

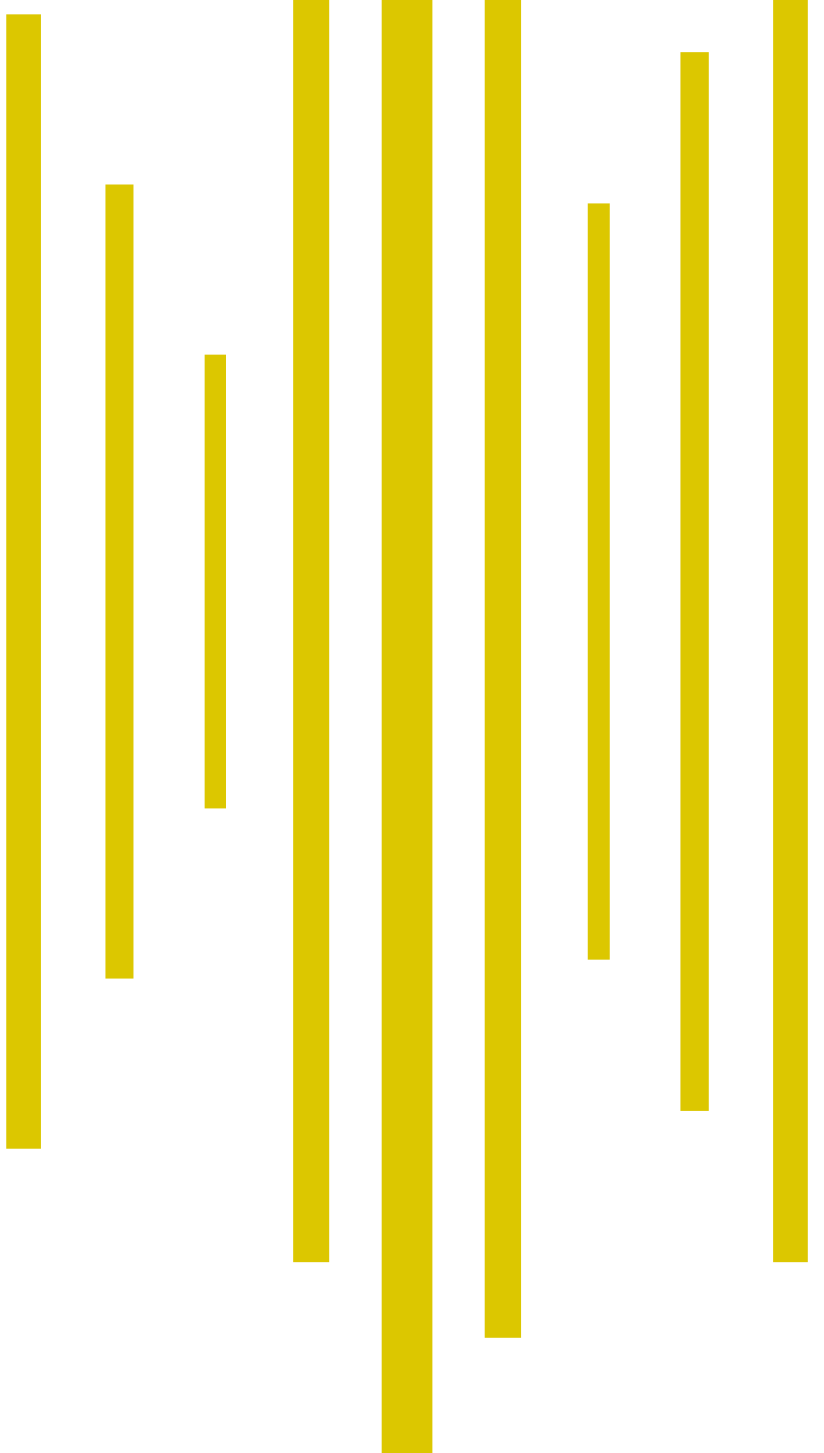
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ETNOGRAFIJE »LAND UND LEUTE« V
REGIJI ALPE-JADRAN V 19. STOLETJU

Ethnographic Descriptions of “*Land und Leute*” in the Alps-Adriatic Region in the 19th Century

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Ethnographic accounts from the 19th century, including “*Land und Leute*”, statistical reports and travelogues, provide insight into how ethnographers (broadly defined) presented and investigated the transformations occurring in the multicultural Alps-Adriatic region. An examination of these documents elucidates “in-between” practices among diverse languages and cultures, and facilitates an exploration of how individuals negotiated complex national and cultural identifications.

▪ **Keywords:** in-between, traveller reports, state science, ethnography, identification

V etnografskih zapisih iz 19. stoletja, kot so »*Land und Leute*«, statističnih poročilih in potopisih, lahko vidimo, kako so etnografi (širše definirani) predstavljali in raziskovali spremembe, ki so se dogajale na večkulturnem alpsko-jadranskem območju. Z raziskovanjem teh dokumentov lahko osvetlimo prakse vmesnosti med različnimi jeziki in kulturami ter raziščemo, kako so se posamezniki uspevali usklajevati in prilagajati v zapletenih nacionalnih in kulturnih identifikacijah.

▪ **Ključne besede:** vmesnost, potopisna poročila, državna znanost, etnografija, identifikacija

Numerous scholars, including Eric Hobsbawm (1990), John Breuilly (2013), Tomasz Kamusella (2008), Pieter Judson (2016a), and Tara Zahra (2008), have examined the significant social, political, and cultural transformations that occurred during the long 19th century, which fundamentally altered societies and nations in Europe. New forms of social relations and hierarchies emerged, while cultural and ethnic identifications became important. This period is characterized by discovery and emancipation, as reflected in (everyday) life. Social status underwent redefinition, gender relations began to evolve, industrial labour presented challenges associated with highly unfavourable working conditions, and labour unions were established.

A growing awareness of multiple ethnic groups and their self-affirmation arose, mostly as a response to the emergence of nation-states. Peasant emancipation (cf. Bugge, 2007; Petersen, North, 2009), industrialization, urbanization (cf. Good, 1984; Johnston, 2005), and the associated greater autonomy and emancipation movements in general, contributed to the collapse of existing hierarchies and forced individuals and communities to reconsider their position in the existing social order. All of these movements, that is, for the liberation of peasants, workers, and women, were simultaneous with the

rise of national elites and their identifications (Hroch, 1985), which shook established power relations and encouraged new identifications and feelings of belonging.¹

In the Alps-Adriatic region² of the Habsburg Empire, these transformations were particularly complex. Known for its ethnic and linguistic diversity, the region was subject to overlapping and often conflicting identification narratives (cf. Moritsch, 2001). This complexity was amplified by the various ways in which writers, researchers, bureaucrats, and others involved in state affairs documented and responded to these changes. Their writings – whether ethnographies, official reports, memoirs, or political tracts – offered a range of perspectives on the changing social landscape, influenced by the authors’ professional roles, personal biases, and the specific contexts in which they operated.

The variety of genres employed by the authors to try and capture these changes is remarkable. Ethnographies often revolved around documenting cultural practices and social structures, whereas bureaucratic accounts focused their observations on governance and administrative frameworks. Memoirs and political writings, on the other hand, allowed for more personal or speculative reflections on the changes experienced and witnessed by the authors. Regardless of the genre, these writings were embedded in longstanding rhetorical traditions that shaped their narratives and also in many ways determined what was considered worth describing or recording. The records were framed by prevalent rhetorical traditions guiding narrative patterns and determining the contents of observation and remembering.

The research on which this volume of *Traditiones* is based began during a joint railway journey by the two authors of this article from Klagenfurt to Vienna. In deep conversation, as the Carinthian landscape rolled past our window, we discussed the challenges of addressing the complexities of historical anthropology in a region so profoundly shaped by cultural intersections. This very railway line connecting Ljubljana (Laibach) with Klagenfurt (Celovec) serves as a vital link between urban centres where social, ethnic, and linguistic boundaries were constantly shifting. Our discussion led us to establish the great importance of these historical connections, and to the question of how individuals and groups navigated the dynamic socio-political landscape of their time. Within this historical and intellectual framework, the FWF/ARIS-Weave project, *Discourses and Practices of the In-Between in the Alps-Adriatic Region: Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste 1815–1914*, takes place. By analysing ethnographies, bureaucratic documents, and personal writings from a range of genres, the research seeks to uncover

¹ “Identification turns out to be one of the least well-understood concepts – almost as tricky as, though preferable to, ‘identity’ itself; and certainly no guarantee against the conceptual difficulties which have beset the latter” (Hall, 1997: 2).

² The term ‘Alps-Adriatic region’ is employed here as a metaphorical and descriptive framework, rather than a historically defined concept. While the phrase did not exist in a clearly delineated form during the period studied, it effectively captures the region’s diverse linguistic, cultural, social, economical, and historical interactions. This choice allows us to emphasize the interconnectedness and complex dynamics of the area, extending beyond the specific urban centres under investigation. By using this term, we aim to reflect the broader scope of our research and the cross-regional influences shaping the development of Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste.

how different actors perceived, interpreted, and negotiated the shifting social, ethnic, and national boundaries of the period. These texts not only reflect diverse viewpoints but also highlight the practices of navigating the “in-between”, as individuals and groups grappled with multiple, and often conflicting, affiliations and identifications.

The everyday life of historical subjects who lived in ethnically mixed regions in the course of the formation of nation-states in the long 19th century has hardly been studied to date, as the narratives of the nation, of *Volk* and ethnicization dominated for a long time. An increasing number of studies (e.g. Almasy et al., 2020; Kirchner-Reill 2012) are now addressing the fact that life in such regions was characterised by transitions and interdependencies, for example with regard to the use of languages, mobility, and cultural exchange.

This is where our epistemological interest sets in when we inquire into the sometimes contradictory, conflicting and incoherent practices of the in-between. After all, the historical subjects did not subject themselves to the idea of the nation-state as such, nor did they think or act according to ethnicizing attributions.

There are many indications of how the subjects reacted situationally to the respective demands of their everyday lives, positioning themselves in seemingly contradictory ways and acting in an entirely “obstinate” (*eigensinnig*) manner. Theoretically, this “life in between” has so far been summarised with concepts such as pluriculturalism (Feichtinger, Uhl, 2016), hybridity (Johler, 2023), indifference (Judson, 2016b; Zahra, 2010), or polyphony (Strutz, 1996).

Based on this and with reference to the concept of *Eigensinn* (Lüdtke, 1994), we would like to reconstruct a mode of subjectivation that is expressed through practices of the in-between. We assume that this was widespread in the long 19th century. The ‘in-between’ refers to a coexistence of different situations and practices that occurred under a variety of aspects, and serves as an umbrella term combining gender, class, religion, language affiliation and, towards the end of the 19th century, ethnic or national affiliation as well (see Schemmer, Schönberger, 2024).

To design a meaningful sample, we utilized key studies concerning sites with central functions (cf. Christaller, 1980 [1933]; Lefebvre, 1991; Turnock, 2005). We therefore selected cities central to their respective languages and, by extension, to the nationalities associated with them. Geographically, the research focuses on the three urban centres of Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste within the Alps-Adriatic region, which represent a unique mixture of linguistic and cultural influences. Each city exhibits distinct characteristics: Klagenfurt with a predominantly German-speaking population; Ljubljana, emerging as the centre of Slovenian cultural identity; and Trieste, a cosmopolitan hub with a dominant Italian influence. These cities were central to social, economic, cultural, and political life in their respective regions, serving as the capitals of *Kronländer* (crown lands) in the cases of Klagenfurt and Ljubljana, while Trieste functioned as the key urban centre of the Austrian Littoral. They played pivotal roles



as sites of communication, influence, and innovation within the Habsburg Empire. The research also incorporates the surrounding rural areas, displaying the intensive interplay between urban centres and their rural peripheries. The complexity of both perspectives – the urban and the rural – provides a more nuanced view of the social, cultural, and political interactions that shaped the region during this period.

The research has provided a more complex understanding of how individuals and groups negotiated national affiliations and attributions in the Alps-Adriatic region in the 19th century. Its approach transcends national or ethnic boundaries, considering different understandings of life and examining practices of the in-between across language, networks, and mobility:

- a. Language: Examining linguistic practices, including multilingualism and code-switching, to understand intentional and unintentional practices of the in-between and their evolution over time.
- b. Networks: Identifying transversal networks that include members of varied social and ethnic groups, often unaffected by nationalizing discourses.
- c. Mobility: Investigating various types of mobility that signify in-between practices, such as socio-economic, territorial and migration-related movements, considering urban-rural dynamics and the influence of growing nationalisms.

By integrating these categorial considerations, the research aims to illuminate the complex and often contradictory ways in which individuals and groups navigated national affiliations and attributions in the Alps-Adriatic region during the 19th century. Focus rests on the in-between spaces – geographical, cultural, linguistic, and social – where national identifications were fluid, contested, or overlapping. Instead of simplistic binary oppositions, this approach allows us to appreciate the nuanced realities of the historical actors who inhabited these liminal spaces.

We follow Judson (2016b: 153) in arguing that national ideas were not seamlessly integrated into everyday life. Our aim is to highlight that ambivalent discourses and practices can be observed across all individuals, regardless of their ideological stance. Therefore, we are focusing on questions that lend themselves to a historical-anthropological approach, including the analysis of multiple modes of identification and complex self-positioning. These cannot solely be understood in the context of the broader transformation processes toward bourgeois or nation-state societies. Our focus lies on situational actions and the historical actors' own sense of agency: "We conceptualise this *Eigen-Sinn* action or non-action as *doing in-between*. This opens up the possibility of a 'more-than-national perspective' (King, 2002: 122) by focusing on ambiguous practices, intentional decisions or non-intentional, situative actions regarding ideological attitudes in the Alps-Adriatic region, an area where micro-historical studies on this period are rare" (Schemmer, Schönberger, 2024: 23–24).

Historical anthropology, ethnography, and descriptions of “*Land und Leute*”

In our research, we adopt a broad understanding of ethnography, examining texts that describe the “land and people” (*Land und Leute*) of a territory in the widest sense. We include texts that draw a picture of a region (territory) or a landscape based on personal experience and edited for interested readers. Attempts at definition (Vermeulen, 2008) generally refer to *Völkerbeschreibungen* in the classical ethnological sense, attempting to systematically describe unfamiliar worlds. In this respect, we also consider travelogues or the statistics that emerged in the 19th century to be relevant sources.

In the 19th century, ethnography was significantly shaped by two intellectual traditions that influenced and defined methods and approaches. Ethnography was for the Göttingen Staatswissenschaft school of the 18th century simply a tool to gather detailed information about populations (cf. Lindenfeld, 1997). On the other hand, Johann Gottfried Herder emphasized the intrinsic value of every culture and highlighted each identity’s uniqueness (cf. Barnard, 2003). These two approaches, imperial administration as well as cultural appreciation, in many ways defined how ethnographers collected data and portrayed the communities they studied.

Ethnographic descriptions (*Land und Leute*) were published in a variety of literary forms, each shaping the portrayal of peoples and cultures differently. Traveller reports were typically in line with traditional *ars apodemica*, providing structured outsider views on foreign populations (cf. Stagl, 1995). Homeland (*Heimat- und Vaterlandskunde*) research, guided by extensive questionnaires or directives, documented local or national characteristics. The choice of genre significantly influenced narrative construction, affecting how information was gathered and presented, and as such played a pivotal role in shaping the view on culture.

The rise of nationalisms in the 19th century significantly impacted how ethnographers defined communities by linguistic and cultural affiliations. One of the important consequences of nationalization efforts was standardized language and the marginalization or even annihilation of regional dialects, therefore also simplifying the representation of cultural diversity. Ethnographers had to navigate multilingual contexts and most likely chose the language that reflected their personal, political, or pragmatic considerations. In cities like Trieste, Klagenfurt, and Ljubljana – microcosms of broader Central European transformations – many ethnographers balanced the image, namely local realities with prevailing nationalist ideologies. These decisions are key to understanding how ethnographers framed their narratives and the ideological impacts of their work.

The analysis of specific 19th-century writers exhibiting ethnographic curiosity demonstrates how their texts reflect changes in the utilization of various genres, or in the perception of the described subject matter. These changes progress from the Enlightenment and the anational perspective based on the imperial logic of state governance, to the national which focused on discovering and affirming a distinct identity,



and finally to the transnational grounded in the emerging Marxist logic. Among early travel writers, the imperial censor Franz Sartori (1811) maintained imperial neutrality by emphasizing rationality and knowledge, prioritizing state cohesion over linguistic or cultural affiliation. Urban Jarnik in the year 1826 (1984) advocated for the preservation of Slovenian culture against Germanization pressures and, influenced by Herder, emphasized the significance of language and tradition in asserting Slovenian identity in Carinthia. In the mid-19th century, writers such as Pietro Kandler (1848a, 1848b) employed both imperial and nationalist logic in Trieste. Kandler emphasized Italian cultural superiority and national glory while encouraging loyalty to the empire. Carlo Combi (1886) already in the sixties utilized nationalist narratives to affirm Italian identity and marginalize the Slavic population. Also noteworthy are writers such as Karl von Czoernig and Adolf Ficker in the mid-19th century, who developed “statistical ethnography” and predicted cultural assimilation under stronger national elements in the interests of imperial unity. At the end of the 19th century, monumental editions, such as the *Kronprinzenwerk* (1885–1902), merit mention as the final attempt to integrate all the peoples of the country (cf. Erzherzog Rudolf, 1887). Finally, particular attention should be directed to Angelo Vivante (1912), who offered alternative perspectives by adopting a transnational, Marxist-socialist narrative.

By integrating these historical approaches and acknowledging the influence of nationalism, our research seeks to provide an understanding of how ethnographic descriptions were shaped by intellectual traditions, state interests, and cultural movements. We recognize that at the heart of these approaches lies the question of how people perceived themselves and others – whether through the eyes of an outsider traveller, the lens of state-driven inquiry, or the appreciation of cultural uniqueness.

On the possibility of reading ethnographies “in-between”

In engaging with ethnographies, we delve into the notions of in-between as a central concept and a guiding principle that leads us to examine situations and practices hinting at ambivalent or contradictory affiliations or identifications. Our research hypothesizes that early ethnographic descriptions of peoples (*Völkerbeschreibungen*) at the onset of nation-state formation, despite potential inherent biases, could reveal contradictions and issues in the implementation of nationalism. The Alps-Adriatic region is considered a border area and can be understood as an in-between space. In fact, many European border regions can be seen as in-between spaces which are “more than a marginal phenomenon” (Ther, 2003: xii), where not all multilingual actors necessarily adopt national self-identifications (ibid.: x). These regions lie “between the core areas, i.e. on the fringes of the respective nations”, and “are linguistic, cultural, and ethnic transition zones where various influences intersected and often merged” (ibid.: xi). Central Europe

in particular is characterized by the “diversity of regions” (Csáky, 2002: 38) and the characteristic “shifts between different cultural patterns and value systems” (ibid.: 40).

At the heart of our research is the hypothesis that the process of nation-state formation and the production of national subjectivities was not without contradictions. While there is no doubt that the idea of the nation-state gained momentum throughout the 19th century – especially with the rise of the bourgeois classes, leading parts of the population to identify as Italians, Austrians, Slovenians, or Croats – this was not always the case, particularly not during the Habsburg Monarchy in the first half of the 19th century. This period is precisely when the processes of ethnicization and nationalization began. In retrospect, it became a veritable triumph, rendering other forms of social organization almost invisible. This raises questions about who was dominated, and how forms of subjectivation that could not relate to an ethnic or national understanding of state and nation were marginalized. This is where our research’s interest lies.

Simultaneously, there were attempts to establish a specific ethnography of the Habsburg Empire. The idea of an ethnically, linguistically, and culturally mixed “National Austrian” was propagated in the late 19th century within a disciplinary environment that Brigitte Fuchs (2003: 153–164) personified through the statistician Karl Freiherr von Czoernig, referring to it as the “Austrian ethnography of ‘mixture’”.

We are particularly interested in the contradictory and unstable forms of subjectivation and the agency of historical actors during the period from 1815 to 1914, when nationalism and the idea of ethnically based nation-states emerged but were far from hegemonic. The numerous ideological efforts, such as those by school associations (Judson, 2006: 16–17), attest *ex negativo* that there must have been a need for action. We assume that ethnicizing and nationalizing discourses that started to pervade public and political debates after 1850 were only one manifestation amongst non-nationalist narratives.

To carve out the behavioural logic and structures of meaning, we analyse contemporary communication and discourses. Textual analysis (Mayring, 2015) allows us to engage with “a multitude of documents, texts, or images and their common and different categorical or discursive patterns, which place them in context and in relation to each other” (Averbeck-Lietz, 2019: 92–93). Analysing spatial and temporal structures, actor constellations, and *topoi* reveals the different layers inherent in nationalizing patterns of discourse (ibid.).

However, research that seeks specificity in the sources risks generating bias. A perspective that is specifically focused on the search for the practice of in-between can thus contribute to the overlooked aspects that do not resonate with our expectations. But if we assume that both possibilities, being or doing in-between as well as its opposite (commitment in favour of a national idea) – can simultaneously be observed in the actions of subjects, we need not worry that contradictions and asynchronicities will be overlooked or ignored because we do not presuppose a clearly defined in-between identification.



On the contrary, the possibility of succumbing to bias in research is always a subject of discussion based on the available sources. In this sense, it should be emphasized that the analysis cannot be limited to searching for practices of in-between, but must consider all practices that correspond to both national and non-national agendas.

Building on this conceptualization of bias and identification complexity, the following section presents contributions by various authors that thematize the theoretical and empirical dimensions of “being in between” practices.

Theoretical and empirical approaches to the practices of in-between

In their theoretical approach ‘Doing In-Between in the 19th Century in the Alps-Adriatic Region’ Janine Schemmer and Klaus Schönberger (2024) attempt to theoretically define the concept of in-between practices. The authors adopt a historical-anthropological perspective, developing the concept of *doing in-between* in relation to an everyday history perspective that seeks to differentiate various forms of subjectivation (subjection, subjectivization, subjugation). Drawing on related concepts in Habsburg research, the goal is also to truly overcome methodological nationalism. To this end, they consider hybrid, polyphonic, fluid, and idiosyncratic self-concepts of historical subjects (Lüdtke, 1994), which imply something other and more than mere indifference, highlighting the ambivalent process of identification. The authors wish to contribute to sharpening the theoretical tools while simultaneously proposing an empirical perspective.

In the article ‘The Alps-Adriatic Region – an “Area of Transition”’: Doing In-Between in Travel Literature of the 19th Century’ by Ute Holfelder, Janine Schemmer, Christian Frühwirth, and Gabriele Brunner (2024), the sources of historical travelogues are scrutinised for indications of possible practices of doing in-between. Of particular importance is the aspect that the authors repeatedly conceptualise the Alps-Adriatic region as a border region, as a liminal space of encounter in terms of geography, climate, and culture. By reexamining historical travel descriptions, the study reveals everyday practices that demonstrate multiple affiliations among the region’s inhabitants. These include multilingualism, cross-border trade relations, and patterns of labour mobility. In the travel descriptions examined, the practices of in-between appear above all through the juxtaposition of one’s own assumptions and what is observed.

Gerhard Katschnig’s article ‘Indications of the In-Between in Works of W. Wabruschek Blumenbach and F. Umlauf: A Case Study of Two Habsburg Ethnographers’ (Katschnig, 2024) emphasizes the challenge of identifying in-between practices in ethnographies. Blumenbach and Umlauf wrote their ethnographies to support the imperial – economic and political – interests of the monarchy, as evidenced by their focus on the economic activities and land resources. With the comparison of two texts, written at different times, the author identifies implicit references to the practices of in-between.

In the article ‘Images of Peoples: Two 19th-Century “Ethnographies” of the Habsburg Empire’, Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik (2024) examines works of two authors, Karl von Czoernig and Adolf Ficker, who recorded “statistical ethnography” on the diverse peoples of the Habsburg Empire. She analyzes their approaches that shared a common objective: to systematically describe and categorize populations in service of the state. Ethnography thus reinforced dominant ideologies, supporting imperial objectives by managing diversity through simplification.

Aleksej Kalc in the paper ‘Trieste Ethnographies in the Eyes of Contemporary Observers in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries’ (Kalc, 2024) thematizes how five authors (Pietro Kandler, Pacifico Valussi, Josip Godina Verdelski, Ruggero Fauro Timeus, Angelo Vivante), living in the 19th and early 20th centuries, portrayed the city’s ethnography and highlighted different logics and views on in-between identifications. These writers predominantly perceive ethnic or national communities as discrete entities; however, they implicitly acknowledged the “in-between” spaces where identifications were fluid and hybrid. Conversely, national narratives in all the texts indicate the extent and nuanced evaluation of such in-between spaces and practices within varying historical contexts.

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Etnografski opisi »Land und Leute« na območju Alpe-Jadran v 19. stoletju

V 19. stoletju so družbene, politične in kulturne spremembe bistveno preoblikovale družbe v Evropi. Nastajale so nove oblike družbenih odnosov in hierarhij, naraščal je pomen kulturnih identitet in etničnih pripisovanj. Raziskovalci, kot so Eric Hobsbawm, John Breuilly, Tomasz Kamusella, Pieter Judson in Tara Zahra, so osvetlili transformacije, ki so vplivale na vsakdanje življenje v celoti – od sprememb v družbenem statusu do oblikovanja nacionalnih identitet ter vloge emancipacijskih gibanj, ki so destabilizirala takratne hierarhije. V tem kontekstu so etnična pripadnost, socialni status in izobraževanje postajali osrednji dejavniki družbenega vzpona in novih identifikacij.

Na alpsko-jadranskem območju Habsburške monarhije so bile te spremembe še posebej kompleksne zaradi velike jezikovne in etnične raznolikosti. Raziskovalci, pisci, državni uradniki in drugi so v etnografskih besedilih, uradnih poročilih in političnih spisih dokumentirali in interpretirali te spremembe, pogosto

v skladu z osebnimi vlogami, predsodki in političnimi položaji. Njihovi zapisi so pripomogli k razumevanju in opredelitvi regionalnih identitet, vendar so jih največkrat določale ideološke izbire, ki so narekovala, kaj je vredno zapisovanja in kako je treba opisovati svet.

Raziskovalni projekt, katerega rezultat so v tem zvezku *Traditiones* objavljeni prispevki, se je začel med potjo z vlakom iz Celovca na Dunaj z razpravo o izzivih zgodovinske antropologije, ko sta avtorja obravnavala pomembnost kulturnih povezav na tem območju, kjer so se nenehno prepletale jezikovne in etnične meje. Sledenje zgodovinskim povezavam namreč omogoča boljše razumevanje družbenopolitične dinamike in dejstva, kako so posamezniki in skupnosti navigirali po kompleksni družbeni krajini.

Projekt *Discourses and Practices of the In-Between in the Alpine-Adriatic Region: Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste 1815–1914* skuša premostiti metodološki nacionalizem, značilen za pretekle raziskave, ki so se osredinile na lastno kulturo in jezik ter bile v marsičem izključujoče. Da bi raziskali prepletenost nacionalnih pripadnosti na območju Alpe-Jadran, so v projektu zajete tri glavne dimenzije raziskave: etnografije, osebna pisma in zapisi ter kulturna društva, ki omogočajo pogled na vsakodnevne družbene prakse, ki so presegale nacionalne okvire.

Poseben fokus je na središčih Celovec, Ljubljana in Trst, ki predstavljajo mešanico jezikovnih in kulturnih vplivov. Vsako mesto ima svoje posebnosti: Celovec s pretežno nemško večino, Ljubljana je postala v tem času središče slovenske kulture, Trst pa je bil kozmopolitsko mesto s prevladujočim italijanskim vplivom. Pri raziskavi je upoštevano tudi podeželje, gre torej za preplet urbanih in ruralnih družbenih dinamik.

V tem kontekstu so bili etnografski opisi in tradicija pisanja »*Land und Leute*« v 19. stoletju ena od pomembnih metod za preučevanje družbenih identitet; ponujali so poglede na različnost in identitete. Po drugi strani je naraščajoči nacionalizem v 19. stoletju prispeval k standardizaciji jezikov in potisnil v ozadje regionalne dialekte, kar je dodatno zapletlo prikazovanje kulturne raznovrstnosti v etnografskih opisih.

Osnovna namera tega zvezka je raziskati prakse »vmesnosti«, torej kako so posamezniki živeli in se identificirali v večkulturnih okoljih. Namen je razumeti vsakdanje prakse, ki niso sledile strogim nacionalnim paradigmam. Z analizo jezika, mrež in mobilnosti skušamo pojasniti, kako je bil jezik uporabljen v različnih kontekstih, kako so se ljudje povezovali onkraj etničnih mej in kako je mobilnost prispevala h kulturnim spremembam. Pristop omogoča poglobljeno razumevanje vsakdanjega življenja v 19. stoletju in poudarja medsebojno povezanost skupnosti ter fluidnost nacionalnih in kulturnih identifikacij na obravnavanem območju.

Doing In-Between in the 19th Century in the Alps-Adriatic Region: Everyday Forms of Subjectivation Beyond Nationalising and Ethnicising Subject

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This paper lays the theoretical groundwork for exploring historical modes of subjectivation/subjectivation in the context of hegemonic narratives of ethnicisation and nationalisation processes in the Alps-Adriatic region of the Habsburg Monarchy. We reconstruct a mode of subjectivation that is expressed through practices of the *in-between*. In-between serves as an umbrella term combining gender, class, religion, language affiliation and, towards the end of the 19th century, ethnic or national affiliation.

• **Keywords:** in-between, subjectivation, Eigen-Sinn, everyday practices, Alps-Adriatic region

V prispevku so razgrnjeni teoretični temelji za raziskovanje zgodovinskih načinov podrejanja/subjektivacije v hegemonskih narativih o procesih etnicizacije in nacionalizacije na alpsko-jadranskem območju Habsburške monarhije. Avtorja rekonstruirata način subjektivacije, ki se izraža v praksah *vmesnosti*. Vmesnost služi kot krovni pojem, ki povezuje spol, razred, veroizpoved, jezikovno pripadnost in proti koncu 19. stoletja tudi etnično ali nacionalno pripadnost.

• **Ključne besede:** vmesnost, subjektivacija, Eigen-Sinn, vsakdanje prakse, alpsko-jadranska regija

This paper lays the theoretical groundwork for exploring historical modes of subjectivation/subjectivation¹ in the context of hegemonic narratives of ethnicisation and nationalisation processes in the Alps-Adriatic region of the Habsburg Monarchy. We reconstruct

¹ Cf. Peball, Schönberger (2021: 59 and 2022: 17) on the *Dispositif Kärnten/Koroška* and the duality of the subject according to Michel Foucault, whereas subjectivation as an expression of power over the individual and subjectivation in the sense of a person's relationship to themselves are closely related to one another. The project is approaching this dialectic between subjectivation and subjectivation, attempting to balance this contradiction. Cf. the distinction in Nowicka (2013: 48ff.): "The ambivalence between subjectivation as subjugation on the one hand, and subjectivation as a process of individuation on the other, whereby the one does not exclude but rather complements or even conditions the other" is apparent in Foucault's work: "There are two meanings of the word 'subject': subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to one's own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to" (Foucault, 1981: 781). Cf. also Wiede (2020): "Over the course of Foucault's writings, one can discern a 'genealogy' of subjectification, from assujettissement to subjectivation through self-empowerment. However, these apparatuses of power are neither sequential nor antipodal – the one, repressive; the other, productive. Rather they coexist and in so doing expand the spectra of power."

a mode of subjectivation that is expressed through practices of the *in-between*, and assume that this was widespread in the long 19th century.²

To analyse practices of the *in-between*, our aim is to shift the focus away from the nation as a model of order and identification. Instead of asking the question, “How crucial is the nation in guiding people’s behaviour?” (Ginderachter, Fox, 2019: 8), we move away from such an idea with the concept of *doing in-between*. The research focuses on subjective perspectives and situated everyday practices. These refer to contradictory, ambivalent, indifferent, resistant, and opportunistic modes of subjectivation and the associated processes of (non-)appropriation of nationalising or ethnicising attitudes.

The ‘doing’ in our conceptual framework indicates that the actions of historical subjects in the context of emerging nationalism were a process of constant oscillation. The approach emphasises that a specific condition is not inherent in everyday life, but is constantly being recreated.³ The term *in-between* lends itself as a theoretical reference, as it renders ambivalent and dynamic processes in spatial and cultural localisations and identifications visible.⁴ The concept has a broad notion and is multi-layered, and we apply it in order to break the national perspective suggesting one-sided positionings. The term expresses the attempt to think beyond established dualisms. *In-between* refers to a coexistence of different situations and practices that occurred under a variety of aspects, and serves as an umbrella term combining gender, class, religion, language affiliation and, towards the end of the 19th century, ethnic or national affiliation. In order to approach these complex processes, several theoretical approaches seem relevant to us, which are outlined below.

When we consider historical forms of subjectivation in this region from a perspective on everyday life, we draw on recent research on the Habsburg Monarchy over the last twenty years (King, 2002; Brubaker et al., 2006; Judson, 2006, 2016a; Zahra, 2008, 2010). This research builds on the critique of the totalising notion of a teleological nationalist narrative (Hobsbawm, 1990; Hirschhausen, Leonhard, 2001; Wingfield, 2003; Feichtinger, Cohen, 2014; Berger, Miller, 2015). This has rendered invisible the contradictions and ruptures in the development of the nation-state as an “imagined

² The Alps-Adriatic Region is just one example among regions that have become border areas as a result of global conflicts and is therefore a significant case for a global phenomenon.

³ We refer to approaches based on practice theory, emphasising that “a practice is a set of doings and sayings organized by a pool of understandings, a set of rules, and a teleoaffective structure. Not just the doings and saying[s] involved, incidentally, but the understandings, rules, and teleoaffectivities that organize them, can change over time in response to contingent events” (Schatzki, 2001: 61).

⁴ From a postcolonial, literary and cultural theory perspective, Homi K. Bhabha “develops not only the approach of the fictional construction of nation through narration, but also demonstrates through the example of minority literatures the form in which the coexistence of cultures can and must be narrated” (Bonz, Struve, 2011: 133). He thus exposes the fractures inherent in the idea of a homogeneous national culture and places the “productivity of the inconsistent, of difference” (Bonz, Struve, 2011: 133) at the centre of his considerations, which gives rise to something new and is located between cultures. In this way, he uses the *in-between* to relate supposedly separate entities and reveals simultaneities that exist despite territorial and cultural boundaries.

community” (Anderson, 1983). A lot of recent research has placed historiography and national differentiation processes under the spotlight, and revealed transversal processes and dynamics (Kamusella, 2009; Bjork et al., 2016; Feichtinger, Uhl, 2016; Stergar, Scheer, 2018; Fellerer et al., 2020; Ginderachter, Fox, 2019; Ličen, 2023). The relevance of these studies lies in detailing the process of nationalisation from the perspective of its ruptures, difficulties, and contradictions. This is where our project comes in.

A constructive debate has developed in the field of Habsburg research around the concept of *national indifference* in the context of changes in political culture and the influence of nationalism on the subjects. While Habsburg research analyses the development of the monarchy retrospectively and from its demise, looking in detail at its slow dissolution, the transformation process through bureaucratic classification and nation-building (Stergar, Scheer, 2018), we would like to focus on the everyday lives of historical subjects. Starting from the assumption of a “multidirectional dimension of national indifference” (Ginderachter, Fox, 2019: 8), we take up two impulses from Pieter M. Judson. Firstly, Judson states for the Habsburg Monarchy: “We do not need a single narrative, but we do need large-scale alternative stories with the capacity to serve as branches on which we can array the superb new work of the past few decades” (2016a: 15). Secondly, he notes that there are contradictory identifications in the socialisation of historical subjects in the context of the hegemonic aspirations of nationalisms: “The point is not to ask ‘who is a nationalist?’ and ‘who is indifferent?’ but rather to ask ‘in what situation does a person see the world through the lens of a nation, and in what situations does that lens of nation lose its relevance?’” (Judson, 2016b: 153).

Judson’s references to the dynamics of self-positioning and the situational actions of historical subjects indicate a research perspective that we would like to pursue with the concept of *doing in-between*. However, we will not continue the debate on the explanatory power of the concept of *national indifference* (Egry, 2019; Ginderachter, Fox, 2019). Instead, our “inspection” focuses on aspects that are fruitful for a historical-anthropological approach. We want to contribute to the alternative narratives for which he calls. To this end, we analyse different forms of distinct identifications and complex self-positioning from a perspective on everyday life.

We assume that the national ideas that emerged during the *Vormärz* were not simply integrated into everyday life. On the contrary, ambivalent discourses and practices are evident in all subjects, regardless of their convictions. These cannot be read exclusively against the background of the transformation process towards bourgeois and nation-state societies. Since “*appropriation* does not necessarily mean *adaptation*” (Hörning, 2021: 494), we will deal with the situational actions and the historical subjects’ own *sense of purpose*. We conceptualise this *Eigen-Sinn* action or non-action as *doing in-between*. This opens up the possibility of a “more-than-national perspective” (King, 2002: 122) by focusing on ambiguous practices, intentional decisions or non-intentional, situative

actions regarding ideological attitudes in the Alps-Adriatic region, an area where micro-historical studies on this period are rare.

In a first step, we would like to recall the suppression of knowledge about trans-regional and transcultural modes of subjectivation associated with methodological nationalism. In a second step, we discuss some of the suggestions of recent Habsburg research from the debate on *national indifference* and discuss the points of criticism that are relevant to us. In a third step, we outline theoretical points of departure that we consider relevant for expanding our view of matters of identity politics and the everyday life of historical subjects: polyphony, hybridity, everyday ethnicity and *Eigen-Sinn*. In a fourth step, we outline the concept of *doing in-between*. This concept does not restrict social and cultural behaviour to the respective attitude towards the idea of the nation-state, it also reflects the social and economic framework conditions. Instead of adopting attitudes towards the nation-state (*indifference*) or ethnicising or nationalising practices as the overarching yardstick, we ask about practices of (*doing in-between*) that enable subjects to cope with their everyday lives. In a fifth step, we add some methodological remarks that arise from the proposed perspective.

Nation-state narrative as an evocation of a loss of memory

Numerous publications on the nation and the nation-state argue that the idea of an inevitable development towards nation-states does not provide an adequate description of the contradictory processes during their formation. “Concepts of empire and nation have always proved to be constructions and visions of small ruling elites” (Bachinger et al., 2020: 10).⁵ With regard to the Alps-Adriatic region, the growing hegemony of the nation-state narrative in the 20th century implied a considerable loss of knowledge about “the common history [...] of the border triangle” (Moritsch, 2001a: 9).⁶ Helmut Rumpler was one of the first⁷ in the German-speaking world to point out that the history of the region is “a largely ‘lost history’ for the historical consciousness” (2001: 517). Marta Verginella (2017: 83) criticises historiography that focuses on the national conflict as a result of ethnic antagonisms instead of pursuing a transnational and comparative history of the region. It is now being pointed out again that this mixed-language territory, which has been divided into several nation-states, was economically and culturally closely connected until the late 19th century (Bahovec, Domej, 2006; Panjek et al., 2017).

⁵ Carlo Ginzburg also assumes in principle: “In the creation of the modern nationalism or the twentieth century’s major ideological movements, collective memory has mainly been effective in virtue of all it has left out” (2003).

⁶ “This common history is withheld from the inhabitants of the border triangle and the Alps-Adriatic region” (Moritsch, 2001a: 9).

⁷ With reference to the town of Görz/Gorizia/Gorica, Hans Kitzmüller (1997) also pointed out the lack of knowledge about the diverse circumstances in the town before 1914.

The urban centre of Trieste in particular is said to have had a cosmopolitan, “inter-cultural” character until the early 20th century, which was characterised by ethnicised conflicts. Renate Lunzer refers to multiple, complex and contradictory negotiations and subject positionings “between irredentism and interculturality” (2002: 21). She diagnoses a dialectic between unifying ethnicisations and fluid practices in Trieste. Sergia Adamo speaks of a dynamising ambiguity and states that the multilingual urban context “rather resembled an arena where complex dynamics of identity construction took place through the emergence of tensions, contradictions, more or less open confrontations and conflicts” (2017: 4). Daša Ličen diagnoses the Trieste Minerva Association as a polyphonic organisation and a “coexistence of various, perhaps rival, tendencies” (2017: 50).

Johann Strutz emphasises the existing “intercultural dialogue” (2003: 216) in Trieste, which had developed “in reaction to the intensified nationalism” (*ibid.*) in the city. However, this “knowledge of mixing” had been “suppressed” from the public consciousness (*ibid.*: 227).⁸

Dominique Kirchner-Reill also takes up this aspect. She examines local writers and political actors who developed increasingly pluralised and differentiated ideas of an “Adriatic multi-nationalism” in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice: “First-stage nationalists have not been lost to the broader historical narrative, but their pluralism has” (Kirchner-Reill, 2012: 3). The breadth, contradictions, and diversity of their political positions vanished, as these actors were later integrated into the respective national historiography as leading figures: “Adriatic-multinationalism has been lost from the historical record” (*ibid.*: 241). Kirchner-Reill goes on to show that the nation and nation-state did not mean the same thing to all subjects in this early phase. The concept did not automatically imply the exclusion of the Other; there were definitely unifying elements. This facet was swallowed up by the later conflicts and corresponding reinterpretations, as well as the associated nationalist constriction of the concept. Kirchner-Reill, therefore, emphasises “the forgotten realities and lost possibilities” (*ibid.*: 13) with regard to the Adriatic region, which was once understood as a bridge. The suppression of these “forgotten realities” is a problematic legacy of methodological nationalism.⁹ It promoted the dubious idea of a linear history concerning the formation of the nation-state.¹⁰

⁸ All German-language quotations in this article have been translated into English by a translator.

⁹ Based on research on migration in sociology and the social sciences, criticism of so-called methodological nationalism became increasingly audible in the 2000s (cf. Beck, 2000; Beck, Grande, 2010). “It is purely methodological if the nation-state is regarded as the main unit of investigation for social phenomena, even if the focus is on phenomena beyond it” (Ansorg, 2013: 18).

¹⁰ “History and geography share the odium of having contributed significantly to the emergence and spread of nationalism as classical ‘national sciences’” (Moritsch, 2001b: 12).

Overcoming methodological nationalism

The problematisation of this legacy shifted the focus of research. Consequently, the question of the relevance of national ideology for the actions of subjects in everyday life also arose. Pieter M. Judson (2006) and Tara Zahra (2008, 2010) provide the impetus for this.

A relational understanding of culture, which has found its way into cultural and historical studies (Csáky, 2019: 31ff.), has also established the realisation that subjects and their practices can only ever be understood “in their reciprocal relationships” (Lindner, 2003: 179). The meaning and significance of everyday practices can only be grasped by focusing on the relationships and practices of the subjects. Numerous regional historical studies in Habsburg research have also addressed the tension between nation-building and everyday life. Pieter M. Judson analysed nationalist strategies and identified forms of “national flexibility (or indifference)” amongst “non-national populations” (2006: 5). The concept of *national indifference*, which he was instrumental in shaping, established a new perspective on the process of nationalisation and ethnicisation in the Habsburg Monarchy. These studies centre on the interactions between nationalists and subjects or groups without established ideological attitudes.¹¹

In their approach to the term *national indifference*, authors turn their gaze to the indifferent coexistence of various groups and to manifold influences that defined factors such as language use and other everyday actions (Luthar, 2008). Judson (2016a: 10–11) assumes that the nationality conflict was not decisive for the end of the dual monarchy because the idea of the nation did not have the central importance ascribed to it in everyday life and local politics. Most people, therefore, did not have an established national “identity”. They identified more with local communities, their region, or with the monarchy or the emperor. Other self-attributions were religious or social.¹²

Tara Zahra pointed out that there have been many terms already in use to describe what research refers to as indifference, also in a dismissive way: “regionalism, cosmopolitanism, Catholicism, socialism, localism, bilingualism, intermarriage, opportunism, immorality, backwardness, stubbornness, false consciousness, to name a few” (Zahra, 2010: 98). Alongside this list, Zahra insists that some alternatives to the term *national indifference*, such as “national apathy, ambivalence, lability or binationalism hardly seem preferable – indifference can encompass but is not limited to any one of these phenomena” (ibid.: 98). This list emphasises the fact that national indifference is now regarded as a collective term for sometimes very complex and diverse processes.

¹¹ Meanwhile, the term and approach of *national indifference* are also being used beyond Habsburg studies regarding processes of national identification (cf. Orlić, 2019).

¹² This is reflected in various studies, e.g. Horel (2023) engages with multiple affiliations of people and multicultural identities of Habsburg cities such as Trieste. She also emphasises that social and national conflicts did not mutually exclude each other (2023: 493).

It encompasses not only alternative patterns of organisation and identification with the nation, but also contradictory, resistant and stubborn practices. However, these are only considered relevant in correlation with explicitly negative or indifferent ideological attitudes towards nationalism.

The concept of *national indifference* also implies that the non-adoption of national ideology indicates resistance. Nationalist activists were confronted with forms of non-national behaviour or evasion. This underlines the fact that nationalising and ethnicising subjectivation in the 19th century did not occur without contradiction. Ethnic distinctions did not have the significance in everyday life that the nationalist narrative ascribed to them.

Johannes Feichtinger and Heidemarie Uhl note a change in the historiographical perspective brought about by Judson. The latter provided the main impetus for “Habsburg research to abandon several previous guiding perspectives” (Feichtinger, Uhl, 2023: 10). These included the notion of a destructive conflict between nationalities as well as the positioning in an imagined East on the European periphery due to the Eurocentric modernisation narrative¹³ (Feichtinger, Uhl, 2016).

Notwithstanding this merit, the term indifference came under criticism due to its “multivalent nature” (Ginderachter, Fox, 2019: 7) and its different uses by authors either to emphasise non-national, binational, coexisting aspects regarding the people or as a term applied by nationalists themselves (Egry, 2019: 146–147). It is, therefore, also a concept from primary sources that functioned as a “nationalist category” in the historical context (Ginderachter, Fox, 2019: 4). It served to pejoratively devalue specific behaviour or non-behaviour in relation to the requirement to think nationally. Another criticism of its analytical use is that the implied attitudes or practices of the historical subjects remain too vague. They range from the “complete absence of national loyalties” (Zahra, 2008: 4 in Ginderachter, Fox, 2019: 4) to interethnic marriage practices, which do not necessarily have to be politically motivated. Ginderachter and Fox, therefore, ask whether it is expedient to attribute the significance to the category of nation that is implied by the term *national indifference*. The term denies historical subjects their agency, as they would be presented like “pawns on an elite chessboard” (ibid.: 9). They therefore plead to redirect the focus to the individual agency and voice historical actors adopt, practice and use. Similar to Ginderachter and Fox, we also find it problematic that the term refers implicitly to counter-attitudes, disinterest or ignorance that were created by nationalising actors in the first place.¹⁴ It was the nationalist elites, such as

¹³ Cf. Ginzburg: “The consistent element consists in the rejection of ethnocentrism and teleology, which – according to Furet – characterised the historiography handed down from the 19th century. The assertion of national unity, the emergence of the bourgeoisie, the civilising role of the white race or economic progress have provided historians with a unifying principle from time to time – depending on the point of view and the chosen level of observation – which represented both a conceptual and a narrative category” (1993: 179).

¹⁴ “The former ‘national sciences’, now known as ‘cultural studies’, will not be able to avoid subjecting the demarcation criteria they helped to install to a fundamental critique” (Moritsch, 2001b: 15).



“civically educated students and association leaders” (Judson, 2006: 217), who conjured up ethnic conflicts in order to realise their national ideas. It was in these conflicts that the nationalist argument emerged that it was normal and natural or relevant to feel that one belonged to an ethnic group or to declare oneself as such.

This debate contributes to a continuous expansion of knowledge and horizons. From a historical-anthropological perspective, however, the question of *national indifference* is less important. The focus is much more on the everyday practices of the population as a whole, which did not necessarily follow nationalising categories and strategies.

Starting points for a look at the subjects' everyday lives

In the following section, we discuss those theoretical concepts and research that assist in avoiding the teleological implications of methodological nationalism (Wimmer, Glick Schiller, 2002). The focus is broadened from ideologies, attitudes or positions to practices. The aim is to understand processes of subjectivation and subjection as relationships that are embedded in social and economic contexts.

We discuss approaches that contribute to our conceptualisation and definition of *doing in-between*. Firstly, we take up the polyphony approach from comparative literature. We then consider the cultural anthropological perspective, which has, so far, received little attention in the historical debate. An examination of the historical concept of hybridism is useful here, as it points the way to a postcolonial understanding of hybridity. Further approaches such as *everyday ethnicity* and the everyday and micro-historical concept of *Eigen-Sinn* should help to concretise our understanding of practices of the in-between as *doing in-between*.

Polyphony and pluriculturality

The studies of multilingual literature in the “pluricultural and polyphonic” (Strutz, 2003: 8) Alps-Adriatic region offer approaches for analysing historical processes of subjectivation and subjection in the face of nationalism. Strutz is interested in the “problem of biculturality or transculturality” (ibid.: 263). He emphasises the “cross-border relations” of “inner-literary communities” (ibid.: 96–97) and states that “the time of monolingual and national literary histories [...] is over” (ibid.: 373). He is concerned with the “qualitative, affective, and aesthetic dimension of bicultural ‘everyday life’ in the Alps-Adriatic region, characterised by bilingualism and multilingualism” (ibid.: 63–64).

Strutz emphasises the “processes of reception and transfer of cultural elements” in “multilingual cultural system(s)”. For him, “polylogue or ‘polyphony’” refers to “active cultural reciprocity” (ibid.: 38). He highlights the importance of “everyday events and everyday behaviour”. These historical everyday events contradict the national narratives

and the “arranged” and “monological” (mass media) hegemonic narratives. However, lacking historical evidence, Strutz argues that these historical everyday lives were “characterised by various forms of regional ‘multilingualism’”: on “historical, social, political, linguistic, aesthetic, religious or other levels” (ibid.: 61–62).

His reference to “Istrian polyphony” (Strutz, 1996: 209) is particularly inspiring. This was associated with bilingualism or “diglossia and di-ethnicity” and promoted a “pre-national standpoint” (ibid.: 213–214). In addition, regional subjectivation undermined national language norms (ibid.): “All nationalist attempts to divide the population and pull it to one side or the other, however, initially failed due to the strong mixture of languages and cultures.” This was because “the kinship bond” was “more important [...] than the different origins” (ibid.). As evidence, he cites the difficulties of Italian irredentists (e.g. Carlo Combi), who found a hybrid situation in the region around Buje (Istria) and did not know “whether the inhabitants were Italianised Slavs or Slavicised Italians” (Strutz, 1996: 221–222).¹⁵ Strutz sees the “multilingualism of everyday Istrian life” as an expression of a “pronounced awareness of regional identity that runs through all linguistic and cultural groups” (2003: 140). Regarding Istria, he also writes of “national indifference”.¹⁶ Following Katja Sturm-Schnabl (2000: 34), Strutz refers to the “plurality and hybridity of this intercultural contact zone” (2003: 151) and a “transcultural regional consciousness” (ibid.: 140). In the tri-border region, he diagnoses three ways of “reacting to the ethnic and cultural polyphony: the nationalistic reaction of marginalising the other part of the population and personality (also via over-adaptation), the ambivalent attitude [...], and the conscious, consistent interculturality” (ibid.: 183–184). Without mentioning Ernst Bloch (1985 [1935]: 104ff.), Strutz describes everyday polyphonic pluriculturalism in the terminology of an “heritage of our times” (*Erbschaft dieser Zeit*). The spatial and temporal dimensions overlap in Trieste: “The spatial coexistence of several languages and cultures, traditions and ways of life, thus, also brings to light the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous as the simultaneity of the different; the already quite complex pattern of the surface structure of everyday cultural practices is supplemented and differentiated by the palimpsestic pattern of the overlapping and interference of two dissimilar cultures” (Strutz, 2003: 203). Strutz uses literary developments in the Alps-Adriatic region to show how, under the condition of cultural hybridity, linguistic practices emerge that we understand as

¹⁵ Cf. Johler, 2023, who identifies Angelo Vivante (1912) as the originator of this characterisation.

¹⁶ “One consequence of the centuries-long change of different centres of foreign influence and power and the resulting close contact between different languages, cultures and ways of life, was the gradual development of a culture of national indifference and non-affiliation, on the one hand, and the formation of a complementary, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic Istrian identity, on the other. All ethnic and cultural groups in Istria [...] initially refer to themselves as Istriani, and it is only secondarily that the national category is added for the three larger groups of Italians, Slovenes, and Croats. In recent years, this transnational concept of ‘Istria’ has become the cipher of a pluricultural regional identity for the various cultures of the country” (Strutz, 2003: 316).

doing in-between (see below). This interplay of the “cultural situation” (ibid.: 224) and linguistic self-situating (subjectivation) establishes an *in-between* resulting from everyday requirements and constellations. The historical situation and the possibilities for action are characterised by pluricultural overlaps and polyphonic interferences. Such a “place” is both self-evident and uncertain, unstable and fluid for the historical subjects. Theoretical-terminological as well as geographical connections are possible. Concepts such as hybridity, pluriculturality, polyphony, but also “[the] cultural situation” seem helpful to us beyond Istria or Trieste in order to analyse transcultural identifications and practices (*doing in-between*).

Hybridism – ibridismo – third space

Reinhard Johler has worked out the aspect of the culturally heterogeneous space of the Habsburg Monarchy from a cultural anthropological perspective, using the example of Istria (2012, 2023). He analyses how contemporary observers (ethnographers, linguists, and national activists) described the social or “cultural situation” (Strutz, 2003: 224) as “hybridism” or “*ibridismo di popolo*”.

The term hybridism emerged “almost simultaneously in the internal-colonial centre-periphery context of the Habsburg Monarchy” and referred to observable “mixtures” (Johler, 2012: 21). It referred to complex, contradictory processes of cultural mixing that ran in different directions: “‘Hybridism’ was [...] a concept of observation, not of theory” (ibid.; cf. also Johler, 2023: 117). Both linguists and ethnographers described the Istrian population as “indefinable tribes in a colourful mixture” or as a “tangle of ethnographic-linguistic mixtures” that could hardly be untangled (Johler, 2012: 21). Austrian folklore – in contrast to German folklore – had assessed the “mixing of the races”¹⁷ quite positively. Johler refers to Hugo Schuchardt who, in 1884, emphasised the regional “language mixtures” (e.g. *Kucheldeutsch*, ibid.: 10) and for whom there was no “unmixed language”, but only “hybrid forms” (ibid.).¹⁸ The linguistic mixtures in Istria were considered to be particularly pronounced and made the peninsula a “magnificent experimental site” (Schuchardt, 1884 in Johler, 2012: 12, 2023: 117). Josef Stradner¹⁹ (1893: 44ff.) developed the idea of a linguistically and culturally mixed “national Austrian” (Johler, 2012: 11). This perspective was often politically motivated in order “to promote a harmonious empire of peoples” (Ballinger, 2014: 105).

The term ‘hybridism’ was used to describe “cultural hybridisation processes” in the Habsburg Monarchy. These were “not the exception, but the rule” (Johler, 2012: 13). The term was used pejoratively in the German and Italian national movements

¹⁷ For the origin of this idea, see Johler (2023: 120).

¹⁸ Schuchardt and his writings on the term “mixture” are still only hesitantly received in the Istrian region itself, see Baskar (2020). He explains various reasons why current Slovenian social scientific literature speaks of “cultural interaction” instead of “mixture”.

¹⁹ Josef Stradner was a Trieste bookseller and journalist who was loyal to the monarchy.

(1848–1849).²⁰ Furthermore, the term *ibridismo del popolo* was used in Italian irredentism at the end of the 19th century – in conjunction with anti-Slavic resentment – to articulate their own (because it was imagined as “pure”) superiority (Toncich, 2020: 549; Johler, 2023: 137).

Johler sees the term ‘hybridism’/*ibridismo* as a prefiguration of the modern understanding of hybridity (2023: 137). This refers to Homi K. Bhabha’s postcolonial understanding of hybridity of the “in-between” (Bhabha, 1994, 1996). Bhabha uses the term “in-between spaces” to describe situations beyond the sphere of “narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences” (Bhabha, 1994: 1). We would like to connect our analyses of identities and identifications that can be described as “hybrid” in European border regions (e.g. Kwaschik, 2012: 387), where groups “use ‘hybrid’ languages or exist in ‘hybrid’ situations” (Fellerer et al., 2020: 4). This approach conceives of border regions as “linguistic, cultural, and ethnic areas of transition in which various different influences cross paths and often also mix together” (Ther, 2003: XI). Thus, the focus shifts to certain dynamics that function on a local level and demonstrate that it is necessary to understand “nation as a project and a process” (ibid.: XII), as members of several communities “display multiple or simultaneous practices of belonging” (Fellerer et al., 2020: 1).²¹

Everyday ethnicity “beyond politics”

We can further draw on Gábor Egrý and his concept of *everyday ethnicity*. Egrý already refers to a *beyond* (2019) in the title of his essay, where he expands the debate on *national indifference* and proposes categorising the concept as a subcategory of *everyday ethnicity* (ibid.: 157). Egrý argues that the identification of subjects with an ethnicity is situational and context-dependent. He thus opposes the dichotomous juxtaposition (agreement/rejection; resistance/affirmation) implied by the concept of *national indifference*. Instead, Egrý suggests starting from situational and contingent forms of identification or non-identification. His concept aims to capture the diversity and complexity of different contexts and interactions. *Everyday ethnicity* can be connected to our work because it goes beyond programmatically interpreted ideas and objectified attitudes and is interested in situations and practices. Egrý assumes that subjects in historical everyday life sometimes acted or thought nationally or even nationalistically and, at other times, disregarded this ideological horizon when it did not seem opportune or appropriate. Egrý points out that “ethnicity is neither an apolitical nor a political form of groupness in itself”, but rather “a way of cognition, although

²⁰ On the genesis of the term and its initially negative implications, see also Francesco Toncich (2020: 546).

²¹ Cf. Mitterbauer, who emphasises that the term ‘third space’ is by no means geographically localisable: “Rather, it forms a discursive framework for the permanent construction of meanings and attributions” (2003: 57).

its recognition could be politicised” (ibid.: 147). Egrý proceeds from a contingent understanding of identification with ethnic (self-)attributions in everyday situations and “complex interactions” (ibid.: 158). He does not assume homogeneous subjectivation, but emphasises situational action and the potential agency of the subjects.

Egrý’s concept seems to us to be applicable regarding *doing in-between*, because in the process of subjectivation, agency is granted here. Namely, whether and in what way actors attribute fundamental meaning to ethnicity in their practices and social interactions or, under certain circumstances, only appropriate it in certain situations. However, he sees the concept as “related to banal nationalism” (ibid.: 158) and fundamentally presumes that ethnicity also plays a central role in situational processes, as “people are aware of differences” (ibid.: 258).²²

Eigen-Sinn – practices of everyday life

We assume (as do Judson, Zahra and Egrý, *inter alia*) that national ideologies played, if not a subordinate role in the everyday lives of the population, then, at least, only one among many other invocations or attributions that framed or even guided the actions of the subjects. However, in order to move away from the analysis of (politically instrumentalizable) categories, such as nation and ethnicity, as patterns of order and identification, we turn to the methods and theoretical concepts of historical anthropology and historical ethnography, and particularly to micro and everyday history and cultural studies.

We refer to those “forms of unruly sociality” (Hörning, Winter, 1999), to Michel de Certeau’s “practice of everyday life” (1988 [1980]) and the practice-theoretical “scope of also being able to do things differently” (Hörning, 2021: 495) of the subjects.

The concept of *Eigen-Sinn* operationalises an everyday oscillation between adaptation and resistance. In its “original definition”, it “cannot be reduced to one or the other, and this ambiguity is part of its ‘message’”. Thus, the term is not clearly defined “according to the methodological self-image of everyday historians”: “Its ‘discovery’ by Alf Lüdtke rather deliberately linked to the ambiguities found in the traditional language of earlier centuries” (Lindenberger, 2014: 2).

Therefore, *Eigen-Sinn* and *Eigensinniges Handeln* (Lüdtke, 1993) seem to us to be a suitable concept for historically contextualising ambiguities in *doing in-between*. The term attempts to operationalise the relationship between social conditions and the subjective world of experience. It is important to emphasise that *Eigen-Sinn* is not a collective term “for adaptation, participation, and opportunism” (Lindenberger, 2014: 8). *Eigen-Sinn* also means “not a neutral neither-nor”. It implies “the desire to learn something about the attitude and standpoint of the actors to the respective rule”, at

²² This concept is also based on a problematic a priori, as the category of ethnicity is assumed to have an overriding power in everyday life.

the same time “always also the expectation placed on the actors from the outside that they can fulfil the imperative ‘tell-me-where-you-stand’ contained therein” (ibid.). *Eigen-Sinn* means that the endeavours of the subjects to be “‘with themselves’, but also ‘with the others’, ignores those calculations [...] that were related to larger contexts” (Lüdtke, 1993: 380).²³

Concept and fields of application

Based on the suggestions from the debate on *national indifference* and the starting points outlined above, we would like to propose a historical-anthropological perspective on the assumption of subjectivation associated with *doing in-between*. Furthermore, we also outline some fields of action.

Historical ethnography, a theoretical and methodical expansion (Kienitz, 2012) of historical anthropology, proceeds on the idea of “applying methods and basic interpretative assumptions to historical material from the contemporary perspective of cultural research, which is organised around field studies” (Maase, 2001: 256). This means reading sources against the grain, looking closely at things that seem insignificant, examining and comprehensively contextualising the actors who appear in the sources and their behavioural practices on a micro-perspective level. The goal is to carve out the various actors’ behavioural logic and horizon of meaning (*Handlungslogiken und Sinnhorizonte*) (Lipp, 2013: 222–224). It is not about writing history in a homogeneous or holistic manner. Quite the opposite: contradictions, obscurities and the unspoken can and should be addressed explicitly. This enables the research to reflect the multiple affiliations within which the historical subjects moved (Maase, 2001: 270).

Doing in-between as subjection and subjectivation

We believe that *doing in-between* makes it possible to *think of the subjects’ actions in terms of negotiation and hybridity*. They were hybrid in the sense that all subjects, regardless of which political stance or conviction they represented, navigated in everyday life in a field of tension between transregional contact and everyday politically framed conflicts. In many cases, they followed their own social or economic logics independently of the increasingly hegemonic national mode of subjection. We thus emphasise the processual character, the ambivalences, and the situational logic of actions and attitudes (subjectivation) that all subjects in different constellations and contexts repeatedly pursue – whether nationalist or not. We do not regard the invocation of the nation and ethnic categorisation as the fundamental, binding criterion for identification

²³ Cf. Lüdtke (1994: 146–147): “*Eigen-Sinn* proves to be a third, a behaviour that does not submit to the logic of the either-or of domination and resistance.”

and counter-identification in everyday life. Rather, we ask: How did historical subjects act (or react) in the long 19th century in the Alps-Adriatic region? Or in Homi Bhabha's words: What "strategies of selfhood" (1994: 2) did the subjects pursue? *Doing in-between* is based on an everyday life with contingent situations, dynamics and processes beyond homogenising, nationalising or ethnicising attributions.

Looking at the historical processes of subjectivation and subjection in the Alps-Adriatic region in the light of the available sources on everyday culture in the 19th century, we encounter practices of language, religion, economy, mobility and social networks. These practices are less the result of ideology or an expression of national positioning or antagonism; rather, they arise from the necessity of social action under conditions that could only be influenced to a limited extent by the subjects (subjection). By focusing on the subjects and their actions (subjectivation), we try to overcome binary patterns and approaches. In doing so, we start from forms of subjectivation in which hybrid or transcultural practices of a "mixed cultural heritage" (Kirchner-Reill, 2012: 9) appear.

We will, therefore, focus below on *doing in-between*. The aim is to make the mixtures or contingencies of identifications, self-attributions, and inscriptions beyond the hegemonic nationalising order of knowledge in individual and meaningful everyday life understandable. Transcending the hegemonic nationalising order of knowledge means understanding everyday social and cultural practices not as a direct reaction (apology, indifference or defence against political movements) to it. Instead, they should be analysed as intrinsically meaningful and self-evidently contradictory forms of subjectivation. In view of the polyphonic situation in Trieste, Johann Strutz called for an overcoming of the "excluding either/or through the dialogical figure of both/and" (2003: 213).

Such an understanding of the "cultural situation" and its contradictory asynchronicity seems to us to go further. In this respect, we ask less about attitudes, views, convictions or opinions. Instead, we concentrate on contingent situations and the practices associated with them. In doing so, action cannot correspond to an either/or, but to this contradictory both/and. We start from the subject's *Eigen-Sinn* of meaning.

The *Eigen-Sinn* of *doing in-between* can take on different forms, which leads us to expect different modes in which the subjects act or do not act. Intentional and non-intentional modes can be expected in *doing in-between*: 1) not knowing to act in-between, as one has multiple points of reference and orientation; 2) ignoring, tolerating, or implicitly doing in-between, as it fulfils a specific purpose at that point; and 3) strategic or opportunistic in-between, being aware of and doing actively and intentionally in-between. Such an approach can be an interesting way of adding new perspectives to the debate. The dimensions of private and public also need to be considered here.

We therefore understand *doing in-between* as situational or contingent action. It produces contradictory to idiosyncratic forms and subjectivations (such as identifications) in socio-cultural contexts characterised by hybridity, transculturality, and difference.

Such a subjectivation relates neither positively nor negatively to an ethnic or national identification; it is not the yardstick at all. This thesis states that there was a pragmatic behaviour that was at odds with the antagonism between the Habsburg Monarchy and the emerging nationalism. Moreover, at the level of identification, there exists a simultaneity of the non-simultaneous. Such situational behaviour is not coherent in the sense of any kind of identification. Rather, it pursues primarily its own social or economic interests – in an idiosyncratic and sometimes contradictory way. *Doing in-between*, thus, refers to the “third space”, in which ethnic and national categories are not central references and which offers “space for difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy” (Bhabha, 2000: 5).

It is also important to emphasise that the perspective of *doing in-between* does not lead to further reification. The *doing* emphasises the constant process of negotiation. *Doing in-between* does not mean a clearly or unambiguously localised attitude or even world view. *Doing in-between* can always also mean simultaneously exercising nationalising or ethnicising practices or distancing oneself from them, or not being interested in one or the other at all.

This form of subjectivation is based on the use of a “more varied practical experiential knowledge” (Hörning, 2021: 495–496). The extent to which this became increasingly precarious towards the end of the Habsburg Monarchy and the nationalists’ increasing quest for hegemony is a legitimate question. However, the expansion of ideological efforts by nationalist activists also testifies implicitly to a situation of simultaneity of the non-simultaneous (*Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen*).²⁴

Areas of activity

Numerous references to *doing in-between* can be found in various areas of activity. We will outline below some examples of everyday cultural contexts that we have come across in the literature.

Consider *language practices*. We assume that language and code-switching used in everyday life aim at a mutual understanding and successful communication instead of demonstrating hegemony and belonging and can be seen as being contrary to the ethnicising and nationalising imperative (Pisk, 2018; Almasj et al., 2020). Therefore, the interplay of non-intentional and intentional language use will be analysed, as well as code-switching (simultaneous use of different languages, language changes in writing and speech in a text, songs, or in conversations) (cf. Pisk, 2022, and the other articles in this issue of *Traditiones*). In addition, *child swapping*, for example, was a common practice in the Habsburg Monarchy “for the purpose of better interethnic communication

²⁴ The result of the plebiscite of 1920 could also be seen as a consequence or result of an in-between situation within the Slovenian language group in Kärnten/Koroška. A significant percentage of the Slovenian-speaking population in southern Carinthia decided in favour of belonging to Austria. For possible reasons, see Tiemann (2020).

in the context of labour relations between the linguistic ‘minorities’” (Wolf, 2012: 98ff.) and is also documented for Upper Carniola (Fielhauer, 1978: 118). Moreover, consider *mobility practices and transcultural and transregional mobility behaviour*. Mobility is connected with the overstepping of manifold boundaries (e.g. socio-economic, territorial, religious, or for the purpose of migration or marriage), which follows both free/forced and personal/professional motivations (Kalc, 2017). Additional evidence can be found in *network practices in associations* and the *transcultural reception and articulation of literature, theatre, and opera*. The Schillerverein in Trieste, for example, shows that it cannot be adequately characterised by Germanness, but has to “be regarded as typical of a mixture that allowed both ethnic exclusiveness and indifferent transversal practices of in-betweenness” (Holfelder et al., 2017: 28). In addition, there are also indications of *doing in-between* in *economic* and *professional practices* that circumvent ethnicising loyalties. The same applies to religious practices or the practices of identifying with regional characteristics (see, e.g., Stergar, 2018: 19).²⁵

Methodological implications – sources and securing evidence

A central problem for the analysis of *doing in-between* or the study of historical everyday life generally is the availability of meaningful sources. The “lost history” noted by Rumpler (2001) is also the expression of a difficult situation regarding the sources. However, the nature of the surviving sources that are considered worth preserving has also contributed to the fact that the narrative of nation, nation-state and nationalism has become hegemonic. Another reason for the loss of memory observed (see above) could be related to the concept of culture and the disregard for everyday culture. Culture, at least in German-speaking countries, primarily meant high culture, from which everyday life was excluded. Cultural history was viewed primarily as the history of ideas. In this sense, with reference to Michel de Certeau, we pursue a historiography that aims at heterologies²⁶ (2000 [1986]) and focuses on the other, the absent, the separated, or even the suppressed.

The everyday life of *doing in-between* has hardly survived, and it will not be easy to track down evidence from sources.²⁷ Many situations during *doing in-between* only left a paper trail when a conflict became a matter of record. Supposedly self-evident

²⁵ Cf. e.g. Istria: “On the other hand, Istria still appears in the 19th century sources mostly as a mental place through which a variety of actors express their different ideas, desires and interests regarding the regional order of Istria” (Toncich, 2021: 4).

²⁶ “This call to do justice to the other, the unidentical, could also stand as a motto for the post-structuralist commitment, which is why Michel de Certeau coined the term ‘heterology’, the doctrine of the other, for post-structuralism” (Münker, Roesler, 2000: XIII).

²⁷ Egry also mentions the generalisation problem resulting from the source situation: “The historical sources of everyday ethnicity highlight specific persons only in relation to one (or maybe a few) cases and situations, but the typologies built upon them not only allow for conclusions concerning broader social spheres [...], but these truly present ordinary people’s experiences (Egry, 2019: 158).

facts had a hard time being thematised at all, let alone becoming sources. Moreover, the “tiny lives” (Foucault in Ammerer, 2003: 16) had a hard time surviving in “historical reality as well as in the archival tradition” (ibid.).

Zahra not only notes an inadequate source situation, but also refers, for example, to the limited perspective of statistical surveys in the 19th century, as, for example, bilingualism did not feature in the census, whereas ethnic affiliations manifested on ethnographic maps (2010: 106). This means that contradictions and also the ruptures inherent in the national activists themselves are levelled out or (made) invisible. This favoured a teleological understanding of the historical as national development.

In seeking to uncover forgotten and faded elements concealed by historical accounts that are influenced by methodological nationalism, it seems promising to choose a micro-historical approach that reflects the lack of sources. Using the method of reading and securing evidence, historical anthropology enables readings of the sources that can be used to scrutinise a linear and seemingly logical turn towards the nation-state. Multiple and (from the point of view of nationalist activists) contradictory affiliations, identifications and attributions can usually only be deciphered implicitly and by means of a reverse reading. This requires an evidence-securing approach to the traditional hegemonic production of sources. These sources, which were produced by administrators, educated elites, or priests, must be read against the grain (Kaschuba, 2006: 217). Using Carlo Ginzburg’s (1988) paradigm of circumstantial evidence, inconspicuous and implicit horizons of meaning in past lifeworlds can be revealed. Ginzburg describes this approach as securing evidence, which helps to organise deviating readings and identify intrinsic meaning. This means that the *doing in-between* must be sought out discursively in reverse conclusions by means of securing evidence. Such an examination of sources reverses the hegemonic reading and asks to what extent, for example, nationalising activities, such as those of the German School Association (Deutscher Schulverein), do not also indicate the weakness of a nationalist discourse that is not yet hegemonic.

In-between – and beyond nationalising and ethnicising subjectation

Concluding, it should be emphasised that the term *doing in-between* is aimed primarily at an epistemological perspective. Taking up and building on recent research on the Habsburg Monarchy, we understand this concept as an extended research programme. *Doing in-between* is based on an everyday life with contingent situations, dynamics and processes *beyond* ideological, homogenising and polarising attributions. We, therefore, propose a broader conceptual framework and shift in the focus of analysis. Instead of starting from commitments to or conflicts over nation and ethnicity and their implications as categories of order, we should look at everyday life between subjectivation and subjectation. Ultimately, we assume that historical subjects acted pragmatically and



situationally in everyday life in the area of tension between the Habsburg Monarchy and emerging nationalism. By investigating everyday intentional and unintentional practices and non-identifications (*doing in-between*), we aim to identify and understand those forms of subjectivation that point to a history *beyond* nationalising und ethnicising subjection. By proposing a new concept, we want to contribute to the reconstruction of a more complex history of the Alps-Adriatic region.

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Prakse vmesnosti v 19. stoletju na alpsko-jadranskem območju: vsakdanje oblike subjektivacije onkraj nacionalizirajočega in etnizirajočega podrejanja

V prispevku so razgrnjeni teoretični temelji za raziskovanje zgodovinskih načinov podrejanja/subjektivacije v hegemonskih narativih o etnizacijskih in nacionalizacijskih procesih na alpsko-jadranskem območju Habsburške monarhije. Rekonstruirani so načini subjektivacije, ki se izraža v praksah vmesnosti, s podmeno o njeni razširjenosti v dolgem 19. stoletju.

V habsburških raziskavah se je razvila konstruktivna razprava o konceptu nacionalne ravnodušnosti v kontekstu sprememb politične kulture in vpliva nacionalizma na posameznike (King, 2002; Brubaker, Feischmidt, Fox, Grancea, 2006; Judson, 2006, 2016a; Zahra, 2008, 2010 in drugi). Medtem ko sta v habsburških raziskavah retrospektivno preučena razvoj monarhije in njen postopni razpad, je fokus članka na vsakdanje življenje zgodovinskih subjektov. Cilj je premakniti pozornost od naroda kot glavnega modela reda in identifikacije ter se osrediniti na subjektivne perspektive in vsakdanje prakse v specifičnih družbenih in kulturnih kontekstih. Te prakse so lahko protislovne, ambivalentne, indiferentne, protestne ali oportunistične ter vključujejo procese (re)prisvajanja nacionalizirajočih in etnizirajočih stališč.

Prispevek najprej opozarja na obrobno znanje o transregionalnih in transkulturnih načinih subjektivacije, ki je posledica metodološkega nacionalizma. V primeru območja Alpe-Jadran je naraščajoča prevlada pripovedi o nacionalni državi v 20. stoletju povzročila precejšnjo izgubo znanja o skupni zgodovini tega mejnega območja. Kljub temu obstajajo študije o transnacionalni in primerjalni zgodovini območja in opozarjajo na dejstvo, da je bilo večjezično območje, ki

je pozneje pripadlo več nacionalnim državam, vse do 1. svetovne vojne gospodarsko in kulturno tesno povezano.

V nadaljevanju avtorja obravnavata nekatere predloge sodobnih raziskovalcev Habsburške monarhije o nacionalni indiferentnosti in vsakdanjih identifikacijskih praksah. Z zgodovinsko-antropološkega vidika trdita, da je nacionalna indiferentnost manj pomembna od vsakdanjih praks prebivalstva, ki niso nujno sledile nacionalizirajočim kategorijam in strategijam. Predlagata teoretična izhodišča, ki so po njunem mnenju pomembna za razširitev pogleda na politike identitete in vsakdanje življenje zgodovinskih subjektov, vključno s polifonijo, hibridnostjo, vsakdanjo etničnostjo in samosvojestjo (*Eigen-Sinn*). Sledi predstavitev koncepta »praks vmesnosti« (*doing in-between*), ki ne omejuje družbenega in kulturnega vedenja le na stališče do naroda in ideje nacionalne države, temveč upošteva tudi socialne in ekonomske okoliščine. Namesto da bi obravnavali zgolj odnos do nacionalne države (indiferentnost) ali etnizirajoče in nacionalizirajoče prakse, nas zanima, kako s praksami vmesnosti subjekti obvladujejo vsakdanje življenje. V sklepu je še nekaj metodoloških pripomb, ki izhajajo iz te perspektive.

The Alps-Adriatic Region – an “Area of Transition”: *Doing In-Between* in Travel Literature of the 19th Century

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Based on travel literature, the article explores the ways in which the Alps-Adriatic Region of the 19th century was portrayed as a hybrid space characterised by *doing in-between*. It traces these features by analysing descriptions of trade relations and trade routes, mobile practices, multilingualism, and processes of cultural exchange. The paper highlights the multiple affiliations and multiple positioning of historical subjects, which go against the grain of a nationalising historiography.

▪ **Keywords:** travel literature, in-between, hybridity

V članku, ki temelji na obravnavi potopisne literature, so raziskani načini, kako je bilo v 19. stoletju območje Alpe-Jadran prikazano kot hibridni prostor, zaznamovan s »praksami vmesnosti«. Ta značilnost se razkriva z analizo opisov trgovinskih odnosov, trgovskih poti, mobilnih praks, večjezičnosti in procesov kulturne izmenjave. Poudarjeni sta večplastna pripadnost in pozicioniranje zgodovinskih subjektov, ki sta v nasprotju z nacionalizirajočo pripovedjo zgodovinopisja.

▪ **Ključne besede:** potopisna literatura, vmesnost, hibridnost

Introduction

“Die Gegend [...] hat durchaus die Bedeutung einer Übergangsgegend” (Carus, 1966 [1837]: 22).¹ That is what the personal doctor of the Saxon king Carl Gustav Carus (1789-1869) stated about his stay in Ljubljana (Laibach/Lubiana) in 1837. He illustrated his characterisation with various examples of the climate and vegetation, but also with the composition of the population and their everyday practices. At the time, not only

¹ “The district [...] certainly has the significance of an area of transition.”



Carus but also other contemporaries attempted to conceptualise the area, now known as the Alps-Adriatic Region, as a “transition” in spatial, climatic, and cultural terms; a region in which they found supposedly different things in a confined area.

These observations are the points of departure for our paper. Drawing on 19th century travel literature, we examine the ways in which the territory that today comprises the Alps-Adriatic Region of Kärnten/Koroška (Austria), Friuli-Venezia Giulia (Italy), and Kranjska and Primorska (Slovenia)² was described or constructed as a hybrid space.³ Trieste (Triest/Trst), Ljubljana (Laibach), and Klagenfurt (Celovec) were the major centres, but the sources also attribute importance to some rural localities that are rather unknown today. The free trade harbour of Trieste was a common point of reference for the cities of Klagenfurt (then part of the Kronland Kärnten) and Ljubljana (then Laibach, part of Carniola). Klagenfurt was an important hub for the transport of people and goods from the northern territories to Carniola and Trieste.

Areas we consider and describe from today’s perspective as border regions between different nation-states are and have always been dynamic transfer spaces in which transregional exchange, networks and arrangements⁴ can be observed at different levels. This also applies to the area we are analysing. Several studies argue and show that the population of today’s nation-states Slovenia, Croatia, Italy, and Austria shared the “in itself highly communicative Alpine-Adriatic Region” (Moritsch, 2001: 8) until the outbreak of the First World War.

State borders and demarcations shift with the changing political systems and as a result of military conflicts. Subjective border perceptions further depend on economic conditions, social structures and cultural developments such as inclusion in education (e.g. schools). However, the drawing of state and ideological borders (e.g. in the sense of the nation-state idea) does not necessarily allow conclusions on the practices and self-perception of the population living in border regions. The aim of our article is to identify references to such practices – which lie at odds with nationalising and ethnicising ideologies – in travel writings about the region.

In the following, we firstly outline our understanding of *doing in-between*. Next, we will approach the text type travel literature. We then focus on transregional connections and relations within the Alps-Adriatic Region and consider the depictions of trade relations and trade routes in the selected writings. This shows that the region’s infrastructure is an important indicator of exchange and connectivity. We then investigate the practices of mobility described in the travelogues, in particular labour migration. They point to economic dynamics within the region. The use of language presented by

² Promitzer et al. (2009) refer to the term Alps-Adriatic Region and its use in German-speaking countries (which combines the historical dimension and the transnational perspective).

³ On the hybrid character of cultures, see Welsch, 2012: 28ff.

⁴ We follow Kimmich, Schahadat (2012: 8), who describe transculturality as a “*vielfältige wechselseitige Durchdringung der Kulturen/multifaceted reciprocal pervasion of cultures*”.

the travel writers featured in the next chapter illustrates practices of multilingualism in the “transitional region”. The final chapter explores further clues that outline the Alps-Adriatic Region as a border region, but also as an area of encounter.

Doing in-between in *Übergangsgegenden*/areas of transition

The term *doing in-between* covers a wide range of identifications, highlights the sensitisation for different aspects of everyday life (e.g. gender relations, class, religion) and for cultural demarcations, and points out the mediation and translation between localisations and attitudes. We do not understand *doing in-between* as a harmonious or consistent condition that is found or even intentionally adopted by historical subjects. Rather, the term refers to a contingent and sometimes contradictory process.

One of our central assumptions is that in the 19th century, *doing in-between* was a matter of routine for a significant part of historical subjects in the Alps-Adriatic Region. Furthermore, we assume that ethnicising and nationalising narratives had to establish themselves against seemingly non-coherent practices and non-nationalising narratives in the countries of the Habsburg Monarchy after 1848. Since the national narrative became hegemonic in the historical sciences of the respective countries (e.g. Wandruszka, Urbanitsch, 1980; Tobia, 1991; Grdina, 2003), non-ethnicising and non-nationalising perspectives remained a blind spot with regard to the territory of interest in this study and the historical subjects living there. Instead of following the hegemonic narrative of focusing on the “struggle” imposed by nationalising forces in the region or on its “*Katastrophengeschichte*/catastrophic history” (Rumpler, 2001: 517), we are concerned with the manifold transcultural references and relationships between the historical subjects. We question national dichotomies and polarisations whilst approaching the Alps-Adriatic Region from the perspective of its transcultural overlappings and interdependencies. This places the spotlight on everyday cultural practices and everyday situations found in the sources.

The travel writings are characterised both in terms of content and style by the geographical origin of the authors, i.e. whether they came from German states/the German Empire, Italy, or the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Nevertheless, all the writings present spaces, phenomena and characteristics of transition or coexistence that are marked by the simultaneity of different languages, regional identifications, actions, social positions, and divergent attitudes. With Dominique Kirchner-Reill (2012: 9), we interpret this as hybrid practices and situations of a “mixed cultural heritage”. A first example of such is taken from the preface to the *Führer durch Kärnten* (Guide through Carinthia) (1861). Josef Wagner (1803-1861) and Vinzenz Hartmann (1826-1899) advertise the country, which was still relatively unknown at the time, as a German and multilingual destination:



Ringsum von mächtigen Kolossen der Ostalpen umgürtet und vom Silberbande der Drau durchzogen, liegt das Kärntnerland an den äussersten Gränzmarken der deutschen Heimat, von Fremden meist nur flüchtig gekannt und doch so viel des Schönen und Nützlichen in sich bergend. Ruhig starren die eis- und schneebedeckten Riesen und die phantastisch geformten Kalkberge in den blauen Aether empor, während zu ihren Füßen vielfach verschlungene, liebliche Thäler zwei Völker beherbergen, verschieden in Sprache, Tracht, Sitten und Gebräuchen. Im Norden erschallen die kräftigen Worte deutscher Stammgenossen, im Süden vernimmt das Ohr das weich klingende Idiom des Volkes der Slovenen und beide Sprachen mengen sich mit den Lauten Italiens dort, wo der Königsberg sein stolzes Haupt erhebt und die Fella zum Tagliamento eilt. (Wagner, Hartmann, 1861: Preface)⁵

Even if belonging to the “*deutsche Heimat*/German homeland” is proclaimed, the authors describe the juxtaposition and coexistence of different language groups in the population as perfectly natural. This description implies “the realities of the coexistence of heterogeneous cultural practices” (Wolf, 2012: 63), which can also be categorised as a reference to *doing in-between*.

The *Führer für Kärnten* (Guide for Carinthia) portrays the coexistence of everyday differences. In other descriptions, there are similar representations of transitions, in some cases implicitly. The phenomena and characteristics the authors perceive as “ambiguous” are captured by means of ethnic and national attributions, but also categorisations such as class, gender, and urban-rural provenance. We read them as references of possible forms of *doing in-between*.

Using travel literature as a source

“*Das Reisen ist also die beste Schule der Menschenkenntnis*” (Posselt, 1795: 53).⁶ This statement from a training manual for travellers primarily reveals the self-understanding of the traveller, which is shaped by historical, social and cultural contexts. While in

⁵ “Surrounded by the mighty colossi of the Eastern Alps and crossed by the silver ribbon of the Drau, Carinthia lies on the outermost borders of the German homeland, usually only vaguely familiar to foreigners and yet holding so much that is beautiful and useful. The ice- and snow-covered giants and the fantastically shaped limestone mountains stare calmly up into the blue aether, while at their feet are two peoples, different in language, costume, customs and traditions, who live in many winding, lovely valleys. In the north, the strong words of German tribesmen resound, in the south the ear hears the soft-sounding idiom of the Slovenian people and both languages mingle with the sounds of Italy where the Königsberg raises its proud head and the Fella rushes to the Tagliamento.”

⁶ “Travelling is thus the best school of knowledge of the human nature.”

the pre-modern era people from all social classes set off on religiously or economically motivated journeys, travelling for educational and pleasure purposes and, above all, writing about it, was reserved for the higher social classes.⁷ Consequently, the travel writers of this period were mainly male members of the aristocracy and the upper middle classes (Weiß, 2004: 741), although numerous travelogues by women from the upper classes have been preserved since the 18th century (Ujma, 2009: 19). According to Christina Ujma, these practices changed since the early 19th century. The pre-March period saw the democratisation of travel and writing, enabling more and more people to travel for pleasure and education and to write about their journeys (ibid.: 14–15).⁸

Our sources include almost exclusively travel literature written by middle-aged and older men with an academic education (Kummer, 2009: 172). They were travelling either for professional reasons, as explorers of the Alps, for pleasure, or to educate themselves. The basic structure of their writings consisted of descriptions, reports and diary entries which incorporated external material (historical, scientific and ethnographic information, as well as folk traditions) (ibid.: 173). The travel literature in general was just as diverse as the travellers themselves, as well as their destinations and their intentions for embarking on a journey (Robel, 1980: 20). In the period under study (1800–1914), they cover a variety of different literary genres. In addition to practical travel guides or travel novels, these also include travelogues and diary entries (Holdenfried, 2006: 336).

The so-called apodemics play an important role as precursors of modern travel literature (Kutter, 1991: 39–40). Originating in the late 16th century, these handbooks not only gave advice on all aspects of travelling, but also provided information on “places of interest” and instructions on how to write travel descriptions (Stagl, 1980: 354). Travellers who were interested in depicting people, for example, should concentrate primarily on representing nature and customs, clothing and food, language and way of life (ibid.: 362). As a result of their wide distribution and large number of editions, the schemata of the apodemics influenced many writers not only stylistically but also in respect of content (Witthöft, 1980: 40). Alfred Weiß therefore emphasises the topos characteristic (Weiß, 2004: 741) of early modern travel literature. While many authors primarily passed on what was already known, their actual experiences tended to play a subordinate role in their travelogues (Hartmann, 1991: 158).⁹ This is also reflected in the travelogues of the 19th century.

⁷ See for example the contributions by Klaus Herbers, Robert Plötz, Winfried Siebers, Rainer S. Elkar, Christian Glass, Heiner Boehncke, or Cornelius Neusch and Harald Witthöft in the volume by Hermann Bausinger, Klaus Beyrer and Gottfried Korff (1991).

⁸ According to Justin Stagl, first signs of a new departure came up as early as the second half of the 18th century. This period saw a differentiation of apodemics and a “becoming bourgeois of travel/*Verbürgerlichung des Reisens*” (Stagl, 1980: 377). Increasing scientification also led to greater importance being attached to empirical observations in travelogues.

⁹ Ernst Bruckmüller (1973: 121) also notes that the description of people in some early modern travelogues was rather superficial.



Only few authors endeavoured to provide an objective report. Michael Harbsmeier assumes that travel writings are “an involuntary self-portrayal of the author’s culture and his audience” (Harbsmeier, 1982: 7). This expresses, above all, in the use of a subjective-comparative juxtaposition of one’s own culture and the culture described, a feature that according to Harbsmeier is an immanent characteristic of the genre. Most of the reports were charged with ideological judgements, conveying a bourgeois view of the regions traversed (Drobesch, 2002: 69f).¹⁰

This othering, creating a collective “we/here” and differentiating it from a collective “the others/there”, manifests in a number of topics in the travel literature (Harbsmeier, 1982: 3–12), for example in relation to the populations described, their language, social position or their cultural practices. The moral judgements in these contrasting portrayals are multifaceted. Alongside the more neutral, constative representations, the ones in which ethnicising stereotypes were used for the comparisons are particularly noteworthy. In relation to the Alps-Adriatic Region, one can find both positive and negative stereotyping of the Slavic, German, or Italian population, varying according to the author. German-speaking authors such as Carl Julius Weber (1767-1832), who was born in Württemberg, emphasised the backwardness and lack of hygiene of the Slavic and Italian populations (Weber, 1855: 365). Attributions, like the assessment of an area as “uncultivated” (Gross-Hoffinger, 1831: 287), do not necessarily reflect ethnicising and nationalising ideas, but rather refer to a bourgeois gaze on rurality, stating a lack of education and social background.¹¹

The frequent use of such stereotypes has consolidated them into national prejudices, according to Klaus Roth (1998: 23–24). The travelogues of the 19th century contributed to these rigid characterisations – not least because the writers continued to refer to other authors in their descriptions and adopted their stereotypical ideas. Frequently used references in travelogues about the Alps-Adriatic Region were, as Ilse Kummer (2009: 212) puts it, reports of Julius Heinrich Gottlieb Schlegel (1807), Franz Sartori (1811), Heinrich Joachim Jäck (1822-1824), and Carl Julius Weber (1826-1828), or the travel manuals by Rudolph von Jenny (1822), Joseph August Schultes (1804), and Anton Johann Gross-Hoffinger (1831).

Portrayals of the region are often linked to the attribution of certain characteristics to certain areas. While Carinthia in the 19th century was still represented as an underdeveloped transit country with few attractions for travellers, the more popular

¹⁰ Belonging to the (educated) middle class also manifests itself in the authors’ numerous descriptions of visits to concerts and theatres in the cities.

¹¹ The social background has characterised external attributions since the 18th century, when national stereotypes began to be constructed and established with the methodology of statistics (Vári, 2003). The moral concepts and ideals transmitted through this knowledge, which reflect in the stereotypes, are determined not only by the social origin of the authors, but also by their social position, i.e. the respective affiliation to the state, community, or church. Vári describes the ideas they represented as “tools of emancipation” (2003: 47).

destinations in today’s Alps-Adriatic Region were mainly located in Carniola and the coastal region (e.g. Adelsberg/Postojna, Bled, Zirknitzer See/Cerkniško Jezero, or Trieste) (Kummer, 2009: 39–171).

As we examine the selected travelogues in the following for references to *doing in-between*, we are aware that this genre of text is shaped by prior literature (apodemics and earlier (travel) literature compiled), stereotypical notions of the “other” and the respective origins of the authors (regional and social affiliation, education, gender), but also by the time of origin. It should further be borne in mind that many of the authors were simply transients who described subjective impressions, often based on very short stays. For this reason, we will – if possible – at least briefly address the contexts in which they created their works.

The fact that the small-scale, transregional mobility of workers, traders, farmers and other mobile actors has left hardly any traces poses a further challenge for historical-anthropological analysis (Lehnert, Vogel, 2011: 13). Travelogues by women are also underrepresented. Nevertheless, we consider these sources, which were written – and this makes them particularly interesting – by travellers from different social backgrounds with distinct travel motives, to be relevant to our research question. We assume that the references to transitions and transregional exchange contained in their descriptions can help to identify possible forms of *doing in-between*.

The analysis of travel literature in the Alps-Adriatic Region, as discussed in this article, reveals the complex interplay of cultural, linguistic, and social practices that characterized the region as a hybrid and pluricultural space. This broader perspective can be further enriched by examining more focused studies on specific areas within the region. For instance, the portrayal of Ljubljana and Slovenia in 19th-century travel literature (Fikfak, 1995, 1999) provides a detailed case study of how these regions were depicted through the lenses of different travel genres. Fikfak highlights the role of observer bias and the impact of preconceptions in shaping the “discovery of the Other”. This micro-level analysis complements the broader themes discussed here by illustrating how Slovenia was constructed within the larger European imagination, adding nuance to our understanding of how specific localities within the Alps-Adriatic Region were represented in travel narratives. Such focused studies underscore the importance of considering both the broader cultural practices and the specific local dynamics that together form the complex tapestry of the *in-between* in this region.

Creating connections – transregional transport routes and trade relations

Several studies confirm that the Alps-Adriatic Region has been closely linked economically through trade for centuries (Valentinitich, 1973; Moritsch, 2001; Panjek, 2015). An exchange of goods existed between the centres of Ljubljana, Trieste, and



Klagenfurt, through which various actors were on the move. Many travelogues also mention trans-regional trade relations, trade routes and places of trade, including some smaller towns and markets that are less well known today. The travelogues also illustrate how well developed and connected large parts of the region were in terms of infrastructure. In our reading, the connections and interdependencies established via transport infrastructure and trade are an indication of *doing in-between*, which received little attention in an apologetic, nationalising historiography. These connections became possible through transport routes and required mobility and interaction¹² that characterised the Alps-Adriatic Region.¹³

Joseph Baumgartner (1796-1884), an engineer from Vienna, who joined the Ministry of Trade after holding several positions (Kummer, 2009: 95ff.), writes about transport infrastructure. He set off on two long journeys across Lombardy and into Switzerland to gain an impression of the technical conditions, i.e. the roads, bridges and buildings, and to document them. In 1834 he published his work on the “*neuesten und vorzüglichsten Kunst-Straßen über die Alpen*”.¹⁴ The term *Kunststraße* referred to a solid and compact, man-made road that was common in Europe during the 18th century (Barraud Wiener, Simonett, 1990). During his stay in Klagenfurt, he notes that there “the four state roads to Austria [sic!] and Italy, to Steyermark and the coastal country unite”, guaranteeing “an always lively trade traffic between the southern and northern provinces with colonial goods and factory products” (Baumgartner, 1834: 26). Klagenfurt is perceived as a major connection point not only to the south, but also to Tyrol in the west. From Klagenfurt, the route takes him on towards Loibl (Ljubelj), and he recounts the poor conditions he experiences there (ibid.: 29). He describes the arduous journey to the top, through the mountains and over numerous bridges and rivers. After crossing the Loibl, he arrives in Tržič (then Neumarkt). His gaze falls on the paved main road (ibid.: 35), and he goes on to comment on the prosperity of the inhabitants, attributing it not only to the production of ironware but also to the fact that there was a warehouse for trade goods.

The Austrian geographer and author Anton Johann Gross-Hoffinger (1808-1875), who often wrote under the pseudonym Hans Normann, stresses the importance of the supra-regional transport infrastructure. His journey in 1831 took him from Vienna via

¹² It is necessary – and this applies to the travel writers as well – to distinguish between different forms of mobility (Huber, 2010: 319). People have been and are mobile for various reasons: of their own free will, in their free time, for reasons of education, to work, to earn a living, to do research or simply to ensure their survival.

¹³ The fact that more and more people were travelling in the course of the 19th century and that mobility can be considered a “mass phenomenon” (Huber, 2010: 318) for the period from 1850 onwards is also addressed in the travelogues we examined. In the prefaces, some authors already point out that there were probably hardly any unknown regions in Europe due to the large number of travellers and the numerous travelogues (Baumgartner, 1834); they report on the “thousands of travellers/*Tausenden von Reisenden*” (Schimpff, 1833: 3) who could be found on the Adriatic coast at that time for the purpose of recreation.

¹⁴ “...newest and most exquisite artificial roads across the Alps.”

Graz to Ljubljana and finally to Trieste. He writes about Carniola that it was still quite “uncultivated”, and it has not been long since monstrous bears ran into the Carniolan castles (Gross-Hoffinger, 1831: 278). This picture of the feral untamed, densely wooded region is contrasted a few lines later with the infrastructurally developed city of Ljubljana characterised by transport infrastructure, prospering industry and trade conducted with Italy, Croatia, and Bavaria (ibid.: 278).¹⁵ Here we see a differentiation between the countryside, deemed “uncultivated” and backward, and the “civilised” urban space, marked by a bourgeois gaze or urban-rural dualism.

Maximilian Fischel (1779-1812) and the Viennese-born Joseph Georg Wiedemann (ca. 1775-1812) also used the transport infrastructure to present Ljubljana as a trading centre on their journey through “*Innerösterreich, Triest und Venedig*” (1801), which they had already undertaken around 1800. They describe how the streets of Graz, Trieste, and Klagenfurt collide (Fischel, Wiedemann, 1801: 40–41) and mention that the navigable rivers are favourable to the connection. However, they do not go into detail about the nature of the trade and the type of interactions they observe.¹⁶ But the emphasis on Ljubljana’s function as a transport hub points to the economic dynamism of the region and implies different economic, social, and linguistic forms of interaction. The importance of these transregional connections are also underlined by Rumpler (2001: 519), when he states that the relationship between the provinces of Inner Austria was stronger than the ties to a German or German-Austrian centre.

The activities of the Inner Austrian Industry and Trade Association (founded in 1837) document efforts to promote trade in Inner Austria. Carniolan-born Carl August von Ullepitsch (1810-1862) was a civil servant in various positions and the main initiator of the founding of the Inner-Austrian Historical Society. His account of the imperial inspection tour to Carinthia and Carniola in 1844 contains a description of the third Inner-Austrian industrial exhibition of the Association of Industry and Trade in Ljubljana (Ullepitsch, 1845: 16–27). This travelogue not only provides detailed information about the exhibited products, but also about the manufacturers and their origins. Almost two thirds of the 280 entries came from Carniola (and a third of these from Ljubljana), with Carinthia in second place with 31 entries. However, some producers from Upper Austria, Lower Austria, and Styria were also represented among the exhibitors.

Trieste was the city that epitomised trade in the Alps-Adriatic Region. Trieste is described as a lively, elegant and modern city with a sophisticated cultural life (e.g. Jeitteles, 1844; Platen, 1969 [1824]) and with a heterogeneous public that, being a port city, lived from trade and interacted in peace (Jeitteles, 1844: 20). Therefore, the Viennese merchant Ignaz Jeitteles (1783-1843), who came from a Jewish family of

¹⁵ “A good bridge leads across Illiria’s main river to Ljubljana [...] there are many manufactories here and a considerable commission and haulage trade is conducted with Italy, Croatia, and Bavaria.”

¹⁶ This is in line with Andreas Gottsmann’s (1999: 73) and Werner Drobesch’s (2002: 72) observation that travellers rarely engage with what they have seen in any depth.



merchants and scholars in Prague, refers to the “bustling life everywhere” (Jeitteles, 1844: 20) in the city, emphasising its vibrancy and restlessness.

He observes a mixture of peoples and “criss-cross of languages” and points out that “the most diverse people from all parts of the world, Americans and Asians, Europeans and Africans stream together” all united by “one language: money” (ibid.: 20). In this interpretation, the seemingly harmonious coexistence is based on the common goal of achieving profits and therefore, following Jeitteles, belonging to a religion, ethnicity or language group is of little importance to the actors. The possibility of such a coexistence of differences, which is not evaluated negatively – but on the contrary emphasised positively – points to forms of *doing in-between* which are based on economic interests. However, such practices are characterised only by the wealthy class being able to participate in them. The less well-off classes elude Jeitteles’s observation, as he declares that he did not even see the part of the city which was inhabited by the lower classes (ibid.: 199). This reveals not only the bourgeois gaze of the author, but also the fact that categorisation is in this case based on social affiliation and that ethnic, national, or regional affiliations remain largely irrelevant.

There are also records of trade in rural areas. On their journey through “Innerösterreich, Triest, und Venedig”, Maximilian Fischel und Joseph Georg Wiedemann (1801) describe the small town of Krainburg (now Kranj) and the products manufactured and sold there, which came from the nearby mine, among other places. While a heterogeneous cultural and linguistic scene is drawn in relation to urban areas, the descriptions of rural settings and places that were not (yet) part of the travellers’ canon are limited to trade and infrastructure.

While numerous studies on emigration from the Alpine region document the intensive and heterogeneous migratory movements in the region (Ferigo, Fornasin, 1997; Ruttar, 2009; Ferigo, 2010), street traders, vagrants and other nomadic actors whose realm of experience was the road (cf. Kienitz, 2011: 99) hardly feature in the travelogues. This leads to the assumption that the bourgeois view of the travel writers tended to ignore these groups as not being of importance.

Mobile practices – across class and gender

One form of mobility repeatedly mentioned in the writings, alongside trade, is labour migration as a mobile practice involving exchange within the region. We differentiate between those who were active beyond the borders of the Habsburg Monarchy and those who travelled within the Alps-Adriatic Region in search of work. Franz Sartori (1782-1832), a publicist and civil servant from Vienna, reported on practices of mobility and transregional exchange (Studen, 2009). Sartori (1811: 198) writes of immigrants who have settled in Carinthia and also lists the occupational groups, namely doctors,

manufacturers, clockmakers, carpenters, coppersmiths, artists, civil servants or Protestant pastors. These are exclusively skilled trades and academic professions. Foreigners, says Sartori, are not well regarded and are excluded from promotions, for example. He also mentions seasonal workers from the Italian coastal region (ibid.: 222). This proves that labour migration was a cross-class phenomenon that includes “seasonal and annual agricultural workers” as well as “merchants and peddlers with domestic products, travelling journeymen, itinerant builders” (Assion, 1991: 116).

This particular form of mobility was apparently not tied to class or gender. Franz Franzisci (1825-1920) (1885: 42), considered the founder of German Carinthian folklore, states that in the Carinthian Gailtal he repeatedly encountered women and girls coming from Friuli. They were travelling with their *kraxes*¹⁷ (ibid.) and traded fruit for barley (ibid.: 39). According to Franzisci this form of trade mobility also involved smuggling (ibid.: 38–39). In addition, Franzisci observed children, coming from Friuli across the Alps for All Saints’ Day, for getting *Allerheiligenzettel* (ibid.). We assume that the term ‘*Allerheiligenzettel*’ refers to *Allerheiligenstriezel*, a pastry produced in different Austrian regions. Franzisci is therefore alluding to the Carinthian *Heischebrauch*, the custom of asking children to go from house to house on All Saints’ Day (1 November) to ask for a *Striezel* and give the biscuits to those in need.¹⁸

Carinthian-born Anna Forneris reports on an extraordinary migration biography (1783 or 1789-1847). She grew up in Himmelberg (Carinthia) in a wealthy farming family, received a village school education, learnt the confectionery trade and sewing at the order of the Elisabethines in Klagenfurt and worked as a maid in Ljubljana and Trieste. Her journey took her as far as the Orient, where she ran various shops and inns in different places and with different partners for several decades until she returned to Carinthia in her old age. In her memoirs, written as a travelogue, she presents herself in simple language as a feisty entrepreneur who, despite all the adversities she encountered in her life, was able to hold her own and earn a living and provide for her son. Forneris’s accounts do not follow the familiar patterns of travelogues. They are an idiosyncratic retrospective of life from a female perspective. For example, Forneris explicitly describes her marriages as marriages of convenience and deals with the situation of women in the countries she travelled to. Forneris’s travelogues are mentioned here because they also point to mobile practices and, above all, show that women also acted independently. In Forneris’s everyday life, nationalising and ethnicising discourses were apparently not relevant, but rather social relations were at the centre of attention.

¹⁷ A *kraxe* is a back carrier that used to be an important means of transporting goods or agricultural produce.

¹⁸ The term *Zettel* is still used today for sweet yeast pastries: On the customs surrounding *Allerheiligenstriezel*, see the survey by the folklorist Georg Graber (1949: 411–413). In this passage of the volume *Volksleben in Kärnten*, the customs in various regions of Carinthia are presented in a descriptive and detailed manner. However, the introductory chapter of the same volume in particular contains pseudo-scientific, racist claims asserting the superiority of German/Germanic culture. For a scientific analysis see Burgstaller (1970: esp. 69–71); Burgstaller (1983: esp. 22–55).



Language use as a means of communication and dialogue

Another recurring theme in the travelogues analysed is the use of language. This is hardly surprising, as the topic of language was already present in the apodemics (Stagl, 1980: 362). Ilse Kummer (2009: 138) argues that language is featured so prominently in these sources on the Alps-Adriatic Region because travellers noticed all kinds of differences on their route. They not only observed the change in climate, vegetation, and mentalities, but also the changing use of different languages.

These practices eluded “linguistic nationalism” (Hobsbawm, 1992: 113) – and consequently also the ideology of equating (a single) language and a nation that emerged in the 19th century, and which was based on the postulates of Johann Gottfried Herder, Friedrich Hegel, and Jacob Grimm (cf. e.g. Durell, 2017: 27–28). For the Habsburg Monarchy, linguistic nationalism presented an ambivalent challenge: On the one hand, the state was keen to have a standardised and common official language; the German language served this function and subsequently also served as an instrument of power. On the other hand – and this posed a dilemma – the population of the multi-ethnic state was easier to reach in their respective native languages (Domej, 2006: 145; Scheer, 2022).

According to Hobsbawm, ethnolinguistic nationalism started with “the written language, or the language spoken for public purposes” (1992: 113–114) and disregarded the spoken language. If we assume that everyday speech acts were aimed at successful communication and not at the demonstration of belonging to an ethnic or national group, they contradict an ethnicising and nationalising imperative (Pisk, 2018; Almasy, Tropper, 2020). As such, the language acts presented in the travelogues point to *doing in-between*.

Before we present the language practices mentioned in the travelogues, we would like to point out a travelogue in which languages in the Alps-Adriatic Region play a role on a superordinate level.

It was written by a travelling woman, wanting to get a picture of the Carinthian-Slovenian and the Friulian language. She stayed in Klagenfurt for three weeks before moving on to Trieste. The German linguist, translator, and poet Ida von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld (1815-1876) was aware that four languages (German, Slovenian, Italian, Friulian) were spoken in the Alps-Adriatic Region, which is a strong reference to *doing in-between*.

Von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld systematically studied Slovenian folk literature in the Klagenfurt library and translated some of it into German. She met, among others, the writer Adolf von Tschabuschnigg (1809-1877) and the Carinthian-Slovenian publicist Andrej Einspieler (1833-1888). Von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld praised the Slavic studies programme in Klagenfurt and the publicly accessible academic library.

There are two remarkable things about this travelogue: On the one hand, it was written by a woman who – unsurprisingly – came from a noble family and was therefore able to learn several languages. On the other, the source refers to the bilingualism in

Carinthia and also mentions Friulian. The region is thus contoured in a natural way as multilingual, without ethnicising or nationalising classifications being made.

Descriptions of the coexistence of several languages are mentioned in almost all descriptions of the regions and towns we analysed. The use of the different languages (multilingualism) German, Italian/Friulian, and Slovenian is mentioned, whereby the latter is also referred to as Wendish (Mitterdorfer, 1817: 273), Windish (Platen, 1969 [1824]: 662), Carniolan (Krickel, 1830: 292), Slavic Carniolan (Carus, 1966 [1837]: 18), and Slavonic (Carus, 1966 [1837]: 25). Thus Ignaz Jeitteles (1844: 29), while travelling through from Graz to Rome, bases his thesis that Trieste is “the transition” between Germany (sic!) and Italy on the fact that Italian and German are spoken there. In 1837, the universal scholar and royal physician Carl Gustav Carus (1789-1869), born in Saxony, stated about Ljubljana that one hears a lot of Italian and also sees Italian inscriptions, but Slovenian is spoken even more frequently (ibid.). We also found evidence of the use of Italian, German, and Slovenian for rural regions in Carinthia (e.g. Mitterdorfer, 1817; Gilbert, Churchill, 1965; Franzisci, 1867 in Biermann, 2020; Franzisci, 1885), Carniola (e.g. Carus, 1966 [1837]), and Friuli (e.g. Franzisci, 1885).

The authors repeatedly observe the mixing of different languages: French is also added to the languages mentioned above. Carinthian-born Josef Mitterdorfer (1785-1838), for example, reported on his journey on foot from Klagenfurt to the Rosental valley in 1817 about language practices in Ferlach (Borovlje) in which three languages were used in one sentence:¹⁹

Die hier wohnenden Wenden sprechen wegen ihres Verkehrs mit der nahen Hauptstadt Klagenfurt deutsch. Die Wuth, französische Wörter der deutschen Sprache einzumengen, ist hier noch auffallender, als selbst noch wendische Wörter ihren gewöhnlichen, selbst den kürzesten Reden beygemischt sind. Bon jour gospued! Gevatter grüßt der Ferlacher seinen Nachbar. Je prau monsieur, wie geht es ihnen? erwiedert [sic!] dieser. (Mitterdorfer, 1817: 273)²⁰

Fifteen years later, Wenzel Carl Wolfgang Wabruschek-Blumenbach (1791-1847) also thematized the negative assessment of the mixing of languages – French had found

¹⁹ Another example: “The inhabitants of this village of 150 numbers at the foot of the Plecken Pass, 831 metres above sea level, speak a German that is difficult to understand and mixed with Italian words/*Die Bewohner dieser aus 150 Nummern bestehenden am Fuße des Plecken-Passes, 831 M. hoch gelegenen Ortschaft sprechen ein schwer verständliches, mit italienischen Worten gemischtes Deutsch.*” (Franzisci, 1885: 45).

²⁰ “The Wends living here speak German because of their traffic with the nearby capital Klagenfurt. The frenzy to incorporate French words into the German language is even more striking here, as even Wendish words are mixed in with their usual, even the shortest speeches. *Bon jour gospued! Gevatter is how the Ferlach man greets his neighbour. Je prau monsieur, how are you? He replies.*”



its way into local language practices due to the French occupation between 1809 and 1813 – in his ethnography *Neuestes Gemälde der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* (1832: 27). In his description of Carniola, he describes the language of the Wends living there as “poor and dirty”. He generalises this observation for all border peoples who mix their languages. Such assessments are based on the assumption that there is a “pure”, static language; an understanding that assumes (written) standard languages and negates (spoken) language varieties, language contact and language change.²¹

Mitterdorfer’s observation refers to the fact that knowledge of the German language is linked to the proximity to the capital city of Klagenfurt and the associated contacts. Franz Franzisci states the same. On his foot journey from Ferlach (Borovlje) to Bleiburg (Pliberk) in 1867, he notes that the contact with Germans is forcing the Slovenian-speaking population to adopt the second language of the country (Franzisci, 1867 in Biermann, 2020: 348). In accordance with this description, the rural population speaks several languages when they live nearby the centres.

Franzisci names other reasons that led to the acquisition and use of German. He observed that men who had served in the military were proficient in German (ibid.: 350), whilst labour migration also played a role. His explanation is based on an innkeeper in Paluzza in Friuli who had worked in Germany for three decades and therefore spoke German (Franzisci, 1885: 44). He further states that wealthy farmers would send their children to school in Klagenfurt so that they could learn German there (Franzisci, 1867 in Biermann, 2020: 348). This suggests that knowledge of German was, on the one hand, a question of class affiliation and, on the other, a prerequisite for social advancement due to the pressure to conform to the hegemonic (German) language (Jordan, 2021: 189).

Furthermore, as the travelogues indicate, language skills were also a matter of gender. Time and again, there are indications that women – in contrast to men – were less proficient in German than men in mixed-language parts of Carinthia (Franzisci, 1867 in Biermann, 2020: 348, 354).²² One reason for this may have been the lower need to make contact with travellers or external contacts (Domej, 2006: 140). This related to women who mainly carried out housework, but also to domestic staff (Franzisci, 1867 in Biermann, 2020). On the contrary, the German aristocratic writer August von Platen (1796-1835) mentions a female innkeeper in the predominantly Slovenian-speaking town of Bovec (Flitsch/Plezzo) who also spoke German (Platen, 1969 [1824]: 662). This reference supports the assumption that contact with travellers, which this woman

²¹ This linguistic theory is now considered outdated (Durell, 2017: esp. 29–33). The Slavacist Hugo Schuchardt had already pointed out in the 1880s that there was “no such thing as a completely unmixed language/*keine völlig ungemischte Sprache*”, as “when different groups of people speak different languages, the languages also have an effect on each other/*beim innigen Verkehr verschiedensprachiger Menschengruppen auch die Sprachen aufeinander [wirken]*”. (1884: 5)

²² Cf. also the sources cited by Domej (2006: 140), supporting the gender-specific level of knowledge of the German language in the mixed-language area.

obviously had, required appropriate language skills. In this case, these were not linked to gender, but to professional necessities.

A classist view of the educated bourgeois traveller is a common element in many descriptions of language use. He looks down on the common people who speak several languages in a tone of wonder as well as admiration. For instance, von Platen wrote about his journey by stagecoach from Tarvisio (Tarvis/Trbiž) via Bovec that his elderly coachman was “very educated for his status” and spoke Italian, German, and Slovenian (ibid.: 662).

Summarising, we see that the practices of multilingualism described in the travelogues were, on the one hand, evidently a result of social status. On the other hand, however, they arose above all from context-related necessities: being able to communicate in specific areas of everyday and professional life in the multilingual Alps-Adriatic Region – such as in the hospitality industry, in trade, in haulage, but also in the military (Domej, 2006: esp. 144). Positions in recent sociolinguistics also refer to this, considering the change or mixing of languages (language crossing)²³ a resource for language practitioners²⁴ to use all available means of communication in a situation-bound manner – and not to classify these practices as being deficient.²⁵

The practice of switching between languages (code switching) in the travelogues occurs in two ways: firstly, in the use of languages in the texts themselves and, secondly, in relation to the place names.

In the ‘Denkbuch der Anwesenheit Ihrer k. k. Majestäten Ferdinand I. und Maria Anna in Krain und Kärnten im September 1844’ (Ullepitsch, 1845),²⁶ Carl August Ullepitsch describes the return journey of Emperor Ferdinand I and his wife from Vienna to Ljubljana via Trieste and Villach (Beljak/Villaco). The description of the imperial inspection tour provides a variety of insights into social and economic life in Ljubljana. Particularly interesting is the fact that the German description of the journey contains a German poem of honour to the imperial couple alongside a Slovenian one

²³ For an overview of various terms and concepts, see Spitzmüller (2022: esp. 204).

²⁴ Cf. the concepts presented in Spitzmüller (2022: esp. 243).

²⁵ This fact is also emphasised by Americo Vespucci, author and director of the Turin *Giornale delle Donne*. On a train journey from Venice via Trieste to Vienna, he gives a detailed description of his fellow travellers in the compartment and their interactions as well as the landscape rushing past. At one point, he regrets that he only communicates with his hands and feet due to his lack of German: “But how disheartening it is to be with people who don’t understand us and who we don’t understand the way we would like to! I will never be able to sufficiently inculcate the study of foreign languages in young people, as I have experienced on my travels how much one suffers when one has to keep one’s mouth shut at the sight of a thousand objects that one has never seen before, although one could say many things, a general deficiency in our schools that must be mentioned here. Young minds are tormented with lessons in dead languages, and the living and spoken languages are completely forgotten” (Vespucci, 1874: 43). Although he positions himself as an Italian in some passages and emphasises his affection for his homeland, he also emphasises the relevance of multilingualism as a resource. There are no ethnicising attributions in his accounts; instead, the focus is on social positioning.

²⁶ “Memorial book of the presence of Their Imperial and Royal Majesties Ferdinand I and Maria Anna in Carniola and Carinthia in September 1844.”



– apparently without any difficulty (ibid.: 13–14).²⁷ In addition, the list of subscribers in the lavishly designed volume reads like a who’s who of Klagenfurt and Ljubljana and other places in Carniola and Carinthia. Apparently, the representation of both languages was a matter of course in this context. What counted more was the belonging to the educated classes who were literate, could afford books, and were interested in political and social events.

Code switching is also evident regarding toponyms (place names, landscape names, names of bodies of water, mountains). Thus, different languages and varieties were used for toponyms in the region, and the travellers used them as a point of orientation.²⁸ While some authors use the toponyms in monolingual form throughout, there are also multilingual travelogues (e.g. Jenny, 1829), although they do not always maintain this practice. Carus, for example, mainly uses the German language for the toponyms, but in some places he also chooses other variants and writes the German name in brackets – for example for the highest mountain in the Julian Alps, the Triglav: “Mont Terglau (Dreikopf)” (Carus, 1966 [1837]: 25).²⁹ The German speaking August von Platen also explicitly refers to the different language place names in his travel diary of 1824 and writes about Bovec “Flitsch or, as it is also called, Plez” (Platen, 1969 [1824]: 663). Carinthian-born Franz Franzisci, on the other hand, uses German and – on the southern side of the Alps – Italian toponyms uncommented on his journey on foot from the Gailtal valley over the Plöckenpass into Friuli.³⁰

Identifying ambiguities – border area and space of encounter

With Ina-Maria Greverus (2005), the Alps-Adriatic Region, perceived and constructed as a “*Übergangsgegend*/area of transition” in the travel literature examined – among other things on the basis of ambiguities – can be understood as a border area and a space of encounter “between exclusionary localisations and de-localisations” (Greverus, 2005: 1). The travel writers observe and note differences and similarities in equal measure.

²⁷ The poem *O veselimu prihodu presvitliga Cesarja Ferdinanda I. ino presvitle Cesarice Marije Ane, I. Kimovca 1844 v Ljubljano* was written by Mihael Kastelic.

²⁸ Different spellings are noticeable within the various languages, which are repeatedly addressed in particular: Carl August Carus (1966 [1837]: 17) from Saxony states in 1837 that the Loibl Pass is called “Leobel” or also “Leubell”. His notes also contain the variants “Leubelpaß” and “Leubelpass” (ibid.: 29). This is because toponyms were written differently and phonetically until the end of the 19th century (graphical variations on place names). Standardisation only came with the introduction of the modern administrative state.

²⁹ Balthasar Hacquet already used the variant “Terglou”, which is based on the Slovenian phonetic language, in 1783 – the prefix ‘Mont’ was probably borrowed from the current Italian name Monte Tricorno (cf. Hacquet, 1783).

³⁰ Examples of the use of several languages for toponyms can be found in different variations – a systematic analysis of an even larger corpus of sources with regard to the question of which authors (linguistic, territorial, social origin) use which languages and whether there is a temporal connection would be worthwhile.

They repeatedly draw ethnic boundaries, for example in a description of the population of Trieste, which is divided into “educated Trieste residents”, who would exhibit a “mixture of German and Italian characteristics” (Wiedemann, Fischel, 1801: 70). This “mixture” is regarded as favourable because the social life would benefit from it. In contrast, the authors attribute “Italian customs” exclusively to the common people, the “common class” (ibid.). While in the following remarks it emerges that Italian manners compared to German ones have a negative connotation for the authors, this example shows how ethnic categorisations are clearly linked to social ones.

Ethnicising attributions are also attached to the physiognomies of the people described. Carus (1966 [1837]: 25), for example, categorises market women in the village of Tržič, located at the foot of the southern side of the Loibl Pass, as “old Illyrian women” who were characterised by a long, sunburnt “square face with a large lower jaw and wide mouth”. He discredits these women using a colonial style, drawing a comparison with the Greek Phorkyades from Goethe’s *Faust*.³¹ In this text passage, the author reveals his educational background as if by chance. However, in Tržič, Carus also encounters “very pretty, elegantly dressed women” (ibid.), whose faces he categorises as “German” with a Slavic or Italian touch. “Mixtures” are also described here, but the “German” is asserted as superior. The classification of the people portrayed is ostensibly based on an ethnicising discourse (German versus Slavic and Romanic), but rather than focusing on ethnicity, the argument is based on the class affiliation. In this understanding, “German” represents not only the supposedly superior culture, but also social affiliation. The distinction Carus draws nevertheless points to the ambiguities and mixtures he perceives, which can be read as a further indication of *doing in-between* and – closely linked to this – as a hybrid social reality.

Anton Johann Gross-Hoffinger (1831: 33) provides a further way of drawing boundaries within the common area or the immediate neighbourhood. He describes two places of worship on the summit of the Dobratsch (Villacher Alpe) that are only a few hundred metres apart:

Merkwürdig ist die äußerliche Verschiedenheit der beiden Kirchen, merkwürdig das feindselige Verhältniß zwischen Slaven und Deutschen das sich hier in der Absonderung ihrer Andachtsörter so klar und auffallend offenbart, als wäre hier der deutsche Bewohner Karinthiens nicht unter einem Szepter mit den Wenden vereinigt, oder durch natürliche Grenzen geschieden, ja als hätte jeder seinen Gott der ihn in besondern Schutz nehme. Offen und prunklos zeigt das Gotteshaus des Deutschen innige Verehrung seines Schöpfers so wie deutsche Biederkeit da ihm jeder

³¹ Elsewhere, Carus also speaks pejoratively about the “Illyrian, not exactly graceful mountain people/ *illyrische, nicht eben anmutige Gebirgsvolk*” (Carus, 1966 [1837]: 18).



Argwohn eines Frevlers fremd ist; die windische Kirche hingegen (erst im Jahre 1825 erbaut) mit ihren sorgfältig geschmückten Altären und zahllosen Opfern scheint eher ein altnorischer Götzentempel zu sein, als ein dem Gotte geweihtes Haus, der keine Opfer als die Liebe heischt.³²

For Gross-Hoffinger, this example illustrates the “hatred” he claimed existed between the Slovenian and German population groups in Styria, but which he described as “*noch weit glühender/even more fervent*” (Gross-Hoffinger, 1831: 33) in Carinthia. In our reading, this depiction – devaluing the Slovenian church – points to the simultaneity of inclusive and exclusive practices in the shared space. This situation can be read as a reference to *doing in-between*, just like the comment Franzisci made 50 years later in an inn about the Italian and Austro-Hungarian monarchy. On a hike over the Plöckenpass from Carinthia to Friuli, Franzisci comes across a special, intriguing (*eigen-sinnige*) hanging of portraits of princes:

Ein verblaßter Spiegel im Rococco-Goldrahmen, die Porträts Victor Emanuels, König Humberts und der allbeliebten Königin Margarita in Stahlstich hingen an der weißgetünchten Wand. Jedenfalls sind die Leute hier sehr patriotisch gesinnt, was ihnen jedoch nicht verwehrt, zuweilen einen Sehnsuchtsblick nach Oesterreich zu werfen; denn auch das Bild des regierenden österreichischen Landesfürsten hat hier ein würdig Plätzchen gefunden. (Franzisci, 1885: 41)³³

Here, national identification – if intended at all – was obviously not an either-or choice. The “both-and” approach practised points to a specific appropriation of the portraits of the hegemony, as the wall decoration obviously does not fulfil the function of feeling or being clearly assigned to a sovereignty.³⁴ In our reading, Franzisci’s observation refers to *doing in-between*.

³² “Strange is the outward difference between the two churches, strange the hostile relationship between Slavs and Germans which is so clearly and conspicuously revealed here in the separation of their places of worship, as if the German inhabitants of Carinthia were not united here under one sceptre with the Wends, or separated by natural boundaries, indeed as if each had his own God who took him under special protection. Open and unostentatious, the German’s house of worship shows heartfelt reverence for its creator as well as German bourgeoisie, since any suspicion of an impious person is alien to it; the Windian church, on the other hand (built only in 1825), with its carefully decorated altars and countless sacrifices, seems more like an old Norse idol temple than a house consecrated to the God who demands no sacrifices but love.”

³³ “A faded mirror in a Rococco gold frame, the portraits of Victor Emanuel, King Humbert and the much-loved Queen Margarita in steel engraving hung on the whitewashed wall. In any case, the people here are very patriotic, but this does not prevent them from occasionally casting a longing glance towards Austria, as the picture of the reigning Austrian prince has also found a worthy place here.”

³⁴ The travelogue suggests that paintings played an important role in the inn. There is talk of oil paintings hanging in the “spacious vestibule/*geräumigen Vorsaale*”. These would remind one of the furnishings of a knight’s hall in a castle (Franzisci, 1885: 41).

Ignaz Jeitteles also describes the mixture of different elements, which give us references to situations of *doing in-between*, using the example of Trieste. During his stay in the 1840s, he was primarily interested in the economic life of the city, which he portrays as a place of encounter:

Triest ist noch nicht Italien, und schon nicht mehr Deutschland; selbst das Klima ist südlich-nordisch, der Feigenbaum und die Eiche stehen brüderlich nebeneinander; man spricht italienisch, aber auch viel deutsch; hat Ofen und Kamine, Doppelfenster und Marmorböden, und verbindet deutschen Fleiß mit italienischer Lebhaftigkeit. Die Kaffeehäuser, in denen zugleich Geschäfte gemacht werden, sind zahlreich und sehr elegant; man sitzt auf dem Vorplatz im Freien unter Zeldächern, liest Zeitungen, schlürft Mokka, ißt Gefrorenes – und handelt. [...] man steht zeitig auf, wie in Deutschland, und geht spät zu Bette, wie in Italien; es herrscht große Reinlichkeit, wie in Deutschland, und die Mücken stechen, wie in Italien. Es ist der Übergang. (Jeitteles, 1844: 29–30)³⁵

Trieste symbolises the transition between north and south for Jeitteles, with Germany in the north and Italy in the south. In compact form, he lists various supposedly typical characteristics of the country, which are also mentioned in other travelogues of the region: Starting with the obligatory description of climate and vegetation in travelogues, he moves on to architecture and everyday practices such as drinking coffee and ends with a description of the inhabitants’ mentalities. In contrasting pairs, Jeitteles categorises his findings as “north” and “south” and argues that what he sees as opposing characteristics exist side by side and simultaneously in Trieste.

A similar report was made 20 years earlier by Heinrich Joachim Jäck (1777-1847), a scholar from Bamberg. He writes that he found an “amalgam of all nations” (Jäck, 1824: 96) in Trieste. Meeting in public, the exchange in business life and a longer stay in the city resulted in the fact that every immigrant acquires something “that is common to all nations” (Jäck, 1824: 95). However, Jäck also observes that the assimilation was limited to the public sphere such as commerce (*Comptoir*), bourgeois culture (*Theater*), and religious practice (*Tempel*). In the domestic sphere, however, “every nation” withdrew “back into itself” (Jäck, 1824: 95).

³⁵ “Trieste is not yet Italy, and no longer Germany; even the climate is southern-northern, the fig tree and the oak stand side by side like brothers; people speak Italian, but also a lot of German; they have ovens and fireplaces, double windows and marble floors, and combine German diligence with Italian liveliness. The coffee houses, where business is also conducted, are numerous and very elegant; people sit outside on the forecourt under canvas roofs, read newspapers, sip mocha, eat frozen food – and do business. [...] People get up early, as in Germany, and go to bed late, as in Italy; there is great cleanliness, as in Germany, and the mosquitoes bite, as in Italy. It is the transition.”



In this case, we see once again that mixing, but also the drawing of boundaries, often described along nationalising or ethnicising categories, takes place in the common space of encounter.³⁶ Similar evidence can be found for Ljubljana (Carus, 1966 [1837]: 22) and for Klagenfurt – the latter based on the description of the cityscape, which shows Italian influences (Baumgartner, 1834: 25; Carus, 1966 [1837]: 30). However, it is not only in the urban centres, but also in the rural regions that the travel writers observe hybrid phenomena, supposed ambiguities and processes of cultural exchange. Franzisci (1885: 43), for example, describes a farmhouse parlour in Friuli in which he found an oven that he considered untypical for Italy.³⁷

Conclusion

Summing up, it is worth noting that writers of travel literature give us various references of *doing in-between* by reporting on “transitions”. Their precise descriptions, but also influences from previous literature and the associated stereotyping, characterise these depictions. In the process, the expectation of the “other” and the comparison with the “own” in the travelled Alps-Adriatic Region is repeatedly put to the test. The gaze is sharpened on the heterogeneous, the non-coherent, the hybrid and the simultaneous.

The travel literature depicts the Alps-Adriatic Region as a transregional area characterised by mobility, which was connected in many ways: through transport infrastructure and trade relations as well as through mobile actors. The use and mixing of several languages in the everyday life of the historical subjects as well as processes of cultural exchange are further attributes of the region highlighted in the writings. The sources reveal that the phenomena and characteristics described, just as the *doing in-between*, were partly based on national or ethnicising attributions, but likewise on class or gender affiliation as well as urban or rural provenance. Not least, however, the professional context of the authors also proved to be significant. In this respect, the analysed travelogues, travel guides and reports refer to multiple affiliations and multiple positioning of the historical subjects (Freist et al., 2019), which were situational and dependent on the specific context. As such, these travel writings contribute to an image of the Alps-Adriatic Region as a hybrid space by *doing in-between*.

³⁶ Andreas Gottsmann (1999: 77) mentions similar negotiation processes regarding national affiliations in Dalmatia. He quotes the Czech poet and travel writer Josef Kalis, who dealt with the national question in Dalmatia and wrote in 1895: “Dalmatia is a country that does not know where it belongs/*Dalmatien ist ein Land, das nicht weiß, wohin es gehört.*”

³⁷ “In the house of one of the richest lords of Paulario, where I was invited for a glass of cider, I found in the parlour what one looks for in vain in an Italian farmhouse – a stove, but of rare construction/*Im Hause eines der reichsten Alpherren von Paulario, wo ich auf ein Glas Most geladen war, fand ich in der Stube, was man in einem italienischen Bauernhause vergeblich sucht einen Ofen, aber von seltener Construction*” (Franzisci, 1885: 43).

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³⁸ For a more detailed account, see Fikfak and Schönberger (2024) in this issue of *Traditiones* as well as the following website: <https://inbetween.aau.at>.



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Alpe-Jadran – »območje prehoda«: prakse vmesnosti v potopisni literaturi 19. stoletja

Alpsko-jadransko območje, ki ga sestavljajo Koroška (danes Avstrija), Kranjska (danes Slovenija), jadransko obalno območje, zlasti Trst (danes Italija), in Furlanija (od leta 1866 del Italije), je bilo do leta 1918 del Habsburške monarhije. Območje je bilo in je še vedno povezano na različne načine. Dolgo te povezave niso bile vključene v prevladujoče zgodovinske pripovedi, ki so navadno razkrivale proces nacionalizacije v današnjih državah, Avstriji, Sloveniji in Italiji. Sprememba perspektive se je pojavila z deli, kakršno je *Guardians of the Nation* Pietra M. Judsona (2006), ki je preusmeril pozornost z razlik in segregacije po nacionalnih in etničnih ločnicah na poudarjanje kulturnih podobnosti ter ekonomskih in družbenih povezav in soodvisnosti prek današnjih državnih meja.

Naša izhodiščna domneva je, da so bile v procesu razpada Habsburške monarhije etnične in nacionalistične pripovedi vplivnejše od na videz raznovrstnih praks, med njimi takšnih, ki niso podpirale ali krepile nacionalizma. Nasprotno pa sta bili iz teh pripovedi večinoma izključeni situacijsko delovanje in »praksa vmesnosti«, ki sta zaznamovali vsakdanje življenje velikega dela prebivalstva na območju Alpe-Jadran. S ponovnim branjem potopisov iz 19. stoletja si prizadevamo spoznati in razkriti sklicevanja na prakse vmesnosti.

Članek uvaja klasifikacija potopisne književnosti kot besedilnega tipa, sledi analiza primerov z različnih področij, ki jih beremo kot pričevalce večkratne pripadnosti in umeščenosti zgodovinskih subjektov v predmarčnem obdobju in po njem. Potopisi in turistični vodniki predstavljajo, kako dobro so bili infrastrukturno razviti in povezani veliki deli območja Alpe-Jadran ter kako so trgovinski odnosi presegali današnje državne meje. Območje so oblikovale tudi manjše in širše mobilnostne prakse, kar je še posebej razvidno iz različnih oblik delovnih migracij. Tudi omenjene prakse večjezičnosti kažejo, v kolikšni meri je bilo območje hibridni prostor. Preklapljanje med različnimi jeziki v različnih kontekstih je bilo značilno za številna, specifična področja vsakdanjega in poklicnega življenja, npr. za gostinstvo, trgovino, prevoz blaga, vojsko idr.

Potopisci niso zgolj opazovali območja, po katerem so potovali; njihov pogled so v veliki meri oblikovali tudi razpoložljiva literatura in z njo povezani stereotipi. Vedno so primerjali »drugo« z »domačim«. Za opisane pojave in značilnosti so uporabljali narodne ali etnične oznake, pogoste pa so tudi omembe družbenega razreda, spolne pripadnosti, urbanega ali ruralnega izvira. Izraz »območje prehoda«, ki so ga uporabljali v potopisih, je nakazoval hibridnost, mešanice in razmerja med položaji, ki so jih pisci dojemali kot dvoumne. V tem kontekstu predpostavljamo, da gre za sklicevanja na »prakse vmesnosti«.

Indications of the In-Between in Works of W. Wabruschek-Blumenbach and F. Umlauf: A Case Study of Two Habsburg Ethnographers

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This article is a case study of the two Habsburg ethnographers, Wenzel Wabruschek-Blumenbach (1791-1847) and Friedrich Umlauf (1844-1923). It attempts to classify their works *Neuestes Gemälde der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* (1832/1837) and *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie* (1876/1897) against the background of nationalization tendencies in the long 19th century by looking for implicit and explicit indications of the in-between.

▪ **Keywords:** Habsburg Empire, ethnography, nationalization, cultural hybridity, in-between

Ta članek je študija primera o dveh habsburških etnografih, Wenzelu Wabruschek-Blumenbachu (1791-1847) in Friedrichu Umlaufu (1844-1923). Njuni deli *Neuestes Gemälde der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* (1832/1837) in *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie* (1876/1897) poskuša uvrstiti v ozadje nacionalizacijskih teženj v dolgem 19. stoletju z iskanjem nakazovanja implicitnih in eksplicitnih vmesnosti.

▪ **Ključne besede:** Habsburška monarhija, etnografija, nacionalizacija, kulturna hibridnost, vmesnost

Introduction

This article is part of a research project that aims to analyse the “in-between” of historical subjects living in three selected cities of the Alps-Adriatic Region – Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste – from 1815 to 1914 in terms of the economic, cultural, social and language practices.¹ There were manifold cultural, economic, and political-administrative relations between these cities, until they underwent a process of nationalization towards the end of the 19th century that led to the formation of nation-states (Moritsch, 2001: 8–9). On the one hand, it is a naturalized truism of analysis in research to speak of insurmountable nationality conflicts regarding the last decades of the Habsburg Monarchy (Hobsbawm, 2005). On the other hand, we have known since Benedict

¹ This article is part of the research project Discourses and Practices of the In-Between in the Alpine-Adriatic Region: Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste 1815–1914: A Transnational, Interdisciplinary Co-Research Project (see Fikfak, Schönberger, 2024; <https://inbetween.aau.at/>). Taking the three cities of Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste as examples, the Austrian-Slovenian project explores the forms of “in-between” that can be revealed (1) in discourses articulated in contemporary ethnographies, (2) in practices to be found in associations and institutions, marked by their cultural, social, religious and economic relations, and (3) on the basis of unpublished diaries, letters or autobiographies of historical subjects living at the time. Preliminary research has already been done on Trieste’s Schillerverein (Holfelder et al., 2017) and the Società Minerva (Ličen, 2017), showing that international networks continued to be upheld regardless of the nationalizing discourse.

Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, which provided significant impetus for the theoretical description of nationalisms, that nations are not natural entities but imaginary communities. They have emerged as a replacement for, on the one hand, the former great dynasties and, on the other, the great religions with their narratives of meaning which were committed to unity (Anderson, 2006 [1991]: 37ff.). Beyond this construct of the development of nation-states, recent Habsburg research (Feichtinger et al., 2003; Wingfield, 2003; Feichtinger, Cohen, 2014; Komlosy, 2015; Feichtinger, Uhl, 2016; Judson, 2017; Feichtinger, Uhl, 2023) shows that this process of nationalization was not unambiguous and that the affiliations of historical subjects to the respective nations were not clear, sometimes even characterized by an in-between. They are manifested in, for example, the use of several languages, transnational trade relations, joint leisure pursuits in associations and family relations across national borders.² In the end, however, ethnicizing and nationalizing narratives seem to have prevailed over non-coherent practices and non-nationalizing narratives in the dissolving Habsburg Monarchy.

Ethnographies in the Habsburg region in the 19th century had already made reference to the in-between on a discursive level. In relation to the characteristic aspect of the Austrian imperial state in the 1850s, Karl von Czörnig, for example, mentions ethnic groups living together in the most diverse mix (“*in bunter Mischung*”) in the preface of his *Ethnographie der Österreichischen Monarchie* (Czoernig, 1857: v), whereas, more than ten years later, Adolf Ficker pointed this out several times in his handbook *Die Völkerstämme der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, ihre Gebiete, Grenzen und Inseln* when he described the pluricultural character of Pontebba and other selected areas as a “*triplex confinium*” (Ficker, 1869: 38, 62, 72) and that of selected peoples on the various linguistic borders of the Habsburg Empire as “*sujets mixtes*” (Ficker, 1869: 34). The terms “*in bunter Mischung*”, “*triplex confinium*” or “*sujets mixtes*” used in the ethnographies stood for a form of hybridity that, from the authors’ point of view, pointed to ambiguous constellations and non-ethnicizing commonalities. Bojan Baskar showed that there is a dynamic process and a parallel existence of narratives besides ethnicizing, nationalizing, and pro-Habsburg discourses (2008). I assume that these ethnicizing and nationalizing narratives, which started to pervade public and political debates after 1848/49 (Judson, 1998), were only one manifestation among non-nationalist narratives and non-coherent practices.³ But most ethnographies have

² A detailed theoretical elaboration of the term ‘in-between’, which refers to the concept as it applies to the Alps-Adriatic region in the 19th century, can be found in the article by Janine Schemmer and Klaus Schönberger (Schemmer, Schönberger, 2024).

³ However, it is important to note that ethnicizing processes had begun even before 1848, with some rooted in the reduction of Johann Gottfried Herder’s idea of valuing any culture and people/ethnicity. This reduction can be traced back to figures such as Urban Jarnik, who already opposed the Germanization process by advocating for Slovenian cultural identity, or Ján Kollár as well as Pavel J. Šafárik and their influence on Serbian intellectuals (Ljuboja, 2018: 75–78).

been only partially studied so far regarding their content, with the exception of Czörnig's work and the *Kronprinzenwerk* (1885–1902).

The reason for this research gap could lie in the fact that the ethnographers do not offer a detailed view of the everyday life of historical subjects. There are no sources of these subjects or about them; it is always the ethnographer's descriptive gaze, using sources that are documents of the activities of the administration and educational elites. Their descriptions take place on a more general, discursive level, hardly giving voice to those aspirations and attitudes that structured everyday experience and have remained invisible in everyday life precisely because there are no written records of them. This circumstance can lead to the assumption that ethnographies are of little use for analysing the historical life-worlds of individual subjects or are too focused on recording global/state structures. Using Carlo Ginzburg's microhistory, focusing on threads and traces, I will re-read selected ethnographies to provide a basis that may shed new light on this research. Ginzburg's method of microhistory is a close-up, minute analysis of a narrowly defined documentation. It is akin to securing evidence in order to discover anomalies within a subject or source (Ginzburg, 1993: 22, 2020: 188). In this way, divergent readings can be generated that provide information about horizons of meaning in the life-worlds of historical subjects that are not explicitly communicated in the sources. Reading these sources between the lines and against the grain (Ginzburg, 2002; Schnickmann, 2020: 26–27), I suspect I will find implicit and/or explicit indications of in-between, based on clues which older research might consider insignificant.

I will analyse the *Neuestes Gemälde der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* (1832/1837) by Wenzel Wabruschek-Blumenbach, and *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie* (1876/1897) by Friedrich Umlauf in detail. It is not my intention to provide a comprehensive content analysis. Instead, selected passages are intended to illustrate how a reading between the lines can provide new insights into the in-between of past life-worlds. Furthermore, it is to be expected that various points of view can be identified in these ethnographies, because the authors were committed to various "Habsburg systems": Wabruschek-Blumenbach was living in the Kaiserstaat of the Vormärz era, Umlauf in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy of the late 19th century. Both were confronted with the challenge of describing a multi-ethnic state whose characteristic was precisely to emphasize the complex unity of a heterogeneous empire. I derive two tasks from this basic challenge: Firstly, I will look for information they provide implicitly, but also explicitly, about processes and situations on a discursive level of in-between. Secondly, I will analyse how the ethnographers deal with those features that they characterized as the most salient of the monarchy: heterogeneity and difference.

In order to contextualize the descriptions of 19th-century ethnographers and to see what kind of information they provide, it is necessary to look at ethnography in general as a source in the 18th and 19th century (part one). This is followed by the analysis of Wabruschek-Blumenbach's and Umlauf's work based on the two tasks

(part two and three). Brief biographical sketches of the authors serve not only to introduce them but also to answer questions about the context in which their ethnographies were created and handed down, reconstruct the author's motivation for writing and his intended readership, as well as characterize the writing style and text structure. Due to the considerable time span of almost 60 years between the two authors, a difference in methodology, argumentation and conclusion is to be expected in their work.

From *Land und Leute* to ethnography

Ethnographic observation interests in the 18th century

Questions about not only cultural community and togetherness in the economy, customs, and traditions but also differences to other ethnic groups signalize the beginning of ethnographers' interest. These ethnographers were characterized by roaming the country with a horse, servant, sketchbook and astrolabe, descriptively surveying towns, monasteries and castles as well as markets and their protagonists. Belsazar Hacquet, for example, in the *Physikalisch politische Reise*, tried to combine the natural history of the Eastern Alps with a historical interest in economic fundamentals (Klemun, 1988: 6–12), in his words:

Allein bey allen diesen mühsamen Reisen, welche ich nur meistens zu Fuße machte, und mit nichts als einem kleinen Gebirgspferd begleitet [...], stehe ich doch nicht Bürge, manches übersehen zu haben; [...] Der Gegenstand dieser meiner Reise war hauptsächlich, die Physik der Erde, oder einen Versuch einer *Oryctographia alpina* zu entwerfen, dann nebstbey, wo es mir die wenige Zeit erlaubte, einige Bemerkungen aus dem ökonomisch- und politischen Fach mit aufzuzeichnen.⁴ (Hacquet, 1785: v)

This is not the place to refer to the earliest ethnographic works in Habsburg lands, but according to Bernleithner, Lichtenberger, and Kaschuba (Bernleithner, 1949: 41–151; Lichtenberger, 2009: 18–21; Kaschuba, 2012: 28–34), the following scientific discourses, which methodically bundled ethnographic observation interests, can be traced from the second half of the 18th century onwards:

⁴ “But with all these arduous journeys, which I only made mostly on foot, and accompanied by nothing but a small mountain horse [...], I cannot vouch for having overlooked many things. [...] The object of this journey of mine was mainly to sketch the physics of the earth, or an attempt at an *Oryctographia alpina*, then in addition, where the little time allowed me, to record some remarks from the economic and political subject.” (Translations in footnotes by the author.)

In order to answer the question of how to statistically record such an extensive territory as the Habsburg Empire, whose exact borders changed regularly due to war, topographers collected comprehensive data on the demographic and economic structure of the respective lands and villages. Firstly, these early forms of statistics can be regarded not only as an ethnographic and geographic description of the situation and configuration but also as evidence of facts that could serve the state in governing its population and levying taxes. Secondly, the Göttingen scholars in the second half of the 18th century, such as Gottfried Achenwall and August Ludwig von Schlözer, were pioneers in integrating geographical and historical analysis within the broader framework of *Staatswissenschaften* (sciences of state), significantly shaping early modern practices in statistical and ethnographic studies. Their influence extended to Austrian scholars and the broader practice of statistics within the Habsburg Empire (Lindenfeld, 1997: 42–45). The aim of these investigations and studies was to assess the military and economic potential from the point of view of administrative planning and understand it as an opportunity for development (Rosenmayr, 1966: 271–272). The pre-phase of the enlightened absolutism of the Habsburg Monarchy up to the middle of the 19th century, thus, created the foundations that were not only required by the geographical research of the time, but on which we also still rely today: precise topographical maps and statistical data on population, settlement, and economy. The institutional prerequisites for these “information blocks” were created, on the one hand, by military cartography and, on the other, by the establishment of a statistical service. The civil service and the military formed the pillars of the administration of the empire.

In addition to cadastral maps, town plans and topographical maps, topographically accurate censuses of the settlement, population and economy were carried out by the statistical service. They formed the basis for topographical encyclopaedias and address books, some of which were created on private initiatives. Manufacturers, traders and entrepreneurs were the interested parties. As early as 1782, Benedikt Franz Herrmann published a work on the current state of agriculture, trade, manufactories, factories and activities in Vienna. In his preliminary report (introduction), he described the regional studies as a useful and, at the same time, pleasant study, which was not merely an outline of the physical constitution of the Austrian states, but a handbook for the merchant, cameralist and statistician regarding industry: “[nicht] bloß Abriß der physikalischen Beschaffenheit der österreichischen Staaten seyn [soll]; sondern ich habe mich auch bemüht, sie in Rücksicht der Industrie zu einem Handbuche für den Kaufmann, Kameralisten und Statistiker zu machen”⁵ (Herrmann, 1782: 3). The six-volume *Geographische Handbuch von dem österreichischen Staate* was published from 1787 to 1791 by Ignaz De Luca, professor of general and special political science and later of statistics at the

⁵ “... that is [not] merely an outline of the physical constitution of the Austrian states; but I have also endeavoured to make it a handbook for the merchant, cameralist and statistician with regard to industry.”



University of Vienna (1795–1799). Under the heading *Land und Leute*, interesting and curious facts from regional history and the present, both of which were largely agrarian in character, reflected the economic and living conditions of the time.⁶

To summarize, in the sense of an economic-geographical representation, the focus of the observation interests of the 18th century was less on linguistic-ethnographic aspects of the inhabitants of the imperial state and more on the economic structures.

Ethnographer's emphasis in the 19th century

In relation to the Habsburg Empire, the scientific discourses mentioned above contributed to the development of regional studies/geography/ethnography to varying degrees. Until the late 18th century, these early ethnographic treatises were largely the result of the private initiative of individual researchers from the various Austrian provinces. This gave rise to a second series of regional studies monographs, which originated in the Vormärz period and were now more institutionally anchored in universities and similar scientific institutions. Regional studies associations in all the larger cities, geographical and agricultural societies, and provincial museums devoted themselves to the further development of regional studies in the broadest sense of the term. Wenzel Wabruschek-Blumenbach, for example, wrote a three-volume work on factories and trade in the Austrian imperial state (Vienna, 1819–1824). His popular scientific work *Neuestes Gemälde der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* (Vienna, 1830–1833) was published in an improved second edition in three volumes in 1837. The approach to the geography and regional studies of Austria focused on geological, climatic, economic-geographical and ethnographic questions – a methodology that would later be used by Franz Sartori (*Neueste Geographie von Steyermark*), Franz Vierthaler (*Wanderungen durch Salzburg*), Franz Schweickhardt, Adolf Schmidl (*Reisehandbuch durch das Erzherzogthum Österreich*, 1834), who was the first private lecturer in geography to give lectures on regional studies from 1849, and Friedrich Umlauf, among others (Leopold, 1995: 64–72; Lichtenberger, 2009: 20–21).

The following ethnographies were best known in the second half of the 19th century: Czörnig's *Ethnographie der Österreichischen Monarchie* (Vienna, 1855–1857), Adolf Ficker's *Die Völkerstämme der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie* (Vienna, 1869) or the major anthologies *Die Völker Österreich-Ungarns. Ethnographische und Culturhistorische Schilderungen* (13 vol., Teschen, 1881–1883), *Die Länder*

⁶ Another genre can be mentioned here, which I will not go into in detail: travel and travel literature. To a certain extent, it transferred the aforementioned concept of *Land und Leute* into the literary genre. Travelogues, travel manuals, apodemics and the first travel guides conveyed, on the one hand, the attempt to describe the distinctive features and peculiarities of a country ethnographically and, on the other, the training of the correct observation when travelling in order to adequately absorb customs and traditions. Records of the geographical and climatic conditions of the regions visited were a natural part of these travelogues. Ute Holfelder et al. discuss this in detail in their contribution to this volume of *Traditiones* (Holfelder et al., 2024).

Oesterreich-Ungarns in Wort und Bild (15 vol., edited by Friedrich Umlauf 1880–1889), and *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (Kronprinzenwerk, 24 vol., 1885–1902)*. These ethnographies provide insight into the “culture, production, and popularisation of culture” (Bendix, 2010: 294) in the Habsburg crown lands or today’s Alps-Adriatic region and are of particular interest in relation to the analysis of the beginnings of anthropological research as a scientific discipline in Austria-Hungary. Czörnig’s *Ethnographie der Österreichischen Monarchie* and the *Kronprinzenwerk* can be used to show the further development of ethnography in the second half of the 19th century. Czörnig, a civil servant and head of the Austrian Office for Statistics, worked less with data from outdated literature and more with new data from language surveys that he commissioned himself as well as with regular and up-to-date statistical reporting on for example population, agriculture, factories, education, and justice. The production of scientific knowledge via census defined the social realities of individuals in the Habsburg Empire by standardizing and reducing them to loyal citizens of the crown with an ethnic classification. The results were intended to provide information on ethnographic conditions that were as binding as the topographical characteristics of mountains or rivers. Such a construct could lead to the depiction of a diverse and harmonious entity from ethnographic descriptions of different nationalities, which did not reveal any political unrest, but rather the unity of a huge state and the need for a nationally neutral centralized administration (Grieshofer, 2006: 62–65; Rumpler, 2010: 842–843; Labbé, 2011: 150–151; Göderle, 2016: 50–63; Stergar, Scheer, 2018: 580ff.). Czörnig stated in his lecture *Über die Ethnographie Österreichs* at the Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1857 that for all the diversity and equality of the individual nations in the Habsburg Empire, it was the Austrian monarchy and with it German culture that provided the decisive direction for the existence and prosperity – “zur Entwicklung der Cultur in religiös-sittlicher, intellectueller und materieller Hinsicht” (Czoernig, 1858: 16) – of the individual ethnic groups. Subsequently, ethnographers, such as Umlauf, would refer to it literally.

The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 meant preserving the unity of the Habsburg Monarchy by dividing it into two parts. This Greater Austrian and Greater Hungarian concept reflects the so-called *Kronprinzenwerk (Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild, 1885–1902)*. The hope was that it would be brought to the public and read as a popular book. Therefore, it was written in a generally understandable way in order to promote Habsburg patriotism and counteract national aspirations. In this way, attempts were made to describe every ethnic group or nationality in the *kaiserlich-königlich* (k. k.) monarchy without destroying the politically desired cohesion, as the aim was to paint a picture of the life of all peoples in which they had identical or at least similar habits and were, thus, culturally connected to one another.

⁷ “... for the development of culture in religious, moral, intellectual and material terms.”



If differences were identified, these were intended to mark the cultural richness of the multi-ethnic state (Fikfak, 2008: 89–92; Fikfak, Johler, 2008). The dualistic liberal-national conception did not realize the idea of an alliance of small peoples of equal rank, but regarded the German-Austrians and Hungarians as great nations due to their historical heritage, which had to act not as *primus inter pares* towards the country's minorities but as hegemonic in culture and dominant in politics (Szás, 1997: 67ff.).

Czörnig's publication and the *Kronprinzenwerk* were meant to emphasize a unity in diversity. Furthermore, they functioned as a cultural-political instrument, intended to hold the disintegrating Habsburg Monarchy together (Stagl, 1998). However, according to Peter Stachel among others, this was a task that was not able to be realized simply because the nationality conflicts within the monarchy could hardly be interpreted as being caused by insufficient knowledge of the other ethnic groups (Stachel, 2002: 351–367). The ethnographer's emphasis on the complexity of identities and differences presupposes a cultural hierarchy of the diverse ethnic groups of the monarchy, whereby, especially in the second half of the 19th century, the endeavour of a comprehensive representation of ethnic-cultural diversity as part of a political unity is contradictorily mixed with tendencies of national-cultural dominance thinking. Even if these ethnographies confirmed cultural differences and rather undermined the imperial identity, the order on paper, thus, became a supposed guide for political action.

Wenzel Wabruschek-Blumenbach and his *Neuestes Gemälde der Oesterreichischen Monarchie*

Short biography

Wenzel Wabruschek-Blumenbach⁸ was born in Vienna in 1791, according to the baptismal register under the name Wenzel Wolfgang Wawaruschek (Taufbuch, 1791). As a young man aged 16, he published an ethnographic study of the Marchfeld region (east of Vienna) and its inhabitants, before studying law, geography, mineralogy, technology and statistics at the University of Vienna from 1805. He was employed as a secretary at the Cosmographic Institute under the geographer Joseph von Liechtenstern from 1813 to 1815, at the end of which employment, his first major work, the *Neueste Landeskunde von Österreich unter der Enns*, was published under the name Wenzel Wabruschek-Blumenbach. He then became an employee of Stephan Edler von Keeß at the k. k. Niederösterreichischen Fabriken-Inspektion (Factory Inspectorate). The result of this collaboration was the publication in 1819–1824 of three volumes of a description of the factory and trade system in the Austrian imperial state. This was

⁸ In all published works, he was referred to as W. C. (or K.) W. Blumenbach.

followed by a presentation of the latest advances in the trades and manufactories and their current state.

Wabruschek-Blumenbach then began working in the Imperial and Royal Cabinet of National Technology (k. k. Vaterländisch-technologisches Cabinet) founded by Crown Prince Ferdinand, who later became Emperor; this cabinet later became part of the Vienna University of Technology. He became Ferdinand's private librarian in 1825 and worked in the engraving and map collection. In 1829, he became a book censor and retained this position until his death in 1847. In 1835, he was promoted to the position of the custodian of the cabinet mentioned above and also held this position until the end of his life (Kurze Anzeigen, 1832: 1599–1600; Gräffer, Czikan, 1835: 317–318; Bernleithner, 1942: 141–152).

Neuestes Gemälde der Oesterreichischen Monarchie

Wabruschek-Blumenbach wrote numerous articles on regional history in the broadest sense from 1808 to 1847, as shown in part one (above). They were published alternately as geographical and statistical sketches. His three-volume popular science work *Neuestes Gemälde der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* was published by Anton Doll in 1830–1833 as part of Joseph Baptist Schütz's large-scale, 30-volume *Allgemeine Erdkunde, oder Beschreibung aller Länder der fünf Welttheile* (1829–1834) (Bernleithner, 1973: 157ff.; Koschier, 2011: 199).

The 13th, 14th and 28th volume of Schütz, which Wabruschek-Blumenbach published in a second, improved edition in 1837, dealt with the Austrian Monarchy. Each of the volumes has the practical dimensions of about 13 by 25 cm for a handbook and, unlike unwieldy encyclopaedias, almanacs, or other reference works, could be taken along by a reader from the first half of the 19th century when travelling and used for reference. On the other hand, however, there is little structure in the form of headings or similar content. There are also hardly any references to sources such as Johann Weichhardt Valvasor's *Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain* of 1689 and Hacquet's *Physikalisch politische Reise*, whose combination of the natural history of the Eastern Alps with a historical interest in economic fundamentals Wabruschek-Blumenbach took over. Instead, the work contains, as he prefaces in the third volume as a "preliminary reminiscence" (*Vorerinnerung*), a compilation of the most worthwhile knowledge from regional and ethnological studies, which does not correspond to a new monograph of its own. After a general overview which consists, to a large extent, of geographical, in the broadest sense, natural history descriptions, Wabruschek-Blumenbach goes on to describe the individual provinces. He makes a rough distinction between the German-Illyrian, Italian, Bohemian, Polish, and Hungarian lands. The descriptions of the Kingdom of Illyria ("Gubernium Laibach" = "Herzogtum Krain" and "Herzogtum Kärnten", "Gubernium Triest" = "Illyrisches Küstenland") relevant to this contribution to the three-volume set of almost 1500 pages can be found in the second book (14th volume). In addition to the

geographical and climatic descriptions, a great deal of space is devoted to the trade and manufacturing industry in the respective regions. This type of “economic geography” can be traced back to the areas of work in Wabruschek-Blumenbach’s biography and was primarily intended to provide information. It operated in a concise, narrative style with figures, data and facts. The emphasis corresponds to the research focus of several treatises that Wabruschek-Blumenbach wrote over the course of almost two decades.

Regarding the characterizations and external appearances of the inhabitants, Wabruschek-Blumenbach used popular and national stereotypes in the style of contemporary travel literature. He referred to the comparative perspective of the *Steirische Völkertafel*, an oil painting by an unknown painter from the first half of the 18th century (e.g. Blumenbach, 1837: 74).

The oil painting dates from the mid-18th century, but its content is based on older models. In the header in the upper section, it shows ten men in different costumes standing next to each other in a row. The typical features of the Central European region are recognizable in the background: a hilly, mountainous landscape with trees, a river, a town and a fortress. At the bottom are the characteristics and peculiarities assigned to nations in rows and columns, which, even before the formation of modern



Figure 1: “Kurze Beschreibung der In Europa Befindlichen Völkern Und Ihren Aigenschaftten”; genannt *Völkertafel* oder *Steirische Völkertafel*. Volkskundemuseum Wien, Signatur: ÖMV/30.905.

nation-states, led the recipient to read, absorb and disseminate those stereotypes that had been formed according to national and ethnic characteristics in order to define a rigid, generalizing idea of a socially or ethnically defined group of people (Stanzel, 1999: 9–15).

Wabruschek-Blumenbach's analysis of the character of the peoples studied, thus, reads like a tableau of prejudices and stereotypes, which he rarely took from personal field research, but rather from the oil painting and literature, as the following example about the *Illyrische Küstenland* shows:

Der Charakter dieser Völkerschaften ist zum Theil noch der slavische wie in Krain, zum Theil geht er schon mehr oder weniger in den italienischen über, besonders im Görzischen und in Istrien. Mäßigkeit im Essen und Trinken, Mangel an deutscher Reinlichkeit sieht man fast allenthalben, aber auch Trägheit wird in Istrien schon allgemein, wovon man die Schuld auf die ehemalige venezianische Regierung zu schieben pflegt.⁹
(Blumenbach, 1837: 127–128)

He tries to take a similarly strict approach to languages, which, in his opinion, are of equal value as long as they are pure, i.e. spoken without foreign language influences. But the “*mehr oder weniger*” (more or less) straightaway points to Wabruschek-Blumenbach's difficulty in including the simultaneity between stereotypical characterization and fluid transitions or mixtures of ethnicities in his analysis. This becomes even clearer in the following example: He seems to make detailed descriptions about work and leisure activities where it is no longer a matter of small-scale attributions or repetitions of character images that he takes from literary models but of overlaps that do not allow a strict localization as suggested by the *Steirische Völkertafel*. He writes, for example, about farmers from the area around Klagenfurt, who sell their goods as a matter of course “in all neighbouring countries” (Blumenbach, 1837: 71), and outlines in great detail the customs and traditions, such as wedding celebrations, baptisms, church days or entertainments and games, which are similar, here and there, in Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste (Blumenbach, 1837: 40–47, 130–134).

Wabruschek-Blumenbach seems to be confronted with a contradictory situation here. On the one hand, he adopts common stereotypes in a way that readers are confronted with a series of overlapping, supposedly self-evident opposites: civilized and impetuous life, industriousness and laziness, prosperity and scarcity. On the other hand, he sees himself as having a low-threshold obligation to the empirical ethos of

⁹ “The character of these peoples is still partly Slavic, as in Carniola, and partly more or less Italian, especially in Gorizia and Istria. Moderation in eating and drinking, lack of German cleanliness can be seen almost everywhere, but also indolence is already common in Istria, for which one tends to blame the former Venetian government.”

reporting these overlaps on a discursive level. On the level of practices in daily life, it would be quite helpful to find out more about this; however, the author did not conduct the kind of ethnological field research that has become the classic method since the beginning of the 20th century (Marchetti, 2015: 325–326). Instead, as an author of the early 19th century, he wrote a popular handbook for readers interested in a quick overview. It is hardly possible to delve more precisely into this issue and, thus, into the question of whether the situations described correspond explicitly to the *in-between*. Wabruschek-Blumenbach is not telling us much about how the historical subjects negotiate with each other and with external forces of community building; how these interactions in the customs and traditions take place. Of course, one can imagine that the process always implies a decontextualization and subsequent recontextualization of content (customs/traditions and the sale of goods). This process does not lead to its seamless adoption into the new context but rather to an ongoing process of negotiation in which remnants of the old context and elements of the new interact with each other perhaps in a thoroughly conflictual manner, thereby, also bringing about a change in the original contexts (Rössner, 2016: 214). At best, this can be true for those merchants described who sold their goods in all neighbouring regions, as we can, at least, imagine how they interacted with each other economically. However, reading between the lines and against the grain, implicitly, it may be precisely this contradiction that points to the fact that the entanglements, connections and concrete cultural practices can obviously by no means be differentiated along the stereotypes of the *Steirische Völkertafel*. And precisely in relation to the economic necessities, it thus provides an indication of the pragmatics of the form of dealing with the in-between; situationally, it may have been necessary for the subjects to rather ignore corresponding distinctions and differentiations because they would have been obstructive in leisure activities and areas of work.¹⁰

In order to deal with the heterogeneity and difference that Wabruschek-Blumenbach observed in the regions, he introduced a homogenizing frame of reference that was linked to the state's regulatory power. Regarding personal welfare, the monarchy had a civilizing mission via infrastructure and associations. Wabruschek-Blumenbach writes:

Für Unterrichtsanstalten ist [...] in den [...] Theilen der Monarchie gesorgt, damit es nirgends an Gelegenheit zur Bildung fehle, und die Einrichtung der Schulanstalten ist hier dieselbe wie dort. [...] Die k. k. und ständische Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Ackerbaues und der Künste in Kärnten, welche sonst ihre Sitzungen zu Klagenfurt hielt und die k. k. Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft in Krain haben sich durch ihre Bemühungen zur Beförderung

¹⁰ Further investigations as part of the research project, as described at the beginning in the first footnote, on the level of associations (articles and statutes of the associations, programmes, commemorative publications, lists of members) and historical subjects ((auto-)biographies, diaries, correspondences) will provide a more detailed insight in the complexities of cultural hybridity in everyday situations in the region.

der gemeinnützigsten menschlichen Kenntnisse hochverdient gemacht, und eben so sucht die philharmonische Gesellschaft zu Laibach möglichst zur Verbreitung musikalischer Kenntnisse mitzuwirken und aufzumuntern.¹¹
(Blumenbach, 1837: 74–75)

This is a reference that he had used since his earliest writings and that would later also be important for Friedrich Umlauf: Associations and associations-like organizations had existed in the Habsburg Empire since the end of the 18th century. They were formalized voluntary associations or purpose- and interest-based private societies, whose legal standardization increasingly came to the fore in the course of the 19th century. Charitable and economic societies were founded, aiming at practical reforms and social charity, in order to address broader sections of the population, such as craftsmen and farmers (Böning, 1992: 218–219). In Wabruschek-Blumenbach’s case, it was the previously mentioned k. k. Ständische Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Ackerbaues und der Künste in Klagenfurt, the k. k. Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft in Ljubljana or the Società di Minerva in Trieste that made up the decisive economic and, thus, social location factor. It is characteristic of Wabruschek-Blumenbach and, therefore, also of the Vormärz period that the traditional manufacturing system had to undergo a change as industrialization progressed. The imperial state expected measures to increase profitability and yield from the agricultural societies, which carried out educational and research work. In other regions, such as parts of the Illyrian provinces, which had not long belonged to the Austrian Monarchy, it was not possible to speak of such an influence, as the following example shows: “Bevor hier an Einführung einer Gewerbindustrie gedacht werden kann, müssen die einfachen ländlichen Gewerbe der Vernachlässigung und rohen Betreibung entzogen werden [...]”¹² (Blumenbach, 1837: 149). Consequently, according to Wabruschek-Blumenbach, this was due to the negative influence and lack of diligence of the previous government, such as the Venetian government in Istria (Blumenbach, 1837: 154–155). In this way, the state’s territorial interests can be disguised as cultural development for the region. Wabruschek-Blumenbach, thus, points to a circumstance inherent in the complex Habsburg multi-ethnic state: The negotiation of differences and heterogeneities becomes a matter for the state. Thus, the pluricultural fields of activity in work and leisure between Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Trieste were

¹¹ “Educational establishments are [...] provided for in the [...] parts of the monarchy, so that there is no lack of opportunity for education anywhere, and the organisation of the educational establishments is the same here as there. [...] The Imperial and Royal Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and the Arts in Carinthia, which otherwise held its meetings in Klagenfurt, and the Imperial and Royal Agricultural Society in Carniola have rendered outstanding services through their efforts to promote the most charitable human knowledge. The Philharmonic Society in Ljubljana also endeavours to contribute to and encourage the dissemination of musical knowledge.”

¹² “Before the introduction of a commercial industry can be considered here, the simple rural trades must be removed from neglect and crude operation [...]”.

homogenized by the standardizing intervention of the Habsburg administration. The threads and traces for the in-between are getting lost where the diversity of the peasant imagination is neutralized by the hegemonic culture.

Friedrich Umlauf and his *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie*

Short biography

Friedrich Umlauf was born in Vienna in 1844. After studying geography, history and philosophy at the University of Vienna, he worked as a secondary school teacher until he left the teaching profession in Vienna in 1904/05. He received his doctorate in 1874 and became a lecturer in geography at the Vienna Municipal Teachers' Academy the following year. He developed new teaching aids for geography lessons and initiated the establishment of the first geographical school museum in the monarchy. In 1884, his teaching experience resulted in a geography textbook for the lower grades of secondary schools, which went through several new editions and translations into other languages.



Figure 2: Friedrich Umlauf, 1914. Depot Rathaus, TF-010843.

Further (popular) scientific works followed, including the geographical-statistical handbook on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1876), which is cited in this article in the third edition of 1897. In the 1880s, Umlauf was the editor of a 15-volume ethnographic series on the history of the monarchy (*Die Länder Oesterreich-Ungarns in Wort und Bild*). He regularly gave lectures on regional studies at the newly founded Urania – a popular science institute with regular lectures, and experimental and exhibition halls (Petrasch, 1997: 14–15; Wolfschmidt, 2013: 103–104) – and became its director in 1899.¹³ The Emperor Franz Joseph I honoured him for the third edition of his handbook to be discussed here and he was awarded the title of k. k. Regierungsrat on his retirement. Umlauf died in a sanatorium in Vienna in 1923 (Beyer, 1903: 330–331; Hassinger, 1910: 568–572; Neue Freie Presse, 1923: 7).

¹³ As part of his work as the director, Umlauf worked in an international network of lecturers with whom he maintained a correspondence and/or had connections to, *inter alia*: German writers, such as Wilhelm Bölsche (1861-1939), who worked in Berlin in the field of adult education in the natural sciences and gave a lecture on *Das Weltall als Kunstwerk* in 1914 (Bölsche, 1914), or with Max Halbe, as well as with Austrian writers, such as Emil Lucka (1877-1941), Emil Ertl (1860-1935) (Ertl, 1916), the leading figure of the German nationalist literary circle Südmarkrunde based in Graz, or the Jewish Austrian journalist Klara Mautner (1879-1959).



Figure 3: Brüder Kohn KG (B. K. W. I.): Wiener Urania. Wien, I. Aspernplatz, around 1910, Wien Museum Inv.-Nr. 167790, CC0 (URL: <https://sammlung.wienmuseum.at/objekt/341095>).

Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie

The third edition of *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie* was supplemented with 15 maps depicting the geography of the monarchy and a list of the pronunciation of non-German proper names, in addition to full-page illustrations. In contrast to Wabruschek-Blumenbach, Umlauf took great care with the headings and cross-references within the book, even including other authors. A reviewer came to the following assessment and summary in the *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* (Huffnagl, 1897: 125–126):

Das Leben der Bewohner, die Pflanzen- und Thierwelt erfuhren in gleicher Weise eine aufmerksame Neubearbeitung. Von großem Wert sind die eingestreuten Charakterbilder, Schilderungen von Land und Leuten aus der Feder verschiedener namhafter Autoren stammend. Sie ergänzen in erzählender Form den wissenschaftlichen Theil des Werkes und verleihen so dem Ganzen einen lebhafteren Charakter.¹⁴

This new edition comprises almost 1200 pages and is divided into a general section, dealing mainly with physical geography and a bit of economic statistics, that contains

¹⁴ “The life of the inhabitants, the flora and fauna have also been carefully reworked. The interspersed character portraits and descriptions of the country and its people by various well-known authors are of great value. They complement the scientific part of the work in narrative form and thus lend the whole a more lively character.”



little of ethnographic substance, and a special section, which briefly deals with the kingdoms and countries of Austria-Hungary. In the special section, Umlauf devotes only about 35 pages to the regions relevant to this article (“Herzogtum Kärnten”, “Herzogtum Krain” and the “Küstenland”).

Following Czörnig and the *Kronprinzenwerk*, Umlauf begins by describing the heterogeneities and differences as salient features of the Habsburg Empire. However, he does not refer unilaterally to a harmonious coexistence of pluralities (Csáky, 2002: 43–44), but speaks of the most glaring opposites that make the monarchy a state of contrasts: “so schließt es infolge seiner bedeutenden Längen- und Breitenausdehnung auch die grellsten Gegensätze in Beziehung auf physische Verhältnisse, Bevölkerung und geistige Cultur in sich, weshalb man die Monarchie auch einen Staat der Contraste zu nennen berechtigt ist”¹⁵ (Umlauf, 1897: 1).

Umlauf deduces here from a geographical-topographical heterogeneity to an equally great contrast among the many ethnic groups, which would have mixed with one another in an ongoing process of ethnogenesis. As a result, it would be difficult to imagine a clear demarcation in Umlauf’s present, whether according to political or ethnic criteria.

Umlauf derives two things from this statement: Firstly, like Blumenbach before him, he attempts to describe the pluricultural character of the state as a positive peculiarity. The various ethnic groups form the foundations on which the Habsburg state rests in their union, not in their subordination:

Aber nicht allein die Völkermischung ist es, welche diese Eigenthümlichkeit begründet; es geschieht dieses hauptsächlich durch die großartigen Verhältnisse, in denen die Hauptvölkerstämme auftreten, so dass sie [...] in ihrer Vereinigung, nicht in ihrer Unterordnung, die Grundfesten bilden, auf denen das Staatsgebäude ruht.¹⁶ (Umlauf, 1897: 613)

He attempts a definition of ethnography to describe these ethnic groups that includes historical subjects and their behaviour in relation to their surrounding nature, society and culture:

Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Menschen und den physischen Verhältnissen der Erdoberfläche, sein Verhalten zu der ihn umgebenden Natur, wie es sich in seinem körperlichen Gedeihen und Wohlbefinden, in seiner

¹⁵ “As a result of its considerable longitude and latitude, it also contains the most striking contrasts in terms of physical conditions, population and intellectual culture, which is why the monarchy can also be called a state of contrasts.”

¹⁶ “But it is not only the mixture of peoples that gives rise to this peculiarity; it is mainly due to the great proportions in which the main tribes of peoples appear, so that [...] in their union, not in their subordination, they form the foundations on which the state building rests.”

Nahrung, seiner Kleidung und Wohnung, in seinen Waffen und Geräthen, in seinen Transportmitteln ausspricht; sein Verhalten zu den Mitmenschen, wie es in der Ehe, in der Familie, im Stamme, in der Regierungsform erscheint und durch die Sprache vermittelt wird; sein Verhalten zu einer übersinnlichen Macht, wie es sich in den verschiedenen Religionen darstellt: sind Gegenstand der Ethnographie. Viele dieser Punkte werden erst durch Zahlenangaben hinlänglich erhellt [...].¹⁷ (Umlauf, 1897: 612)

The scheme set out in this definition seems ambitious and offers, compared to Wabruschek-Blumenbach, a greater wealth of information on demographics (e.g. age, gender, nationality, religion, place of residence), but it is mostly of statistical origin (*durch Zahlenangaben*), including a lot of figures as well as tables on agricultural and forestry products, and is largely based on general information taken from literature ranging from Valvasor, Hacquet and Sartori to Czörnig, Ficker and the latest statistical material from 1897. Since Valvasor, the explorers as frequent travellers had been characterized by their efforts to see the areas to be described for the most part themselves and leave notes about them. However, intellectual borrowings could not be ruled out, as shows for example the description of the mercury mines in Idria, in today's Slovenia, which Umlauf partly copied verbatim from Wabruschek-Blumenbach who, in turn, had probably copied from Hacquet; or the ethnographic overview that Umlauf also copied partially verbatim from Czörnig's preface of his lecture *Über die Ethnographie Österreichs*. The character images (*Charakterbilder*) that follow are based on the same stereotypical models that Wabruschek-Blumenbach had already used.

Secondly, Umlauf derives different degrees of education from the pluricultural character of the inhabitants of the monarchy. This is reinforced by his view, similar to Wabruschek-Blumenbach, that the educational and associational system as well as the cultural state (*Kulturzustand/Kulturstufe*) of a nation shapes and defines it, thereby creating "imperial coherence" (Feichtinger, Uhl, 2023: 17):

Das Unterrichtswesen ist nicht bloß der mächtigste Hebel der geistigen Cultur, es ist auch das verlässlichste Mittel, den Culturzustand eines Volkes zu erkennen. Freilich ist hiezu nur der öffentliche Unterricht besonders geeignet, da der private Unterricht und die Mitwirkung der Familie bei der Erziehung einer statistischen Controle sich zum großen

¹⁷ "The relations between man and the physical conditions of the earth's surface, his behaviour towards the nature surrounding him, as expressed in his physical prosperity and well-being, in his food, his clothing and dwelling, in his weapons and implements, in his means of transport; his behaviour towards his fellow men, as it appears in marriage, in the family, in the tribe, in the form of government and is conveyed by language; his behaviour towards a supernatural power, as it appears in the various religions: are the subject of ethnography. Many of these points are only adequately explained by figures [...]."



Theile entziehen. In der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie ist in jüngster Zeit ein sehr erfreuliches Streben nach Hebung der geistigen Bildung durch Förderung des Schulwesens sichtbar gewesen. Der Staat, die Kronländer und die Gemeinden wetteiferten miteinander in dieser Hinsicht.¹⁸ (Umlauft, 1897: 773)

In this argument, Umlauft makes no secret of the fact that the German element is the bearer of culture to which all other ethnic groups must orientate themselves. This is a leitmotif that creates a normative context in his argumentation, which has signalled a need for action since Wabruschek-Blumenbach (Stachel, 2003: 264–268). Umlauft cites, in addition to the education system, the number of periodical publications and cultural associations that have a moralizing effect on their members as a yardstick for assessing this “cultural level”. This civilizing influence is lacking in the eastern regions of the empire, where, in Romania for example, according to Umlauft, a lack of education and general backwardness still leads to homicides in connection with the belief in vampires (Umlauft, 1897: 649)! And in the south, in Trieste, the coming together of “the most diverse elements” can be observed: Italians, Italianized southern Slavs, Germans – “Außerdem gibt es hier Griechen, Engländer, Armenier, Türken, Schweden, Holländer und Amerikaner [...] die Bauern der Umgegend sind Slovenen [...], welche Sonntags in malerischer, der neapolitanischen ähnlichen Tracht einhergehen”¹⁹ (Umlauft, 1897: 971). The city’s rise from a small village to an important, cosmopolitan maritime trading town is closely linked to its ties to the Habsburg Empire. However, if we follow Umlauft’s threads and traces that he left us at the beginning of his ethnography when he did not start the discourse on the pluricultural constitution of the region from a national ideological perspective, Umlauft’s clearer focus on regimenting Germanness in comparison to Wabruschek-Blumenbach can be interpreted as an indication of the strong cultural diversity that existed.

If we take a closer look at the description of the situation in Ljubljana (Herzogtum Krain) in this respect, we might expect different approaches taken by Wabruschek-Blumenbach and Umlauft due to the period of time between them. Wabruschek-Blumenbach describes Ljubljana in terms of the interrelationship between economic opportunities, political power, and the specific factors of the cultural sphere, which he sees as being

¹⁸ “Education is not only the most powerful lever of intellectual culture, it is also the most reliable means of recognising the cultural state of a people. Of course, only public education is particularly suitable for this purpose, as private education and the involvement of the family in education are largely beyond statistical control. In the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a very pleasing endeavour to raise intellectual education by promoting the school system has been visible in recent times. The state, the crown lands and the municipalities competed with each other in this respect.”

¹⁹ “There are also Greeks, Englishmen, Armenians, Turks, Swedes, Dutch, and Americans [...] the local farmers are Slovenians [...], who walk around on Sundays in picturesque costumes similar to those of Neapolitan style.”

characterized by science, education and art (Blumenbach, 1837: 74–75). The heterogeneous cultural events related to the urban space described here include trade relations that show how well parts of the Alps-Adriatic region were infrastructurally developed and connected across later national borders. Around 1830, there was still no question of the formation of Slovenian or nationalizing cultural associations. But the situation was different at the end of the 19th century. The year of publication of the third edition of Umlauf's work (1897) which, according to his own statement in the foreword, he had extensively revised compared to the second edition, coincides with the so-called *Badeni-Krise* (Badeni Crisis). It is one of the turning points in the history of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, from which time onwards, there was an inexorable ethnicization and radicalization of political life. The Badeni language ordinances in Bohemia represent a final attempt to implement a transnational solution to the nationality conflict as opposed to a national-autonomistic one. The attempt failed and anticipated the disintegration of the monarchy into individual nation-states, each with its own national (state) language (Burger, 1994: 89). The use of the Slovenian language in schools (Almasy, 2023: 10–18) in Ljubljana from the 1860s onwards and the formation of associations such as Slovenska Matica and Muzejsko Društvo za Kranjsko, whose publishing and lecturing activities were instrumentalized in the interests of nationalization, became the main markers of Slovenian ethnicity. Although integration into the Habsburg state as a whole was not called into question, the national question itself became increasingly important until the end of the century (Stromberger, 2004: 60–68). Umlauf does not mention a word of this. He provides information on the increasing number of periodical publications in the various languages of the monarchy, but the statistical material is not followed by any further analysis. The same applies to associations. He breaks down the associations precisely according to economic and non-material affiliations in Klagenfurt, as well as in Ljubljana and Trieste, but merely comes to the general conclusion that the association system has become a characteristic phenomenon that influences all areas of social life (Umlauf, 1897: 779–801, 956–957, 968). Reading between the lines and against the grain, we know that since the enforcement of the right of assembly and association in 1867, associations could become a supportive mouthpiece for cultural values or educational projects as well as rallying points for socio-political, religious, or economic movements (Nipperdey, 1972: 19; Drobesch, 1991: 38). In every respect, associations stood for the diversity of interests within a community – not least nationalistic ones (Wehler, 2019: 41ff.; Judson, 2021: 653–654) – and Umlauf implicitly provides us with an indication of the cultural diversity of the inhabitants by giving us a list of all the associations.

Conclusion

Wabruschek-Blumenbach and Umlauf follow a similar structure in their ethnographies. They begin with a description of the landscape and natural resources, then move on to the depiction of typical regional agriculture, with statistically and economically orientated questions, before describing the general economic situation. In both cases, we see schematically recorded socio-economic contexts that are partly attributed to geographical and climatic differences and partially to cultural, often stereotypical variations between the inhabitants. The emphasis on commonalities throughout the state, hidden in customs, traditions, and work activities, that might point on a discursive level to an in-between implicitly rather than explicitly, is attributed to the positive effects and interventions of the Habsburg administration for the purpose of raising the “cultural state” (*Kulturzustand*). When both ethnographers talk about the beneficial effects of schools, education and associations, one might have expected a different argument from Umlauf in the 1890s – in fact, the patriotism cultivated in both Wabruschek-Blumenbach and Umlauf’s writings, which refused to be translated into day-to-day political events, was oriented towards the House of Habsburg, but, at the same time, provided options for progress and survival that imagined an equal coexistence of peoples.

In order to make sense of the informative value of an ethnography as a source, I suggest reading between the lines, looking for threads and traces that hint at what is not explicitly stated. Such a re-reading can uncover implicit indications of the in-between. A 19th-century Habsburg ethnographer can describe the diversity of the peoples *of the Habsburg Empire* solely in terms of uniformity *within the Habsburg Empire*. This scheme characterizes his basic methodological approach. In order to catch something about the historical life-worlds of the subjects and their social framework conditions, detailed snapshots must be used that provide insights into the interplay of various factors and the concrete in-between situations of individuals and groups. If, similar to Blumenbach, one was the emperor’s private librarian or, like Umlauf, received an imperial honour for the third edition of the ethnography – in other words, both cultivated a clear professional and ideological proximity to the imperial house – it is not surprising to ward off the addition of a schema that is not in harmony with political reality (“unity in diversity”).

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Indikacije vmesnosti v delih W. Wabruschek-Blumenbacha in F. Umlaufa: študija primera dveh habsburških etnografov

Članek je del raziskovalnega projekta, katerega namen je analizirati »vmesnost«
zgodovinskih subjektov, ki so v letih 1815–1914 živeli v treh izbranih mestih
alpsko-jadranske regije – Celovcu, Ljubljani in Trstu. Na diskurzivni ravni so
se etnografije v habsburški monarhiji že v 19. stoletju sklicevale na vmesnost.
Z izjemo redkih primerov, npr. *Kronprinzenwerk* (1885–1902), pa je bila večina
etnografij doslej vsebinsko le delno preučena. Da bi zapolnili to raziskovalno
vrzel, se je avtor poglobil v izbrana dela dveh piscev, Wenzla Wabruschek-
Blumenbacha in Friedricha Umlaufa. Izhodišče analizi je kontekstualizacija

etnografskih opisov v 18. in 19. stoletju, v drugem delu pa je analiza obeh avtorjev, pri čemer avtor sledi konceptu mikrozdgovine Carla Ginzburga.

V 18. stoletju je bil fokus etnografij bolj na gospodarskih strukturah in manj na jezikovno-etnografskih vidikih prebivalcev habsburške monarhije. Vse do poznega 18. stoletja so bile etnografske razprave v veliki meri rezultat zasebne pobude posameznih raziskovalcev. V obdobju pred marčno revolucijo je nastala druga serija regionalnih monografij, ki so že bile povezane z znanstvenimi ustanovami. Te etnografije ponujajo pogled na kulturo, produkcijo in popularizacijo kulture v habsburških kronovinah do druge polovice 19. stoletja ter so še posebej zanimive v povezavi z analizo začetkov antropološkega raziskovanja kot znanstvene discipline v Avstro-Ogrski. Z *Ethnographie der Österreichischen Monarchie* Karla von Czörniga avtor nakaže nadaljnji razvoj etnografije do konca 19. stoletja.

V drugem delu besedila avtor analizira *Neuestes Gemälde der Oesterreichischen Monarchie* (1832/1837) Wenzela Wabruscheka-Blumenbacha in *Die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie* (1876/1897) Friedricha Umlaufa. V obeh primerih gre za shematsko zapisane družbenoekonomske kontekste, ki jih je mogoče pripisati deloma geografskim in podnebnim razlikam, deloma kulturnim, pogosto stereotipnim razlikam med prebivalci. Izbrani odlomki ponazarjajo, kako nam lahko branje med vrsticami (po Ginzburgu) ponudi nove poglede na vmesnost preteklih življenjskih svetov. Pri tem avtor išče informacije, ki ponujajo implicitno, včasih tudi eksplicitno podobo procesov in situacij vmesnosti na diskurzivni ravni. Drugi poudarek je na analizi, kako se etnografa ukvarjata z zanju najizrazitejšima pojavoma v monarhiji, tj. s heterogenostjo in drugačnostjo, pri čemer oba opisujeta značilnosti, skupne prebivalstvu po vsej državi, ki se skrivajo v šegah, tradicijah in delovnih dejavnostih. Vsekakor bi na diskurzivni ravni to lahko kazalo na implicitno in ne eksplicitno vmesnost.

Images of Peoples: Two 19th-Century “Ethnographies” of the Habsburg Empire

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In large-scale book editions on peoples and nations of the multi-ethnic Habsburg Empire in the 19th century, attention was paid to ethnographic topics linked to state administration’s pragmatic needs. Some works followed the “land and people” descriptions and presented them from the perspective of “diversity in unity”. The same ideology was underpinned by “statistical ethnography” (exemplified by the works of Karl v. Czoernig and Adolf Ficker, discussed in this article), which dealt most explicitly with the issue of (multiple) nationalities within a single state and closely linked science and politics.

▪ **Keywords:** ethnography, lands and people, Habsburg Empire, 19th century, Karl von Czoernig, Adolf Ficker, history of the discipline

Pozornost na etnografske teme v obsežnih knjižnih izdajah o ljudstvih in narodih več-etničnega habsburškega cesarstva v 19. stoletju je bila povezana s pragmatičnimi potrebami državne uprave. Nekatera dela so sledila opisom »dežel in ljudi« ter jih predstavljala z vidika različnosti v enotnosti. Enako nazorsko podlago je imela »statistična etnografija« (zglede so v tem prispevku obravnavana dela Karla v. Czoerniga in Adolfa Fickerja), ki je najeksplicitneje obravnavala vprašanje (več) narodnosti v eni državi ter tesno povezovala znanost in politiko.

▪ **Ključne besede:** etnografija, dežele in ljudje, habsburški imperij, 19. stoletje, Karl von Czoernig, Adolf Ficker, zgodovina discipline

Introduction

The discussion of “ethnographic” writing on the peoples and nations of the multi-ethnic Austrian and Austro-Hungarian monarchies in the 19th century complements reflections on the “in-between” identities and identifications of the various populations in the Alps-Adriatic region. Ethnographic content can be found in a variety of sources, including both shorter writings and voluminous books and book collections. These were produced in various formats, including popular, professional, and scholarly. The monographs are primarily the product of an academic discourse rooted in the description of peoples (*Völkerbeschreibung*) and shaped by the philosophical and scientific spirit of the Enlightenment. The scholarship was based on empirical evidence and systematic analysis, employing a developmental and comparative approach to interpret existing and emerging knowledge about human society and groups. Conversely, it was situated within contemporary socio-political developments. An interplay between scholarly and pragmatic (political) objectives distinguished the works produced at the time of the emergence of *ethnos-sciences*.¹

¹ The term *ethnos-sciences* (also *éthnos-names* or *ethnos-terms*) was introduced by Justin Stagl (1995: 234, 1998: 521) as a generic label for disciplines that discuss *ethnos* (people, nation, *Volk*), i.e. ethnography, ethnology, *Völkerkunde*, *Volkskunde*.

In the 19th century, the legacy of describing peoples, or “land and people” (*Land und Leute*), developed in Enlightenment historiography, geography, statistics, and political or state science (*Staatskunde, Staatswissenschaft*), represented a comprehensive approach to understanding living conditions. This comprehensive approach, a hallmark of the era, included various forms of ethnographic interest oriented toward the domestic environment, providing a wealth of knowledge and insight.

The term ‘ethnography’ is placed between quotation marks in the article’s title because the usage of the term during the 18th and 19th centuries did not align precisely with its contemporary meaning in European ethnology and socio-cultural anthropology. The quotation marks indicate the (pre)disciplinary status of ethnography’s subject matter, the lack of clarity surrounding the designation of specific disciplines, and the delineation of particular topics, methods, and genres.

The ethnography of the monarchy invites comparison with several ethnographic genres. One such genre is the extensive monographic work on the empire. These works, in conjunction with other expert and popular texts, represent a significant source of insight into the society of the period, where the term ‘society’ aligns with Central Europe’s national (monarchical, imperial) context at the time. It is understood as comprising diverse populations – clans (*Gens*), tribes (of people) (*Stämme, Völkerstämme*), peoples (*Völker*), nations (*Nationen*) – which inhabited the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation until the early years of the 19th century. In addition to these group designations, various ethnic and regional names were utilised in the 19th-century monarchy to represent a heterogeneous population.

Despite myriad differences, the state discourse of “unity in diversity” (Fikfak, Johler, 2008b: 14) is evident in these works. This narrative, which was a key aspect of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy’s political ideology, emphasized the coexistence of diverse ethnic and national groups within a unified political entity. The narrative is comprehensible because, until the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, despite internal tensions, the assumption persisted that ethnic or national differences did not jeopardise political unity. It is evidenced by the publication of collections on the population and territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The collection *Die Völker Österreichs-Ungarns: Ethnographische und culturhistorische Schilderungen* (Prochaska, 1881–1885) was published in 12 volumes, each signed by a different author and each devoted to one nation under the Austrian or Hungarian crown. The *Landeskunde* collection, *Die Länder Österreichs-Ungarns in Wort und Bild* (Umlauft, 1881–1889, 15 volumes), was organised according to the crown lands, similar to the monumental collection *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (ÖUMWB, 1884–1902), The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Picture, more commonly known as the *Kronprinzenwerk*.

This contribution presents a comprehensive analysis of monarchy studies, with a particular focus on the works of two prominent authors: Karl von Czoernig (*Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie*, 1857a, and *Über die Ethnographie Österreichs*, 1857b)

and Adolf Ficker (*Die Völkerstämme der österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie, ihre Gebiete, Gränzen und Inseln*, 1869). Their work, particularly that of Czoernig, can be classified within a specific subfield of ethnography, namely “statistical ethnography”. In comparison to the other two works on the monarchy (Blumenbach, 1832–1835, 2nd ed. 1837; Umlauf, 1876, 2nd ed. 1897), which are the subject of a separate study (Katschnig, 2024), statistical ethnography forecasts a more explicit disciplinary framework, evident in both the exposition and argumentation of the subjects dealt with, and in the method of their elaboration. Czoernig characterised his contributions as “ethnographic”, while Ficker described his work as “historical-geographical-statistical”.

These authors, who were academically educated and engaged in the Austrian intellectual milieu, provided a “view from above” perspective. Some even held influential roles in state politics. Notably, all the works were written in German. It’s important to note that there are no comparable works in Italy and Slovenia for the entirety of the monarchy, underscoring the unique contributions of these authors.

These works convey a descriptive overview of natural, living, linguistic, and cultural conditions and their respective populations. What disciplinary tools (regarding terminology, the organisation of material, and narrative) did the authors employ to distinguish, identify, and potentially compare the differences? It would be interesting to ascertain whether their representations can discern any bias. To what extent did they reflect the processes of nationalisation that shaped collective identifications in the 19th century, which occurred with varying dynamics in the nations of the monarchy under disparate conditions? In this context, an important question is whether, alongside the ascribed ethnic and national identities, it is also possible to identify in this genre identities characterised by the concepts of in-between, hybridity, and multiplicity (Fikfak, Schönberger, 2024; Schemmer, Schönberger, 2024), and if so, at which levels?

Given that the portrayals of the monarchy do not align with contemporary ethnographic, ethnological, or anthropological standards, it is not feasible to ascertain the nuances of belonging and identification experienced by individuals in a multi-ethnic setting. Moreover, this topic has only recently become a subject of explicit reflection and interpretation in ethnology and anthropology, coinciding with disciplinary reflexivity that has seen epistemological and methodological biases subjected to scrutiny. These writings are conceived within a distinct conceptual framework: exhaustive description of a vast body of knowledge intended for a narrow academic or broader readership. The texts situate their subjects historically and geographically, positioning them as distant “subjects”. They present specific features of everyday life and occasionally offer commentary and comparison, including (folk) characters. The descriptions are organised following a comprehensive and systematic approach, adhering to scientific standards and aligning with the principles of political correctness. Notably, the authors were affiliated with official institutions and have explicitly committed to the monarchy and disseminating knowledge to promote its stability.

With their encyclopaedic ambition, they testify to the changing social and intellectual climate of the 19th century. Other discourses and genres, e.g. travel accounts (Holfelder et al., 2024), that existed concurrently may present alternative accounts of a polyphonic process of collective and individual identifications and identity practices that transcend ascribed ethnic or national markers. In the 19th century, society underwent a radical restructuring and differentiation. Consequently, alongside ethnic, linguistic, and regional identities, state and national affiliations, and more fluid, strategic, pragmatic, and situational identifications, could be generated simultaneously. From the perspective of interest in the everyday agency and the nuances of identification practices, or what has been termed “everyday ethnicity” (cf. Schemmer, Schönberger, 2024), publications on the monarchy are of interest regarding the official conceptions of the state and problems of nation-building since the processes of nationalisation were essentially a project of elites.

Accordingly, this article will substantiate its contribution through cross-reading and analysis of other sources and genres.

“Ethnography” of the 19th century Habsburg Empire

Indivisibiliter ac inseparabiliter

The genesis of the ethnos-sciences in the last decades of the 18th century indicates that they were an outcome of the scientific need to “organise” the existing knowledge about the peoples of the world, on the one hand, and the complex population compositions of multiethnic state entities, on the other.² They offered a tool for addressing and interpreting diversity, exploring the fundamental characteristics of peoples (tribes) and nations and their relations with the state while enriching themselves empirically with a wealth of facts about foreign and native peoples. Their interpretations were based primarily on two elements: the relationship between environment (nature) and human activities (culture), which was central to explaining human action, and the belief in progress, which was thematised in the development of civilisation(s), while both were also elements of collective characterisations. This ideological underpinning and empirical material have provided the basis for a large body of writing on world history and geography and more geographically circumscribed contributions on lands and peoples, both of which had, in principle, comparative ambitions. Alongside this has

² A large body of research on this topic has been carried out over the last few decades, examining the emergence of individual disciplines and their coexistence with the current political situation. See, e.g.: Lutz, 1958, 1973, 1980, 1983; Möller, 1964; Fischer, 1970; Bausinger, 1971; Harris, 1971 [1968]; Stagl, 1974, 1995, 1998, 2006; Rassem, Stagl, 1980; Urbancová, 1980–1981; Weber-Kellermann, Bimmer, 1985; Hartmann, 1988; Könnkamp, 1988a, 1988b; Belaj, 1989; Harbsmeier, 1995; Vermeulen, Roldán, 1995; Fikfak, 1999; Kaschuba, 2012 [1999]; Vermeulen, 2015.

been “the shift from biblical and patriotic genealogies of nations to the comparative study of languages as an auxiliary discipline of history” and “the shift from the study of ‘morals’ or manners and customs to a comprehensive study of peoples and nations” (Vermeulen, 2015: 452).

Similar to the situation in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the Habsburg Empire in the 19th century could also be characterised by the apt metaphor of a “patched carpet” (*Flickenteppich*), given its multi-ethnic composition and the government’s commitment to the overall development and stability of the state (Kaschuba, 2012 [1999]: 23–24). The genre of *Landes- und Volkskunde* matched state centralism (Narr, Bausinger, 1964: 238) and was one of two “ethnographic” currents from the last decades of the 18th century onwards, the other being travel accounts based on the *ars apodemica*. The former was marked by history and geography and, above all, by the flowering of statistics or *Staatswissenschaft* in the service of enlightened absolutism. The pragmatic task of state science was to “conclude how to govern the state wisely” (Schneider, 2011: 19). Originally, statistics was not a science of numbers but a comprehensive inventory of the basis of life and the living conditions of the population in particular areas: in addition to the characteristics of climate, geography, and economy, knowledge of the population was informed by the facts of everyday life (settlements, housing, clothing, food, habits and customs, religion, etc.) (ibid.; cf. Labbé, 2011: 156).

In the 19th century, Romanticism strongly influenced the scholarly interest in human communities. In its perspective, the *Volk*, in the reception of the scholars (and politicians), was no longer considered with all the attributes of everyday life. It was idealised in folk or national spirit and lost the “neutral” or taxonomic meaning of the label “population”. However, there were many parallels between the Romantic collecting and scientific enthusiasm and the Enlightenment tradition; in Austrian *Volkskunde*, they are illustrated by a series of topographical, regional, and folkloristic contributions that are an important source for regional ethnography (for more on this, see Schneider, 2011: 26–29).

In addition to these publications, encyclopaedic descriptions of lands and peoples were produced for the entire Habsburg territory. In keeping with the genre tradition, these descriptions combined geographical, historical, and statistical data with ethnographic content, varying the proportions of these components across different works. A substantial corpus of literature on the subject, including voluminous books by Wenzel Karl Wolfgang Blumenbach (1832–1833, 1837), Czoernig (1857a), Ficker (1869), and Friedrich Umlauf (1876, 1897), and three comprehensive collections (Prochaska, 1881–1885; Umlauf, 1881–1889; ÖUMWB, 1884–1902) exhibited differences in their scope, content and approach (e. g. homeland descriptions or *Heimatkunde*, and statistics). The content of these works is centred on place, time, and people; however, the specific emphases varied somewhat depending on the authors’ orientation, their expertise in particular fields, their social position or affiliation with the institutions that supported their work, the purposes of the works, and the intended audience. The titles

of the publications in question indicate the different approaches, but even more so do the scope and arrangement of the material and the style (descriptive or problematic) of presentation. All of the works mentioned above are, whether implicitly or explicitly, regarded as belonging to the realm of scholarship, thereby distinguishing them from the equally comprehensive curiosity of the typically more popular homeland descriptions, their magnum opus being the *Kronprinzenwerk*.

Compared to Blumenbach's distinctly geographical presentation, which he described as "a collection of interesting facts about the lands and peoples" (*Wissenswürdigkeiten aus der Länder- und Völkerkunde*) of the vast empire (Blumenbach, 1833 III: p. p.), and Umlauf's geo-statistical handbook, in which the status of ethnography and its political use is already evident,³ Czoernig and Ficker were the explicit spokesmen of the official discourse on the relation between (multi)nationality and the state, addressing the political issues of the time in their work.

"Statistical ethnography" by Karl von Czoernig

Karl von Czoernig (1805-1889) is considered the leading Austrian statistician of the 19th century. Born in Bohemia, he worked in Vienna, Milan, and Trieste and spent his last three decades in Gorizia. He was trained as a lawyer and is described in biographical handbooks as a "statistician" (ÖBL) and a "historian, statistician, ethnographer" (Kralj, 1976).⁴ Alongside his broad professional and governmental activities, we are interested in his ethnographic work, which is most closely related to the work of the Vienna Statistical Office. In 1857, the *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie* was published in three volumes with an accompanying ethnographic map (Czoernig, 1857a); of particular importance is the commentary *Über die Ethnographie Österreichs* (1857b).

Introduction⁵

The Ethnography of the Monarchy is accompanied by a Preface (*Vorrede*, pp. v-xviii) with a comprehensive account of the meaning and subject of the work. A characteristic observation of the colourful character of the monarchy and the significant internal civilisational differences introduces it:

³ Especially Umlauf, who Czoernig inspired, focused not on environmental determinism but more explicitly on history (the chapter on political and territorial history comes first), multi-ethnic composition, mixed areas, and different religions. However, the fatherland remains a geographical and political entity. He mentioned the threats to which Austria was exposed in the light of the awakened principle of nationality but did not elaborate on them.

⁴ See also his autobiography *Biographische Notizen* (Czoernig, 1879).

⁵ He published an extended introduction to the *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie* in his treatise *Über die Ethnographie Österreichs* (Czoernig, 1857b), as a report for the Academy's philosophical-historical department. See more on this below in the section On Austria's Ethnography.

The Austrian Empire is characterised by a great diversity of conditions across its vast territory. [...] The main tribes [*Hauptstämme*] of the dominant population of Europe meet in the territory of the empire, form compact masses, merge into each other in various shades of nationality, and form ethnographic groups and islands which, in the most colourful mixture, express the peculiar composition of the population in Austria as nowhere else. However, this uniqueness is not only due to the ethnic mixture; it is primarily due to the conditions in which the main tribes of the people are found so that they are interdependent with the number and internal strength of the individual peoples, as well as with the stages of civilisation; they maintain the balance of association, not of subordination, on which the structure of the state rests. (Czoernig, 1857a: i)

The interdependence, the intrinsic strength of each people, the interconnectedness between them, and their equality – not subordination – emerge as new categories and qualities of the population, all of which form the basis of the state structure. Natural geographical conditions are very much in the background.

According to Czoernig, the composition of the population is a consequence of the historical development of the state, is the basis of its present existence, and is an element among the “natural forces of the imperial state”. In a situation where “it is important to know what conditions give strength to the state”, such a study is also “of the utmost importance from the point of view of the state” (Czoernig, 1857a: i). Czoernig’s work was politically pragmatic. From 1841, he carried it out as head of the Directorate of Administrative Statistics, when he planned the collection of material and the production of an ethnographic map and three books.

In terms of material, it was necessary to start from scratch, as he had no models and no tools: “Even ethnographic science was still in the early stages of its development, as ethnographic maps were not yet distinguished from linguistic maps and the two were interchanged” (ibid.: vi).⁶ For the ethnographic map, special preparations were necessary to collect detailed data on the nationality (*Nationalität*) of the population in the field. However, this was not feasible and methodologically comparable due to the different situations in the crown lands. First, a detailed map (*Detaille-Karte*) of 306 colour maps was created, which required corrections and additions, especially for nationally transitional or mixed areas. In 1848, it was possible to map the “ethnographic situation of

⁶ An exception was Šafařík’s *Slowanský Národopis* (1842) with material on Slavic linguistic tribes (*Slavische Sprachstämme*). In *Über die Ethnographie Österreichs*, he also mentioned Csaplovics’ map of Hungary, Bernhardt’s linguistic map of Germany, and the ethnographic map of Russia (Peter v. Koppen, *Ethnographische Karte des St. Peterburgischen Gouvernements*, 1848), which, however, could not be compared with his map because of the particular conditions in the Russian Empire (Czoernig, 1857b: 6).

the monarchy” with the representation of the main groups of the tribes of peoples (*die Hauptgruppen der Völkerstämme*). Before publication, the data for the mixed areas and the “ethnographic islands” had to be revised, as it turned out that the markings of the linguistic and national boundaries did not correspond, which required further on-the-spot verification. As an example of a particularly complex area, Czoernig cited Istria:

In no other part of the Monarchy, in proportion to its size, have so many remnants of different nationalities and of their gradations been preserved, more clearly recognisable than in language, dress, and customs, as in the small peninsula of Istria, the land where the earliest culture of our part of the world (Pola with the Adriatic is perhaps the oldest known settlement there) met with the lowest level of civilisation within the empire. (Czoernig, 1857a: viii)

In this case, it was the 13 ethnographic shades (*ethnographische Nuancen*) and the various population mixtures: some do not know writing, some have particular dialects, and some have even forgotten their mother tongue. He mentioned the Croatianized Slovenians and the Sloveneized Croats, the Croatianized Vlachs, the Italianized Croats, etc.; the Croatianized Italians are a mixed people with Italian costume, Slavic customs, and a linguistic mixture of Serbian and Italian.

It was, therefore, necessary to find an expert in Istrian dialects who visited places on the peninsula and

unravel this tangle of ethnographic-linguistic mixtures through precise research. This was done, and thus, the ethnographic character of this part of the region was established, and only the main outlines can now be seen on the map. (Czoernig, 1857a: ix)

This illustrates Czoernig’s accuracy in mapmaking; the mass of empirical data had to be constantly compared and verified, also in the field. For each place, i.e. the 100,000 points on the map, he wanted to establish a precise ethnographic definition and “to indicate the nationality of each place in the monarchy” (Czoernig, 1857a: ix). The help of the Imperial Institute of Military Geography geographers was invaluable in producing and publishing the map.

Czoernig used the adjective “ethnographic” to refer to ethnic or national attributions, evident from the distinction between an ethnographic map and a linguistic map. He illustrated this with the situation in the Bohemian parts of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, where German was also spoken (in the towns also predominantly): on a linguistic map, they would be indicated as German-Czech, “whereas this cannot happen on an ethnographic map, which indicates the ethnicity of the population” (Czoernig, 1857a: x).

The preparation of the ethnographic map completed or realised the “statistical part of the ethnography of Austria, i.e., the presentation of the ethnographic situation in space” (Czoernig, 1857a: xi). This did not exhaust the view of the ethnographic situation (*ethnographische Verhältnisse*), which is deeply rooted in the past, has had an impact on the fate of peoples and countries, on the spread of culture and prosperity, and shows the past of the tribes under the present-day crown. “In short, to gain this insight, the presentation of ethnographic relationships in chronological order or the historical part of ethnography [*historisches Theil der Ethnographie*] is required” (ibid.). In the absence of material, the historical part of the work was an even more demanding task: facts about the ethnographic situation had to be extracted from older historical works, and hitherto unused sources had to be found and used. The ethnographic history of the Hungarian lands is the subject of this work’s second and third volumes.⁷

The first volume presents the monarchy as a whole from a general historical-ethnographic point of view and the crown lands (primarily German) in a separate part, with a historical-ethnographic and geographical-statistical overview. The structure of Czoernig’s work differs markedly from that of Blumenbach and Umlauf, especially in that the historical part is nominally and in scope the main focus. The geographical section, or physical-geographical description, is given space at the end of the first volume of about 60 pages.

The general part is divided into the chapters General Ethnology (*Allgemeine Ethnologie*) and General Ethnography (*Allgemeine Ethnographie*): the former provides an overview of the population history of the monarchy with data on the origins of the linguistic borders and linguistic islands (up to the Middle Ages), while the latter gives an overview description of the linguistic borders and islands of the monarchy, with a statistical-ethnographic overview of all the vernacular tribes in the empire. Apart from the titles, the terms *ethnology* and *ethnography* do not appear anywhere: one can only think of the distinction that ethnology includes the study of several peoples in Czoernig’s text, partly also general and comparative findings, while ethnography includes research of a single people.

Not all the crown lands are treated in the special section; only the Germanic ones (Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, and Tyrol) are listed in the title, de facto only Lower Austria (*Oesterreich unter der Enns*) is presented, both historic-ethnographically and geographically-statistically. Czoernig argued at length for this choice: Lower Austria is the original homeland of the ruling dynasty, with Vienna as its capital and residential city and as the seat of the central government and the whole empire (Czoernig, 1857a: xiv).

⁷ *Historische Skizze der Völkerstämme und Colonien in Ungern, Kroatien und Slavonien, in der serbischen Wojwodschafft sammt dem Temeser Banate, dann in Siebenbürger und in der Militär-Gränze*, discussed according to the three significant periods from the earliest traces of the settlement of the area before the arrival of the Ogres.



In the historical-geographical survey (ibid.: 87–223), Czoernig traced developments in the area in a historical-ethnographical overview from the Proto-Celtic period onwards: the age of migrations, with historical turning points and migrations in the area, the legal system, the cultural situation (*Cultur-Zustand*) (the development of poetry and other arts, religion, law, dress, music, education), agriculture, industry, crafts, trade. He advocated the extension of the historical part to the most recent period with a chapter on the New Organisation of Austria (*Österreich's Neugestaltung*, ibid.: 224–616). He announced a discussion of the changes in the constitution, the legal order, and the government after 1848:

No epoch in the history of Austria is more instructive in ethnographic terms than that of the mighty movement of 1848 and 1849, which shook the empire, threatened its existence, and, under the protection of providence and with the help of its own power, led to the restoration of law and order, to the establishment of a new state life, the equality of all citizens and material development, the beginnings of which, visible everywhere, point to its future expansion. The principle of nationality, within the bounds of its justification, the basis of culture, and the source of spiritual and material progress, had freed itself from all bonds in and outside Austria, and a ferment had developed that threatened to undermine historical law and destroy the existence of states. As in the religious war, nationality was now elevated to the banner of rebellion, which would have resulted in general anarchy if the overflowing river had not been contained within its solid banks. While in other states where one nationality is predominant, the movement of one led to a revolutionary transformation, in Austria, a racial struggle [*Racenkampf*] flared up, which was not only directed against the government but aimed at the mutual oppression of the tribes living in the same country. History has drawn a vivid picture of where the abuse of the principle of nationality fostered by brute force can lead and how nationality, the leader of spiritual development, like every other element of state power, cannot shake the existence of the state with impunity and supplant historical law by its mandate. (Czoernig, 1857a: xv)

Czoernig saw the national movement or the principle of nationality (*das Princip der Nationalität*) primarily as a force threatening the solidity of the state structure. However, he considered its legitimacy to be “the basis of culture, the source of spiritual and material progress”. In general, he considered the new situation as a step “in the history of civilization alone [that] awakens in the patriot the desire to be able to see the great reforms of the reorganization” (Czoernig, 1857a: xvi), on which the wellbeing of the

citizens depended. Although state organization may not be part of ethnographic work, it is essential for understanding ethnographic conditions (ibid.: xvii).

At the end of the Preface, he touched on the last chapter of the first volume, the geographical-statistical survey of Lower Austria (Czoernig, 1857a: 617ff.) – a section that is otherwise highly comprehensive and extensive in 19th-century geographic-statistical works. He listed general facts, the characteristics of the surface and its fertility, the climate, the extraction of metals, their sources, valuable plants, animal husbandry, industry, and trade. He explained the links between the surface and natural resources, between the inhabitants and the feedback effect of surface cultivation and natural products, and between crafts and commercial activity. The interconnectedness of “the natural and the cultural” is explicit: “nature” determines human activity, but human activity reverses and changes it.

Right at the end of this section is an “ethnographic statistic”, which, according to Czoernig, is “very simple” for Lower Austria since there are few places where the members of the Germanic folk tribe do not predominate. Vienna is discussed in detail from this point of view.

To conclude, he thanked all his collaborators and supporters, and finally, Emperor Franz Joseph I, who also financially supported the publication of the author’s 16-year efforts, thus confirming a critical aspect of this work, which was both scientific and political and which was ultimately initiated by the highest administration in charge of administrative statistics (Czoernig, 1857b: 4).

General ethnography

In the chapter General Ethnology (1857a: 5–19), Czoernig traced the settlement of the area up to the Middle Ages and concluded that between the 11th and 13th centuries, the tribes of people (*Völkerstämme*) were arranged in much the same way as they are today, with linguistic borders and islands. He described the borders of all the tribes of people.⁸ However, the location or roughly marked borders alone do not provide a detailed picture. Here, language is the most appropriate indicator, as it shows the internal linguistic subdivision of the large tribes. In some cases, language is not sufficient either; there are marked differences in characteristics between individual peoples (*Volkstümlichkeit*), e.g. between Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks, or between Serbs and Croats. Even among the southern Slavs, the Slovenians (*Slovenen, Krainer oder Winden*) are distinct from the Croats and Serbs; the latter are separate tribes of people despite their similarities in language. There are many more examples of this in the monarchy. Czoernig listed 38 linguistic boundaries.

⁸ The Germanic tribe shares borders with Western Romans (Italians, Ladins, and Friulians) and the Western-Southern Slavs (Slovenians); the Slavic tribes are Northern and Southern; the Roman tribes are Western and Eastern and border on the Germanic tribe, the Southern and Northern Slavs; the Hungarian tribe borders on the Germans, the Northern and Southern Slavs and the Eastern Romans (Czoernig, 1857a: 23–24).

He referred to German as the language of the imperial house, of the central government, and finally as of “the general culture, understood and spoken by the educated of almost all other nationalities” (Czoernig, 1857a: 26). He went on to describe in great detail the Germanic-Italian, Germanic-Ladin, and Germanic-Friulian borders, the Germanic-Slovenian border (in Carinthia, Styria, and the Iron County with the Hungarian border; here, Monošter (St. Gotthard) is the hub of the three frontiers) (ibid.: 27–28). The German language islands south of the Slovenian border are Predil, Trbiž, Bela Peč, Bovec, Zgornje Rute, and Goggau in Carinthia; otherwise, German can be heard in several places in Carinthia, part of Carniola, and southern Styria, also in Gorizia and the Iron County in Hungary.⁹

In the section on Slavic linguistic boundaries, he mentioned the Slovenian-Friulian border, along with the distinctly mixed Gorizia, where Friulian, Slovenian, German, and Italian are spoken. This border follows the Soča River to Gradišče ob Soči (Gradisca d’Isonzo) and merges with the Slovenian-Italian linguistic line and continues to Štivan (San Giovanni al Timavo) in the most northern bay of the Adriatic Sea (Czoernig, 1857a: 54). The Slovenians also have a Slovenian-Serbian, Slovenian-Serbocroatian, and Slovenian-Slavocroatian (*slovenisch-slovenokroatische*) linguistic border. The first two run in continental Istria, separating the Šavrini, the Serbo-Croatian Fučki, Čiči and Brkinci. The Slovenian-Serbocroatian border also separates Carniola from Croatia (in the area of the Rijeka/Fiume Comitatus). The Slovenian-Slavocroatian border overlaps with the regional borders between Carniola, southern Styria, Hungary, and Croatia. The immigration of Serbo-Croats in the 17th century created linguistic islands in Istria.

This illustrates a topographical picture of the distribution of ethnic groups by language, which runs like a journey on a geographical map. It introduces the readers to the ethnically named inhabitants and the areas and places where they live. Finally, numerical data collected during the last census in 1851 were given to all the tribes of peoples of the monarchy.

As mentioned in the preface to the Historical-Ethnographic Survey, Czoernig gave a central place to the extensive chapter on the reorganisation of the state (*Österreich’s Neugestaltung*), the legislation for which had been in preparation for years and which he had promoted with numerous administrative proposals (Johler, 2020: 593).¹⁰ He listed in detail the elements of new laws and acts for all areas of national life (administration, security, law, finance, trade, industry and shipping, roads, rivers, railways, telegraphs and postal services, agriculture, education, religion, the military, the navy),¹¹ which set the framework for everyday life. The chapter testifies to the state’s efforts, while respecting the ethnographic element and conditions, to consolidate the post-feudal state

⁹ The real German-language island is the “Land of the Gottsheers” (*Göttscheer Ländchen*), with 34 exclusively German and several mixed German-Slovenian localities.

¹⁰ He devoted special attention to them in a separate edition of *Österreich’s Neugestaltung 1848–1858* (1858).

¹¹ Detailed numerical and topographical data of particular historical interest are given for all the areas listed.

and to balance as far as possible the significant differences in the culture of the various crown lands and provinces, bringing them as close as possible to the level achieved, above all, by the Germanic part of the monarchy.

Without going into the extent and details of this national project, the primary intention can be illustrated by the example of the organisation of education (from primary to university level), in which, in addition to defining all organisational forms, language plays a central role. Czoernig understood education as the cornerstone of the spiritual life of citizens, with an “ethnographic element” at the forefront. In Austria, “where different tribes of people meet, not so different in number as in culture and scientific education”, it must receive multifaceted attention (Czoernig, 1857a: 565).

He stated that in the history of Austria, there have been many attempts to do justice to “ethnographic claims” in the various crown lands. The authorities legally recognised the right of each folk tribe to claim general (including religious) education in their mother tongue. Primary education is provided in the language spoken by the majority of the local population, or two or even three if there are several languages. The language of the dominant tribe is also used at higher levels (lower secondary schools, even gymnasiums), but once scientific education (*wissenschaftliche Ausbildung*) begins, ethnographic requirements step into the background.

A modification of the basic principle is determined by whether the language of the folk tribe in question is a cultural language and a suitable tool in the sciences; if it is not, the teaching is fruitless, and the sciences are treated superficially. In the Italian crown lands, education is carried out in the regional language because Italian is the cultural language, while in the Slavic and Hungarian lands, this requires other measures. German must be a compulsory subject in grammar schools with a regional language (e.g., Czech, Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Slovakian, Hungarian, and Romanian).¹² In the upper grades, classes must be taught exclusively in German so that high school students can follow German lectures at the university: “The sciences are taught in German because the other languages of the country in most cases do not reach the level required for scientific contributions” (Czoernig, 1857a: 566).¹³

Without these measures, the government would have given up its higher mission of promoting culture and carrying it to the East in particular if it wanted to use the most suitable means of doing so, which is to ensure that academically educated men from those lands are thoroughly familiar with the German language and science and are enabled by the former to spread the latter in their domestic circles. (Czoernig, 1857a: 566)

¹² It has also been introduced in the Italian lands (Czoernig, 1857a: 576).

¹³ He gave the example of how, before 1848, special sciences (e.g. chemistry) were taught in an “underdeveloped language” that had no terms for them at all.

In his preference for the German language and culture, Czoernig was unaware of the bias of privileging German nor of the consequences of diglossia for the public life of other nations. He took it for granted that German was the *lingua franca* of the empire – in transportation, commerce, and correspondence. He was convinced that the priority of German also reflected a concern for the citizens: knowledge of the language brought advantages, but not by force, and ultimately did not deprive them of cultivating their own language.

Finally, Czoernig's work contains the interesting category of *Land und Leute* (land and people),¹⁴ which he defined at the end of the first volume of his geographic-statistical survey of Lower Austria.

The land and the people are the fundamental strength of a country and the main determinants of its cultural situation. They are inextricably linked and, although in different ways, have the most lasting influence on each other. If man, through the development of civilisation, imprints on the land he inhabits the characteristic stamp of his activity, he awakens the innate fertility of the soil and exploits its suitability for industry and commerce [...] The influence of the natural characteristics of the surface of the soil on the individual and social development of the tribe that inhabits it over time is unconditional and is everywhere asserted, albeit in varying degrees. (Czoernig, 1857a: 617)

By “land”, he meant geographical features, while “people” were the cultivators engaged in livelihood activities: “nature” and working people create the wealth and strength of a country.

On Austria's ethnography

In *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie*, the author's focus was undoubtedly on ethnographic statistics – ethnography was part of it, rather than broadly conceived in the sense of a rounded picture of everyday life phenomena. This was confirmed in his text *Über die Ethnographie Österreichs*, which he presented as “an introduction and commentary from a scientific point of view” (Czoernig, 1957b: 4). He went on to describe the material and method presented in the Preface in even greater detail, his guiding principles were the completeness in the material collected, the accuracy of detail, and the clear presentation of the material covered (ibid.: 5); all of these conferred the work a scientific status.

The challenges for his ethnography stemmed from the fact that, except for the aforementioned linguistic and Russian ethnographic maps, he had no precedent.

¹⁴ Between the mid-18th and 19th centuries, it was used in quite several different meanings (for more on this, see e.g. Könnkamp, 1988a).

Ethnography as a science at the time he began his work was “content with collecting ethnographic notes” (Czoernig, 1857b: 5). Information on contemporary conditions had to be sought in statistical and geographical handbooks, in depictions of the customs and characters of peoples (*Sitten- und Charaktergemälden der Völker*), while in the past context, political history offered little information on how political events had affected the peculiarities of peoples. In short: “What was missing was the unified treatment of ethnography in space and time, that statistics and history presuppose and whose results are to be incorporated into their presentation” (ibid.).

For “ethnography in space”, cartography has proven to be the most excellent instrument, “as it provides the most effective tool for criticism and because it presents clearly and concisely the overall results of research regarding the distribution, delimitation, and mixing of individual tribes” (ibid.). We have mentioned that the cartographic material was collected in a planned manner – data were collected with questionnaires, and often further verified in the field.

He added observations from *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie* that reflected the category of the national with which the ethnographer must grapple in the contemporary situation. Czoernig used the term *Nationalität-Prinzip*. He avoided the term *Nation*,¹⁵ and mainly used *Nationalität* and the adjectival form *national* in a variety of conjugations (e.g. *n. Eigenheiten, Eigenthümlichkeiten, Charakter, Literatur, Einfluss, Zeitgeschmack, Wohlstand, Industrie, etc.*).

He introduced the debate on the principle of nationality with the question of the relationship between nationality and the other foundations of human society at a particular time: the principle of nationality, he believed, had been “carried to extremes and misunderstood” and “from the shores of a calibrated movement had plunged half the world into agitation and turmoil”. Notwithstanding the conflicting views on the Spring of Nations, he considered it indisputable that “nationality [*Nationalität*] is not the only form of human society, nor is it the most important” (Czoernig, 1857b: 15). Nationality is respected by the main pillars of public life – the state and the church: the church has rules concerning religion, and the state has to guarantee the legal status of the individual and public life so that it can “harvest the seeds of culture and develop abundant fruits” (ibid.).

In the past, too, nationality absorbed all other communities, e.g. in the migration of peoples and the formation of states, giving them stability and continuity. With this statement, Czoernig explicitly identified nationality with ethnicity. In his time, this was the case in large states, where statehood was the expression of the ruling nationality and its material interests; because it controlled all material interests, others were subordinated to it and disappeared.

¹⁵ In the first volume of *Ethnographie Österreichs*, with more than 450 occurrences of terms with the root “nation”, *Nation* is written only 13 times, mostly *Nationalität*, *Nation* rarely replacing *Volk* (e.g. *ungarische, serbische, sächsische Nation*), but seven times in the present text (e.g. *herrschende, italienische Nation*), or again in the meaning of *Volk*.

According to Czoernig, the ultimate goal of human activity is “the religious, intellectual, and material development of culture” so that “as many earthlings as possible may reach perfection and come closer to the Creator”. For this to happen, the security of life and property must be guaranteed; only the state, the most secure form of human community for culture, can achieve this in the long run. To do so, it needs spiritual strength, which is offered in particular by nationality as a guide to spiritual development on the path to culture (Czoernig, 1857b: 16). The state, therefore, draws on two sources – material resources, and spiritual development guided by nationality. Progress is harmonious the more the efforts of the two directions are attuned to each other. In this formulation, nationality is a spiritual rather than a social aspect.

Czoernig was interested in a state composed of several tribes of people: when one dominates in numbers and power, the state does not renounce its dominant element of power and material interests – today, we would say that these interests appropriate the state – and the subordinate tribes are left to participate by assimilation. When several tribes of people are roughly balanced in numbers and power, the state must show justice and provide each with the means to exist and advance – these are the foundations of the equality of nationalities (Czoernig, 1857b: 16–17). From the ethnographic map and the Ethnography of the Austrian Monarchy, he concluded that “powerful tribes of people in compact masses occupy isolated areas in the monarchy, but none is so predominant in number and importance that others would be in a relationship of subordination to it” (Czoernig, 1857b: 17). He did not define subordination; however, his perspective is reflected in the descriptions of the major peoples as the carriers, advocates and diffusers of culture or civilisation.

In the western part of the monarchy, two peoples with a centuries-old culture live side by side, the Germans north of the Alps and the Italians south of the Alps, who are called upon to carry and spread civilisation and education (*Civilization und Bildung*). The ethnographic facts in time and space show which peoples initiated and promoted the development of culture in the eastern tribes of people and to which peoples, predominantly in the northern part of the monarchy, fell the task of spreading their cultures among the other peoples. For centuries, colonisation was the most effective means of transmitting culture from west to east, which sowed prosperity, habits, and education. The second and most significant aspect of Austria’s ethnographic composition is the remarkable number of mixed groups and ethnographic islands spreading from the west to the east. Austria is, above all, a country of equality of nationalities (*Nationalitäten*), which results from the nature of the circumstances since the tribes and their interests are not in conflict with each other. Still, each is a fundamental pillar for the preservation and prosperity of the state, where they all contribute to the building and successful development of the state through their synergic efforts.

Czoernig emphasised the mutual influences in the neighbourhood and the contacts between several tribes of peoples, which have shaped the character and customs of the

individual folk tribes throughout history. He tried to outline the characteristics of the nationalities in broad strokes.

The Germans lived in concentrated and dispersed areas of settlement throughout the empire. The importance of the German language goes far back: north of the Alps, German is the language of the army, the language of administration, the higher estates, and spiritual education in general, of the sciences and the arts, industry, commerce, and transport. Germans learn a foreign language easily, are adaptable to foreign idiosyncrasies, and are excellent cultural pioneers. They are diligent in education and science, rational and industrious in agriculture, active in industry and commerce, and generally prosperous. In closer contact with other tribes of people, they are flexible, skilful, and enterprising. Still, they may lose their national character, quickly adopting foreign customs and dress, even a foreign language, without losing other characteristics. They do not resist contact with different nationalities: they mix most easily with Hungarians and northern Slavs (Czechs, Poles), and many have become Slovaks. They have been in close contact with the Slavs since they settled in Carinthia and Styria; in southern Styria, Slovenians often have a German name, “a sign of their origin” (Czoernig, 1857b: 24). Contact between Germans and Croats and Serbs is minimal due to the Germans’ greater affinity for neighbouring Hungarians. There is a big gap between the Romance peoples: in Italy, Germanness has never taken root, they do not mix with the Vlachs either, and the Saxons in Transylvania insist on their tradition.

The Italian nation (*die italienische Nation*) was formed by tribes of people of different origins with few common characteristics, united only by the Italian language. The development was rapid, and they became the first cultured people in Europe, surpassing all others in science, poetry, and the fine arts. A clear and incisive mind and marvellous personal skills helped them to achieve their goals. However, Czoernig believed that the time was not far off when there would be a greater fusion of cultural peoples. As a cultural people, the Italians in the south had taken on a mission similar to that of the Germans in the north. Through colonisation, they had brought the populations on the eastern shores of the Adriatic into civilisation. They are closely related to the Slavic populations, especially in Istria, where there are Italianized Slavs and Slavized Italians (Czoernig, 1857b: 24–26).

The largest settlement area in the monarchy is occupied by the tribal family of the Slavs (*die Völkerfamilie der Slaven*), which is not endowed by nature with brilliant qualities. However, its members are spread over the entire cultural spectrum. Their agility, which does not tire with happiness and does not despair in adversity, has always made them a bulwark of the empire and a solid pillar of order. He wrote of the Slovenians, saying that they had lived longest in the present territory and remained long confined and in “earlier conditions” until there had been a vigorous life and a marked expansion of national education in recent times. Compared to other Slavic tribes, they have retained less resilience and have lost territories to the Germans in the north and

even more to the Croats in the east. Now, German culture has a “beneficial influence” on the Slovenians when Slovenian writers transmit its fruits in the national language (Czoernig, 1857b: 29).

In conclusion, Czoernig dwelt on another vital characteristic, the defensive capacity of the monarchy, which guarantees the integrity of the state and the people. He did not associate the defensive strength with some exclusive characteristic of nationality but with the merging of all the peoples, which in the army permeate into a great and distinct whole, displaying the virtues of the individual peoples, united for the glory and independence of the fatherland (Czoernig, 1857b: 32–33). He did not consider the shares of people in terms of competition (cf. Narr, Bausinger, 1964: 238) but in terms of synergy.

The summarised second part of *Über die Ethnographie Österreichs*, consisting of condensed and generalised characterisations of the tribes of people of the monarchy, is perhaps the most “ethnographic” contribution of Czoernig’s work. He goes beyond descriptive numerical and other measurable data on individual peoples; however, these images are essayistic, without references to authors and works otherwise found in *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie*.

Czoernig’s ethnography of the monarchy is overtly politically engaged, produced at a time when it was intended to depict the strengthened Habsburg Empire after the watershed year of 1848. It is first and foremost symbolised by the ethnographic map, which resonated domestically and internationally (Labbé, 2011: 149). Publishing maps was not an Austrian peculiarity (Johler, 2020), as several maps were produced in the years before and after the March Revolution; only the Austrian and Russian ones have “ethnographic” in their title, others are “linguistic” or “national”, and they are unique in that they graphically depict multi-ethnic states, compared to the German maps in which the country is matched with the nation (and language). For this reason, Czoernig had to pay so much methodological attention to produce an illustrative colour map that can be seen as a painting, an aesthetic product of overlapping colour gradients¹⁶ in a harmonious whole that nevertheless concealed the turbulent political situation of the time (Labbé, 2011: 151; cf. Johler, 2020: 596). In other words, he created order out of chaos to show, above all, that plurinationality does not preclude political unity, provided that each people or nation maintains equality and contributes its share to the stability and strength of the state. The ethnographic map was a map of nations and an unambiguously political map that crossed “ethnographic” data with cartography as an auxiliary science of statistics.

Another critical issue that Czoernig had to deal with, especially in comparison with other maps where language was the criterion for mapping, was the correspondence between nationality and language. The language was for him only one criterion, but not an exclusive or critical one; he pointed out Armenians and Jews, who do not speak

¹⁶ In both texts presented here, Czoernig described in detail the implementation of the coloring of the map – the main peoples, the mixed areas and localities, and the ethnographic islands (e.g., 1857b: 8–10).

their language but understand themselves as a nation, or Czechs, who use German extensively: they would be indicated on a language map by German and Czech, but on an ethnographic map – when it comes to nationality – this is not possible.

However, Czoernig did not resolve this question unequivocally. Morgane Labbé, who researched the issue of nationality and censuses¹⁷ and has analysed his cartography in detail, has pointed out that, in methodological terms, the language-population/nationality relationship must take into account a characteristic feature of censuses in Austria: with the exceptions of 1846 and 1856, they did not ask for nationality or language until 1880 (Labbé, 2011: 154). Czoernig’s surveys and other field inquiries tried to compensate for this gap. Still, they asked for the dominant language (*Umgangssprache*) spoken by the majority of the inhabitants, and for a second language if it was spoken by at least a quarter of the speakers. This data came into his “statistical ethnography”, while the criterion for the map was nationality. Because of the discrepancies between languages and national affiliations, many audits were needed directly on the ground. For the data on these, Czoernig – in contrast to the statistics of the first half of the 19th century, for which only official inquiries were reliable (and these, as said, did not ask for language and nationality) – relied on that Enlightenment flag of statistics, which was more “literary” and also consider other sources (e.g., travel accounts). In this sense, it was methodologically inconsistent, and presented a transition between Enlightenment descriptive and narrative statistics along the lines of Schlözer and 19th-century administrative statistics (ibid.: 157, 160).¹⁸

Schlözer’s legacy is also reflected in Czoernig’s twofold project: ethnographic features in space (statistical ethnography), which corresponded to the representation on the map, i.e. the contemporary ethnic distribution of peoples, and ethnographic features in time (historical ethnography), i.e. the chronological sequence of events, for which he needed a book. This expresses Schlözer’s view that “[h]istoriography [is] continuous Statistics and Statistics is stationary historiography” (Vermeulen, 2015: 302).¹⁹

Czoernig’s “statistical ethnography” remains an ethnography between quotation marks; it is primarily a product of the spirit of state science and its interest in “ethnographic conditions”, reduced to basic facts about tribes, peoples, nations and attempts at more or less essayistic characterisations of them, in which elements of a psychosocial

¹⁷ Comprehensively in *La Nationalité, une Histoire de Chiffres: Politique et Statistiques en Europe Centrale (1848-1919)*, 2019.

¹⁸ It was characteristic of Austrian statistics that it was integrated into the study of law at the university level (Labbé, 2011: 160); however, Czoernig referred in the Introduction to *Regierungswissenschaft*: “In our time, in which public administrations have accepted the general conviction of the necessity of acquiring the most penetrating knowledge of the conditions affecting the forces of the state in order to take the welfare of the people, such an investigation also appears to be of greater importance from the point of view of the state” (Czoernig, 1857a: i).

¹⁹ Schlözer’s understanding and Czoernig’s practice testify to the multiple and vaguely defined status of statistics in the disciplinary fields of ethnos-sciences, history, geography, and state science (for more on this, see Möller, 1964; Narr, Bausinger, 1964).

nature were at the foreground, shedding light on the level of civilisation achieved and the character of peoples; both *Cultur-Völker* or *Kulturträger* (Germans, Italians) and other peoples, were at the centre of attention. In Czoernig's work, the primacy and mission he attributed to the German people cannot be overlooked.

Ficker's historical, geographical, and statistical presentation of the Dual Monarchy

Adolf Ficker (1816-1880), born in Olomouc in Moravia, earned doctorates in philosophy (1835) and law (1842) from the University of Vienna and is identified in biographical handbooks as a statistician (ÖBL, 1957: 309). He first worked as a teacher (e.g. at the Lyceum in Ljubljana between 1840–1843). From 1853, he was ministerial secretary and Czoernig's direct collaborator in the Directorate for Administrative Statistics, which he took over in 1864. From 1873, he was president of the Central Statistical Commission; in 1875, he founded the *Wiener Statistische Monatsschrift*. He represented Austria at the international statistical congresses in Berlin (1863), Den Haag (1869), St. Petersburg (1872) and Pest (1876). In 1870, he became a member of the Academy of Sciences in Vienna.

He opened his book *Die Völkerstämme der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, ihre Gebiete, Gränzen und Inseln: Historisch, geographisch, statistisch dargestellt: Mit 4 Karten* (Ficker, 1869) with *Sine ira et studio, quorum causas procul habeo*, thus marking an unbiased scientific – historical, geographical, and statistical – presentation of the territories, borders, and islands of the tribes of people of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It is clear from the note on the second title page that it is based on the stenographic transcripts of the “statistical-administrative” lectures.

The book has no introductory text or table of contents (it is a sequence of chapters marked with Roman numerals), but it has some keywords in the margins to guide the reader through the text. The first third of the book describes the settlement history of the monarchy's territory from the Ice Age to the present day. As in Czoernig's work, the introductory part is historical: it focuses on migratory flows, the occupation of territories, contacts between tribes (*Stämme*), their subgroups (*Völkerschaften*), their growth, the change of their settlement territories, and their disappearance. Ficker's commentary on the encounter between the stronger and the weaker, in which the “ethnographic element” plays a decisive role in addition to the superiority itself, is interesting, but he does not make it explicit:

A tribe that is deprived of its previous land ownership by another does not, therefore, disappear completely. Many, however, and mostly the higher-ranking ones, meet the iron fate of war; others leave their previous

homeland to found a new one among relatives or strangers; most, however, finally renounce the unsuccessful resistance, subordinate themselves to the new masters of the country, and gradually merge with them to form a nation, to which the spiritual and physical superiority of the invaders increasingly imprints their character. Even the neighbouring tribes who did not succumb to the new rule were seldom able to resist entirely the influence of a vigorous ethnographic element on their whole peculiarity, however hostile as they were to it. (Ficker, 1869: 2)

During migration and permanent settlement, the tribes advanced culturally so that by the first century BC, “they were no longer savages” (Ficker, 1869: 4).

During the medieval migrations, Ficker noted the westward penetration of the Slavs into areas settled by the Germans. He made special mention of the Pannonian and Noric Slavs, called Slovenians (*Slovenen*):

The mountainous branches soon adopted the name Korutans [*Korutaner*], from which the more recent name of Carinthians emerged. Their settlements stretched as far as the Upper Austrian lakes and the Pinzgau, as far as the Inn and the sources of the Drau, as far as Istria and Friuli [...] even today it is not only the names of localities – such as Gratz, Leoben, Zlap im Möllthale and very many along the river Isel and its tributaries – but also the addition of the word “Windisch” to place names in areas where Slavs are no longer to be found, e.g. Windisch-Matrei, Windisch-Bleiberg, Windisch-Garsten, Windischdorf near Haag, Windischhueb im Innkreise and others. (Ficker, 1869: 11)

At the time of Charlemagne, Slovenians “lived from the upper Sava and Kolpa rivers northward along the upper Drava, at a somewhat uncertain distance from the Germans, who were responsible for the supreme administration of all secular and spiritual affairs in the country” (Ficker, 1869: 14). From the end of the first millennium, the ethnographic formation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was influenced by the “rejuvenated Roman Empire of the German nation” (ibid.: 15). The bishops of Brixen and Freising, as well as powerful nobles, settled German farmers, craftsmen, and miners, mainly from the surrounding areas, on the Carniolian estates; they were “mostly lost among the Slovenians”. At the end of the 12th century, the “land of the Gootsheer” was settled in the wooded valleys; these were of Bavarian-Austrian origin, with a few Swabians and Franks. In the 14th century, Italian rule prevailed on the western border. The Counter-Reformation also had a substantial impact on the demography of the area, with migration from Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola: the Slovenians mainly remained Catholic, while nobles and townspeople of German nationality made up the bulk of the emigrants, who were

among the most educated and wealthy in the area. The Turkish invasions led to the settlement of Serbian refugees, known as *Uskokeni*, on the Croatian-Carniolian border.

After a historical overview of the various groups' settlement, distribution, and borders, Ficker found that the different population groups in the monarchy occupied their positions later than in other European countries. He attributed to the state the concern "to keep the foreign elements under the balancing influence of a higher material, intellectual and political culture". He was referring to the national ferment that shook the foundations of the empire in the 19th century. For this reason, following Czoernig, he stressed that it was inevitable to monitor the existence of the national edifice to "recognise and appreciate the demands of the present and the future" (Ficker, 1869: 29). And he went straight to the heart of the matter, i.e. nationality as a category linked to censuses.

Czoernig mentioned the 1851 census only once as one of the sources for the map,²⁰ but Ficker stopped at this administrative record with the question of determining nationality. Thus, at the International Statistical Congress in Vienna in 1857, he also put on the agenda "ethnographic-statistical moments" (Johler, 2020: 599) and the importance of ethnography in multinational states (Russia, Turkey, Austria):

But in those countries [...] which consist of only one nationality or only one dominant element, not only does the "ethnographic element fall into the background" and ultimately dissolve into a single nation, but also the "value of ethnography" turns out to be "very insignificant and disappears". (Johler, 2020: 599)

The question of determining nationality has not been conclusively answered, and the principle of the (mother tongue) language has finally been established in the international framework for population censuses. Like Czoernig, Ficker wondered: "Can an individual's nationality be determined by a tangible criterion, one which at the same time allows the census taker to assess the correctness or incorrectness of the information given by the enumerated individual?" (Ficker, 1869: 30). This was possible in French statistics because nationality and citizenship overlapped, but not in Austria.

Is this not a territory of a varied mix of peoples, a territory where the four major European peoples, Romans, Germans, Slavs, and Finns meet, not only in individual branches but in great masses, on which the state structure is based? (Ficker, 1869: 30)

²⁰ According to Morgane Labbé, Czoernig's ethnographic mapping survey 1846 can be considered a census; it included a question about the majority language and a second language if at least a quarter of the inhabitants spoke it. In preparing the official census of 1850–1851, Czoernig also sought to collect data on nationality; however, interviewers in the field asked about the language spoken in the family; this data then appeared in the statistical tables (Labbé, 2011: 155–156).

Regarding nationality, citizenship and regional or local belonging must be excluded as much as nationality, especially in the case of rapid mobility, when people often find themselves in a different national environment. They cannot, therefore, be counted among the majority in terms of nationality, which is particularly characteristic of large cities and industrial towns.

Ficker then wondered whether it would be possible to find a tangible criterion of nationality in “the totality or greater number of the outstanding characteristics of the external life of the people” (*herforragende Eigentümlichkeiten des äusseren Volkslebens*) (Ficker, 1869: 31). Based on this consideration, and given the ever-increasing turnover of peoples and countries, no nation could completely dissociate itself from others in the development of its forms of life; it made daily progress by adapting and adopting. Among the “external forms of life”, he could find no unmistakable sign of nationality hidden.

The forms of political existence and rights, the organisation of estates, the division into estates or social classes, the manner of family life, the expressions of legal consciousness, the folk customs and habits of the people regarding residence, dress, and food, the directions of material and intellectual activity, are subject not only to national influences but also to many other, often relatively local and temporary influences which are not national in character. (Ficker, 1869: 31)

Other characteristics, such as folk customs, diet, materials, and how houses are built, often vary from area to area, following old customs that are markedly local and preserved by different ethnic groups. This is even more evident in urban habits. The relevance of nationality was relativised by the greater importance of other characteristics, e.g. soil fertility, water availability, industrial equipment, and authorities’ promotion or restriction of education, all of which tended to have a stronger material and spiritual impact than nationality. Physical characteristics, with frequent intermingling of people, cannot be an adequate measure either.

He finally settled on “the language commonly spoken in the family” or “the mother tongue of the enumerator” (Ficker, 1869: 32) as a possible way out of the maze of commonplace situations that might reflect the subjective aspect of the interviewer or respondent.²¹ Ultimately, he concluded that language was a good approximation of a meaningful criterion but did not resolve the nationality question fully (*ibid.*: 32–33).

He then mentioned some facts: 1) Even such particular peoples as the Israelites or the Armenians adapt themselves linguistically to the environment in which they live. 2)

²¹ It has been observed that even high school students have avoided filling out the nationality section or that information about German, Slavic, or Hungarian students from the same grammar school has varied over the years depending on the nationality of the census official.

If one language has a more significant political weight (predominance) in a nationally mixed country, if it is the language of the schools, of the judiciary, it is “quite natural” for members of other nations to bring it into their homes and to recognise it in the census. There are many cases where it is spoken interchangeably with the mother tongue (Polish, Hungarian, Ruthenian) or even preferred (in Bohemia, Moravia, southern Styria, and Carniola) without renouncing their Slavic nationality (Ficker, 1869: 33). For individuals and families along linguistic borders and in linguistically mixed areas, Ficker introduced the category of *sujets mixtes*, *utraquists* (*Utraquisten*), who did not adopt a third category of nationality created from a mixture of the two. He provided an example: the children exchange between German and Slavic families, when “the second language also becomes their mother tongue, and not merely a learned one alongside their mother tongue” (ibid.: 34).

Ficker concluded that language was not the required criterion either. Nevertheless – and on this point he echoed Czoernig – he used the terms “linguistic area” (*Sprach-Gebiet*), “linguistic border” (*Sprach-Gränze*), “linguistic island” (*Sprach-Insel*) in the same sense as “ethnographic area”, “ethnographic border”, “ethnographic island”; in this case they are a shorthand based on the most characteristic feature of the whole (Ficker, 1869: 34).

Ficker closed his discussion of nationality in censuses by stating that nationality is not a factor from which an individual statement or nationality can be derived or sought in the individual; it cannot be determined by the mechanical means of a census. Nevertheless, it has to be “the object of scientific investigation”²² to show – using a kind of average (as in the case of fertility and mortality) – “the true diversity of nations” (*die wirkliche Verschiedenheit der Nationen*) (Ficker, 1869: 34).

In the next section, Section VI (ibid.: 37ff.), Ficker, following Czoernig, summarised the map of linguistic borders, mixed areas, and islands. The introductory and most extensive section deals with the Germans:

Not only because of the historical importance of the creation and development of the Empire but also for statistical reasons, the Germans must be placed first in the analysis of its ethnographic elements. Although the Germanic population is not the most outstanding in terms of numbers, it is the only one that is spread throughout all the countries of the monarchy; at the same time, it has the most points of contact with the others of all the tribes, so that a systematic survey of the national situation of the Empire can only begin by looking at the German areas. (Ficker, 1869: 37)

²² He included ethnographic maps in this research and favorably summarized Czoernig’s work: the ethnographic map and its supplementation with historical-statistical work. The result was an encyclopedic work (Ficker, 1869: 35).

Without repeating the journey through the map of borders and mixed territories, let us mention the highlights of the Germanic-Italian-Slovenian borders: in the west, for example, the Germanic-Friulian border, the *triplex confinium* between Friulians, Germans, and Slovenians, the Germanic-Slovenian border in Carinthia, where Germans and Slovenians often live together. For them, he wrote:

Since Germans and Slovenians live together almost continuously in a friendly relationship along the entire language divide, the rising waves of political excitement for two decades have hardly brought about any other change than that in individual outposts of the German sound, which had been heard more frequently there, gradually faded away and made way for the sole dominance of the old native Slovenian. (Ficker, 1869: 39)

There is also a distinctly mixed German-Slovenian area in Lower Styria, except in some Slovenian towns (Ljubljana, Kamnik, Krško, Novo Mesto), where Germans are in decline, Germans and Slovenians meet in Gorizia and Trieste where the Germans are more resistant to the agitation of the “Italianissimi” (Ficker, 1869: 48).

Among the three South Slavic tribes, the Slovenians are characterised by living in the most compact territory (Carniola, part of Carinthia, Gorizia, Istria, Trieste, southern Styria, parts of the Iron and Zala counties). They border on Friulians, Italians – he mentioned for Gorizia that Slovenian and Friulian, Italian and German are spoken in the city (Ficker, 1869: 69). The distinctly mixed – Slovenian-Italian-Croatian-Serbian – area is Istria, the Slovenian-Croatian area is the White Carniola, and the linguistic interference is also strong on the eastern Slovenian-Croatian border. The density of the Slovenian population is highest in Carniola and around Maribor, with two-thirds of the population in Gorizia, half in Trieste, and about one-third in Carinthia. They are often called *Winden*, especially in Lower Styria, and the Latinized term *Vandalen* is used for Hungarian Slovenians (ibid.: 69–71).

Regarding the Italians, he noted that Trieste was predominantly Italian as a centre of shipping and trade and that its language was also understood and spoken mainly by Germans and Slovenians. In Istria, the Italianized towns were on the west coast between Muggia and Pula, where Venetian is spoken in Muggia, Koper, Isola, and Piran, and a slightly different dialect is spoken south of there. Italian and Friulian merchants settled inland.

In the last section (ibid.: 90–97), Ficker published tabulated statistics by crown lands and population (German, North Slavs, South Slavs, West Romans, East Romans, Hungarians, and other tribes), the number of individual peoples in the tribes, the relative percentages of the peoples with the total population of the monarchy, under the Hungarian crown, and in the war zone, by individual crown lands and their districts.



On the last two pages, Ficker summarised some of his findings. The first is about merging the weak with the strong as a natural process, mainly due to mobility. The various smaller tribes are

unmistakably already in the process of merging with stronger and more vital ones. As little as streams can resist turning into rivers and rivers into streams, just as little can any ethnographic fraction in our times of daily growing traffic, especially in the heart of Europe, separate itself so completely from all others, especially from the influence of higher developments, that it would be able to resist natural absorption in the long run. (Ficker, 1869: 97)

Following Czoernig, he reiterated that the primary culture bearers were the Romance tribe in the south and the Germanic tribe in the north, which

have had the most beneficial effect on the development of public life and all economic and intellectual activity. It is of great importance that this intellectual supremacy, for by far the largest part of the Empire belongs to a tribe that is inferior in number to other nationalities and has the least resistance to contact with foreign nationalities, is the easiest to merge with them, and is therefore also the furthest removed from striving to denationalise them. Only then will the connection of the other fellow countrymen to German education find its natural solution when the culture of those peoples has developed sufficiently to become an independent lever for their further development. (Ficker, 1869: 97–98)

Ficker did not see the unification of the four major European tribes into one empire in the heart of the continent as a mere coincidence:

the millennia of history have created countless points of contact between its tribes, intertwining all the ties of their lives in different ways. It would also seem that such a country, and in this geographical situation, has had to be created over and over again so that these tribes, even politically divided, do not have to fight each other in battles of annihilation. (Ficker, 1869: 98)

A look at the map of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, especially considering the youth of the country, which only a century and a half ago freed itself from the violence of the Ottomans hostile to all Christian-European civilisation,

shows that the state of the Holy Crown of St. Stephen can only be based on the union of Magyars, Germans, Slavs, and Romans. Such a territory, in which the equality of peoples seems to be a natural gift, can find security for its further development only in close annexation to a state in which none of the four main tribes predominates, but all four live side by side on an equal footing. (Ficker, 1869: 98)

Ficker’s text is not comparable in scope to Czoernig’s, but it follows it in a condensed, handy form in many respects. At first glance, it is distinguished by its title: Czoernig’s was an “ethnography of the monarchy”, and Ficker’s was a geography, history, and statistics of the tribes of people. He did not mention ethnography at all, using only the adjective *ethnographisch* to denote the problem of the population and the relations between the groups.²³ In the title, he referred to them as *Völkerstämme* in the case of the four main groups and to their subgroups without any clear distinction between *Volk* and *Nation*. The most common use of the term *Nationalität* refers to nationality or national identification in ethnographic statistics or censuses of peoples. However, as mentioned above, this question has not been conclusively answered.

Partial conclusion: Diversity and coherence

There is no “society” or “culture” prior to its ideological unity (or the effect of such unity), which is provided by the state, and at the same time, the elements of sociability (e.g. language) are necessary to achieve such unity.

(Lešnik, 1997: 316)

As the conceptual interest in the history of the ethnos-sciences shows, the origin of ethnographic interest in the 18th century was not national; it emerged in imperial contexts (mainly the Russian and German empires). In response to the needs of these empires, a comprehensive collection of knowledge about the ethnic groups that inhabited their territories was assembled.

Whether scholars of the time were concerned with *historia naturalis* or *historia gentium*, their research was conducted following the tenets of Enlightenment science (empirically exhaustive, systematic), guided by Leibniz’s precept that knowledge should serve social needs and facilitate progress. Knowledge for the interests of the state was provided, for example, in the fields of historiography and geography, in which the ethnos-sciences, i.e., the sciences of populations and their differences, were established as specialisations. They mapped human groups according to ethnicity,

²³ Specifically, 32 occurrences, e.g. *ethnographische Gestaltung, Umgestaltung, Verhältnisse, Zustand, Mischung, Gränze, Insel, Gruppe, Einheit, Karte, Element*.

languages, customs and habits, and social organisation and also drew on older patterns of “ethnographic performances”.²⁴

The Habsburg Empire in the 19th century was a patched fabric of crown lands and ethnically diverse populations. Especially after the Spring of Nations, the Viennese court addressed this complex situation by asserting that a multi-ethnic composition under a single authority was a “natural fact” that would endure with an appropriate and effective state system. From this perspective, the 19th-century works on the entire monarchy exhibited a common thread: uniting differences, or “diversity in unity”. How these differences were characterised is significant for a historically and anthropologically informed discussion of identities and identifications.

In representations of the monarchy, the environment or geographical space was initially regarded as the primary identity marker, viewed as a “natural fact”:

No European state possesses such extraordinary and manifold sources of essential, lasting, independent wealth as the Austrian; blessed provinces of this empire are not characterised by temporary splendour, by rapidly growing and equally rapidly sinking prosperity, but by a wealth based on the physical structure, the fertility of the soil, its culture and the products it produces; the provinces of this empire are so variable and varied in climate, soil and products that no storm of war can cause lasting devastation, and so excellent in the quality of their products that their usefulness is universally acknowledged. (Blumenbach, 1937 I: 17)

Later, Friedrich Umlauf linked the excellence of location to the element of political mediation:

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, which encompasses a large area richly blessed by nature, occupies a unique position among all the states of Europe due to its physical characteristics and national composition. Countries with the most diverse landforms, land cultures, and populations united for centuries to form a great Central European power, which seems to have been assigned the mediation between Occident and Orient, North and South of Europe. (Umlauf, 1897: 1)

This reproduces Enlightenment geographers’ characteristic notion of the primacy of the natural environment: geographical space is also the political space that allows a

²⁴ Michael Harbsmeier (quoting Fredrik Barth) has used the term ‘ethnographic performances’ to refer to “acts of telling stories about how ‘real’ life is different elsewhere in the world (or the other world)”, i.e. a tradition of knowledge that goes far back into human history (Harbsmeier, 1995: 20; cf. Hodgen, 1964; De Waal Maljefit, 1974).

state to exist and survive. Although geographical determinism in favour of historical and other features (e.g. the multi-ethnic composition of the population, modern migration to cities and industrial sites, trade, transport, interactions, different religions) has receded into the background – Czoernig, Ficker, and Umlauf wrote about lands and peoples and their interactions, which are slightly different everywhere depending on the circumstances – the description of the empire’s territory persisted until the last hymn to the monarchy, exemplified by Archduke Rudolf’s Introduction to the collection *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*. He invited his “readership to journey through a vast land, among multilingual peoples, amidst ever-changing images”, and wandered from Vienna southwards and in all other directions to the Bay of Kotor (Erzherzog Rudolf, 1887).

In attempting to answer the question of the characterisations of the inhabitants of a vast area, it can first be stated that these are collective labels applicable to the groups and their lands: At the first level, the inhabitants (*Bevölkerung*) are distinguished by ethnicity; these are the large communities of Germans, Romans, Slavs, Hungarians, and a few other peoples (*Nebenvölker*), e.g. Armenians, Israelites, Gypsies. For large groups, throughout the century, all writers from Blumenbach to Archduke Rudolf most often used the term *Volkstamm* or *Völkerstämme*, i.e. *Hauptstämme*, the main tribes, or *Hauptvölker*, the main peoples, *Hauptvölkerstämme*, the main folk tribes, *Hauptvölkergruppen*, the main groups of peoples, exceptionally *Völkerfamilie* (Ficker), *Hauptnationen* (Blumenbach), or *Nationalitäten* (Umlauf) and *Volksrassen* (Prochaska). *Volk* or *Völker*, people, denoted their sub-groups. The designations of ethnic, regional, and local populations in texts written in German are frequently inconsistent and, at times, indicative of a lack of familiarity with the local terms. However, even otherwise, the names of the population at the beginning of the 19th century were “still largely undeveloped, used differently in different languages, and the notions of the belonging of particular provincial groups to a nation were also unclear” (Novak, 1986: 91).

In the middle of the century, Czoernig and Ficker’s labels appeared with the root “nation”, rarely written in the form *Nation*. The term *Nationalität*, primarily synonymous with *Volk*, prevailed. We posit a potential distinction between the state (civil) *Nation* (nation overlaps with the state) and *Nationalität*,²⁵ which was presented as a controversial (and disturbing) category of statistics and statistical ethnography in the multinational state.

Umlauf was also aware that Austria was exposed to the dangers posed by “not insignificant elements of the population who are too sanguine in their hopes or too bold in their aspirations” (Umlauf, 1897: 3), yet he chose to refrain from elaborating on them, although his work was published at a time when these issues were widely discussed. In the introductory chapter on political and territorial history, he briefly

²⁵ The Slovenian language marks this distinction with two words: *nacija* and *narod(nost)* which are generally translated into English in the same way; the appropriate solution would be ‘nation-state’ and ‘nation’.



mentioned the Spring of Nations that stimulated the aspirations of Italians, Hungarians, and Slavs for national independence (ibid.: 13).

Czoernig and Ficker, however, made a special effort to find the determinant of *Nationalität*, given the statistical orientation. The statistical tasks reduced “ethnography” to precisely describable ethnographic facts (territorial borders of ethnic groups, ethnically mixed areas, and islands) and quantifiable ones (numbers, proportions by country, etc.). The ethnographic conditions (*ethnographische Verhältnisse*) were a truncation of the breadth set out in the ethnoscience, and ultimately also in Blumenbach’s geography and the “homeland ethnography” in *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*.

Ethnographic conditions, the main subject of ethnography, were conceived in the second half of the century in at least two directions: statistical and homeland-oriented. As a tool of the statistics of the time – at the intersection of law, state policy, and geography – ethnography was a kind of political description of the population and simultaneously engaged in preserving and strengthening the multiethnic state. In this context, Ficker’s point that ethnographic elements in nation-states are background elements, and thus the value of ethnography is irrelevant and disappears, is interesting. Ethnography has its *raison d’être* as long as there are “ethnographic conditions”, i.e. ethnic differences in space and time.

In the introduction to a book collection on people of the Dual Monarchy, Karl Prochaska offered a different perspective on ethnography by highlighting the abundance of geographical, zoological, botanical, and mineralogical works on Austria-Hungary, and by pointing to the significant gap in research within the field of ethnography and cultural history as “almost completely neglected” (Prochaska, 1881: [2]).

Similarly, Archduke Rudolf held a comparable perspective on the subject of ethnography. He advocated for ethnographic work at “the level of modern scientific research”, which he believed would stimulate and educate readers, strengthen the sense of solidarity, and unite “all the peoples of our fatherland” (Erzherzog Rudolf, 1887: 5).

Umlauft offered a broader reflection on the scope of ethnography in the concluding remarks in the chapter *Man (Der Mensch)*:

The relation between man and the physical conditions of the earth’s surface, his relation to the nature surrounding him, as it is expressed in his physical prosperity and well-being, in his food, his clothing and dwelling, in his weapons and implements, in his means of transportation; his relation to his fellow men, as it appears in marriage, in the family, in the tribe, in the form of government, and is conveyed by language; his relation to supernatural power, as it appears in the various religions: these are the subjects of ethnography. (Umlauft, 1897: 612)

However, he included discussions of “ethnographic” topics in the section Statistics (Umlauft, 1897: 656–842), the science of the vital aspects of the state (Umlauft, 1897: 656). What is significant by Umlauft is less how to conceptualise the relationship between statistics and ethnography – both of which have different problematic emphases and themes – but the claim that “The life of mankind [...] nowhere and never presents itself as a disordered sum of phenomena” (ibid.: 656); instead, it is a coherent organism fully expressed in the state. Here, we can discern traces of theories of the development of human societies conceived during the Enlightenment, positing a natural progression of civilisation completed in state-organized societies. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the state to develop the tools of social homeostasis within the framework of the crown lands, considering the differences between populations.

It is common for descriptions to refrain from addressing conflicts, except national ones, acknowledged in statistical ethnography. In Czoernig, who was unsuccessful in his attempt to identify an unambiguous qualifier of nationality for the purposes of statistics, the national, which was closely aligned with the notion of ethnicity, was finally recognised as the foundation of cultural, spiritual, and material advancement and the driving force behind spiritual development on the journey to cultural enlightenment. In this vein, he undertook the characterisation of the peoples of the monarchy, which had been shaped by historical processes and were predominantly of a psycho-social nature (Czoernig, 1857b: 22–32). The characterisations were developed following the significant question of the contribution of individual people to cultural progress and the unique ways in which each contributes to the well-being of the monarchy. The synergy of these features is one of the pillars of the strength of the state, which, for example, Umlauft almost copied from Czoernig:

But it is not only the mixture of peoples [*Völkermischung*] that establishes this uniqueness; it is mainly due to the excellent conditions in which the main tribes of peoples [*Hauptvölkerstämme*] appear so that they keep the balance between each other through the number and inner strength of the individual peoples [*Völker*], as well as through the gradations of civilisation, and in their union, not their subordination, form the foundations on which the state building rests. This characteristic composition of the population of Austria-Hungary has not only had a decisive influence on the course and development of the history of the state but also forms the foundations of its present existence and comes to the fore among the natural state forces of the monarchy. (Umlauft, 1897: 13)

In the latter half of the century, the monarchy is depicted to emphasise the equality and equivalence of all population groups (all peoples are described according to the same

conceptual scheme).²⁶ A coexistence under one state authority is portrayed despite the “most colourful mixture” of populations, the multitude of conditions, and the various levels of civilisation achieved. Czoernig asserted that the monarchy was so glorious that it would have to be invented if it did not exist (Stagl, 2008: 29).

In addition to the geographical, “natural” ethnic and linguistic differences, the most pronounced were the civilisational ones, which were sometimes expressed in ethnic or common-sense biases: contrasts between the north and west and the south and east, between rural and urban populations, and between those with higher and lower levels of education. They also encompassed differences in work and food habits, care for cleanliness, etc. The level of civilisation and culture attained also supported the mission attributed by Czoernig, Ficker, and Umlauf to the two major groups – Germanic and West Romanic – and especially to the leading Germanic people, whereby the civilisational/cultural and ethnic/national criteria overlapped (Bendix, 2003).

After an eventful history of migrations, colonisation of territories, and encounters between peoples of unequal strength and different living conditions, Czoernig and Ficker foresaw a civilisational convergence, i.e. an increasing blurring of differences, precisely under the influence of the leading German element (e.g. through the universalisation of the German language among all citizens, which did not exclude the preservation of other national particularities). This process was supposed to contribute to the even greater internal cohesion and indivisibility of the monarchy, as enshrined in the motto of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: *Indivisible and inseparable*.

The idealised images of the monarchy are records of a desired balance. They are evident in the more “scientific” statistical ethnography and the more popular, poetic, and essayistic forms of homeland descriptions. The ideal of the fusion of all the best characteristics of peoples and their unity was the basis for official government discourse and instrumentalised academic contributions.

Consequently, this discourse prompts research on its scope and impact on the subjects of these works, on possible comparative parallels in homeland-oriented and local accounts, and on real-life data from other sources. At another level, it requires reflection on the relationship between monarchical ideology and the ideologies of individual peoples.²⁷

The genre of presented writings had the function of attributing characteristics to collectives from the outside, from afar, and from above. There was no room in their horizon for individuals’ (self-)identifying characteristics; individuals were interesting as

²⁶ Justin Stagl (2008: 28) commented on the “equivalence” approach as follows: “By placing them next to each other, the smaller, less important ones were upgraded compared to the larger, more important ones. This is because a universal power necessarily protects the smaller ones, which are not so dangerous to it, against the larger ones. Thus, the seemingly impartial humanistic principle of description harbored a political point.”

²⁷ At the level of collectivities, they are exemplified by the reception of the *Kronprinzenwerk* in the various nations of the monarchy (Fikfak, Johler, 2008a).

collective producers of goods and loyal citizens. Identifications, created and recreated according to the principle of difference in the spaces of everyday encounters and contacts, were mapped historically by borders, mixed zones, and linguistic or ethnographic islands. A few factual hints, e.g. on contemporary migration, increasing communication, education, and “cultural” adaptations, draw the researcher’s attention in the future to nodes or crossroads of “in-betweens” that transcend the linguistic *sujets mixtes*.

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Podobe ljudstev: »etnografiji« habsburškega imperija v 19. stoletju

V prispevku so obravnavana besedila o ljudstvih in narodih multietničnega habsburškega imperija v 19. stoletju z vidika interesa za mnogotere in večplastne identifikacije skupin in posameznikov na alpsko-jadranskem območju med Celovcem, Trstom in Ljubljano. Posebne pozornosti so deležne identitetne karakterizacije, ki bi dopolnile, morebiti tudi relativizirale in/ali presegle pripisane etnične in narodne identitete, značilne za obravnave procesa graditve narodov, posebej od »pomladi narodov«.

Obravnavana besedila so med narekovajema označena kot etnografska v pomenu znanosti o etnosu, koncipiranih v drugi polovici 18. stoletja v historiografiji, geografiji, statistiki in državoznanstvu; v njih so bili definirani tudi etnografski interesi. Nastajali so znanstveni opisi ljudstev v obsežnih imperijih (npr. nemškem, ruskem, turškem), kjer so bila dejstva o etnični sestavi, kulturni ravni prebivalstva idr. značilnostih potrebna in uporabna za uspešno upravljanje državnih tvorb.

V avstrijski monarhiji 19. stoletja, ki je učinkovala kot krpana preproga dežel, ljudstev, jezikov, veroizpovedi idr. značilnosti, je ostala razsvetljenska tradicija opisovanja ljudstev eden pomembnih tokov v avstrijskem narodopisju, ki se je vsebinsko bogatilo še drugimi žanri pisanja (potopisje, domoznanstvo, topografije). Format obsežnih del, ki so jih izdajali v posamičnih knjigah ali v več zvezkih in tudi v monumentalnih knjižnih zbirkah (Prochaska, 1881–1885; Umlauf, 1881–1889; ÖMWB, 1884–1902), je ustrezal potrebi po nadvse podrobnih opisih dežele in ljudi. Vanje je bila vtisnjena imperialna ideologija upravljanja »različnosti v enotnosti«, razumljiva ob dejstvu, da je cesarski dvor vse so razpada avstro-ogrške monarhije kljub številnim notranjim napetostim vztrajal, da etnične ali narodne razlike ne ogrožajo politične enotnosti.

Pri delih o monarhiji kot celoti je osnovno vprašanje, ali je mogoče poleg pripisanih kolektivnih oznakah zaznati problematiko vmesnih ali več hkratnih, hibridnih identifikacij, razvidnih v »vsakdanji etničnosti«, in če, na katerih ravneh. S kakšnim disciplinarnim orodjem (terminologijo, organizacijo snovi, naracijo) so pisci označevali, identificirali razločke med etničnimi, narodnimi skupinami, jih morebiti primerjali? Je mogoče v teh predstavitvah razbrati pristranosti avtorjev? Ali in kako so dokumentirani nacionalizacijski procesi, ki so v 19. stoletju soustvarjali kolektivne identifikacije in so pri narodih monarhije potekali v različnih okoliščinah in z različno dinamiko?

Pregledna analiza je potrdila podmeno, da v teh delih ne gre pričakovati posebne pozornosti večplastnim identitetam. O njih je tu in tam prebrati kak drobec, saj so obravnave zastavljene drugače – kot znanstveno izčrpne in sistematične deskripcije na podlagi obsežnega znanja o deželah in njihovem prebivalstvu. Ljudi, ki so bolj ali manj odmaknjen »predmet«, locirajo zgodovinsko, geografsko, jih preštevajo, predstavljajo nekatere značilnosti vsakdanjega življenja, jih včasih komentirajo in primerjajo, tudi z njihovim (ljudskim) značajem.

Osrednji del besedila obravnava dela dveh avtorjev – Karla von Czoerniga *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie* in *Über die Ethnographie Österreichs* (1857a, 1857b) in Adolfa Fickerja *Die Völkerstämme der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, ihre Gebiete, Gränzen und Inseln* (1869). Posebej Czoernigovo delo je mogoče uvrstiti v poseben žanr etnografij, t. i. statistično etnografijo. V primerjavi z drugimi obsežnimi avtorskimi deli o

monarhiji (Blumenbach, 1832–1833, 2. izd. 1837; Umlauft 1876, 2. izd. 1897) ima Czoernigovo in Fickerjevo delo izostrenejši disciplinarni okvir, razviden v ekspliciranju in argumentaciji problematike kakor tudi načinu obravnave. Eksplicitno namreč reflektira kategorijo narodnosti – na eni strani kot kvantificirano dejstvo (statistični podatki, etnografski zemljevid), katerega glavno merilo je kljub nezadostnosti jezik, na drugi kot silo kulturnega in civilizacijskega razvoja, ki je najmočnejša pri nemškem elementu. Ficker je bil zvest Czoernigov naslednik in ga v premislekih o narodnosti, katere pomen je še nekoliko bolj relativiziral, o jeziku in kulturnem razvoju »močnejših« (Germani in zahodni Romani) in »šibkejših« ni presegel.

Po pestri zgodovini selitev, kolonizacije ozemelj, srečevanjih neenako močnih ljudstev, različnih življenjskih okoliščinah sta Czoernig in Ficker v prihodnosti predvidela civilizacijsko stapljanje, tj. vse večje poenotenje razlik, in to prav pod vplivom vodilnega nemškega elementa (npr. s splošno uveljavitvijo nemščine, ki bi jo morali obvladati vsi pripadniki monarhije, kar pa ne izključuje ohranjanja drugih narodnih posebnosti). V tem procesu sta videla še trdnejšo notranjo povezanost monarhije in vztrajala pri njeni nedeljivosti, zapisani v motu avstro-ogrske monarhije *Indivisibiliter ac inseparabiliter*.

Trieste Ethnographies in the Eyes of Contemporary Observers in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries

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The paper examines how contemporary observers portrayed the ethnography of Trieste in the 19th and early 20th centuries, specifically focusing on their understanding of cultural diversity and interethnic relations. The emphasis is on nationalizing narratives from authors living in various historical contexts, offering insights into Trieste's ethnic and national realities during a period characterized by the rise of national ideologies and polarization.

▪ **Keywords:** Trieste, eastern Adriatic, Italian-Slavic relations, nationalizing narratives, multicultural identities

Avtor obravnava, kako so sodobniki portretirali etnografijo Trsta v 19. in zgodnjem 20. stoletju, s posebno pozornostjo na njihovem razumevanju kulturne raznovrstnosti in medetničnih razmerij. Pozornost na nacionalizacijske pripovedi piscev, ki so živeli v različnih zgodovinskih kontekstih, omogoča pogled na etnične in narodnostne realnosti Trsta v času, za katerega je bil značilen vzpon nacionalnih ideologij in polarizacij.

▪ **Ključne besede:** Trst, vzhodni Jadran, italijansko-slovenska razmerja, nacionalizacijske pripovedi, večkulturne identitete

Trieste/Trst/Triest as a case

Trieste is a city known by many epithets, the most frequent being “the city on the frontier” (*città di frontiera*). This title relates to Trieste's physical location at the crossroads of the Roman and Slavic worlds and reflects the geopolitical shifts that have seen Trieste transition between states throughout the 20th century. Additionally, Trieste's coastal location, its economic role as a port in the Danube Monarchy, and Mediterranean cultural influences have earned it the epithets of a “Mediterranean city” and “Central European city” (Ara, Magris: 1982; Gombač, 1993: 15; Biondi, 1995).

The presence of a diverse population comprising different ethnic groups, languages, and cultural features has led to Trieste being referred to as a “multi-ethnic/multinational city” and a “multilingual city”, or more broadly, a “plural city” (Finzi, Panjek, 2001). This diversity also includes the description of Trieste as a “multi-confessional city” or a “city of religious tolerance”. Trieste earned this reputation due to its status as a free port, even before the issuance of Joseph II's Religious Tolerance Patent in the 1780s.

Trieste is also described as a “cosmopolitan city”, a term referring to its mercantile bourgeoisie, which originated from a wide international area and notably influenced the city's social fabric and cultural orientation (Ara, Magris, 1982: 12; Millo, 2007). Simultaneously, Trieste is known as a city of national conflict and as a disputed city,

traits that have marked its history in the second half of the 19th century and a significant portion of the 20th century. In Italian consciousness and nationalist rhetoric, which emphasized its Italian civilization and claimed it as inherently belonging to Italy, Trieste acquired the appellations “unredeemed city” (*città irredenta*) and “very Italian city” (*città italianissima*) (Bufon, 2023).

On the other hand, Slovenian national thought symbolically defined Trieste, which was the largest Slovenian-speaking urban community before the First World War, as the “Slovenian lungs”, meaning the lifeblood of the entire Slovenian national space (Cankar, 1976 [1918]: 121; Pirjevec, 2008; Bufon, 2023). Trieste was certainly a city of diversity, a meeting point and a crossroads of cultures, both in its origins and due to the influx of immigrants from ethnically and culturally diverse areas. However, it was also a city of deep contradictions. As Ara and Magris note, while the individual national communities coexisted and interacted in practical everyday life, they often largely ignored each other, practicing a kind of mutual isolation in national terms (Ara, Magris, 1982: 4, 16).

This paper aims to discuss the ethnography¹ of Trieste during the long 19th century, specifically examining how some contemporary observers perceived the city’s ethnic and cultural diversity. Many ethnographies and records were written by numerous researchers and observers, including Girolamo Agapito, Domenico Rossetti, Cesare de Franceschi, Carlo Combi, Simon Rutar, Scipio Slataper, Fran Cegnar, Ivan Tavčar, Ivan Cankar and many others who with their discourses participated in the debate on the social, national, and cultural character and belonging of the city. My focus is on five authors whose works span different decades, reflecting the evolving socio-economic and political processes of Trieste. The selected authors are Pietro Kandler, Pacifico Valussi, Josip Godina Verdelski, Ruggero Fauro Timeus, and Angelo Vivante. These authors, each nationally identified and presenting views from clearly defined positions, lived in different historical moments with varying worldviews and political stances. Consequently, their works reflect diverse perspectives on the socio-economic and political processes, as well as Trieste’s ethnic/national reality, during a century marked by the emergence of national ideas and polarization.

Pietro Kandler (Trieste 1804-1872), a lawyer, politician, civil servant, municipal administrator, and President of the Trieste Municipal Council, was a man of Italian sentiments and a firm supporter of Trieste’s loyalty to the Danube Monarchy. He was also a distinguished historian, geographer, and archaeologist (Šah, 1982; Schingo, 2004). Among his extensive historiographical output, the monographic work *Notizie storiche di Trieste e guida per la città*, published in 1851 under the pseudonym Giovannina Bandelli, will be discussed in this essay. Additionally, some articles from the journal *L’Istria*, which he published and primarily authored between 1846 and 1852, will also be analyzed.

¹ Ethnography in this text refers to ethnic and cultural specificities, ethnic and national composition, and inter-ethnic relations.

Pacifico Valussi (Talmassons 1813-Udine 1893) was the editor of the journal *La Favilla* (1836–1847), which from 1838 to 1846 highlighted Trieste’s multicultural character. Influenced by the ideas of Niccolò Tommaseo, Valussi viewed the Italian and Slavic communities on the eastern Adriatic as a laboratory for national relations, advocating for a peaceful coexistence between free peoples. After the revolutionary year of 1848, he supported the emancipation of the Habsburg nationalities. In the pamphlet *Trieste e l’Istria e le loro ragioni nella questione italiana* (1861), discussed here, he argued Italy’s claims on Trieste and Istria and presented arguments for negotiated Italian-Slavic national relations (Marušič, 1990; Micelli, 2020).

Josip Godina Verdelski (Trieste 1808-1884) was a representative of the emerging Slovenian nationally conscious middle class. As a Triestine (more precisely, a native of Trieste’s rural environs), he presented a depiction of Trieste’s past in his 1872 work *Opis in zgodovina Tersta in njegove okolice*, with a particular focus on the indigenous Slovenian population (Jevnikar, 1978).

Ruggero Fauro Timeus (Trieste 1892-Pal Piccolo 1915) was associated with the circle of intransigent Italian nationalism and extreme irredentism. This ideology intertwined the struggle for Trieste’s redemption from Austrian rule and its unification with the Italian homeland with the notion of Italian imperialistic ambitions. In 1914, in his book *Trieste, italiani e slavi, il governo austriaco, l’irredentismo*, he outlined his convictions about the history and future of Trieste. A year later, he sacrificed his young life as an Italian volunteer in the Great War against Austria-Hungary, in the name of these beliefs (Redivo, 1995).

Angelo Vivante (Trieste 1869-1915), a member of Trieste’s wealthy bourgeoisie, was committed to Austro-Marxist socialism. He opposed all forms of irredentism and advocated an internationalist vision of Trieste as a multiethnic and multicultural city. With *Irredentismo adriatico* (1912), he presented an alternative, non-nationalist interpretation against the political manipulation of Trieste’s history by Italian national liberals and irredentists at a time of increasing national conflicts and international tensions (Cattaruzza, 1998; Millo, 1998; Zorzenon, 2017).

By examining the representations of Trieste’s ethnography by the aforementioned authors and their perspectives on social and inter-ethnic relations, two assumptions are noteworthy. The first relates to the spatial structure and administrative division of the Trieste municipality, which included the urban settlement, or *Città* (city), and the surrounding rural area, known as *Territorio* (territory) in Italian and *Okolica* (environs) in Slovenian. The territory, divided into karstic villages and rural neighbourhoods spreading over the area between the city and the karstic plateau, was populated almost exclusively by Slovenian speakers. In contrast, the city itself was characterized by prevailing Italian linguistic and cultural traditions despite its ethnic diversity. Italian served as the official municipal administrative language, the predominant spoken language and commercial “lingua franca”, and the language of written communication and culture.

The early modern perception of the city as advanced and civilized, in contrast to the backward rural countryside – a perception that modernization continued to reinforce – was thus reflected in Trieste in terms of ethnic identification with space and population. The city was regarded as Italian and Italianizing, while the countryside was seen as Slavic and the Slavic population as rural. This socio-economic and ethnic Italian-Slavic dichotomy became, in the second half of the 19th century, a “trench in defence of national space” in the discourse of Italian national liberals across the Adriatic Italian-Slavic national contact zone. It also became a central concept in the political relationship between Trieste (and other cities in the north-eastern Adriatic) and the broader Slavic hinterland, as well as a paradigm used in Italian historiography to explain Italian-Slavic national relations (Verginella, 2003, 2017; Toncich, 2017).

The second assumption concerns demography, specifically immigration. Immigration, which was a driving force behind demographic growth and the economic development of Trieste, also shaped the city’s social fabric and ethnic physiognomy (Cattaruzza, 1979, 2002; Breschi et al. 2001). Immigrants contributed to the cosmopolitan and multicultural character of Trieste. However, in the second half of the 19th century, with the rise of national ideas and nationalizing processes, immigration became a subject of national-political contention and a battleground for national identification and political dominance. The main actors in these dynamics were immigrants from the immediate Slovenian and broader Slavic hinterland on one hand, and those from the Kingdom of Italy on the other. Unlike other immigrant groups, which remained numerically modest and separated from their national spaces of origin, Slovenian and Italian immigrants directly influenced relations between the two nations in Trieste, each vying for its status and national interests.

An erudite-conservative view of Trieste ethnography

In his time, in the 1840s and 1850s, Pietro Kandler was regarded as the foremost expert on the history of Trieste. As a politician, he championed the cultural and administrative Italianization of the city, yet he perceived the Habsburg Empire to be a source and guardian of the development of Trieste, as both an Austrian hub and the northernmost Adriatic city. His influence waned when a new, national-liberal Italian bourgeois elite emerged in the 1850s, dominating both the municipal and provincial councils. This new elite rejected Kandler’s belief that Trieste’s connection with the Habsburg Empire was crucial for the city’s historical and future prosperity (Cervani, 1993; Gombač, 1993: 40–44).

Kandler’s scientific and journalistic works are characterized by an erudite and rationalist style, devoid of emotional or other embellishments. He employs an academic and empirically documented methodological approach typical of legal and historiographical

scholarship. This approach is evident in his descriptions of Trieste ethnography, which often form part of larger monographic works or specific studies on selected topics.

Kandler presents Trieste's multiethnicity as a defining historical characteristic, detailing its territorial, social, and cultural articulations. He notes the ethnic homogeneity of the *Territorio*, highlighting the Slovenian colonization of the Karst area that began during the Lombard Kingdom and expanded towards the town in the Triestine ager areas during the early modern period. As mercantile Trieste developed, and the "urban peasantry" declined, the Slovenian peasantry extended up to the city walls, leading to the *Territorio* becoming predominantly Slavic. Over the centuries, the inhabitants of the village of Škedenj, originally from Cremona, also assimilated and became Slovenians (Kandler, 1846; Bandelli, 1851: 192).

Kandler observed that Slovenian inhabitants had adopted new socio-economic habits by settling in the immediate areas around the town, which had served as a source of agricultural products for centuries. The Slovenian settlers in these areas had become arable farmers, shifting away from their traditional pastoral livestock farming, which remained prevalent in the Karst, including within the Trieste municipality. This pastoral heritage was still evident in the term *mandrieri*, used to refer to these inhabitants of the part of *Territorio* close to the city.

Kandler did not hold a favourable view of the Triestine Slovenian territorials and Slovenians in general, describing them as backward and ignorant. He attributed to them the disappearance of the once-thriving olive cultivation, noting that they had cut down the olive trees, positing they had ceased and never replanted them because "this plant was so foreign to the Slavs" (Kandler, 1846: 181; Bandelli, 1851: 192). However, he acknowledged that they had improved over time and suggested that by attending agrarian Sunday schools for youth and adults, they could make adequate progress in modern farming practices.

The city was ethnically and religiously diverse, with Greek, Helvetian, Serbian, and Protestant communities enjoying religious and administrative autonomy, while preserving their respective languages and cultural practices. Despite significant immigration, the urban population remained predominantly Italian, as new, non-Italian arrivals typically adopted the Italian language. However, Kandler noted that these newcomers were easily identifiable because Trieste's social reality did not develop into a homogeneous fabric. As an emporium, the city naturally became and remains an agglomerate of people from various origins (Bandelli, 1851: 192).

Kandler relied on governmental censuses to describe the demographic and ethno-linguistic composition of the city and its territory. In 1842, he himself commissioned a census to investigate the languages people used within their families and in prayer ("in conversation with God") (Kandler, 1848a: 176). Using these statistics, he challenged claims made by Viennese newspapers during the politically charged atmosphere of 1848 that Trieste was a German city. Kandler demonstrated that the Italian population was by

far the majority, with the Slovenian community being the second largest, present both in the countryside and the city. He particularly emphasized that the Italian language dominated all levels of socio-economic and institutional life in Trieste, while German was confined to state administration circles. According to Kandler, German was the language of the administrators, not the administered people.

Kandler emphasized the necessity of Trieste's multiethnic and polyphonic character, highlighting the dynamic interactions among its various communities. He associated language shifts in the second and subsequent generations of immigrants with different national "temperaments". According to Kandler, Germans were the most likely to retain their native language, with some never learning Italian. In contrast, the "pliable" Slavs, especially Slovenians, were more inclined to adopt the Italian language. In the city, the linguistic landscape was also shaped by national/linguistic exogamy, which people readily embraced. In the *Territorio*, however, there was little intermarriage across linguistic lines, not due to opposition, but simply because the peasantry was predominantly of Slovenian lineage.

Children of foreign parents in Trieste typically learned their parents' native language at home and picked up Italian from their peers on the street. Mothers played a crucial role in preserving and passing on the family's language. In mixed families with an Italian mother, the use of the father's language often diminished. Despite these efforts, the second generation of immigrants frequently denied or rejected their original language during their formative years, and by the third generation, the non-Italian language typically disappeared from daily use. Among Italian immigrants, however, such a process of linguistic abandonment did not occur, even when their formal education was in another language.

Kandler emphasized the unique identity of Trieste, rooted in its cultural, historical, and legal distinctiveness, to argue for the primacy of Italian ethnicity and culture in the region. He portrayed this spiritual and civilizing characteristic of Trieste, and the broader Austrian Littoral, as aligned with Austrian statehood and loyalty to the monarchy, reflecting shared interests. Kandler dismissed claims that Trieste was a German city, asserting that the city's identity, anchored in its natural language, could not be separated from its role as the capital of the Austrian Littoral and a key mercantile hub on the Adriatic. Similarly, he refuted the notion of Trieste as a Slavic city, considering such views irrelevant and misguided. He argued that Slavic languages had never attained the status of cultural or educational languages in Trieste, existing instead as vernacular dialects among the Slavic population. Nonetheless, he acknowledged that Slovenian had some influence in Trieste, evidenced by its presence in administrative terminology; for instance, the term *suppano*, derived from the Slovenian *župan* (meaning 'mayor') was used for the heads of village communities.

From a multicultural to a nationalistic and irredentistic narrative

In the 1840s, Pacifico Valussi, the editor of *La Favilla*, advocated for Trieste's autonomy. The newspaper promoted Italian culture, science, and literature while respecting other nations. *La Favilla* portrayed Trieste as a city where diverse cultural and linguistic groups coexisted harmoniously, with families preserving their customs without facing opposition or ridicule (Vivante, 1945: 25). The publication celebrated the city's national and cultural diversity. Valussi expressed admiration for the whole Slavic world and called for friendly relations among different communities. However, during the revolutionary year of 1848, Valussi began to lean towards separatism (Gombač, 1993: 4). Valussi envisioned a “*Svizzera marittima*” (Adriatic Switzerland), with Trieste serving as its port. This entity, emerging from the dissolution of the doomed Habsburg Monarchy, was to act as an intermediary state between Italy and the Slavic world within a new Danube confederation.

By the time he published *Trieste e l'Istria e loro ragioni nella quistione italiana* in 1861, this idea had long been forgotten because Valussi, influenced by the Italian unification movement, had become an advocate for Italian national interests and irredentism (Pirjevec, 1977; Marušič, 1990; Lazarević Di Giacomo, 2009). This work marked the first formal proposal for Trieste's separation from Austria and was considered a manifesto of Adriatic irredentism, as noted by Vivante (Vivante, 1945: 68).

Valussi defended the Italian identity of Trieste and Istria, advocating for the right of Italians to liberate themselves from Austrian rule. He distinguished between the peoples of the region based on their levels of cultural and civilizational development, categorizing some as fully formed and others as still evolving. Valussi argued that these territories rightfully belonged to Italy, citing natural geography, ethnography, language, and historical ties. He emphasized that the aspirations of the people and the broader Italian national interests were paramount in justifying this claim (Valussi, 1861: 7–8).

Valussi portrayed Trieste and Istria as inherently Italian, emphasizing the predominance of the Italian population and language in the region. In contrast to his earlier stance in 1849, where he acknowledged the Slavs as indigenous and advocated for Italian-Slavic fraternity within a neutral area, Valussi later described the Slavs as “invaders” of Italian national territory. He depicted them as uncultured and lacking a “true” language, suggesting that they were destined for non-violent assimilation into the predominantly Italian culture (Valussi, 1861: 21; Vivante, 1945: 69). Valussi argued that in Trieste, all newcomers eventually became part of the “Italian element” due to the prevailing cultural dynamics. He claimed that even the Slovenian dialect spoken in the Trieste countryside was being Italianized and fading away wherever it encountered civilization. According to Valussi, the local Slavs, whom he referred to as “ours” to differentiate them from Slavs with no contact with Italians, retained their Slavic identity only as long as they remained “barbarians”. He believed that as soon

as they aspired to social mobility and emancipation, they would inevitably assimilate into Italian culture, losing their distinct identity. Valussi argued that the Triestines were fundamentally Italian, and he considered the government's efforts to Germanize education and administration futile because the city's Italian character was both necessary and inevitable. He also noted that even the children of Trieste's cosmopolitan merchant community were growing up with a strong Italian identity (Valussi, 1861: 22–23).

Valussi categorized the Slavs in Trieste and Istria, referred to by him as “Piemonte Orientale” (Eastern Piedmont), into two groups: the “pure” and those who had already been Italianized. He noted that the number of Italianized Slavs was steadily increasing, despite government efforts to incite other nationalities against the Italians. According to Valussi, Slavs predominantly lived in rural areas, while Italians resided in towns and in areas of the countryside that exhibited “any sign of culture” (Valussi, 1861: 62). He further divided the Slavs into two distinct clans, the Slovenian and the Serbian, which he described as physically and spiritually very different. Valussi suggested that the Slovenian language and customs had been contaminated, indicating an earlier settlement in the region, while the Serbs, having arrived later, had maintained more of their original national characteristics. Despite these differences, Valussi asserted that both groups lacked institutions, civilization, and any resemblance to the Italian people. Consequently, he believed they were destined to disappear in the face of what he considered the inevitable and progressive influence of Italian culture (Valussi, 1861: 62).

Valussi emphasized that the defining characteristic that made Triestines (and Istrians) Italians was their *volontà* (will), which he saw as the crucial element distinguishing nations from mere groups of people. He argued, “A nation exists when it does not vegetate without self-consciousness, like a herd that lets itself be led by dogs or wanders like a troop of wild animals”. According to Valussi, a nation could only truly exist through a collective will, manifesting in a shared material and spiritual life (Valussi, 1861: 25). He noted that the Triestine people's will and national consciousness emerged after the revolutionary events of 1848. Before this period, Triestines identified themselves as local in their economic interests and habits, and as Italians in their cultural and spiritual identity. Valussi suggested that Trieste might have continued as a kind of “Adriatic Hamburg”, maintaining a unique cultural and administrative identity within the Austrian Empire, if not for the central Austrian government's imposition of its own rules. This shift disturbed the traditional political relationship with Vienna and threatened Trieste's Italian cultural and administrative freedoms. That is why post-1848, a significant change occurred with the rise of a new, purely Italian generation in Trieste, characterized by an intolerance for subjugation and persecution. This generation demanded separation from what they saw as despotic Austrian rule and sought unification with their cultural motherland, Italy (Valussi, 1861: 26–28).

Valussi envisioned a promising future for the Adriatic Slavs outside Trieste and Istria, encouraging them to liberate themselves from Austrian and Ottoman domination

and to establish their own state, where Slavic civilization and national interests could flourish. He acknowledged the historical presence of Italians in these regions but suggested that the Italian community was willing to concede the Dalmatian/Dinaric part of the eastern Adriatic to a Slavic state, in the spirit of fostering good relations between the Italian and Slavic nations. Valussi asserted that the Slavs should respect the Italian character and the natural Italianization of Trieste and Istria. This perspective was part of a broader argument that while Italians were open to Slavic autonomy and statehood in other areas, the Italian nature of Trieste and Istria was indisputable and should not be challenged (Valussi, 1861: 15–17).

Trieste ethnography in the views of a Slovenian national activist

Josip Godina Verdelski, a native of the Trieste countryside portrayed by Italian authors as uncultivated and underdeveloped, emerged as one of the early advocates of the Slovenian national movement in Trieste. Among the actors engaging and sensitizing the Slovenian population in and around Trieste about their ethnicity or nationality, such as Simon Rutar, Fran Cegnar, and institutions like the Slovenian Reading Room in Trieste, Godina held a special status. Encouraged by Ivan Nabergoj, a Slovenian representative in the city council, Godina wrote his *Opis in zgodovina Tersta in njegovih okolice* to educate Slovenian Triestines and the broader Slovenian population about the historical presence of Slovenians in Trieste. His work aimed to counter the narratives presented by Kandler and other Italian historians, who had downplayed, misrepresented, or ignored the Slovenian presence in the city (Godina, 1872: 126). Godina argued that the Slovenian influence in Trieste was far more significant and visible in the city's history, daily life, public image, and cultural diversity than depicted by Italian authors. Through his writings, he sought to provide an alternative narrative that highlighted the substantial and diverse contributions of Slovenians to the fabric of Trieste.

The work, notable as the first Trieste history in the Slovenian language, was written during a sensitive phase of the Slovenian nationalization process, influenced by the evolving Slovenian-Italian relations of the time. Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, the Italian middle class in Trieste was consolidating its identity on a national basis, with Italian national liberals increasingly reinforcing ideological influence against the old, cosmopolitan ruling elite. Concurrently, Slovenians, or Slavs, were also making significant strides towards national awareness and asserting their identity. The late 1860s saw the onset of conflicts, with Italians striving to maintain political and cultural dominance, while Slovenians sought recognition and equal participation in governing the city and its surroundings. A notable incident in this period was the 1868 street fight linked with the opening of a *čitalnica* (Slovenian reading room), which resulted in the death of an Italian youth, allegedly shot by the Okoličanski Bataljon (the Slovenian militia

battalion) (Gombač, 1993: 47–49; Merku, 2002). After this incident, which led to the disbanding of the militia battalion under pressure from Italian national liberals, further episodes hindered the path of the Slovenian national movement. In 1869 the government prohibited the establishment of the local branch of the gymnastic organization Južni Sokol (Southern Sokol) to prevent escalating national polarization and confrontation (Rupel, 1981; Dorigo, 2021). The *čitalniško gibanje* (the movement for establishing Slovenian reading rooms), which initially had been a significant part of the Slovenian national movement, began to lose momentum in the early 1870s (Sturman, 1996).

Godina's description bears in its title the historical administrative articulation of the Trieste municipality between the city and the countryside, for which he uses the term *Okolica* (environs). In doing so, he challenges the social and national dichotomic distinguishing between these two areas and emphasizes their complementarity and coexistence. According to Godina, both the diverse merchants and newcomers, including Slovenians and Slavs, as well as the indigenous inhabitants of the city and countryside, contributed to Trieste's prosperity and development. Godina's central thesis is that Trieste was "a city standing on Slavic soil" because it was initially inhabited by people "of our" (Slavic) tribe. He opposed the Roman origin of the city by linking the Carni, whom Italian historians such as Agapito and Kandler had identified as the earliest inhabitants, to the Carnioli or Carniolians. He supported this theory also with evidence from the migration history of Slavic tribes (Godina, 1872: 292).

Godina described Trieste's multiethnicity by emphasizing the contributions of various ethnic and national groups to the city's development. His focus was particularly on the Slovenian Trieste. He drew attention to Slovenian toponomastics, which had been overlooked in Italian narratives, and highlighted the topographical markers of Slovenian presence through the many churches in the city where Slovenian masses and sermons were conducted (Godina, 1872: 61). Godina also noted the increasing presence of Slovenian craftsmen and merchants in Trieste, as well as the expanding job opportunities for Slovenian speakers. He argued that members of this burgeoning middle class were the most devoted representatives of "our nation" and constituted the foundational core of the organized Slovenian movement (Godina, 1872: 97).

Godina portrayed the inhabitants of the *Okolica* with a blend of admiration and critique, reflecting his personal connection to the area. On one hand, he idealized them as exemplary individuals in various trades such as farming, vine-growing, gardening, masonry, stonemasonry, and fishing (Godina, 1872: 108). He credited the Slovenians of the *Okolica* and Slovenian immigrant workers with contributing significantly to both public and private construction projects in Trieste (Godina, 1872: 31). Despite their lack of formal education, many self-taught peasants from the *Okolica* displayed a keen interest in literature and newspapers, and a traditional love for music was widespread among them. Slovenians in the city were also known for their dedication and skill as church singers (Godina, 1872: 107). At the same time, Godina expressed concern over

the educational shortcomings of the *Okolica* inhabitants. He noted that families in the countryside showed little interest in their children's education, preferring to involve them in farm work instead of sending them to school. Consequently, these young people had limited access to well-paying jobs in the city labour market, often being relegated to difficult and poorly compensated occupations.

Godina devotes significant attention to the economic and social conditions of the *Okolica*, highlighting a decline from past prosperity. Contrary to Kandler's attribution of agricultural decline to the supposed backwardness of the Slavs, Godina ascribes the increasing poverty of the area to the detrimental effects of urbanization on the traditional peasant lifestyle that had persisted into the 18th century. In earlier times, the Triestine peasantry benefited from a favourable relationship with the smaller, less wasteful town. However, as the city expanded, this relationship deteriorated, leading to negative consequences for the countryside. Urban growth encroached on cultivated land, reduced the landholding class, and fragmented land ownership, which, in turn, contributed to the rise of a marginalized proletariat. Moreover, urbanization brought about changes in living habits, introducing new consumer desires, demands, and expenses that the traditional peasant was ill-prepared to handle. The peasant, once content and accustomed to enduring daily hardships, now faced increased economic pressures and social stratification. This shift led to the observation that "the peasant near the city has all the vices of both the peasant and the bourgeois" (Godina, 1872: 99). Godina also pointed to the negligence of the municipal administration of Trieste, which, driven by nationalistic motives, failed to address even the basic infrastructure needs of the *Okolica*. This deliberate neglect further exacerbated the challenges faced by the rural population (Godina, 1872: 105).

The second major issue directly arising from urbanization was Italianization. Despite the growing Italian influence, the inhabitants of the *Okolica* remained fundamentally loyal to their Slovenian language and nationality. They only abandoned these aspects in their interactions with Italians when faced with social dependence or a subordinate social position. This observation challenged the Italian authors' thesis that Slovenians were ethnically unstable and readily succumbed to Italianization. Godina argued that the Slovenians' sense of identity and self-esteem began to strengthen with the rise of the national movement, the circulation of Slovenian newspapers, and the publications of the St. Mohor Society. However, progress in national sentiment was insufficient, as the Slavs lagged in educational and cultural development due to what Godina described as their "too long sleep" in developing written languages and higher culture. This lack of advancement left them vulnerable in interactions with other peoples. The original proto-Slovenians in Trieste had disappeared in such a way, and contemporary Slovenians in the city faced a similar threat. Godina criticized the effects of the revolutionary year 1848, noting that while Italianism thrived and secured political dominance in the Trieste municipality, the Slovenian national spirit failed to gain substantial traction.

This was largely due to the social and economic subordination of the Slovenians and their increasing dependence on Italians. As a result, Godina concluded with a pessimistic outlook on the future of Triestine Slovenians, emphasizing that their prospects would remain bleak without a strong alliance with their compatriots in Carniola.

Trieste ethnography from the perspective of an extreme irredentist

Just before the First World War, a book titled *Trieste, italiani e slavi, il governo austriaco, l'irredentismo* was published by a young 22-year-old named Ruggero Fauro Timeus. Timeus's work is a political pamphlet written under the influence of significant transformation in Trieste from the 1880s onwards. This era saw the Slovenians evolve into a well-structured national community and one of the outposts of the consolidating Slavism in Austria. Concurrently, socialism emerged as a new political force, advocating for internationalism and presenting an alternative vision of national relations that challenged the dominance of the Italian national liberals. Timeus observed that the multiethnic nature of Trieste, including its Slovenian community, did not pose a significant issue as long as the socialists, which attracted a lot of Slovenian voters, challenged Italian national-liberal hegemony.

Timeus portrays Trieste as an embattled Italian enclave under siege from foreign, specifically German and Slavic elements, whom he identifies as enemies of the Italian nation (Timeus, 1914: 9). He argues that the conflict is not merely about the relationship between the city and its countryside, but centres on the broader struggle between Italianness and Slavicness, particularly concerning Austrian Slavic influence. In this context, the Slovenians, as representatives of the immediate hinterland, are seen as instruments of Austrian-German centralism, used to undermine Italian cultural and political dominance in Trieste. This depiction reflects a narrative of cultural and national conflict, emphasizing a perceived threat to Italian identity from external and internal Slavic forces.

Timeus expresses the perceived superiority of Italian civilization and asserts the right to dominate other nationalities in starkly radical terms. This viewpoint is encapsulated in his metaphor of Trieste as an Italian city that has always assimilated newcomers with the “calm omnipotence of the sea, which takes in the waters of a thousand rivers” (Timeus, 1914: 77). He claims that Slovenian workers, upon encountering the urban Italian environment, quickly realized their “despicable national origin” and sought to shed it. Similarly, German officials, initially carrying derogatory stereotypes, supposedly developed a genuine interest in and sympathy for Italian culture. However, Timeus argues that the newer, nationally conscious immigrants of the last few decades resisted assimilation. Even if these immigrants severed their national roots, they would remain intrinsically foreign, akin to “a false note in harmony”. According to Timeus, their

descendants could be fully assimilated, drawn by the allure of the Italian environment and eventually learning to think and feel Italian. He concludes that Italian identity is a victorious ideal, one that even made German culture appear pale and mediocre by comparison (Timeus, 1914: 78–81).

According to Timeus, the Austrian Slavs were ethnically and politically passive, lacking unity and consequently subjected to various fates. He likened them to sand, which “is shaped, moved, and stirred by the waters”, suggesting they were a mobile, pliable substance easily influenced without impacting the purity of the sea (Timeus, 1914: 98). Timeus argued that no Slavic nation in Austria, apart from the Polish, had a significant history. They were late in developing national self-awareness, facing the harsh reality of having to create their history, language, alphabet, and grammar from scratch.

Timeus claimed that the Austrian Slavs had never independently developed an advanced economy or culture, always relying on others. He described them as historically conquered and subjugated, leaving no lasting mark. In Dalmatia, he noted, the Croats supposedly adopted ideas of progress, a sense of freedom, and resistance to German policies from their interactions with Italians, leading some in Zagreb to label them “*Italijanci*” (Timeus, 1914: 103). In Bohemia, where Germans had established a significant industrial base, Slavs allegedly took political control and sought economic dominance through rural immigration. According to Timeus, Jews were becoming Czechs, poor workers were rising to become entrepreneurs, and the formerly German bourgeoisie was acquiring Czech characteristics.

A similar Slavic conquest march was underway in Trieste, Dalmatia, and Istria. Timeus viewed this not as the rise of a distinguished race or innovative culture, but as a mere appropriation of what Italians and Germans had established. He argued that the Slavs were incapable of absorbing others into their culture, framing their ascendancy as a substitution rather than a true cultural or civilizational development (Timeus, 1914: 105).

The Slovenians, lacking a traditional nobility and bourgeoisie, were unfamiliar with social stratification and class struggle. Consequently, they were easily recruited by socialists into a struggle against Italian and German industrialists, a conflict they framed as a national struggle. The two major Slovenian national parties, the Liberal and the Clerical, were also engaged in this struggle against Germans and Italians while remaining staunchly loyal to the monarchy (Timeus, 1914: 111). These parties adhered to the doctrine of trialism, which aimed to establish a more inclusive and balanced structure within the Habsburg Empire. Trialists were fervent advocates for the Slavicization of Trieste, envisioning it as the maritime capital of the Habsburg Slavs. Their strategy included promoting the influx of Slovenian working masses, preventing immigration from the Kingdom of Italy, Slavicizing civil service positions, expanding Slovenian schools, and fostering a Slavic economy. In response to these efforts, Timeus argued that Italians needed to combat trialism and support the Serbian national movement. He suggested that the political project of Greater Serbia, which included the Austrian

southern Slavs, would negate their aspirations over Trieste. Under this plan, Split would emerge as the Serbian national port (Timeus, 1914: 117).

In a chapter aptly titled ‘The Slavic Assault on Trieste’, Timeus asserts that the Slovenians in Trieste were solely focused on their national struggle against the Italians, and that this struggle was actively supported by the Austrian government. He contends that the well-developed Slovenian socio-economic, political, and cultural organizations were merely tools in this nationalistic effort. The Narodni Dom (National Home), along with other Slavic national homes in Austria, functioned as a fortress in a hostile environment, financially sustained by the broader Austrian Slavic community (Timeus, 1914: 122). The Narodna Delavska Organizacija (National Workers’ Organisation), was established to mobilize Slovenian labourers from impoverished Carniola, who were perceived as a means to displace Italian workers by accepting lower wages (Timeus, 1914: 122). Additionally, Timeus accuses banks, supported by capital from within the Monarchy, of exploiting financial difficulties faced by Italian companies through unscrupulous methods (Timeus, 1914: 129–130).

The anti-Italian Slovenian clergy, bolstered by the Italo-phobic diocese of Trieste, also played a significant role as national actors. Slovenian priests viewed Italians as cursed by God and framed the struggle against the Italian presence as a holy war. This perspective imbued the conflict with a religious fervour rather than purely nationalistic motivations. Consequently, pious Slovenian peasants nurtured a form of religious animosity toward the Italians, perceiving their priests as leaders and champions in the anti-Italian struggle (Timeus, 1914: 131).

The transformation in Trieste’s ethnography, achieved through socio-economic means, set the stage for a Slavic political offensive against the city. This offensive began in the countryside of Trieste, where the Slovenian community emerged as the first electoral stronghold and the only modest Slavic national opposition within the city council. As the urban Slovenian national presence grew, strategically established in key districts and legitimized by misleading census data from the Italo-phobic Austrian state, the conflict’s focus shifted from the periphery to the heart of the city. The Slavs were not so far concerned with the expansion of the Italian population into their former strongholds now, because the spoils were no longer the stony Karst but the city’s wealth and grandeur (Timeus, 1914: 134).

Socialists played a significant role in these ethnic changes. By promoting internationalism and undermining national consciousness, they attracted and accelerated the growth of Slovenian immigrants in the city, who, despite their socialist affiliations, remained staunch nationalists. This contributed to the weakening of Italian national consciousness and laid the groundwork for Slavic ethnic dominance (Timeus, 1914: 138–141). The Austrian government further facilitated this shift by assigning Slovenian civil servants to Trieste, thereby bolstering the Slovenian bourgeoisie and enhancing their influence in the city (Timeus, 1914: 147–149).

Timeus made a sharp racial distinction between Italians and Slavs, viewing the latter with inherent contempt and hostility. This animosity was evident even among Italian children, who displayed a natural aversion when seated next to Slavic classmates (Timeus, 1914: 67). He also differentiated between various types of Italians. The “timid Italian element”, which included those loyal to Austria and those not aligned with the Italian National Liberal Party, were deemed unworthy Italians and considered collaborators with the Slavic enemies (Timeus, 1914: 157). Regarding the *Regnicoli*, immigrants from the Kingdom of Italy, Timeus believed that, as foreign citizens without voting rights, they contributed minimally to the defence of Italianness. Their presence was noted mainly for occupying positions that might otherwise have been filled by Slavs (Timeus, 1914: 167).

From passive to active: In between ideology that overcomes nationalities and nationalism

Angelo Vivante, a Marxist and socialist thinker, stood out as a unique figure in the context of Trieste’s turbulent national and ethnic dynamics. His ideology transcended nationalities and nationalism, advocating for class solidarity and social justice over ethnic divisions.

His *Iredentismo adriatico* is a historical study that aims to analyze national relations in the Upper Adriatic, focusing on the genesis of irredentism. Vivante approaches this topic with a commitment to objective facts, deliberately avoiding the influence of national sentiments and mythologized values. Rather than advocating for the rights of one ethnic or national group over another, Vivante preferred to discuss the underlying forces and conflicts at play. As a declared internationalist, he stood in stark contrast to national ideologies and nationalism, embodying the antithesis of such perspectives. Despite this, Vivante remained an Italian, albeit one who was “lukewarm” in his national allegiance.

Vivante highlights the conceptual shift that occurred among the Italians of Trieste during the creation of the Italian nation-state. As late as the 1850s, Trieste still believed in its historical economic ties to Austria and its symbiosis with the natural Slavic hinterland. The Italian national consciousness, which began to form and consolidate from 1848 onwards, was not initially separatist. The desire to belong to Italy emerged only after Italian unification in 1861 and the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy.

Unlike the other Italian authors considered, Vivante did not discuss the nature and cultural values of ethnic or national groups in emotional or political terms. Grounded in a Marxist dialectic, he focused on the structural aspects and socio-economic dynamics that characterized inter-ethnic relations in Trieste and the wider north-eastern Adriatic region, known as “Julia”. He countered the “phraseology of Italian liberal nationalist

writers” with objective evidence, explaining the emergence of irredentism and its ideological foundations. To understand these developments and inter-ethnic relations, Vivante emphasized the need to wipe out the binary division between Italianness and Slaviness as two well-defined and culturally antithetical concepts. He challenged the narrative that portrayed Italians as a homogeneous, clearly formed national community – direct successors of Rome and Venice – and Slavs as recent foreigners incited by German Vienna to oppose Italianness (Vivante, 1945: 128). He noted that few Italians in Trieste and the Julia were descendants of the Roman tradition, referencing Kandler’s and Facchinetti’s theses on the presence of Slavic elements in Istria before Roman times, and the Slavs as native to the region. The social fabric of the Julia region was a result of the mixing of two linguistic groups that had coexisted for centuries. Italians, being more economically and culturally advanced, dominated the cities, while the Slavs were the majority in the countryside. In urban settings, the Italians assimilated the Slavs, keeping them “lulled” in rural areas until the Slavs began resisting assimilation and subordination. The national conflict thus became a struggle to either maintain or dismantle this centuries-old hierarchy of Italian dominance over the Slavs (Vivante, 1945: 129–132).

This conflict began in the 1860s. Vivante highlights how, in 1848 and 1849, even the most liberal Italians in Trieste viewed the Slavs with sympathy, affection, and approval of their national awakening. He describes how the first Slavic association could be founded in the Tergesteo Palace – the symbol of Trieste’s liberalism – without Slavic national symbols evoking feelings of threat or offense to Italian national sensibilities. The Slovenian language and culture were accepted without reservation, with plans to establish a chair of Slovenian language at the newly proposed law faculty, reflecting the idea of the Julia region as a shared Italian-Slavic space resisting Austrian-German centralism. In short, the seeds of future national conflict were not yet visible then (Vivante, 1945: 137–141).

However, the absolutism of Bach buried these ideas. By the 1860s, as the Slovenian/Slav national movement began to consolidate, the space for coexistence disappeared, and the national struggle commenced. Vivante argues that the Slavic national awakening was not the result of artificial agitation or German politics, as Italian nationalists “cholericly” and “one-sidedly” claimed. Instead, its real and deep causes lay in capitalist development and related socio-economic processes, particularly urbanization and mass migration from the countryside to the cities (Vivante, 1945: 147).

In his analysis of these processes, Vivante provides an overview of the history of the Slovenians as a nation of peasants and shepherds, without nobility, who had lived for centuries under foreign rule. German feudalism and the Roman Catholic Church had stifled every germ of Slovenian national life after the Counter-Reformation had dispersed the Trubar heresy, which might have led to the development of a Slovenian nation based on a single language. Only during the French period, and later through the

work of figures like Bleiweis, Kopitar, and Miklošič – who standardized the Slovenian language and demonstrated its ancient historical and cultural roots – did Slovenian national consciousness begin to consolidate and resist national assimilation (Vivante, 1945: 150).

This elite national movement in Carniola, however, could not fully tame Slovenian nationalism among the peasant population. Vivante notes that in Trieste, the first and most powerful centre of capitalist development, Slovenian immigrants were rapidly becoming Italianized by the mid-19th century and beyond. This spontaneous assimilation was also at work in other urban environments in the Julia region. However, in the latter half of the century, capitalist processes intensified in Slovenian territories, with Slovenians entering “capitalist civilization” earlier than other southern Slavs. This shift was reflected in economic indicators such as the growth of capital, banking institutions, and deposits, as well as the decline in illiteracy, the rise of education, and the emergence of an intelligentsia. It was also evident in increasing migration to cities, especially Trieste. The growing attraction of Trieste for the hinterland and the mass influx of immigrants led to the breakdown of the assimilation system. The mass of immigrants gave rise to a Slovenian bourgeoisie that led the national movement and spurred resistance to assimilation. Thus, the Slovenian national awakening and upsurge, both in Trieste and elsewhere, were the result of changing socio-economic structures and relations, which in turn determined the reversal of assimilation (Vivante, 1945: 156). In Istria however, Vivante noted different mechanisms at play. There, the Slavic national awakening was linked to peasant indebtedness and dependence on the Italian bourgeois financial and political elite. Slavic propagandists exploited this, portraying themselves as saviours from subordination, with the Slavic peasants becoming nationally conscious and emancipated (e.g. through credit institutions) under economic influences even before developing a national identity (Vivante, 1945: 157).

Vivante also analyzes the role of administrative systems and institutions in the national struggle, particularly census statistics and schools. From the 1880s onward, the concept of the colloquial language (*Umgangssprache*) was especially useful for the Italian liberal-national elite who, after the decline of spontaneous assimilation, sought to prove Italian national superiority through statistical assimilation. However, this manipulation was challenged by other indicators (e.g. electoral results) and in 1910 by the revision of the census at the request of Slovenian political organizations. Schools were another instrument used by Italians to attempt to override spontaneous assimilation, as only Italian primary schools were permitted in the city. The Slovenian response was to open a private school. Both schools targeted Slovenian children, but while the Italian school aimed to maintain assimilation, the Slovenian school sought to educate children in the Slovenian national spirit. Vivante warned that Italian school policy in Trieste did not have the desired effect, as the introduction of Slovenian private education narrowed the circle of its recipients (Vivante, 1945:

164–167). He also emphasized that schooling did not guarantee assimilation. In Istria for example, Italian schools initially Italianized Slovenian children, as evidenced by census results. However, when a Slovenian private school opened in town, it quickly attracted most of the children. Simultaneously, the Slovenian National Party achieved unprecedented electoral success (Vivante, 1945: 172).

Vivante addressed accusations that the government was artificially encouraging Slavic immigration at the expense of Italians with socio-economic arguments and evidence. There was simply a shortage of Italian workers, who were unwilling to accept lower-paid jobs and positions in public service. The state employed more Slavs than Italians because the former learned Italian, while the latter did not learn Slovenian. This was also true for senior civil service positions, which Italians tended not to apply for. However, public institutions and private firms with Italian nationalist management often employed many Slovenians because they were seen as good and reliable workers or because of economic considerations. Vivante also pointed out that the conflict was not driven solely by material or national reasons. Other factors were also at play, including the atavistic conflict between town and countryside and the town's disdainful attitude towards villagers who, moreover, spoke a different language (Vivante, 1945: 184).

The Italian petty bourgeoisie, Vivante observed, was driven to conflict by frustration over the rapidly developing Slavic community and the perceived threat to their social position and sense of being surrounded. The Slavic middle class, on the other hand, was motivated by the enthusiasm for all-around development and emancipation, which was challenging the existing national relations. The national conflict spread from the middle classes down to the lower classes and up to the higher social strata. However, the higher social classes were less enthusiastic about the national cause and ethnic antagonisms. The petty-bourgeois conflict also had two faces: competition among small merchants was marked by national struggle, while when it came to defending common class interests, national divisions were put aside. (Vivante, 1945: 186–187).

Vivante pays special attention to the complex national differences and relationships within the proletariat, distinguishing between the “amorphous” (those without class and often national awareness) and those organized under the banner of internationalism. In Trieste, the Italian and Slovenian proletariats were not in economic competition, because the former was predominantly skilled labour, while the latter constituted the lower working classes. Initially, the Italian-speaking proletariat of Trieste identified itself as *Triestine*, expressing anti-Slavic sentiments rooted in urban pride and a sense of superiority over the peasantry. Meanwhile, the Slovenian proletariat, which also exhibited regionalist tendencies, became increasingly nationally unified during the second half of the 19th century. The church played a significant role in fostering national consciousness among the Slovenians, whereas the Italian clergy found itself in a more ambivalent position on this issue. For the Slovenian proletariat, the national struggle was closely intertwined with the class struggle against exploitation.

As class consciousness grew and workers' internationalism gained strength, the organized Italian-speaking proletariat in Trieste came to recognize its Italian national identity. Simultaneously, it found common class interests and ideological alignment with the Slovenian proletariat, supporting its efforts against national assimilation. This alliance, and the fact that workers' reformism implicitly contributed to the betterment of the state, provoked the ire of Italian liberal-nationalists. They accused socialism of being pro-Austrian, anti-separatist, and supportive of the Slavic national movement and of the Slavicization of the city (Vivante, 1945: 188–191).

Vivante also examined the internal divisions within both the Italian liberal-nationalist and Slovenian bourgeois camps, each of which played a role in exacerbating the national conflict. He highlighted the contradictions that undermined nationalist rhetoric and demonstrated the utopian nature of resolving the national question in Trieste and the entire Julia region by asserting the dominance of one nationality over the other.

Some concluding notes and considerations

The texts reveal the predominant contextual and formal elements used by the authors to describe the ethnography of Trieste, highlighting differences and perceptions of the “self” and the “other”. Italian authors, save Vivante, emphasize the primacy of the Italian language and culture, considering them as markers of historical continuity and civilization, rooted in ancient Rome. They use these criteria to classify national and cultural subjects, evaluating their hierarchical positions. In Kandler's work, the Italian character of Trieste is portrayed as a dominant feature of local (and regional) particularism. This particularism includes a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, and multi-cultural fabric, which emerged naturally from the city's mercantile cosmopolitanism and was crucial for its role as a Central European seaport.

Valussi emphasizes the gap between a well-established nation with a unified ethnography, civilizational elements and an emancipatory drive, and the diverse, heterogeneous Slavic peoples who were just beginning to form their national identities. He argues that the residents of Trieste were Italians by culture and by choice, suggesting that both the older and newer non-Italian inhabitants were gradually assimilating into this dominant civilization according to what he describes as the natural laws of cultural dominance.

Timeus's ethnography of Trieste, situated within an overtly political and national conflict, depicts a defence of Italian identity against the perceived Slavic threat. The Slavic enemy is characterized as inferior and incapable of independent advancement. He has forsaken the assimilation into a civilization deemed otherwise unattainable and undertaken an offensive to displace and conquer Italian cultural positions.

Vivante also observes the ethnography of Trieste and the wider Julia region in the context of the national conflict, but presents it in the light of the complex structural

changes and dynamics associated with the emergence of “capitalist civilization”. He treats national characteristics and relations with the distance of a rational internationalist thinker, who is concerned with objective facts and with understanding the positions and also the interests and sentiments of all the players in the socio-economic, political, and cultural-national field of confrontation.

Godina’s ethnography, focusing primarily on the Slovenian community in Trieste, examines a group in the early stages of ideological and organizational nationalistic mobilization. This ethnography highlights the dilemmas and contradictions faced by the community in defining its identity amidst the inevitable processes of modernization.

In all the narratives examined, a central theme is the assimilation – or Italianization – and the preservation of the original ethnic and cultural identities of both indigenous and immigrant communities. In this respect, authors also discuss behaviours that diverge from or transcend the norms of the original identity groups or the emerging national identities.

Kandler’s portrayal of Trieste depicts a city with a cosmopolitan polyphony where, despite the dominance of the Italian language, various ethnic and religious communities maintained their original linguistic and cultural practices. Kandler suggests that this diversity prevented the cultural homogenization of Triestine society. However, he notes that younger generations of immigrants tended to Italianize. He identifies this process as resulting in linguistic hybridity, a temporary phase where the original languages spoken at home and Italian used in public spaces merged into a grammatical and cultural blend (Kandler, 1848a). Kandler views the family and public spaces of the city as the primary arenas where identity preservation and negotiation occurred, through either conservative adherence to traditional practices or innovative adaptations.

Valussi’s pamphlet, while not specifically addressing practical behaviours in social interactions, presents multilingualism as a necessary and contemporary means of everyday communication. As for cosmopolitanism, defined as prioritizing materialistic concerns over national values, he regards it as an outdated concept associated primarily with a small, elite circle of immigrants. *Timeus* focuses on the divergence from original roots and the transformation of ethnic and national identities, emphasizing the social context and hierarchical relations present in daily life. He uses abstract illustrative examples to describe the assimilation process as a linear mechanism functioning through everyday interactions. On a theoretical and political level, *Timeus* indicates internationalism as a social and ideological space that ambiguously operates to the detriment of Italian and in favour of the Slavic identity.

Josip Godina provides more detailed descriptions of practical behaviours that reflect attitudes toward ethnic and national values and identification. Drawing from direct observation and his extensive knowledge of the Slovenian population in both urban and rural settings, Godina identifies these behaviours as problematic, hindering

the Slovenian community in Trieste from fully emerging as a distinct national entity. He places the core of the Slovenian identity in Trieste within the middle class, comprising both natives and immigrants, who remain committed to their Slovenian nationality despite close contact with the Italian environment. However, Godina notes that there were significant social spaces and situations where Slovenian identity was either weakening or failing to develop into a strong national consciousness. A critical area of concern was the interface between the city and its rural surroundings, particularly where urbanization extends to the *Okolica*. In these areas, Godina observes a disconnect from national traditions, exemplified by men adopting urban attire similar to that of the lowest urban proletariat, instead of traditional clothing. While women tended to maintain traditional costumes, they often abandoned the Slovenian language, even in their homes, in favour of the Italian dialect. Godina also points to villages further from the city, such as Križ, where a shift towards Italian cultural influences is evident. For instance, when asked about their reading habits, locals remarked, “Our people have turned more towards the Italian ones” (Godina, 1872: 289).

Godina lamented that many Slovenians in Trieste, despite the advancement of the national idea, remained “lukewarm”, or indifferent, to national feelings. This apathy extended even to those who engaged with the initiatives of national activists. One clear indication of this indifference was the decline in the number of reading rooms. At the time of Godina’s writing, only one *čitalnica* remained active in the *Okolica*, down from seven previously. Godina also noted a lack of interest in his book as a further sign of this indifference, not only in Trieste but among the Slovenian population more broadly. He had distributed the book in bundles to encourage its dissemination, but most of these were returned, including those sent to the reading rooms. Reflecting on this situation, Godina concluded, “the Slovenian nationality has awakened, but few felt and loved it yet” (Godina, 1872: 478).

In Vivante’s analysis, assimilation and nationalization emerge as central themes. He frequently mentions the social spaces and circumstances in which assimilation occurred, as well as the factors and situations that facilitated both assimilation and the awakening of national identity. The author highlights the existence of significant segments of society with weak, unstable, or non-existent national identities – groups that national activists targeted and sought to incorporate into their respective national spheres. Vivante also addresses the concept of “in-betweenness”, particularly the phenomenon of hybridism in Istria, which Kandler had also noted. Unlike the urban hybridism of Trieste, Istrian hybridism was “rural” in nature, occurring among the Slavic population living near towns. This hybridism arose from daily interactions with Italian towns but was more enduring than urban hybridism, which often led more quickly to Italian assimilation (Vivante, 1945: 171). The fluidity and instability of national identification in Vivante’s work is implicitly or explicitly evident across all contexts of national confrontation he discusses, from economics and society to education and politics.

To conclude, we can observe that the nationalistic narratives presuppose ethnic or national communities as clearly defined entities. This perspective limits their utility in observing so-called in-between practices and spaces, i.e. situations and behaviours that occur outside formally defined ethnocultural codes, whether these behaviours are conscious-unconscious or deliberate-unintentional. Nonetheless, all the works implicitly and explicitly highlight the significant presence of such spaces, which played a crucial role in everyday life. The discussions also resonate with the aforementioned Angelo Vivante's argument about inconsistency and misconception of rigid concepts of Italianness and Slovenianness (or Slavicness) as clearly defined national categories (Vivante, 1945: 128). To achieve an objective understanding of the multiethnic landscape of Trieste and the north-eastern Adriatic, it is essential to move beyond mythologized images and values, embracing a more nuanced view of identity and cultural interaction.

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Pogledi sodobnikov na tržaško etnografijo v 19. in zgodnjem 20. stoletju

V prispevku je predstavljena analiza, kako so nekateri pisci v 19. in na začetku 20. stoletja opisovali večetnični Trst in opredeljevali njegove jezikovne ter kulturne sestavine. Štirje italijanski in en slovenski pisec izražajo različna razumevanja narodnih razmerij in družbeno-ekonomskih ter političnih procesov v času uveljavljanja nacionalnih idej. V središču teh razmerij sta vprašanje izvora, oblikovanja in utemeljevanja narodnih identifikacij ter vprašanje narodnega in kulturnega nasprotovanja oziroma asimilacije.

Narodno oziroma nacionalistično usmerjeni italijanski avtorji poudarjajo prvenstvo italijanskega jezika in kulture kot civilizacijski nasledek starega Rima in Benetk. S tega stališča postavljajo posameznike »druge« narodne in kulturne pripadnosti na hierarhično lestvico omike. Znameniti tržaški zgodovinar Pietro Kandler je sredi 19. stoletja opisoval italijanski značaj Trsta kot prevladujočo značilnost sicer kozmopolitskega mesta in trgovskega središča habsburškega cesarstva. Pacifico Valussi, ki je še leta 1849 sanjal o italijansko-slovanski Švici na vzhodnem Jadranu, je leta 1861 v manifestu iredentizma opredeljeval civilizacijsko razdaljo med izoblikovanim italijanskim narodom in komaj prebujajočim se slovanstvom, ki naj bi bilo v Trstu in Istri obsojeno na italijanizacijo. Imperialistično usmerjeni iredentist Timeus je leta 1914 Trst slikal kot italijansko kulturno trdnjavo pod udarom nacionalističnega nasilja manjvrednega slovenstva (slovanstva). To je zaradi nesposobnosti samostojnega razvoja

izrinjalo italijanstvo in si prilaščalo njegovo civilizacijo. Slovenski narodnjak Josip Godina Verdelski se je osredinil na slovenski Trst, ki so ga italijanski pisci zamolčevali oziroma ga istili z nazadnjaškim in kulturno nedoraslim kmetstvom. Poudarjal je zgodovinski prispevek slovenskega prebivalstva k razvoju mesta, opozarjal pa je na omahljiv narodni čut v začetni fazi uveljavljanja slovenskega narodnega gibanja. Od vseh se razlikuje socialistično usmerjeni Angelo Vivante, ki je medetnične odnose in nacionalne spore opazoval z racionalnimi očmi internacionalističnega misleca in jih s stališča marksistične dialektike razlagal kot sestavni del uveljavljanja »kapitalistične civilizacije«.

V razpravi o oblikovanju, ohranjanju in spreminjanju družbenih, kulturnih in etničnih/narodnih identitet pisci opisujejo okoliščine in mehanizme teh dinamik. Kandler, Godina in Vivante poročajo tudi o vsakdanjih ravnanjih in okoliščinah, ki kažejo na odmik od izvornih identitet oziroma programsko opredeljenih vzorcev kulturne in narodne identifikacije. Tak primer je jezikovna hibridnost, ki jo Kandler in Vivante opredeljujeta kot prehodni pojav vgrajevanja prišlekov v prevladujočo italijansko jezikovno in kulturno tržaško okolje, v Istri pa kot trajnejšo značilnost obmestnih kmečkih območij. Godina piše o oblačilni kulturi in jezikovnih praksah prebivalstva slovenske okolice, ki se spreminjajo pod pritiskom družbeno-ekonomskih dejavnikov, a tudi zaradi pomanjkanja narodnega čuta.

Besedila, ki izražajo stališča pripovedi o narodu in predpostavljajo etnične oziroma narodne skupnosti kot jasno opredeljene entitete, so le delno primerna za opazovanje odmikov od formalno opredeljenih narodno-kulturnih kod. Vsa upoštevana besedila pa eksplicitno in implicitno opozarjajo na pogostnost takšnih položajev, ki jih je treba vrednotiti z upoštevanjem specifičnih okoliščin in zgodovinskih dejavnikov.



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