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

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[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 arrangements[4] 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

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[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 live (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

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[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.

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[7]   See for example the contributions by Klaus Herbers, Robert Plötz, Winfried Siebers, Rainer S. Elkar, Christian Glass, Heiner Boehncke, or Cornelius Neutsch 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

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[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 (Valentinitsch, 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 interaction[12] 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 Neumarktl). 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

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[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

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[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 Franzsici 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.

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[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

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[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

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[21] This linguistic theory is now considered outdated (Durell, 2017: esp. 29–33). The Slavicist 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 [wirkten]*". (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 practitioners[24] 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

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[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.

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[27] The poem *O veselimu prihodu presvitliga Cesarja Ferdinanda I. ino presvitle Cesarice Marije Ane, 1. 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, merk-
> würdig 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

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[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 hegemons, 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*.

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[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 Rococo 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 Zeltdächern, 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).

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[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*.

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[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).

Acknowledgements

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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«.