is also a means by which some prominent persons may assert their dislike for Augsburg's unitary Bürgerstand and the reserved style of behavior characteristic of this group. The guest list of Very Important Persons includes not only members of the interactive community but also a large number of theater performers and artists, university personnel, and doctors who are not integrated into this system. Their inclusion on the guest list is in effect a statement that Perlachia and the bürgerlich community do not exclusively represent the upper level of society. The style of the VIPO Ball with a topless show in the Jet Set night club and unreserved seating arrangement is also a statement that the reserved behavioral style of Perlachia's activities in the Hotel Drei Mohren is not the only style
considered appropriate by prominent persons in the city. Representatives of the *Neue Presse* said that in sponsoring the VIPO Ball they are not subverting or detracting from the success of Perlachia's activities but they are presenting alternative ways of organizing Fasching activities for prominent persons in the city.

An additional category of supporters of ACV is made up of persons who because of formal occupational category would be considered members of the upper social stratum. But because of differences in level of income and general lifestyle, these persons are not actually participants in the interactive system of this group and are not considered prominent Augsburgers. These individuals are not opposed to the notion of having connections and being known in the city; they reveal in many ways that indeed they would like to be participants in the social interaction of the *Bürgerstand* but did not quite make the team, so to speak. Their behavioral styles often imitate those of more prominent Augsburgers in the same way that *nouveaux riches* often imitate the established upper class whose social esteem they would like to share. Such persons resent the exclusiveness of a single unitary group as being representative of the upper social stratum of the city as a whole. For them ACV is an alternative means of developing connections and becoming known and thus represents a more pluralistic organization of Augsburg's upper social stratum. This objective of becoming known can best be attained by holding positions of leadership in ACV. Indeed below this level members of the club are anonymous. Being active leaders of the club gives them an opportunity to rub shoulders with many prominent persons of the city in the same way participation in Perlachia provides potential contacts for its members.
It affords a great opportunity to publicize ones name and face before the general public. And it is a way to publicly state that Augsburg no longer has a unitary Bürgerstand nor a single official club to organize the celebration of Fasching in the city. This is not to say that all leaders of ACV are active in the club solely to attain these objectives. It does, however, portray the attitudes that many of them expressed.

The fact that a focus of feelings against Augsburg's bürgerschliche community has developed around the celebration of Fasching is evidence for the significance of this cultural pattern in the city. Perlachia, perhaps more than any other single club, represents the unitary Bürgerstand of Augsburg in its membership. And the claim of the club to be the official organizer of the most important shared cultural tradition of the city is considered an assertion of representing the city as a whole. A large amount of evidence indicates that Perlachia is being challenged as a symbol of the unitary Bürgerstand, and many persons feel that there is no better way to publicly declare the existence of a pluralistic social system than to establish and support an alternative club which claims equal social stature and equal right to be an official organizer of Fasching activities in the city. The VIPO Ball sponsored by the Neue Presse newspaper is also a public declaration of the existence of a pluralistic social system. The expressed definition of separate interactive groups of theater performers and artists, university personnel, and doctors as prominent Augsburgers is a statement that Perlachia does not exclusively represent the upper level of society, and the style of the party in the Jet Set is a challenge to Perlachia's
behavioral style as being the only one adhered to by prominent persons in the city. It is in a sense unfortunate that Perlachia has been identified as representative of the establishment in the city because this stereotype is unfair to a great many members who are tolerant of alternative behavioral styles and are not snobbish about their social position. However unfair, the fact that it has been so identified is quite clear.

Pertti J. Pelto (1970) and Ronald Frankenburg (1966) have both discussed the concept of public celebrations as being not only tools for the researcher in understanding a social system but also symbols expressing the underlying structure and nature of that system to its own members. Studies of carnival in other cultures have revealed the social significance of this celebration and the ways in which it is organized for the participants. My research revealed that this is equally true of Fasching in Augsburg.

The Nature of Emerging Pluralism in Augsburg:

The fact that ACV was founded and has received the support of various segments of Augsburg's population and the reasons given by informants for such support are indicative that a more pluralistic social organization of the Bürgerstand of the city has been emerging since the mid-1960's. This new system is by nature more difficult to characterize than the relatively unitary interactive community, but several trends are evident which correspond to observations made by German scholars about the social structure of Germany in general.

One such trend is an increasing emphasis on individualism. Ralf
Dahrendorf (1967) asserts that a tendency toward individualism is prevalent throughout Europe and manifests itself in more self-centered goals than were formerly typical, in more individualistic past-times, and in smaller networks of acquaintances. He attributes this tendency to a spreading of service class values to all segments of the population including elites as the population segment of office workers and service personnel becomes increasingly large, growing from 5% in 1900 to 28% in Germany in 1950. Friedrich Fürstenberg (1971) attributes the growing emphasis on individualism to increasing job specialization and lack of overarching structures drawing people of diverse backgrounds and interests together.

I believe that for Augsburg and perhaps for the country as a whole an important factor has been the rapidly increasing prosperity of the last decade. This economic well-being has made possible numerous behavioral alternatives that were not available shortly after the war. Augsburgers themselves cite the prevalence of television as an important factor in making their society "Kontaktlos" or without contacts. "People used to get together at a Gasthaus to play cards or bowl, and there were many clubs of singers, sportsmen, and enthusiasts of other hobbies. Today everybody goes home and sits dumbly in front of his television set waiting to be amused." A further effect of television according to many informants is its tendency to make the population expect top-level performances in all types of activity. Many people would rather see the telecast of lavish carnival parades in Cologne, Mainz, or Dusseldorf instead of the Fasching parade in Augsburg. This tendency has also been noted by personnel of the city theater who assert
that televised performances have caused dissatisfaction and consequent lack of attendance at local performances because they do not measure up to the best productions from all of Europe which are available in one's living room. Augsburgers also assert that today other individualistic past-times are growing in importance. Skiing has become extremely popular, and the fact that a large proportion of Augsburgers now own cars permits them to spend their free time farther away from a small and familiar geographic nucleus than formerly.

Growing individualism is also evident in the number of private Fasching parties, held particularly by young people. Many informants indicated that youth prefer parties with large anonymous crowds or private parties for small groups of friends rather than traditional balls sponsored by various formal organizations. Several teen-aged children of Perlachen gave private parties for their friends during the 1972 Fasching season, and they reported that such occasions are very popular among their peers.

A second aspect of the challenge to an integrated Bürgerstand in Augsburg is the growing emphasis on anonymity in many kinds of social interaction which were formerly conducted on a personal basis. The contrast has already been discussed between Perlachia's balls in the Hotel Drei Mohren where individuals are personally known and are positioned in a recurrent seating pattern and the anonymous and informal dances given by ACV in the new Jet Set night club. In the Jet Set there is no unitary spatial cohesion as in the Drei Mohren where tables for ten persons are arranged in a regular pattern of concentric
ovals about the dance floor. Instead the Jet Set has many small and quite private seating areas on various levels separated by chrome bars. Seating is arranged for relatively intimate conversations between two or four persons. These areas are usually occupied by single couples or at most by two couples who arrived together and who remain essentially anonymous with respect to all other participants. Small groups of young men or young women also come to activities in the Jet Set without dates which is seldom if ever the case at Perlachia's balls. An interesting manifestation of this contrast in styles occurred when ten Perlachen who usually sit near one another at balls sponsored by their club wanted to do so at the VIPO Ball given by the Neue Presse in the Jet Set. The seating arrangements favoring anonymity were a cause of some discorntion because they are not conducive to accommodating such large groups of people who wish to sit and interact together. The problem was solved in a make-shift manner by borrowing stools from other seating areas and placing them around several small tables. The Perlachen had also mentioned before this party that they would have to arrive earlier than usual in order to hold adjacent seats which cannot be reserved as they are in the Hotel Drei Mohren.

Increasing anonymity appears in other types of social interaction as well. Many informants mentioned the growing prevalence of large and impersonal new stores in contrast to the small specialty shops which formerly were more predominant. Such small shops have a clientele of regular customers who are known by the shopkeeper and who usually know one another as well. These customers are the equivalent of Stammgäste or stem-guests at restaurants and Gasthäuser. This contrast between
anonymous and personal interaction was apparent as I went grocery shopping with my landlady. Usually we went to a small neighborhood grocery store where the personnel knew almost every customer and where an individual could be assured of meeting a number of other customers whom he knew personally. As a matter of course I was introduced to the store personnel by my landlady when I first moved into the neighborhood, and on each subsequent visit I always became involved in conversations with these persons and with other individuals I knew personally. On occasion, however, the landlady and I visited a supermarket in a new multilevel shopping mall across the street. Social interaction there was conducted on an entirely anonymous basis. I was told that many women still patronize the smaller store in spite of its higher prices because of the personal interaction in this setting.

The tendency toward anonymity in many kinds of social interaction was also pointed out in interviews with persons from the city who had recently moved to small towns and villages on the outskirts of the city. Such persons usually knew none of their neighbors and made no efforts to meet nearby residents of the village, preferring instead to continue their social relationships with persons they had known formerly in the city. Long-term residents of such villages confirmed that they were known to one another but that new city people remained anonymous. There seems to be a definite relationship between the length of time a neighboring village or small town has been the site of new residences of city dwellers and the degree of social interaction between its original inhabitants and new residents. Those towns which were settled by city residents in the 1920's or 1950's now have some degree of personal
contact between neighbors. In villages which have recently become popular residential sites of former city dwellers, anonymity prevails except between long-term residents. It should be pointed out that even in areas where neighbors are known personally, Augsburger in general prefer to conduct most social relationships with persons who live in other areas and keep contact with neighbors at a polite but somewhat distant level.

An additional aspect of the unraveling of Augsburg's bürgerliche community is a growing feeling that personal contacts are not necessary for many kinds of social interaction. Goods and services, customers, and clients can now be readily obtained on an impersonal basis, and as a consequence the interactive system of the Bürgerstand is tending to come apart simply because many people are unwilling to make the efforts to rejuvenate it continually. The Augsburger's phrase "Kontakten zu pflegen" (to cultivate contacts) itself indicates that personal relationships must be continually cultivated or they will die out. Today many people no longer make efforts at such cultivation.

In spite of the increasing unraveling of the bürgerliche community, the statements that society has become Kontaktlos or entirely without contacts is inaccurate. Evidence indicates that the unitary community is being replaced by a plurality of smaller-scale social entities. Such entities are based on a number of factors. Ralf Dahrendorf asserts that the German national elite is becoming a series of separate interaction sets rather than a unitary interactive group which is considered typical of the British establishment. He sees occupational lines as separating these elites from one another (Dahrendorf 1964). Peter H. Merkl (1965)
and Friedrich Fürstenberg (1971) also emphasize occupational specialization and the fact that German children are sorted at an early age into separate educational tracks depending on the occupation for which each child is being trained. In analyzing the emerging pluralism of Augsburg's upper social stratum I thus hypothesized that occupational interactive groupings would exist and found this to be true in some cases but not in others. The system of recognition cards I devised and numerous interviews revealed that members of the upper social stratum who tend to remain apart from the interactive community included personnel of the university, personnel of the city theater, doctors, and some lawyers and businessmen. Of these categories I found that personnel of the university and of the theater tend to form interactive groupings based on occupation. Doctors, lawyers, and businessmen who remain apart from the general interactive system, however, do not interact primarily with members of their own occupations but rather have friendships and belong to groups based primarily on leisure-time activities. Many interact with friends who share interests in activities such as sailing, sports, or music, and sometimes this involves participation in formal organizations such as tennis clubs. The major distinction between this sort of participation and that of persons who are known throughout the bürgerliche community is the number of such groups to which an individual belongs. Those who remain apart from the Bürgerstand probably belong to only one organization for leisure-time activities and may make the effort to know only a portion of the group's members. Those who are active in the community and are widely-known on a personal basis usually belong to many organizations with overlapping memberships and make
concerted efforts to become personally acquainted with many of the members.

It is not difficult to understand why personnel of the university and theater interact on the basis of occupational groupings which Dahrendorf asserts are typical for many of Germany's elites. They not only share an occupation but are bound into a single work context in a way that doctors and lawyers with private practices and businessmen are not. I was also told that these two groups have more specialized lifestyles than do doctors, lawyers, and businessmen and often do not have an interest in the pastimes shared by most members of the Burgerstand. There are professional associations that link doctors and lawyers together as groups in a nominal way, but reportedly these do not spawn many friendships. One informant told me that professional associations are characterized by jealousy and that many persons belong because it is a legal requirement rather than because of any interest in interacting with other members. There is also an informal structure linking members of the press as an occupational group. They have a weekly Stammtisch at one of the local restaurants, but this grouping is not a primary entity in the interaction sets of its members who are widely-known in the bürgerliche community as a whole.

The emerging social pluralism in Augsburg's upper social stratum can be characterized as a series of individual-centered networks with linkages based on occupation, work contexts, common interests in leisure activities, and in some cases on bonds remaining from school or university contacts. Some social entities emerge from groupings based on work contexts such as the university or theater or common interest associations. Residential
proximity plays a relatively minor role in recruitment to personal networks, and most relationships with neighbors are polite but involve minimal social interaction. Sometimes neighbors are not recognized personally, especially among people who have recently moved to suburbs distant from the center of the city.
PART III

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In chapter 8 social processes of integration and pluralization are considered in relation to changing economic and political circumstances within the city of Augsburg itself. Integration and pluralization are recognized as social processes that may occur over a relatively short period within one urban context. In chapter 9 the particular case of Augsburg is examined in relation to cities generally, and relevant theories about factors which influence the nature of social interaction are reviewed.
Chapter 8

INTEGRATION AND PLURALIZATION AS SOCIAL PROCESSES

In preceding chapters two conceptions of Augsburg as a city with a unitary bürgerliche community and as a city with a pluralistic social system were examined by looking in detail at the two major Fasching clubs of the city. In talking with many informants about the existence of these two conceptions and the relationship between the kinds of people who hold them, I learned that many Augsburgers think of these contrasting conceptions as manifestations of social processes occurring within the city. They view the mechanical solidarity of the Bürgerstand, represented by Perlachia, as the outcome of a process of social integration that began in 1948 and continued during the 1950's and into the 1960's. The fragmentation of this tightly integrated upper social stratum, represented by ACV's challenge to Perlachia and by the growing prevalence of separate interactive groupings among prominent Augsburgers that are held together by bonds of organic solidarity, is seen as a process of pluralization that began in the mid 1960's and continues today.

In the many interviews I conducted after the Fasching season, one of my objectives was to gather information about changes in the celebration of Fasching and in the social system of Augsburg from the end of the War to the present. I also investigated Augsburgers' predictions about the course of future development. It is my opinion that changes during this period may usefully be portrayed as processes of integration and pluralization. An analysis of factors that have influenced these processes and an examination of expectations about the future are the subjects of this
chapter.

It is important to begin by looking briefly at the immediate post-war situation. The period of rule by National Socialists and the Second World War were in various ways highly disruptive of Augsburg's social and economic systems. During the 1930's many Jewish persons were forced to sell their businesses and leave the country. Though this group constituted only 0.6% of Augsburg's population in 1933, many Jews held prominent social positions as owners of businesses and because of this their departure was of greater social significance than their numbers might indicate. During much of the War Augsburg fared relatively well in terms of population losses and physical destruction. Many of her young men were allowed to remain in the city as civilians because they were needed in the machine and textile factories. Near the end of the War in February of 1945, however, concentrated air raids on the city destroyed 75% of its residential structures with losses concentrated primarily in central parts of the city. Deaths within Augsburg mounted to 1350 by the end of the War, not counting men who died in combat or who were taken prisoner.

In the post-war period Augsburg not only had to cope with severe shortages of food and material goods and the destruction of her economy, but also was flooded with some 12,600 refugees who came primarily from the Sudetenland, Silesia, and areas which are currently part of the Federal Republic. Some of these persons came to Augsburg by choice but many were shipped to the city involuntarily as German populations were forced out of present Polish and Czech territories. Refugees were often strongly resented by native Augsburgers who were forced to quarter strange
families in their homes. Bitterness often arose because the government made monetary reimbursement for homes and businesses that refugees left behind while native Augsburgers were given no compensation for their losses.

Social dislocations, economic hardships, and discrediting of the former political system left the city struggling in a state of limbo until the economic situation finally began to improve all over Germany with the currency reform of 1948 and the receipt of economic aid. After this date shortages of food and material goods began to ease, the economy began to function again, and relationships between refugees and native Augsburgers became less hostile. In rebuilding their city physically the Augsburgers also had to rebuild many of its economic, social, and political institutions, and this experience of seeing the operational systems of the city in a shambles and working to rebuild them has left a vivid imprint on almost all Augsburgers who lived during this period.

**Integration:**

The process of integration and creation of personal bonds of mechanical solidarity in the upper social stratum were fostered by various factors. One was the nature of the city before the upheavals of the War. According to many informants Augsburg's Bürgerstand had been tightly integrated before 1939 in the sense that a large proportion of persons at this level of society were known in the community and interacted with each other on a personal basis. Long-term historical developments that have contributed to this character have been discussed in chapter 2. For native Augsburgers a return to "normalcy" was thus conceptualized
as the reestablishment of such a condition.

It is significant that many of the refugees who came to the city after the War shared this conception of Augsburg's character as a city. Many informants told me that in deciding where to settle after leaving their homelands they particularly sought a city of Augsburg's general size because "it is easier to establish yourself in a city of this size rather than in one as large as Munich". This attitude was expressed by former refugees who came from large cities such as Breslau as well as those from small towns and villages. It was especially characteristic of refugees who were potential members of the Bürgerstand including businessmen and professionals, and it is noteworthy that in general these persons were more rapidly incorporated into the native population of the city than were other segments of the population. Some refugees sought at first to remain in corporate groups based on shared cultural background, and many associations of refugees were formed by persons from Silesia, Pomerania, or East Prussia. In a few cases organizational structures from the place of origin were carried intact to the point of settlement. In Augsburg, for example, a large textile firm based originally in Silesia resettled both managerial employees and workers in what had formerly been a small branch factory in Augsburg, and the organization continued to operate largely as before in the new setting. In time workers and white-collar employees have also been fully incorporated into the social system of the city, but most informants agree that members of the Bürgerstand were incorporated more quickly. For many potential members of the new upper social stratum including both native Augsburgers and refugees, an integrated social system was considered the goal
of rebuilding efforts.

Another important factor which fostered social integration after the War was a great emphasis on personal connections made necessary by extreme shortages of food and material goods. In many cases there was no way to obtain scarce goods unless an individual knew someone personally who had access to such items. For example one informant told me of the elaborate planning and exchange of favors involved when she finally succeeded in obtaining a hat by playing the aunt of a salesgirl in a millinery shop. Having connections was also very important as a strategy for finding jobs and recruiting clients. The necessity of having personal connections with someone in the country in order to obtain food and nourishment during this period was the source of a term denoting connections as "Vitamin B". The term has continued in use to the present and may often be used by young people who cannot explain its origin. The term has now been generalized to refer to all connections including those that have nothing to do with obtaining food.

This pattern of what Eric Wolf (1966) calls instrumental friendship often merged with emotional friendship as the strict necessity for connections to obtain goods began to ease. Today developing connections and becoming widely known through emotional friendships such as those fostered by Perlachia are an excellent way to recruit customers or clients for Augsburg's businessmen and professionals. Though this is no longer a necessity a number of informants expressed the opinion that "many businessmen think that connections are not necessary today and get by with neglecting the cultivation of contacts, but hard times will undoubtedly come again and they will learn the importance of having friends".
In the many discussions I held with Augsburgers about their social system, the celebration of Fasching was frequently brought up as an important factor in fostering social integration after the War. It is often mentioned as an important means by which refugees were incorporated, though Fasching also operated to reestablish relationships among native Augsburgers as well. When the decision was made to revive Perlachia and stage a Fasching celebration in 1950 most refugees and indeed many young native Augsburgers had never seen a celebration of carnival because it does not exist in the northern and eastern homelands of most refugees and it had not been staged in Augsburg for 11 years. The organizers of the celebration purposefully chose a girl from East Prussia as Princess and an Augsburger as Prince to symbolize a desire to incorporate the entire population of the city in this cultural tradition. Though the material trappings of the court were reportedly of cheap quality, the symbolic rule of revelry over the city also asserted the importance of having fun in spite of life's hardships. Many informants asserted the importance of the celebration as a factor in boosting morale.

A favorable response to Fasching was awakened in much of the populace, and other organizations in addition to Perlachia began to stage Fasching parties for their members. The Princess of 1951 reported that the court was received with great enthusiasm at the 96 balls they visited that season. The fact that organizations of refugees from areas of the eastern zone sponsored Fasching parties and welcomed the carnival court of Augsburg is indicative that local customs were being adopted and social ties with the city as a whole were being fostered. In 1952 the Perlachen originally decided that they would not stage a Fasching
celebration because of a presumed lack of interest, but the volume of letters to the newspaper editor and general expressions of support affirmed a strong desire to continue this custom of the city. A native of Silesia who is currently president of Perlachia told me he was asked to be an Elfer in 1952 because of a cartoon he had placed in his store window expressing his dissatisfaction with the decision not to celebrate Fasching. The club leaders were pleased at his interest in furthering traditional customs of his adopted city and wanted to incorporate him into their group.

The tendency for Augsburg's Bürgerstand to become more thoroughly integrated continued throughout the 1950's and into the 1960's as the economy stabilized and criss-crossing social ties were continually being developed through a multitude of associations whose memberships increasingly overlapped. In the mid-1960's, however, various developments occurred which began to unravel many of the ties which had bound the social community together.

Pluralization:

Some of the forces that fostered a fragmentation of the bürgerliche community of Augsburg starting in the mid-1960's were manifestations of developments common to much of the world. In the mid and late 1960's liberal values such as the desire for the personal freedom that anonymity provides, toleration for the pursuance of alternative behavioral styles, and anti-establishment sentiments were becoming increasingly prominent in movements such as student revolts in the U.S., France, and Germany, and the growth of the "counter-culture" among youth. The
increasing prevalence of such values made many Augsburgers and especially younger people view the conservative behavioral style of the bürgerliche community as "too one-sided and too stiff" and the system of tight social integration as being "frozen". New behavioral styles were adopted, borrowed from the youth of European and U.S. cities, and this development has brought about a plurality of kinds of lifestyles in the city. Such values also fostered the opinion among young people in particular that the cultivation of contacts among influential persons was undesirable and that the wish to have a name in the community was an outmoded value. These values were expressed not only by young people but also were discussed by a number of older Augsburgers of prominent social status.

While in Augsburg I observed various manifestations of the growing prevalence of alternative lifestyles and opinions. On several occasions demonstrations were staged in the center of the city by students of the university and other youths dressed in the style termed "hippy" by many Augsburgers who referred to long hair, beards, and extremely casual clothing in applying this label. Reasons for the protests included the shooting by a local policeman of a member of the notorious Bader-Meinhof gang, efforts by the Christian Democratic Party to unseat Chancellor Brandt and block ratification of his treaties with Poland and the U.S.S.R., the expulsion of a Gymnasium student from school, and the shortage of facilities for universities in the state of Bavaria. These demonstrations were usually conducted on a small scale but the fact that they were organized indicates an interest in furthering liberal attitudes in the city.

Another issue which became a point of contention during my stay
illustrated clearly the liberal attitudes of many of the city's youth and the reaction to such attitudes and behavior by more conservative Augsburgers. In the spring a number of young people petitioned the city council for permission to sit on the grass in a small park and garden in the city center where access had formerly been restricted to sidewalks and benches. Permission was granted and the area soon became crowded with young people lounging in the sun. Very quickly the newspapers of the city were filled with letters to the editor urging re-establishment of the prohibition with complaints that the park looked like a shambles with people lying about, that the youths often left trash behind them, and that they often engaged in behavior thought inappropriate in public places. The young people responded by defending their behavior in the newspaper and before the council, and the situation was settled with permission to sit on the grass being continued but with sharper surveillance by the police of inappropriate conduct and littering by the young people.

In addition to growing prevalence of liberal values introduced from outside the city, another major factor tending to pluralize the Bürgerstand of Augsburg was the increasing prosperity of the 1960's. Financial well-being made available many alternatives to Augsburgers and also obviated the need for having connections and being well-known as an adaptive strategy for obtaining scarce goods and favors such as business-patronage. The availability of countless choices of leisure-time activities has permitted individual Augsburgers or small groups of persons to take off in their own directions so to speak and has decreased the attractiveness of activities for larger groups of persons as the one way to have a good
time. The importance of television, cars, and opportunities for skiing have been particularly significant in capturing the interests of Augsburger. It has been mentioned in the preceding section that the experience of hardship was an important factor in fostering a desire for personal connections and a tightly integrated social community after the War. With increasing prosperity the need for such connections decreased, for goods and services were readily attainable and business customers or clients no longer had to be wooed on a personal basis.

The introduction of new social entities in the city have made it more socially heterogeneous and also have fostered alternative behavioral styles. Perhaps the most important of these new elements is the university which opened in 1970. For the most part its faculty members have remained separate from the Bürgerstand and will probably continue to do so because of their differing interests and lifestyles. Several members of the Bürgerstand expressed the hope that personnel of the university would become incorporated into the interactive community, but this seems unlikely except for the chancellor or president of the university. Academicians are highly respected in Germany and the symbolic significance of their continued separateness as a distinct social entity apart from the rest of the prominent community is important in identifying Augsburg to Augsburgers as a "typically urban" juxtaposition of heterogeneous elements rather than a relatively homogeneous großes Dorf or large village.

To a large extent the 13,500 foreign workers in the city from Italy, Yugoslavia, and Turkey also remain as separate enclaves. While not potential members of the Bürgerstand as are academicians because of legal
limitations on the occupations of foreign workers, the existence of such enclaves makes Augsburg a more complex and pluralistic entity with less Überschaubarkeit than the city had formerly. This makes it more difficult to know and be known in the city and seriously undermines any tacit claim that the Bürgerstand is representative of the city as a geographic whole.

The Future:

I asked many Augsburgers about the future of the social system of their city and about the future of the celebration of Fasching there and was somewhat surprised at the large number who consider the present process of pluralization as a temporary trend which will in time reverse. This view was most prevalent among members of the Bürgerstand but was expressed by many other Augsburgers as well. This notion was often expressed in terms of the motion of a pendulum, and I was struck by the general prevalence of the pendulum concept in the thinking of Augsburgers. It is used, for example, in referring to rush hour traffic which Augsburgers call Pendelverkehr or pendulum traffic. Presumably this mode of conceptualizing socio-cultural change is rooted in the extreme historical fluctuations through which Germany has passed during the lifetimes of contemporary Augsburgers. Older informants have lived through the prosperity and stability of the Second Empire, the turbulence and hardships of the First World War and the following period of economic and political collapse, the regeneration of the economy and return of a decisive government in the early years under Hitler, the disasters and horrors of the later Nazi period, the Second World War and the post-war hardships,
and the present remarkable economic recovery of the country. Very often persons old enough to have lived through even some of these fluctuations are firmly convinced that hard times will come again. They assert that "es pendelt bestimmt wieder ein", or the future will surely swing back again.

Many Augsburgers feel sure that in a future period of hardship social contacts and a closely-knit bürgerliche community will again become important. They assert that "people can afford to be without many contacts today, but when difficult times come again everyone will need friends and many people will regret that they did not start sooner to develop contacts." It has often been pointed out that people will cooperate and stick together to a much greater extent than usual during temporary disasters such as hurricanes or floods. Augsburgers assert that the same principle is also operative on a larger basis during longer periods of hardship. They feel that circumstances that force individuals to recognize their direct dependence on other specific individuals will stimulate efforts to develop friendships with as many people as possible as an adaptive strategy.

In the past an emphasis on developing contacts and knowing persons has resulted in a tightly integrated Bürgerstand in Augsburg. Many Augsburgers feel sure that this will again be the result when difficult times return. This is not necessarily the case, however. It is also reasonable to expect that an emphasis on developing contacts may result in extensive non-overlapping networks with individuals rather than social entities as the foci of sets of connections. It is also possible that primary social entities will be smaller than the upper social stratum as
a whole with a plurality of social segments having separate sets of tightly-woven connections. Such views were expressed by a number of supporters of ACV who feel that Augsburg has now started to develop in a direction that will inevitably lead to a city with more "typically urban" characteristics as found in Munich rather than continuing as a large village. This point of view also corresponds to theories of Ralf Dahrendorf (1964, 1967) and Suzanne Keller (1963) that the pluralization of a unitary and homogeneous ruling class and its replacement by a series of separate and specialized "strategic elites" is a major irreversible development connected with industrialization and increasing technological sophistication. These theories imply that the persistence of an integrated upper social stratum is an anachronism in a city so economically advanced and with as large a population as Augsburg possesses.

Judging the relative merits of these two points of view about whether or not reintegration of Augsburg's upper social stratum can occur is essentially a question of determining the prerequisites for mechanical solidarity and a sense of community based on personal acquaintance. Durkheim defined these prerequisites as small size of the social unit and cultural and social similarity of the individuals that comprise it. In the case of Augsburg's upper social stratum I believe the potential for reintegration as a unitary community depends upon the nature of the differences that separate diverse elements within this stratum. At present these differences are not firm nor are the separate groupings themselves tightly enough integrated to prevent a process of reintegrating the stratum as a whole. If a period of
hardship were to occur in the near future I predict that personnel of
the university, employees of the city theater, and doctors who now tend
to remain separate would be incorporated into the Bürgerstand. If the
present process of pluralization continues for some time before a change
in economic and political circumstances occurs, it is possible that
separate social entities such as the university community would them-
selves have become firmly enough integrated so that they would remain
as separate enclaves apart from the rest of the upper stratum.

In my opinion the only general conclusion one may draw about pre-
requisites for mechanical solidarity is that limits on the factors of
size and social and cultural diversity cannot be universally specified
but hinge upon the cultural traditions and economic and political cir-
cumstances of any particular social unit. In the case of Augsburg I
believe that the potential for reintegration of the upper stratum re-
mains strong and that until the process of pluralization has gone much
farther than it has to date the limits of this potential will not be
reached.

The Future of Fasching:

Augsburgers' expectations about the future of Fasching are also
usually predicated on the economic, social, and political circumstances
of the city. The celebration of this season is at its greatest inten-
sity during periods of recovery after times of hardship. It is said
that people "need" Fasching during such times for two reasons--it pro-
vides an excellent opportunity to develop new social connections which
are important in rebuilding the social structure, and it provides an
escape from the difficulties of daily life. Augsburgers assert that in periods of prosperity such as the present the public becomes "satiated" with activities of Fasching and with the great variety of other available pastimes and responds less enthusiastically. Many informants including those who had little interest in Fasching themselves told me they think that Fasching will never die out, though the style in which it is celebrated will change considerably according to current interests and pastimes of the public.

During the 1972 season various articles were published dealing with Faschingsmäßigkeit or Fasching tiredness. These appeared in a Dutch newspaper, De Tijd, and in a Munich newspaper, the Abendzeitung. There was also an article in Time magazine about the decline of interest in Fasching among people of Munich. I asked a number of Augsburgers for their opinions about such articles which assert that Fasching is dying, and their attitudes were mixed. Some informants agreed with the journalists that the general public has become bored with activities of the season and that the group of people who organize such activities are tired of devoting so much time and effort to their sponsorship. Others asserted that the high attendance at parties and balls in Augsburg and the efforts of Perlachia and ACV as well as numerous other groups were proof that such articles are merely standard fare from journalists who write similar pieces each year. "Journalists are always writing about this or that being dead. It's much more fashionable now for writers to be critical than to be enthusiastic."

An important procedure in evaluating such judgements about Fasching is to consider each city as a separate case rather than trying to discuss
Fasching or carnival in general. Because the celebration of this season is so tightly bound up with the circumstances of its social context, quite different judgements may be accurate for different areas. It seems to be the case, for example, that interest in Fasching has significantly declined in Munich, but this is not true in Augsburg. This can be attributed in large part to the spirited competition between Perlachia and ACV and to the social processes which these groups represent. It is also apparent that large parades in the carnival capitals of Cologne, Mainz, and Dusseldorf are not declining in importance, although in 1970 Munich ceased to sponsor its traditionally large parade.

My own prediction is that interest in Fasching will rise and decline and forms of its celebration will change somewhat in response to changing social, political, and economic circumstances of Augsburg. An examination of the importance of Fasching in the 20th century reveals that the celebration of this season has been particularly important after periods of recovery from economic and political difficulties before prosperity and political ascendancy have existed long enough to be taken for granted. This seems to have been the case during the 19th century as well, though it is impossible to confirm this assertion because data in the city archives may not accurately represent the actual level of interest in the celebration in all years. Data from the 20th century could be verified by interviewing older informants.

High points of interest in the celebration have occurred from 1935 to 1939 and during the 1950's. From 1935 to 1939 interest in the celebration coincided with the reestablishment of vitality after the political humiliation of the First World War and economic difficulties of the 1920's and
early 1930's, though the celebration was abruptly halted by World War II. It is noteworthy that a revival of Fasching was attempted in 1929 but failed to generate enthusiasm in Augsburg because Germany was still in the throes of economic collapse.

After World War II it also took several years after the worst hardships had passed before Perlachia was revived in 1950. During the 1950's the celebration received great support, reportedly because as in the 1930's it served as an expression of renewed vitality, provided an opportunity to enjoy the pleasures of life, and was a means of rebuilding bonds in the social system. In 1952 the celebration was almost allowed to lapse because of a presumed lack of interest, but an outpouring of public sentiment favoring the celebration is evidence of its importance to the Augsburgers at that time. In 1956 Fasching was again almost cancelled because of the Hungarian Revolution and a disastrous flood in parts of the Rhineland, but the decision was made to have the celebration, presumably because these difficulties did not affect the Augsburgers in an immediate sense.

From the mid 1960's to the present interest in Fasching has been less intense, and Augsburgers say this is because people are "satiated". They use the metaphor of hunger in speaking of the high degree of interest in Fasching from 1935 to 1939 and in the 1950's, a metaphor which again points to the conclusion that Fasching is especially important during times of recovery from economic and political difficulties when the opportunity to enjoy formerly unavailable pleasures first returns.

In spite of the present degree of "satiation" with Fasching in Augsburg, I do not think that the cultural pattern and its basic elements
will disappear though they may undergo a period of dormancy. The celebration of Fasching is bound up with social and psychological needs of individuals which may be expressed as a need to play and as a need for interaction with other persons, and in most cultures strategies for meeting such needs are usually derived from traditional patterns. The importance of Fasching in meeting fundamental needs is revealed in the statement of one informant. "Der Fasching stirbt nie aus, und die Erklärung dafür ist ganz einfach. Die Sorgen sterben nie aus, und dadurch bleibt der Fasching immer lebendig." (Fasching will never die out, and the explanation for this is very simple. Cares and hardships will never die out, and for this reason Fasching will always remain alive.)
Chapter 9

THE NATURE OF CITIES

In this chapter theories dealing with the distinction Durkheim made between mechanical and organic solidarity are examined. Some of these theories are based on static ideal types of social solidarity. Others have adopted a developmental perspective and consider Durkheim's ideal types as end points in a continuum with the process of developing from small communities to cities being called urbanization. Such theories have been challenged by urban anthropologists who assert that an over-emphasis on western cities has led to the assumption that size and heterogeneity are necessarily linked in cities. Bascom's statement on the confounding of size and heterogeneity is cited, and data from cities of Africa and Asia that illustrate the importance of distinguishing these variables are briefly mentioned. In the final section statements are made about size and heterogeneity in Augsburg and about short-term processes of integration and pluralization in light of general theories about the nature of social interaction.

**Mechanical and Organic Social Solidarity:**

In chapter 1 Emile Durkheim's notions of mechanical and organic social solidarity were adopted as abstract types of social interaction. It is important to recognize, however, that implicit in Durkheim's formulation is the theory that mechanical solidarity is characteristic of small communities and organic solidarity is characteristic of large and complex societies with the distinction between these resting on the
division of labor and degree of specialization of social roles in each type of society (1932). These two static ideal types of society which may be called small-scale and large-scale have appeared in many writings of the social sciences. Ferdinand Tönnies called them community (Gemeinschaft) and society (Gesellschaft). The distinction H. S. Maine made between societies based on status and those based on contract also rests on whether relationships between individuals are personal or impersonal with impersonal relationships considered characteristic of "progressive" or large-scale societies (1909). In his essay on the city Max Weber also distinguished between personal mutual acquaintanceship characteristic of small communities and the lack of such personal bonds in cities due to large numbers of inhabitants and density of settlement (1925). A recent article by Burton Benedict provides a summary of literature on this subject (1966). The pervasiveness of the distinction between the nature of relationships in small and large communities as stereotypes in western culture is illustrated by the Augsbugers' statements that their city is a large village (ein grosses Dorf).

In general anthropologists have emphasized the nature of small communities and overlapping personal ties which bind members of small-scale society together. Raymond Firth, for example, cites the frequency with which primary groups coincide and overlap in small communities (Firth 1951:47). Sociologists have concentrated primarily on the urban ideal type as exemplified by Louis Wirth's classic essay on "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1938). Wirth defines cities by the size, density, and heterogeneity of their populations and emphasizes the impersonal quality of relationships between individuals in cities as a characteristic derived
from these primary factors.

Some writers have incorporated static theories about the relationship between size and structural complexity of societies and the nature of their social solidarity into a developmental continuum of urbanization. Robert Redfield applied Wirth's ideas on the nature of urbanism to a study designed to investigate urbanization as a process by examining four communities in Yucatan ranging in size from a small village to the city of Merida (1941). Redfield emphasized what he called a transition from a moral order in small communities to a technical order in cities (1955). Many studies have also been done on the urbanization of American communities and concomitant changes in the nature of social relationships (Goldschmidt 1968). These studies of American communities are reviewed in terms of general processes of urbanization, bureaucratization, and industrialization by Maurice Stein (1960). In dealing with the effects of specialization and increasing complexity or heterogeneity on the nature of social relationships, some sociologists have concentrated on the upper stratum of society. Ralf Dahrendorf (1964) and Suzanne Keller (1963), for example, focus their attention on the effects of specialization on a formerly integrated ruling stratum which leads to a plurality of separate specialized elites with relatively little contact between such groups.

**Size, Density, and Heterogeneity as Urban Characteristics:**

In recent years many urban anthropologists have used data gathered in non-western cities to challenge the notion that size, density, and heterogeneity of population and impersonal relationships are necessary
characteristics of cities. The relationship between these factors which seems to exist in many western cities is not universal. Philip M. Hauser has analyzed Asian cities in terms of urban characteristics as defined by Wirth and folk characteristics as defined by Redfield and found that these cities do not correspond to the urban ideal type (Hauser 1965). William Bascom has made a similar analysis using data on traditional and new African cities (1968). Bascom emphasizes in particular the difficulty of assuming heterogeneity as a characteristic of cities, pointing out the vagueness of the term itself which may refer to economic specialization, ethnic diversity, or social and cultural diversity and degree of contact with external entities which he calls cosmopolitanism (1968: 83). He also argues that cities should be defined demographically and that other characteristics such as heterogeneity or the nature of social relationships should be empirically investigated rather than assumed as diagnostic criteria. Bascom states

...I am inclined...to recommend that cities should be defined strictly in terms of demographic factors: relative size, density, and permanence. ...Defined demographically, urbanism as a way of life and urbanization as the process of urban growth may have a cause-or-effect relationship with cultural and social factors, such as acculturation, Europeanization, detribalization, cosmopolitanism, and other types of social heterogeneity, with the economic or technological factors of specialization and industrialization, and with political factors such as city government. All of these factors should be considered separately to determine whether they are necessary to city growth or are the results of urban life, and whether they pertain to all cities. (91)

The opening pages of this report contain a statement of the falacy of assuming a necessary connection between mechanical and organic social solidarity and societies of small or large scale. The term scale itself can be problematic because it assumes a link between size and complexity.
In summarizing my investigation in Augsburg, the nature and degree of heterogeneity and the nature of social interaction will be examined as characteristics of the city that vary over time, and a relationship will be considered linking social interaction to certain kinds of heterogeneity.

**Augsburg: A Case in Point:**

Two basic statements can be made that relate my findings in Augsburg to general theories about the nature of cities. One is an echo of Bascom's assertion that heterogeneity is an ambiguous concept that must be more clearly defined before its effect on the nature of social relationships can be assessed. To be useful in the case of Augsburg I think the term should refer to more than economic specialization and an elaborate division of labor and should include the notion of cultural and social diversity. J. Clyde Mitchell made this distinction between economic specialization and social and cultural diversity (which he calls heterogeneity) in listing situational imperatives that influence the nature of social interaction in cities (1966:49-50). These imperatives are density of settlement, mobility, heterogeneity, demographic disproportion, economic differentiation, and administrative and political limitations with heterogeneity and economic differentiation considered as separate factors.

When used in this sense the concept of heterogeneity is helpful in analyzing changes in the nature of social interaction of the upper social stratum of Augsburg since the War. During the 1950's when economic specialization was highly advanced but the population of Augsburg was
relatively homogeneous culturally, mechanical social solidarity was characteristic of the upper social stratum. Only with increasing social and cultural diversity in the 1960's did this interactive community begin to pluralize into segments bound together by organic solidarity. The founding of the university and introduction of alternative liberal values into the city have been cited as important elements of this diversity which are related to what Bascom calls "cosmopolitanism". The city itself is no longer a major focus of attention for people who have adopted new values and lifestyles and for people connected with the university. Instead their attention is turned outward toward people and happenings beyond the boundaries of the local social system. This is not to imply that Augsburgers involved in the local Bürgerstand are interested solely in the internal affairs of this system but rather that new and diverse elements in the city have less commitment to social position and having a name in the community relative to their interest in external affairs.

In chapter 2 the tendency for Augsburg to be a relatively closed and isolated system with lack of active involvement in the economic and political activity in central Europe from the Thirty Years' War onward has been discussed. Whereas up to the time of the Renaissance Augsburg had been a nodal point of economic and political activity which fostered heterogeneity and cosmopolitan commitment to external entities, the city later lost this position to Munich and has developed as a relatively isolated provincial city. This removal from major currents of activity and relative isolation has been significant in making Augsburg unusually homogeneous culturally and has tended to foster an ingrown social system.
relative to that in Munich. For the same reasons the city is also characterized by relatively low mobility, a situational imperative mentioned by Mitchell (1966) that likewise fosters internal integration and mechanical solidarity between individuals known to each other on a personal basis because time permits the development of elaborate overlapping ties between individuals. Augsburg thus illustrates the point that cities of large size and a high degree of economic differentiation are not necessarily social or culturally heterogeneous and are not necessarily characterized by organic social solidarity at all social levels.

A second major statement can be made about social interaction in Augsburg relative to that in cities generally. Within any one city short-term historical developments can greatly influence the nature of social interaction, and it may be more accurate to speak of processes of integration and pluralization as short-term reversible fluctuations rather than of one overall process called urbanization with a single direction of development proceeding from mechanical to organic solidarity. Augsburg is probably a somewhat exceptional case in this regard because of extreme fluctuations in the economic and political circumstances of Germany in this century with two world wars and alternating periods of great hardship and of remarkable recovery. The important point remains for general urban theory, however, that integration and pluralization may logically occur as reversible processes within one city over relatively short time periods. It may prove to be the case that the present process of pluralization will be so pervasive that reintegration of the upper social stratum in terms of mechanical solidarity will no longer be possible, and Augsburg may irreversibly pass
the limits of Überschaubarkeit defined by size and complexity. Theories of Dahrendorf (1965) and Keller (1963) on the pluralization of elites as a major large-scale process imply that this will be the case. It is useful to recall, however, that Augsburg's social system has been highly fragmented before by the removal of Jews, the destruction and loss of life of World War II, and a large influx of refugees after the War. Following these disruptions the upper stratum underwent a process of integration which led to the development of mechanical solidarity and the establishment of an interactive bürgerliche community in the city. I will not be surprised to learn at some point in the future when economic and political circumstances have changed in Augsburg that the present trend toward pluralization has reversed and a process of reintegration has begun. The Augsburgers may well be correct in their assertion that "es pendelt bestimmt wieder ein".
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adressbuch der Stadt Augsburg. 1972. Augsburger Adressbuchverlag Konrad Arnold.

Anderson, Robert T. and Gallatin Anderson  

Anderson, Robert T.  


Bascom, William  

Bateson, Gregory  
1956 "The Message 'This is Play'." In Schaffner, Bertram, ed. Transactions of the Second Conference on Group Processes. New York: Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation.

Benedict, Burton  

Bohannon, Paul  

Bottomore, Thomas  

Brown, D. E.  

Catholy, Eckehard

Dahrendorf, Ralf


Dirr, Pius

Dörner, Anton

Drewes, Paul

Durkheim, Émile

Eberlein, Hans

Edmonson, Munro S.

Endres, Franz Carl

Epstein, A. L.

"Farewell to Fasching?" Time Magazine, February 21, 1972.

Firth, Raymond

Form, William and Gregory P. Stone

Frankenberg, Ronald
French, Walter
1925 *Medieval Civilization as Illustrated by the Fastnachtspiele of Hans Sachs.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Fürstenberg, Friedrich

Goldschmidt, Walter

Gonzalez, Nancie L.

Graf, Roland

Gutkind, E. A.

Hammond, Dorothy

Hauser, Philip M.

Hill, Errol

Hiller, E. T.

Hopper, Vincent Foster

Kaufman, H. F.
1959 "Toward an Interactional Conception of Community." *Social Forces* 38:8-17.
Keller, Suzanne


Lowie, Robert H.


Maine, H. S.

Merkl, Peter H.

Mitchell, J. Clyde


Norbeck, Edward


Ofner, Robert

Pearse, Andrew

Pelto, Pertti J.
Plowman, D. E. G., W. E. Minchinton and Margaret Stacey

Powrie, Barbara E.

Rademacher, Karl

Redfield, Robert


Rodnick, David

Rudwin, Maximilian Josef

Schmidt, R. W.

Sievert, Clemens

Simon, Gerd

Stein, Maurice

Stetten, Paul von, der Alter

Spindler, George D.

Tönnies, Ferdinand
1957 *Community and Society*, translated from the German by Charles P. Loomis. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
van den Berghe, Pierre L. 

Veblen, Thorstein 

Walker, Mack 

Warner, William Lloyd 

Weber, Max 

Wheeler, Wayne 
1973 Personal communication regarding research on Mardi Gras in rural Louisiana.

Wilson, Geoffrey and Monica Wilson 

Wirth, Louis 

Wolf, Eric R. 

Zorn, Wolfgang 

Additional Sources of Information:

A great deal of information that I used in investigating the history of Fasching in Augsburg was provided by the city archives, by the carnival club Perlachia, and by various individuals who for a number of years have collected newspaper articles and photographs about the celebration of Fasching. In the years 1938 and 1939 a great deal of research was done and a number of articles were written for various newspapers including the Neue National Zeitung, the Neue Augsburger Zeitung, the Völkisher Beobachter, and the Münchener Neueste Nachrichten concerning the history
of the celebration of Fasching in Augsburg. These articles were extremely valuable in pointing out references to Fasching in archival material of the city which included a Baumeisterrechnung from 1370, a Ratsdekrete from 1391, the Stiftungsbrief der St. Anna Pfrunde from 1445, a Bericht von F. C. Wagenseil from 1503, the Chronik of Burkhardt Zink from 1538, a Ratsverordnung from 1728, and a detailed two-volume history of Augsburg written in the mid 18th century by Paul von Stetten. In the early 19th century the journal of announcements of the city bureaucracy (Intelligenz-Blatt und wochentlicher Anzeiger der königlich Bayrischen Stadt Augsburg) listed numerous Fasching activities and rules which the police established for the celebration of the season.

Old materials relating specifically to Fasching include the program from a masked sleighride in 1754 called the "Lappländischer Calender von Jupiter verbessert von denen Augsburgischen Herrn Studenten in einer Schlittenfahrt zur erlaubten Zeitvertrieb," the program of a Fasching parade in 1843, and a poster announcing the formation of an Augsburger Carnevals Verein in 1886-87. The club Perlachia has a set of Fasching programs listing all activities of the season for the years 1950 to the present, and the club ACV provided copies of printed programs called the ACV Kurier for the years 1971 and 1972.

A number of individuals who have been on the court of Perlachia in various years allowed me to use many photographs and newspaper clippings they had collected from their year of active participation on the Court. These persons included an Elfer from 1935, the Princess and Hofmarschall of 1951, the Prince of 1957, and the Hofmarschalls of 1958, 1959, and 1963.