

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, Gränzen 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 (Ljuboj, 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 Umlauft, 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 Befintlichen Völkern Und Ihren Aigenschafften”; 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; Wolf Schmidt, 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, Umlauft devotes only about 35 pages to the regions relevant to this article (“Herzogtum Kärnten”, “Herzogtum Krain” and the “Küstenland”).

Following Czörnig and the *Kronprinzenwerk*, Umlauft 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 (Umlauft, 1897: 1).

Umlauft 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 Umlauft’s present, whether according to political or ethnic criteria.

Umlauft 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 (Umlauft, 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 Kulturzustand 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 mikrozgodbine 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.