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A LOCAL CONSTRUCTION — OR: WHAT HAVE THE ALPS TO DO WITH A GLOBAL READING OF THE MEDITERRANEAN?

The paper goes beyond popular conceptions of the Mediterranean presenting ethnographic research done by early Austrian ethnographers of the Mediterranean. Special attention is paid to the work done by Michael Haberlandt and archduke Ludwig Salvator.

Keywords: Habsburg Monarchy, Austrian ethnography, the Mediterranean

On 20th July 1866, Wilhelm of Tegetthoff, the commander of the Austrian Mediterranean Fleet, had devastatingly beaten the Italian enemy off the island of Lissa [Vis]. Although this naval victory — and for the Austrian Imperial Navy it was the only one — was from the military point of view insignificant for the outcome of the war which had been already decided on the continent before, it still symbolically marked a multiple turning point: in spite of an emperor who was not particularly enthusiastic about maritime matters, the navy became extremely popular among the population. This upgrading also made the entrance to the sea, which was granted by the Küstenland [Northern Littoral], Istria and Dalmatia, appear within a new strategic concept: the Adriatic Sea had been marked out militarily as the Austrian maritime sphere of interest, and it became the starting point of imperialistic dreams of the Habsburg Monarchy (Allmayer-Beck 1980).

It is hardly surprising that the battle of Lissa, which was rapidly viewed as crucial, contributed culturally to the discovery and to, although limited, the revaluation of the Mediterranean part of the Monarchy. This new viewpoint was already symbolically materialised through the memorial of 1867. A "young lion", an imitation of the Venetian Mark's lion, was supposed to consolidate the military claim for possession and the Austrian presence in the Adriatic Sea for good. However, it was to last only a short time: the "young Austrian lion" was removed by the Italian navy after the

World War I and has been in Livorno ever since. Nevertheless, the story of the Austrian lion has not reached its end with that yet.

With almost a day's precision, 132 years after the victorious battle, a civilian re-invention of Austria on the Adriatic Sea began in July 1998. In a "European celebration" the new "Lissa lion", designed by the Viennese sculptor Gerhard Laber, was solemnly revealed. On this occasion, both politicians and members of military traditional associations wearing old *k. und k.*¹ uniforms carrying double eagle flags arrived. Their lips — as reported by a daily paper — moved to the tune of the old emperor's anthem and before their eyes there was "Austria's greatest fleet parade since 1918": for 40 sailing yachts sailed past the coast "in impeccable keel line". These sailing boats may be considered a sign of Austria's poor maritime presence, but a new interpretation of the Mediterranean past can be assumed in this event as well. The inscription on the lion — the wording is by the head of the *Österreichisches Kulturinstitut* [Austrian Cultural Institute] in Zagreb — points to this direction, equipped with future visions: "The unity of Europe rests upon the variety of its historical conflicts. Look at the waves of the Adriatic Sea, how they are carrying the message of the peace and of mutual understanding to all the coasts!"²

Reconstructions of the historical — as well as of the maritime — heritage like this are quite frequent in Austria at present. They are witnessed by the book market (Aichelburg 1998; Mayer 1993), but also by the *Heeresgeschichtliches Museum* [Museum of Military History] in Vienna, that has, for instance, just rearranged its marine hall under the motto *Seemacht Österreich* [Austria — the Sea Power]. First of all, this is nothing else but a popular answer to the widespread Habsburg nostalgia. Nevertheless, activating the Habsburg myth (Magris 1991) and the return of *Mitteleuropa* [Central Europe] (Wolfram 1987; Le Rider 1994) also show that, especially in view of joining the EU, the "fight for Austria's identity" (Heer 1981) is fought by means of old memories: the Danube which joins peoples together is brought to mind and the lapping of waves of the Adriatic Sea is considered to be a nation-uniting sign of Austrian past and future. And yet, the "souvenirs" scattered in Vienna have been "invisible" for a long time. The Tegetthoff Monument erected in 1889, Tegetthoff Street, Tegetthoff Bridge and the Tegetthoff Restaurant for instance have actually merely shown the process of forgetting this maritime past — a past that was, namely, to a great degree useless for the purpose of the national self-manifestation of now small republic in the period after World War I. The marine building with its sixteen coat-of-arms representations symbolising the Adriatic Sea ports, built between

¹ Abbreviation for "kaiserlich und königlich".

² "Schiffsparade für Lissa-Löwen" *Kurier*, 15th July 1998; "Vis ehrte Admiral Tegetthof" *Die Presse*, 20th July 1998.

1906 and 1908 is indeed an illustrative example of this: it was occupied by the Austrian forest administration in 1925.³

Alpine forest instead of navy, Mediterranean cities and the sea — that is a characteristic sign of a decisive caesura which is hardly observed however. For with the sinking of the fleet flagship "Viribus Unitis" in Pula on 1st November 1918, the Italians secured her anchor again for putting her up in Rome — and thus the Austrian presence in the Adriatic Sea disappeared without trace. To what degree was it excluded from the real and symbolical memory in Austria is shown by the mockery by the Viennese poet Anton Kuh. According to Kuh, the marine archive was so small and insignificant that it would fit as a tattoo on the back of a single sailor (Kuh 1931:106-107).

There were various reasons that made this departure so simple: there was hardly a permanent resident German-speaking population on the Austrian Mediterranean coast. Moreover, the navy was regarded as a unit dominated by non-Austrians. And in spite of marine enthusiasm, the Habsburg Monarchy nevertheless remained a "continental state" during the late 19th century as the *Donaumonarchie* [Danube Empire], keeping a clear distance to the sea. A complaint at the turn of the century may serve as an example:

It came in such a way that the population of the monarchy, as far as it does not live immediately on the coast, almost lost every touch with the sea and became accustomed to considering maritime interests and efforts as something strange, something Austria is not entitled to (Lukas 1910).

This being "strange" and Austria not being entitled to the Mediterranean was wiped out in reality and symbolically after 1918. Ever since that time Austria was oriented — sometimes even connected with a visionary-political view of the Danube (Magris 1988) — exclusively to the Alps (Johler, Nikitsch & Tschofen 1995). Austria also constantly presents itself as an *Alpenrepublik* [Alpine Republic]. Up until the 1998-World Fair in Lisbon, that was thematically, as is generally known, dedicated to the sea, Austria contributed only very poorly: the only, nevertheless characteristic attraction is said to have been fresh water from the Alps, flown-in every day.

Yet the images and representations of the sea that Austrians have are by far more precise. Imparted by mass tourism, the Mediterranean cuisine, Mediterranean souvenirs, Mediterranean way of life have been accepted within the Austrian everyday culture. And yet it is just the "Club Med" which is the typically intensified institution, turning the Mediterranean into a concrete counter-world. It is a gigantic recreational park that promises the sun, vacation and care-free life. The locals enter a kind of theatrical stage in an impressionable way, wearing their national costumes, serve food

³ Czeike, Felix. 1997. *Historisches Lexikon Wien in 5 Bänden*, vol. 5. Wien, 424-425.

typical of their respective countries and act as members of a "warmer Mediterranean society".

Such ideas which are combined with the classical southern vacation areas — the Adriatic Sea, the Greek islands, Mallorca and Ibiza — are widespread and hardly have anything typical of Austria at the first glance. A closer look, however, shows another picture: In his *Dalmatinische Reise*, published in 1909, the writer Hermann Bahr speaks about an "Austrian wall" which, as a mere state facade, hardly conceals the "Orient" to be found behind it (Bahr 1909:34). This metaphor may apply to the government administration, but culturally it was this "Austrian wall" which also helped to create this transparent, imaginary "Orient" by its describers and explorers. Thus an "imagining" was created; it has hardly added to the anthropological reading of the Mediterranean but it has still become important for the national ethnographers (*Volkskundler*) and the contemporary mass-cultural perception (Rolshoven 1993).

In this paper I am trying to show how the Mediterranean world was interpreted and seen by ethnographers coming from Austria, prosperous women and eccentric archdukes, and how it was also constructed by "Serbo-Croatian"⁴ and "Italian" key symbols. These had a common approach, which the philosopher Georg Simmel had already recognised: "The Alps" can be thought of only as the "contrast to the sea" and vice versa (Simmel 1986:127).

The Alpine look onto the Adriatic sea

Few years before his suicide, the heir to the throne crown prince Rudolf invited the Styrian *Bauernpoet* [farmer poet] Peter Rosegger to a private reading into his vacation villa to Opatija. On that occasion Rosegger presented his stories from the Alpine region. Although the subsequent conversation with crown prince Rudolf started by discussing the navy, it then continued with the Alpine folk songs and dialects as main topics (Rosegger 1887:40). Such a concentration on *Volksthümliches aus den Alpen* [Folk and traditional topics from the Alps] was, in the first instance, characteristic of the Emperor house, which increasingly believed in a new representation model of the 19th century and behaved in an Alpine manner; however, the event was also characteristic because, in addition to the military music and Dalmatian folklore, it was predominantly Alpine folklore which contributed to the entertainment of the Austrian tourists in the centres of the *k. und k. Riviera* and of Dalmatia (Glanz 1994).

This Austrian culture import was certainly not restricted to outward appearances, of course. As a predominant "tourist view" (Pederin 1991), it essentially contributed to the perception of the Mediterranean periphery

⁴ Here it is not the place to explain the very popular use of the term "Serbo-Croat" in Austria at that time. In general, authors did not make a difference between Serbian and Croatian culture (cf. Bahr 1909:70).

by the hegemonic German-speaking with the Vienna as centre; and last but not least, the Alpine culture was also spread by the administration present in the Küstenland and in the Kingdom of Dalmatia, partly also by the military armed forces stationed there.

This defining of the Alpine view of the Mediterranean was determined by the traffic development during the late 19th century. The *Tauerneisenbahn*, whose building was completed in 1908, for the first time connected the south with the centres of the north. Not by chance advertised as the "Alps railroad", it opened a special perspective to the travellers: after a long ride through the mountains, the view of the sea suddenly appeared.⁵ The *Adria* [Adriatic sea] — which was also the name of a journal set up in Graz in 1908 by Josef Stradner — could not be seen without the Alps. For not only this journal soon extended its name to *Adria und Ostalpen* [Adriatic Sea and Eastern Alps], but the Alpine was a permanent component in numerous other Austrian descriptions of the sea as well: Hermann Bahr, who has already been mentioned, found himself being reminded of an "Alpine pasture on the sea" (Bahr 1909:19) in Dalmatia time and again, archduke Ludwig Salvator considered his yacht as a "country house" (1886:90), and often the "Serbian warrior nation" was compared with the Swiss and Tirolean freedom-heroes (Bahr 1909:45).

Such analogies made many things of the Mediterranean "terra incognita" (Stradner 1903:6) (as Dalmatia was called by the Viennese art historian Rudolf of Eitelberger) appear familiar. However, the contrasts, which could be noticed everywhere, also required other explanations going beyond the Alpine view. For the Küstenland, Istria and Dalmatia, were not only a "solar country", a "dream country", a "fairyländ" (Bahr 1909:5), but also parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that had to be managed and governed. In spite of the military occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina its strategic importance was in the final analysis small and it was Istria and Dalmatia which were economically regarded as "almshouses" — as "different" almshouses, however, from those which were known in the eastern part of the Monarchy. This "being different" of the Mediterranean part was described with pictures, some of which were considerably older than the Austrian interest in the Adriatic Sea, and that developed at the end of the 19th century: for instance the "warm blood" was a customary metaphor for the characterisation of the vivacious, southern people during a long period of time (Könenkamp 1988). And also other presumptions were at first hardly particular of Austria. What was Austrian, however, was the impressive enforcement of specific images: Dalmatia, for instance, was soon regarded as that place where East and West, South and North, primeval times and future meet. In this case, it embodied the intersection point of Orient, Byzantium, Venice and the nearby Balkan culture. And it was — according to a contemporary at the turn of the century — due to

⁵ "Auf dem neuen Weg zur Adria" *Adria*, Dec. 1910, 10-16, 50-58.

the meeting of Occidental and Oriental cultures, the "point of contact of two civilisations sharply contrasted with each other" (Stradner 1903:6).

However, a striking difference, which distinguishes between the "Slavic and the Italian character like water and oil" (Noë 1870:34) was noted in Dalmatia. And in fact Italians and "Serbo-Croats" were observed in most different ways. Nevertheless, the annexion of Bosnia-Herzegovina had modified the viewpoint: the coast had got a hinterland in addition, and in this way the "Serbo-Croats" became omnipresent. They were, according to a descriptor in an apt picture, "in between, beside and behind" (Stradner 1903). In this connection of the *othering*, ethnography should receive a central position which could today be described as "frontier orientalism" (Gingrich 1998). However, which were its intentions at that point of time?

Ethnographic investigation of the Adriatic sea

From the end of the 19th century onwards the "Austriacus insapiens" whom Hermann Bahr has mocked (Bahr 1909:100), was definitively to gain additional knowledge about the Mediterranean part of the Monarchy. The tourist and political discovery of the Mediterranean as well as the traffic connection between this area and the big centres did not leave ethnographers and Slavists untouched. The living conditions of the inhabitants of the Mediterranean part of the monarchy differ "so much from the circumstances of western Europe" (Noë 1870), that rich investigation which were to result in ancient stories and archaic materials had to be expected, just as Michael Haberlandt had assumed in an article on "folk art in Istria and Dalmatia", published in 1911. He wrote:

The great natural features and antiquity of its inhabitants regarding their way of life and disposition, their economic poverty, which in many cases keeps them practising pure natural economy, their isolation and their particularism are the strong roots, which have been undestroyed up to now, from which folk-artistic first-class qualities have bloomed (Haberlandt 1911:194).

The author of these lines, but also the publication itself deserve short attention. For in March 1910, the Vienna University had undertaken a trip to Istria and Dalmatia. Michael Haberlandt had also held the lecture there that has just been mentioned. In a way Haberlandt's piece was a first synthesis of his research into Dalmatia and Istria. For Haberlandt, who was married to a Croat, had already carried out several investigations and collection trips into this region. Accordingly, the *Museum für österreichische Volkskunde* [Museum for Austrian Ethnography], which he founded in 1895, had had a rich collection from Istria and Dalmatia already by the turn of the century (Haberlandt 1897:23-27). Compared to this, there were only few scholarly studies in the *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, founded at the same time. The few authors were not locals,

but were Austrian officials or members of the army.⁶ Their descriptions were often combined with landscape descriptions and with regard to the contents hardly different from tourist guides.⁷ The ethnographic variety of the national composition of the population played a central role in these as well.

The richness of the ethnographic material collected at the time corresponded to the programme of Austrian *Volkskunde* especially as represented by Michael Haberlandt. Strongly faithful to the Monarchy, he executed ethnographically the official ideology of the Empire. The Monarchy became legitimate by varying nature and by common characteristics: history stood for latter ones, the variableness on the other hand was represented by the nature and the ethnographic composition of the population. Austrian ethnography therefore, in order to be able to meet the national movements becoming increasingly stronger, aimed at a compromise and simultaneously increased cultural differences even further. Its favoured investigation territories lay in the Alpine region as well as the north, east and southeast of the Monarchy (Johler 1994).

But as Europe was considered to be represented on a smaller scale by the Habsburg Monarchy, the Mediterranean culture also had to meet a certain amount of interest. This interest was defined by two premises: on the one hand, the Monarchy defined itself as the "power on the Balkans" and on the other, the south of the Monarchy was interpreted as "a gate to the Orient" (Riegl 1894:77). So it was necessary to clarify what the "Balkans" and the "Orient" meant culturally and where they began geographically. There were of course ideas of a "Mediterranean" race (Baskar 1995:76; Haberlandt 1920) in this respect, but ethnographic questions were more predominant and productive. They were to be condensed into key symbols of the Mediterranean.

Mediterranean key symbols

At the first glance, the Mediterranean part the Monarchy with its coloured dresses, its heroic epic poems, its belligerent traditions and the numerous

⁶ Hovorka von Zderas, Oskar. 1895. "Dalmatiner Volkssagen und Spottgeschichten". *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* 1:338-344; Dolkowski, Leon. 1896. "Todengebräuche in Istrien und Dalmatien". *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* 2:113-114; Fischer, Ludwig Hans. 1896. "Die Tracht der Tschitschen". *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* 2:6-23; Hovorka von Zderas, Oskar. 1899. "Dalmatinische Spitznamen". *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* 5:8-14; Hovorka von Zderas, Oskar. 1900. "Die Poganica und ihre Varianten". *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* 6:4-23; see also: Petak, Arthur. 1944. "Register zur 'Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde'". *Wiener Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 49:64-98 (Kroatien, Serben, Slowenen und andere in den Adria-Ländern: 87-88).

⁷ Cf. Petermann, Reinhard E. 1899. *Führer durch Dalmatien. Herausgegeben vom Vereine zur Förderung der volkswirtschaftlichen Interessen des Königreiches Dalmatien*. Vienna.

nationalities and minorities seemed to be an inexhaustible "richness of contrasts" for Austrian ethnographers. Such a "diverse and disarranged conglomeration of different races and tribes" (Coronini-Cronberg 1891:161) only hardly permitted an overall, general view.

Nevertheless, taking into consideration a "certain backwardness of the economy, the technology, of the disposition and of the social conditions", it was quite possible to find common characteristics. Haberlandt added even further ones:

Their boundless undemandingness, the low social position of the woman, their superstitious disposition are the same in the north and in the south and will only gradually give way to the cultural elevation and condensation of the Dalmatian traffic through shipping, railroads and streets (Haberlandt 1918:80).

What was said about the Mediterranean part of the Monarchy in a very general manner, must be much more differentiated — especially in the customary ethnographic categories. The Küstenland (Moser 1909) was clearly different from Istria (Stradner 1897), which was also known for its countless ethnic groups — in particular the legendary Tschitschen (Urbas 1884) are to be mentioned here — but also for its poverty and lack of symbols. The folk of culturally considerably richer Dalmatia was separated from it. Dalmatia was in turn regarded as divided into two parts among ethnographers: southern Dalmatia appeared to be under Venetian and Turkish influence; the northern part, on the other hand was regarded as a favoured field of research because of its "primitiveness".

This ethnographic classification into categories cannot be further explained here. Another perspective seems to be even more fertile. It was namely clear to all observers, that the towns, but also most coast regions had lost their old "national character" due to their being open for traffic and due to their maritime orientation. Instead of this, an international life style "à la française" prevailed there (Danilo 1892:179); actually, the Italian population was meant by that. It had no or only a coarsened folk art and both its song repertoire as well as its way of life were organized in an urban manner (Kuhač 1892:211). The ethnographers could find merely two Italian house forms which they found professionally interesting. On the one hand, these were straw huts looking rather "African" (Haberlandt 1905b:111), belonging to the fishermen population near Grado (Petak 1902), and on the other, the simple Istrian cuisine served as a remaining stock of Italian folk culture. Especially the career of the Istrian cuisine is amazing: it was already present in the first catalogue of the *Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde* in Vienna in 1897 (Haberlandt 1897:160), and was, thereafter, frequently reproduced. However, instead of an Italian symbol it became a symbol for the poorness of Istria.

In spite of these exceptions, the Italian elements stood for urban, maritime and therefore for lacking the ancient folk culture. In contrast, the

dresses, embroideries and epic poems of the "Serbo-Croats" were regarded as rural and natural. In this way, they embodied the hinterland, which had remained archaic, and the actual "people" (Haberlandt 1914).

Istria was hardly affected by this division of "Serbo-Croatian" and "Italian", which was illustrated by the developed key symbols. Istria was regarded as an inestimable "mosaic of nationalities" (Zuckerkindl-Vipauz 1891:156), which moreover embarrassed the Austrian ethnographers by numerous national *Vermischungen* [mixings] (Czoernig 1885:22). In this case, a "new nation" resulted, the Istrians — and that has astonished the observers. The expression chosen for this by the former ethnographers is among the most popular ones in ethnological slang: *Hybridismus* [hybridism] (Stradner 1903:12).

Actions towards the *Hebung des Königreichs Dalmatien* [Improvement of the Kingdom of Dalmatia]

All Dalmatian folk art is controlled by the Slavs. Italians would, on the other hand, react in a most offended manner if they were asked about production of popular embroideries. They would consider these "barbaric". This observation comes from Natalie Bruck-Auffenberg, who has, as prosperous Viennese lady, discovered the Dalmatian embroideries at the turn of the century and had presented them to a wider public in her book, published in 1911 (Bruck-Auffenberg 1911). Several international exhibitions were organised using her collections, but also some museums in Vienna made profit by her discoveries. The "Serbo-Croatian" embroidery which was raised to key symbols as well as the national costume were able to begin their successful career in Europe. This was also possible because the archduchesses Maria Josefa and Maria Theresa, the two members of the Emperor house, granted a generous manifold support. Maria Josefa — the mother of last emperor Karl — has become acquainted with embroideries by travel and has financially supported efforts for their promotion. The archduchess Maria Theresa, whose husband served in the navy in Pula, even founded a special technical school in Vienna and also set up a sales studio.

This striking feminine commitment for embroidery operated by women earns special attention. It was integrated into government and into particular private promotion actions especially of the textile house industry⁸ and of the tourism in the Kingdom of Dalmatia. Among these were the foundation of embroidery technical schools as well as the *Verein zur Förderung der Spitzen- und Hausindustrie in Dalmatien* [Society for the Promotion of Embroidery- and House Industry in Dalmatia], which was brought into being in 1905. The direct reason for it was an exhibition which was shown in the *Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie*

⁸ "Die Aktion zur Hebung der Spitzenhausindustrie in Österreich". *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk* 8, 1905:322-342.

[Austrian Museum for Art and Industry] of "Austrian House Industry and Folk Art" in 1905 and which was still extended by a Dalmatian special exhibition (Haberlandt 1905a). A list of exhibitions with Dalmatian embroideries need not be given here: anyway, it reaches from the Parisian World Exhibition in 1900⁹ through the "Istrian Country Exhibition" in Capodistria (Koper) in 1910¹⁰ to the big *Adria-Ausstellung* [Adriatic Sea Exhibition]¹¹ in Vienna in 1913. More important is the fact that the economic success of these promotion actions remained extremely limited; however, when it comes to their cultural impacts, it was the other way round. The parts of the Monarchy represented themselves with the new key symbols and with an ethnographic way of thinking. In the mentioned "Adriatic Sea Exhibition", the Mediterranean part of the Monarchy represented itself decidedly "Serbo-Croatian" with southern landscape and coloured dresses. And this even successfully, as the organiser of the ethnographic part explained: according to him, the ethnographic momentum is to a large extent still stressed everywhere in the Adriatic Sea countries (Haberlandt 1913).¹²

Archduke Ludwig Salvator (1847-1915)

The Habsburgs in general had only partial luck on the sea: the emperor Franz Josef did not love the sea. His brother, the commander of the k. und k. navy, archduke Maximilian was executed as emperor of Mexico. And archduke Johann Nepomuk Salvator, who had left the Emperor house, sank as a civil captain of a merchant ship during one of his sails to South America. Likewise the flight from the severe court ceremonial led archduke Ludwig Salvator, who was born in 1847, onto the sea (Hamann 1988) and made him an ethnographic "researcher of the Mediterranean" (Woerl 1899); however, he has nowadays been generally forgotten. His *Tabulae Ludovicianae*, published in 1869, are among the first ethnographic questionnaires of Europe (Ludwig Salvator 1869). Ludwig Salvator has drawn thousands of landscape motifs and scenes of the Mediterranean popular life and — as one of the first field researchers — he obtained his information through direct contact with the population. For instance, among his contact persons was the Sicilian folklorist Giuseppe Pitré (Ludwig Salvator 1893:IV).

It is impossible to present his extensive publications here; but his books about the Adriatic sea must be mentioned (Ludwig Salvator 1870-1878, 1871 and 1897) and to sum up, it can be said, that Ludwig

⁹ "Dalmatinische Exposition auf der Pariser Weltausstellung". *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* 6, 1900:85-86.

¹⁰ "Die istrianische Landesausstellung" *Adria*, April 1910, 239-272.

¹¹ "Adria-Ausstellung in Wien". *Adria*, Dec. 1912, 441-444; Haberlandt 1913.

¹² Haberlandt, Michael. 1913. "Die Abteilung 'Volkskunde' in der Adria-Ausstellung zu Wien 1913". *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* 9:128-129.

Salvator's enthusiasm for the Mediterranean world was motivated in several ways (Schwendinger 1991). To him it seemed to be freer and more open, but at the same time to be threatened by decline: not by chance his book, published in 1905 (Ludwig Salvator 1905), had the significant title: *Das was verschwindet. Trachten aus den Bergen und Inseln der Adria* [What is Disappearing: Dresses from the Mountains and Islands of the Adriatic Sea].¹³ Nevertheless, the extensive monographs about the Balearic Islands (Ludwig Salvator 1869-1891 and 1896), the Liparian (Ludwig Salvator 1893-1896 and 1898) and some Greek Islands (Ludwig Salvator 1887, 1907 and 1908) would go beyond a romantic reflection. The Mediterranean reality should be represented in them in all facets.

Ludwig Salvator was actually the only Austrian who was able to see the independent Mediterranean world. As his books were published in a small circulation and moreover as they were distributed only through private contacts, their influence remained small. With reservations, archduke Ludwig Salvator is still to be discovered as an ethnographer of the Mediterranean. As an explorer, however, he has already aroused greater interest: there is a special Ludwig-Salvator-Museum in Mallorca, and his monograph (Ludwig Salvator 1904) is taken as a basis for current identity formation on the Greek island of Zakynthos. A final discovery motivation is also to be added: Ludwig Salvator wished nothing more than that his books be able to suggest others to visit the forgotten islands of the Mediterranean off the widely used tourist paths (Woerl 1899:209).

The islands in the Adriatic Sea, as well as Mallorca and Ibiza, and the Greek islands are in present time the main tourist centres of Europe. Maybe the *discovery* of these islands was Austria's contribution to the Mediterranean world.¹⁴ Present tourists travel there with a motivation which also inspired archduke Ludwig Salvator: the escape from the ordinary and normality of everyday life. Therefore the Austrian "local reading of the Mediterranean" was not defined by "honour and shame" (Piña Cabral 1989; Goddard 1994) and actually there are consequentially no Austrian contributions to the studies of the Mediterranean or the island-cultures (Reimann 1984; Greverus 1997) but by the flight of individuals from civilization — a flight as it is currently celebrated by another person: the empress Elisabeth, who, in the final analysis, was not able to become happy on the island of Corfu.¹⁵

¹³ For a critical appraisal of Ludwig Salvator's writings on the Adriatic see Krompotic 1998.

¹⁴ For this interpretation see f. e. "Ein Habsburger auf Urlaub". *Wiener Zeitung*, 21st June 1996.

¹⁵ How Elisabeth's flight from civilization nowadays is a model for mass-tourism one can see f. e. in "Elisabeths Flucht in die Traumwelt". *Neue Kronen Zeitung*, 27th August 1998.

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LOKALNA KONSTRUKCIJA ILI: KAKVE VEZE IMAJU ALPE S GLOBALNIM POIMANJEM MEDITERANA?

SAŽETAK

Alpska regija nesumnjivo je austrijski "etnički prostor": pojam "Alpska republika" (*Alpenrepublik*) koristi se u političkom predstavljanju, a alpski su kulturni elementi izražajni u suvremenoj kulturi. Austrijska se etnografija nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata isključivo bavila alpskom kulturom, a ostali su kulturni istraživački koncepti bili zanemareni. Od osamdesetih je godina ovoga stoljeća veće kulturno značenje pridano poimanju Dunava u smislu povijesnog podsjetnika na "Dunavsku monarhiju" te u smislu promoviranja koncepta "Središnje Europe" (*Mittleuropa*), iako na kraju takav pristup nije imao većega značenja. Nadalje, političke zaklade kao što je "Radna zajednica Alpe - - Jadran" (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Alpen-Adria; Comunità di lavoro Alpe-Adria*) imaju samo regionalni značaj. Ipak, sve je to utjecalo na porast "nostalgije", koja već ionako cvate u austrijskoj književnoj ponudi, prezentna sloganom: "Austrija je bila prisutna u svakoj luci".

Ta je politička nostalgija sukladna i podržana kulturnim idejama o Mediteranu koje su se razvile putem turizma. Upravo je "*Club Med*" institucija koja simbolično preokreće Mediteran u "drugi" svijet, predstavljen kao prostorni rekreacijski park koji obećava sunce, praznike i bezbrižan život. Pridošli turisti ulaze u oblik kazališnoga svijeta u kojemu se domaći stanovnici predstavljaju u svojim nacionalnim kostimima, poslužuju karakterističnu hranu i ponašaju se pretpostavljivo za svoje podneblje — podneblje kulturno "toplog društva".

Topos "toplog mediteranskog društva" povezan je sa starom europskom zalihom stereotipa i klasičnom podjelom europskoga kontinenta na sjever i jug. U nastojanju prevladavanja takvih koncepcija, u članku su predstavljena i etnografska istraživanja austrijskih etnografa u mediteranskoj regiji, studije danas uvelike zaboravljene. Uz mnogobrojne studije o Istri i Dalmaciji posebno su vrijedni spomena i brojni opisi "otočkih kultura" (primjerice Grčke, Italije i Španjolske). Iako te studije nisu utjecale na stvaranje globalne koncepcije i poimanja Mediterana u relevantnoj mediteranističkoj literaturi, ipak nisu bile bez značenja u europskome kontekstu.

Ključne riječi: Habsburška monarhija, austrijska etnografija, Mediteran