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Habsburg Imperial Image-Space: Negotiating Belonging Through Photography[1]

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This article examines the visualization of Hutsuls in German-Austrian, Ukrainian, Polish and Russophile ethnographic texts, asking how national and imperial imaginations of space were produced through such fluid cross-linking of texts and photographs. Considering the radical changes in image circulation since the late-19th century, we aim to reconsider the role of photography in image-making of the Habsburg Empire. This article shows how the same images were supposed to serve many purposes, when they were embedded in different settings. The construction of photographic objectivity, the circulation of images through imperial infrastructures and the exoticization of rural peoples were, however, common phenomena.

Keywords: Habsburg Monarchy, Photography, Imperial History, Ethnography, History of Science, Carpathians, Bukovyna, Galicia

1 Introduction

> *Nowadays, every science [Wissenschaft] moves the beautiful art of photography into her service. Not just natural sciences … require the depiction of their objects through photography, which nothing else can deliver with such sharpness and accuracy, with such rapidity and reliability. The young discipline [Wissenschaft] of Volkskunde (Folk Art) trustfully turns to the representatives and friends of this fine art. … The modern time is relentlessly and unstoppably getting rid of the primitive creations of folk traditions and arts. … Therefore, it is necessary to intervene at the 11th and 12th hour; it is necessary to preserve the things, and where it is not possible, at least their picture for the purpose of science. The tremendous material of Volkskunde is scattered in hundreds and hundreds of corners; it is necessary to collect it in one place for critical comparison.*[2]
> *Michael Haberlandt, 1896*

Michael Haberlandt (1860–1940) was a central organizer of Viennese *Volkskunde*[3], comprised of ethnographic studies on the population of Europe and especially the Habsburg Monarchy. Promoting the purposes of the new *Museum für* österreichische *Volkskunde* (Museum for Austrian *Volkskunde*), founded in 1895, he suggested that the collection of photographs would be an elemental task for this institution with an imperial mission. The networks and traditions of *Volkskunde* preceded the foundation of the museum, as they began to form two decades earlier in the setting of the Anthropological Society in Vienna.[4] The imperial purpose of the discipline came to the fore with the colossal undertaking of the *Kronprinzenwerk*

[Crown Prince's Work],[5] which was aimed at the cultural cohesion of the heterogenous peoples and regions of the Habsburg Empire. Similarly, Haberlandt emphasized the impetus of *Volkskunde* to study the "colorful ethnographic composition of Austria" with a focus on "the natural expression of the people, which exceed all national boundaries."[6] This paper attempts to review the visual culture of *Volkskunde* from the margins of the Habsburg Empire by focusing on participating actors from the crownlands Galicia and Bukovyna and photographic objects from the Carpathian Mountains in both regions. The image of the Carpathians was closely linked to ethnographic curiosity and fascination; they were, however, just an imagination for a large part of the urban middle-class who never visited the eastern half of the monarchy. The visual production of this imagination was closely linked to discourses about ethnographically "pure" spaces on the one hand and the related imperial narrative of "unity in diversity" on the other. This paper argues that the image of the Eastern Carpathians as a "wild" and "barely civilized" space with culturally oscillating inhabitants in affectionately arranged costumes was not just a myth, but an integral part of the Habsburg image-space, directly related to the development of photography and the use of photography as part of ethnographic practices in the field of *Volkskunde*. Photography is an enormously context-reliant medium, which allowed for different ways of appropriating images. The photographic infrastructure of the Habsburg Empire allowed for circulating images of so-called *Volkstypen* (folk type photographs) to pop up in very different framings. The idea of Hutsuls was co-produced by many actors, all of who shared the infrastructure of the image-space in the Habsburg Empire.[7]

Our approach contributes to the question of what epistemological relevance photographs gained through circulation and thus will be applicable to other transcultural regions of the Habsburg Empire or other political entities.[8] This shall be achieved through a re-reading of classic texts on Hutsul ethnography by taking nuances in the texts as well as the instrumentalization of pictures, apart from the understanding of a mere exchangeable illustration, seriously. Hutsuls were undeniably the most popular ethnographic group in the Habsburg Eastern Carpathians, therefore they present an ideal subject for a multilingual investigation. In our understanding, the urban practices of ethnographic fieldwork and the following publications essentially shaped the image of the Hutsul region. Local actors, photographers, publishers, collectors, and ethnographers took part in the process of producing, circulating, presenting and interpreting photographs in urban settings.

This case study focuses essentially on four actors, densely connected to the networks of *Volkskunde*. The first one is Juliusz (Julius) Dutkiewicz, a professional photographer working in Galicia and Bukovyna, who produced the first and most popular series of photographs depicting the Hutsul region and its inhabitants. They were considered to be of "excellent execution and special interest"[9] for *Volkskunde*.

The following three actors were practitioners of *Volkskunde* with diverse biographical, ideological, and geographical backgrounds. Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866-1930) was a historian at the University of Czernowitz. His books *Die Ruthenen in der Bukowina (1890, The Ruthenians in Bukovyna)* und *Die Huzulen* (1894, *The Hutsuls*) are the first ethnographic monographs on single ethnic groups in the Habsburg Monarchy.[10] With his handbook on *Volkskunde*, he demonstrated how innovative research practices could be established on the margins of the empire.[11] The Bukovynian ethnographer and journalist Grigoriy Kupchanko (1849-1902) had a background in Slavic Studies and cooperated with Habsburg as well as Russian scholars. He was of a Russophile political orientation and thus tried to support the idea that Hutsuls were a tribe of the Russian nation. Volodymyr Shukhevych (also Vladimir/Wladimir/Włodzimierz Szuchiewicz) (1849-1915) was a Galician middle school teacher of natural sciences who became an important collector of Hutsul items in cooperation with the Polish *Muzeum Przyrodnicze im. Dzieduszyckich* (Dzieduszycki Natural History Museum) in Lemberg/Lviv. His take on Hutsuls in his own writings was coined by his Ukrainophile, yet Habsburg-loyal political orientation. All these practitioners studied the Hutsul region and appropriated Dutkiewicz's images for their own purposes. The comparative take on their texts will allow us to study ideological approaches to *Volkskunde*, the instrumentalization of photographic images and the visual making of the Hutsul region.

Different takes on the Hutsul region outline its appropriation from the perspective of literary history, art history, or history of science. They have demonstrated the appropriation and mythologization of Hutsuls by different national movements through literary and scholarly texts, paintings, and a map.[12] Building on those works, our study demonstrates the new quality of "realistic" depiction of a people, which contemporary discourses saw in the medium of photography despite classifying it as art, like Haberlandt did. Furthermore, we will highlight the image-text-relation at the intersection of visual history and history of knowledge. Finally, by considering the circulation of images in the network of *Volkskunde*, we demonstrate how imperial infrastructures were used by different ideological projects, which attempted to appropriate Hutsuls.

2 Empire as an Image-Space

An image-space that is fed with countless circulating images contributes to ideas about the appearance of people that never become visible in their "real" living spaces and conditions. These images create a distant and at the same time close visibility and make spaces and their inhabitants imaginable even over great distances. Images never gain their meaning from themselves alone, but always through their use and interpretation. In relation to the context of this case study, we consider them territorializing images. These usually occur with local, regional,

ethnic, national, or even social or religious designations or contexts provided by texts such as captions on the image, on the image-carrier, captions in essays and books, or designations in inventory books. However, it is not only the captions, but also other forms defining the meaning of an image to claim representativity over a whole territory through the image-text (descriptions, captions, and related texts), image-image (combination of photographs with other visual material, especially with maps) or image-data relations (statistical data presented in tables).

Considering specific cultural and political conditions of the multilingual Central European Empire, we will speak of an imperial image-space, which was co-produced by many actors in seemingly distant provinces. An empire as such is, to a certain extent, produced at its margins.[13] The knowledge and images produced by *Volkskunde*, understood in the Foucauldian sense as an episteme, i.e., a deep societal structure and not only a scholarly discipline, were widely used in contemporary arts, regional exhibitions and the emerging psychoanalysis, in the fashion industry and in folk dances, performances, or costume festivals of the bourgeoisie. This diverse instrumentalization contributed to the popularization of *Volkskunde* itself and the knowledge of specific peoples among the educated Habsburg middle-class. This process contributed to the popularization of images from the Carpathians in general and Hutsuls in particular, far exceeding the circles of associations with specific interests in the mountains, such as alpine organizations.

Photography and the handling of images in empires is part of the overall discourses and practices of ordering and managing heterogeneity.[14] This becomes particularly obvious regarding the popular ethnographic type photographs. Today's photo collection of *Volkskundemuseum Wien* (Vienna Folklore Museum)[15] contains thousands of such images, mostly from Central and Eastern Europe, which the museum has collected since its foundation. Most of them were taken between the 1870s and the outbreak of World War I. The phenomenon of type depictions is related to the rise of national currents in 18th century Europe. Since then, various forms of types and costumes representations occurred, for example, by means of sketches and paintings, but photography and the idea of its "mechanical objectivity"[16] were responsible for a new boom. Moreover, in the last third of the 19th century, photographic reproduction techniques made such tremendous progress that it became possible to mass produce and circulate images.

The usage of these texts and the actors, which produced them as part of their photographic and ethnographic practices, lead us to the other side of the image-space: networks and infrastructures, which produced and circulated the images in question, as well as distributed the knowledge to decipher them. Institutions like the *Museum für* österreichische *Volkskunde* (Museum for Austrian Folklore) served as important knots for interconnected networks, encompassing the Austrian half of the Empire, but also transcending the state-borders. Like other museums and research facilities, it collected and ordered photographs, as well as used them for

illustrating its publications. Ethnographic publications, from professional journals and monographs to popular scientific projects with varying budgets and outreach, served as important vehicles for circulating images. However, for the context of *Volkskunde*, non-professional photographers, or ethnographic practitioners travelling with a camera, were equally important, as they took part in producing the flood of ethnographic photographs around 1900.


Junges Ehepaar aus Żabie. (Nach einer Photographie von J. Dutkiewicz in

Figure 1: [Julius Dutkiewicz], no title, around 1880, autotype, 13.6 x 10.1 cm. From: Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Galichina i ei russky zhitely. Knizhechka dlya naroda s mnogimi obrazkami staroy Rusi i Pol'shi i tepereshnoy Galichiny* (Galicia and its Russian inhabitants. A folk book with many images of the old Rus, Poland, and today's Galicia) (Vienna: self-published, 1896), 65.
Figure 2: Julius Dutkiewicz, "Junges Ehepaar aus Żabie" ("Young Married Couple from Żabie"), around 1880, autotype, 14.3 × 9.6 cm. From: Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, "Haus und Hof bei den Huzulen. Ein Beitrag zur Hausforschung in Oesterreich," (House and Farm among the Hutsuls. A contribution to house research in Austria) *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 26 (1896), 147–185, 178.

The concept of empire as an image-space does not suggest an image exclusively designed by the metropolis. On the contrary, the empire provided an infrastructure, in which different actors participated and could shape image-spaces through their practices. An image-space is therefore never finished or completed, but a temporal expression of processes and practices of defining space, regions, and peoples through a certain set of technical possibilities. The image-space was co-produced by many actors, while a selected representation of that image-space only provided one perspective, which could be prominent or marginal for different audiences, depending on questions of place, accessibility, print quantity, and language of a publication. Questions of storage and reproduction of images are an integral part of these practices. The availability of images determined, to some extent, if they were included in the text. One image, in the interpretation of different media and authors, might have appeared in very different ways, as it might have been

reframed, relabeled, or retouched.

The relevance of retouching can be demonstrated with the example of a well-known image depicting a young married couple from the village Żabie/Zhabie (today Verkhovyna, Ivano-Frankivska Oblast, Verkhovynskyi raion). In the version by Kupchanko, the bride and groom are depicted in a landscape, opening the possibility to interpret the background in the photograph as their "natural" environment (see figure 1), which supports the author's argument that they should be considered as the "original" people of the ethnographic region he is describing. Pushing the context towards that kind of naturalizing environment is not only interpreting a posteriori, but it is an intentional setting created by the photographer. In several of his type photographs, Julius Dutkiewicz even placed specifically prepared small trees as a background behind the figures. Thus, it was not the necessities of a field trip which introduces nature as a surrounding, but the idea of producing a specific meaning through the context the types are placed in. In the example from Kaindl's text, this background was retouched (see figure 2): Only the ethnographic type is presented, which allows closer attention to the particularly highlighted costume. The retouching was part of the complicated processes of postproduction that shaped the appearance and meaning of the images. It was a kind of precise but simple craftsmanship, overpainting the photograph with white color. But only the printing process could hide the retouching and produce the final image. In the printed version, the background disappeared completely, and the type was floating in a kind of endless dislocated space, thus strengthening the important movements that manufacture the production of types, especially in photography–depersonalization, delocalization, de-temporalization, and the processes of othering; we will come back to this aspect.

The relabeling of photographs was a central practice to customize images for different settings. Thus, it was not only that the image was purposed for a special intention and context, but in a way, it was another image. A particularly famous photograph by Dutkiewicz can be found as "Female Hutsul [Huzulin] from Jawornik spinning", "A Girl with Hair Ornaments from Jawornik", "Girl from Jawornik (on the Black Cheremosh) with a Distaff" and "A Hutsul Girl" (figures 3-6). A young woman confronts the spectator, with her legs a little shifted. In her left arm she has a distaff, the right hand holds the mandrel, the left the thread. We see her presented on a meadowy underground with pieces of rock. Like in many other of Dutkiewicz's images, the background consists of trees. She is set up at the margins of a forest. This "wild" romantic environs fit into the aforementioned representations that produce the indigenous type.

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Mädchen eigenen Haarschmuck.[1]) Zuweilen kommen aber 30—35jährige Burschen und wohl auch 25—30 Jahre zählende Mädchen zur Trauung. Andererseits werden aber schon vierzehnjährige Mädchen verheiratet, und man sieht im Huzulengebiete überhaupt erwachsene Mädchen sehr selten,

Fig. 1. Ein Mädchen im Haarschmuck aus Jawornik. (Nach einer Photographie von J. Dutkiewicz in Kolomea.)

hingegen jugendliche Weiber in grosser Zahl. Einen fast abschreckenden Anblick gewähren einzelne greise Mädchen, die im spärlichen Haarschmucke ohne Kopfbedeckung einhergehen.

[1]) Siehe die Abbildung 1.

Figure 3: Julius Dutkiewicz "Huzulin aus Jawornik beim Spinnen [Female Hutsul from Jawornik Spinning]", around 1880, albumen paper on cardboard, 13.6 × 10 cm, © Photographic Collections Volkskundemuseum Wien: pos14778.
Figure 4: Julius Dutkiewicz, "Ein Mädchen mit Haarschmuck aus Jawornik [A Girl with Hair Ornaments from Jawornik]", around 1880, autotype, 13.4 × 9.8 cm. In: Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Huzulen. Ihr Leben, ihre Sitten und ihre Volksüberlieferung* [The Hutsuls: Their Life, Their Customs and Their Folk Tradition] (Wien: Hölder, 1894), 14.

Jawornik (am schwarzen Czeremosz) mit einem Spinnrocken. Ausser dem lang gewebte Schürzen (*opynki*), die um den Leib mittelst eines ebensolchen Gür estickten Pelzchen ohne Aermel (*kyptor*). Als Schmuck dienen Halsschnüre a eflochtenen Messingknöpfe (*boutyce*). Nach einer Photographie von J. Dutkiew

Fig. 15. Ein huzulisches Mädchen.

Figure 5: Julius Dutkiewicz, "Mädchen aus Jawornik (am schwarzen Czeremosz) mit einem Spinnrocken [A Girl from Jawornik (on the Black Cheremosh) with a Distaff]", around 1880, autotype, 13.4 × 9.8 cm. In: Raimund Kaindl, "Haus und Hof bei den Huzulen. Ein Beitrag zur Hausforschung in Oesterreich [House and Farm of the Hutsuls: A Contribution to House Research in Austria]," *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* [Communications of the Anthropological Society in Vienna] 26 (1896), 147–185, 176.
Figure 6: Julius Dutkiewicz, "Ein huzulisches Mädchen [A Hutsul Girl]", 1880s, autotype, 13.4 × 9.7 cm. In: Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Kurze Landeskunde der Bukowina zur Selbstbelehrung, für Schulen und Reisende* [Brief Geography of Bukovyna for Self-Instruction, for Schools and Travelers] (Czernowitz: Pardini, 1895), 37.

Not only objects and activities, but also origin and ethnicity of the depicted girl are variously emphasized in this example. Thereby, the authors did not only direct the reader's attention to any details, but they also distinguished between photographic genres: the folkloric emphasis on an activity versus that of a folk type. In the stereotyping machinery of folk type representation, that girl goes from being the typified representative of a village to representing an ethnographically oscillating border space encompassing several administrative areas.

Moreover, an ethnic identity – Hutsul – is established in two examples, while it cannot axiomatically emerge from the place name Iavirnyk/Jawornik (today Iavirnyk, Ivano-Frankivska Oblast, Verkhovynskyi raion), especially since the region was ethnographically heterogeneous despite its cultural image. If we analyze the context of the images in detail, the meaning of this image would go through further processes of altering its meaning—from being a touristic image (Fig. 6) to "the" scientific representation of an ethnic group, per se. Thus, it shifts from a relatively open iconography (Fig. 3–the "original" by Dutkiewicz) to another status of the image by entering the scientific discourse (Fig. 4 and 5), marked by the cut-out of the retouch, elaborating the image for this purpose. We observe its transition into an object of knowledge.

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Photography can thus appear as a visual processing of data; the labeling of images represented a far-reaching act of definition through which the photograph could provide visual knowledge. The relabeling of circulating type photographs in different publication forms, media, and contexts, in turn correlates with the new technical possibilities of the period under study. Even though *Volkskunde* relied

on the idea of producing "one's own" instead of an Other, the related practices of making photographs and ethnographic knowledge in the field follow a colonial gaze and practice othering, closely related to imperial logics, as we will demonstrate in the following section.

3 Making a Scientific Object in the Field

Othering is the creation of an Other, here in its special variant of an internal exoticization. In both cases, processes of primitivizing and traditionalization can be discerned. Ethnographers saw the people they were studying outside of education and modernization, in a "primitive" state of mind and living in contexts of tradition, clearly different from the modern, "civilized" urban population. These were dominant models both within and outside of the scholarly realm, as they unfolded their efficacy socially and politically. Postcolonial approaches like this have been productively employed for historical studies on the Habsburg Monarchy since the 2000s.[17] Despite the new possibilities of this approach, the reference of "internal colonialism" is seen critically, especially in political terms. In the cultural studies succeeding historical *Volkskunde*, the concept of "internal exoticism" ("Binnenexotismus"[18]) exists, and postcolonial approaches are used for an examination of the history of Europe.[19] We are advocating the idea of a "colonial gaze," which is inherent in ethnographic practices of different color.

Johannes Fabian criticizes in his seminal book, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*, that the people, about which anthropological texts speak, are objectified.[20] Unlike in direct contact, where a dialogical approach prevails, the texts make them into "others," through different methodological approaches. For these processes of othering, it is important to consider who deployed them and who decided about questions of visibility. That is similar to objects considered alien in the studies of material culture. Only those actors who have agency in the spaces of exhibiting can influence how things are seen; only these groups have a voice in the museum or the publication in question. In order to speak in such settings, certain conditions must be met: Education, access to media, means of production, and relevant networks are the minimum requirements. The people who were studied in the Eastern Carpathians usually did not meet these criteria.

How did these practices relate to the network of *Volkskunde*? The German-speaking historian and folklorist Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866-1930) researched and taught in Czernowitz/Chernivtsi for a long time, from 1901 as a university professor, and studied predominantly the population of Bukovyna. Kaindl published early and frequently in the *Zeitschrift* für österreichische *Volkskunde* [Journal of Austrian Folklore], wrote ethnographic monographs as well as a first very detailed and differentiated introduction to *Volkskunde*.[21] This constructed group of the Hutsuls settled in and along the Carpathian Mountains

in Galicia, Bukovyna, and northeastern Hungary, even though the latter group is often neglected, e.g., by Kaindl himself. Kaindl was part of a network of scholars interested and working in folklore in Vienna and Czernowitz/Chernivtsi. They went on excursions together, published in the *Kronprinzenwerk*, and were involved in the establishment of the Museum *für* Österreichische *Volkskunde* in Vienna.[22]

In Kaindl's text *Die Hochzeitsfeier bei den Ruthenen in Berhometh am Pruth (Bukowina)* [The Wedding Ceremony among the Ruthenians in Berhomet on the Prut (Bukovyna)], the studied people seem to be placed in a strangely alien distance in the text.[23] Although the name of the village is given, the text lacks specific localizations. This becomes even more obvious in his monograph *Die Huzulen* [The Hutsuls], where only a few localities are mentioned across the whole book.[24] The places mentioned are barely graspable; the time, when this stereotyped wedding took place, is missing. In addition, Kaindl's texts are written in the so-called ethnographic present tense. Thus, all events and descriptions covered by them are united on one temporal level. Therefore, we do not get an idea about the specific wedding which was witnessed by a researcher and took place at a specific time with specific actors and visitors, but about *the* generalized wedding. The collective singular refers (and the same is true for the protagonists) to all possible weddings in an undefined and therefore completely open period of time. Here, a *type* of ceremony is created.


des Bräutigams ohne diesen das Haus.

Abb. 7. **Cymbalmusikant.**

Figure 7: Julius Dutkiewicz: "Cembalmusikant" (A Harpsichordist), 8 × 5,5 cm. Aus: Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Hochzeitsfeier bei den Ruthenen in Berhometh am Pruth (Bukowina)*, in: Globus 85 (1914), no. 18, 285.

Just as type formation occurs in the realm of individual subjects and events, this continues at the level of larger groups. Early folkloristic texts deploy an all-encompassing ethnic term ("the Hutsuls"), thereby homogenizing the individuals and thus creating them as a group throughout the text. Internal differentiations are subsumed under this unifying conceptual bracket of type. The discursive

production of a Hutsul ethnicity captures a phenomenon that does not exist beyond this verbalization in this compact, closed, and simultaneously abstract form. Thus, a notion of Hutsuls is artificially manifested and stabilized. Even if there are common characteristics beyond individual villages, shared institutions, forms of community feeling, the structural unity as assumed by folklore is thus only present on the discursive level.

Through acts of othering – de-personalization, de-localization and de-temporalization – the early folklorists traditionalize and primitivize the groups they studied. Kaindl continues this approach on another level: The interests of the respondents were negated and declared naïve. The text does not discuss the political living conditions of the villagers, their historical reasons, and omits explanations for educational disadvantages or suspicions towards outside visitors in the village. This is another step which contributes to exoticization and mystification. These aspects become even more clear when focusing on the origin of the materials, which Kaindl used to compose his paper. They were provided by the Russophile ethnographer Grigoriy Kupchanko (1849-1902). Kupchanko was born in the very same village (Berehomet/Berhomet) himself, but a close view on his research practices allows us to consider his closeness to the people as merely constructed. Kaindl summarized them, based on Kupchanko's papers, as follows:

> *'My material,' Kupchanko notes, 'I collected mainly in the parental home; then I went from one farm to another in the village and had traditions and songs told to me. After I had explored our village in this way, I traveled to other neighboring villages. This was not only a laborious task, but also a costly one. I had to give the girls and boys, who gave me messages, brightly colored cloths, brass rings, earrings, small crosses and even money, while many older people did not want to come out with their news before I had given them plenty of brandy: 'We cannot sing and narrate so easily,' they told me. Others did not want to dictate their songs to me at any price, expressing the fear that I would send the songs to Vienna, and then the emperor might raise their taxes, because he would conclude from their merry songs that they were doing very well. I also experienced similar things during my research among the suspicious rural population. Kupchanko's remarks are also indicative of the peasants' naïve view of the constitutional form of government.'*[25]

Important aspects of Kupchanko's personality as a researcher can be deduced here. On the one hand, his people-oriented self-image hardly stands up to critical scrutiny; on the other hand, one can hardly avoid accusing Kupchanko of a certain double standard. As a popular enlightener, he participated in the ideological project of Ruthenian national activists to combat alcohol consumption with the goal to "lift up" the "common people." To achieve his goals as a researcher, however, the "brandy" obviously seemed to be a tried and tested means for him. What at first appears to be an anecdote, in fact illustrates that the son of a peasant from rural Berehomet/Berhomet had outgrown his social environment and, as an intellectual,

adapted civilizing discourses from imperial and national visions.

The implied information about the treatment of the researched again allows the case to be seen as a pars pro toto for ethnographic research practice in the Habsburg Monarchy. While Kaindl's monograph on *Volkskunde* addressed field research practices in a more careful way and stressed the role of local, educated intermediaries such as clerics,[26] Kupchanko dealt with these issues more bluntly in his brochure *Izuchaymo nash narod* (Let us study our people), which he published in 1891 in Vienna. Here, he directly addressed the "alphabetized, enlightened [pys'menny, prosveshchenny] Russian persons", which should help their own "poor people" not only through enlightening, but also by studying them.[27] He emphasized the direct nexus between paternalism and studying the people as a patriotic duty. However, if one reads the story the other way around, the researched or the informants also possessed agency. This is clearly demonstrated by the means that Kupchanko had to use to overcome resistance in the disclosure of data and folklore. Research became a trade, knowledge had to be bought or otherwise acquired. Since only a small number of the ethnographers we are concerned with allow us such deep insights in their research processes, it is not possible to provide a representative study of how ethnographic knowledge and photographs came into being. The episodes on Kaindl and Kupchanko, however, serve as an example for the deconstruction of the populist self-presentation of the ethnographers and provide an understanding of educational elites, who have outgrown the regional and social milieus in which they were born and raised. These facts cannot be overlooked, even if Kupchanko time and time again repeats where he was born. The same is true for Kaindl, who constructed his closeness to Hutsuls and his credibility as a researcher by emphasizing that his wife, Ludmilla Kaindl, "lived among Hutsuls for an important part of her youth."[28]

4 From Commissioned Survey to an Image-Space

After this sketch on ethnographic knowledge production in the field and the communication of this work, we will discuss how a specific set of images became part of the imperial image-space. This will be based on the example of Julius Dutkiewicz, a multilingual photographer, who was not only mobile between Galicia and Bukovyna, but also between national and linguistic milieus.[29] He is a prime example of the emerging group of professional photographers, but at the same time he is extraordinarily prominent in the Habsburg Empire for his photographs from the Eastern Carpathians.

Professional photographers were a newly emerging class of actors in Europe starting in the 1850s, serving the exponentially growing demand for the new medium. While studio photography was a central part of their economic practices, they also produced photography for scholarship, such as ethnographic type photographs. With the autotype reproduction technology, it became possible

to circulate these in different formats and great quantities. Besides scholarly publications, journals and newspapers, they circulated in the form of photographic editions and collectible photographic cards, e.g. in the specific photographic formats *carte de cabinet* (cabinet cards) and *cartede-visite* (visiting cards).[30] Dutkiewicz opened his first photographic studio in 1871. However, his supra-regional "breakthrough" in the Habsburg image-space is to be seen in the context of the 1880 ethnographic exhibition in Kolomyia. The numerous ethnographic exhibitions in the Habsburg Empire[31] were crucial not only for the circulation, but also to produce ethnographic visualizations. After the 1873 World's Fair in Vienna, where Hutsul clothing and other exhibits were first made available to a broad imperial and even global audience in the exhibition on the "Peasant Industry of Galicia,"[32] this regional exhibition was one of the pivotal moments for the communication of Galician ethnography in general and Hutsul ethnography in particular.

The ethnographic exhibition in 1880 was organized by the Kolomyia-based Chornohora branch of the Tatra Society, while the folklorist and ethnographer Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890) from the Academy of Sciences in Krakow was the scientific head of the project. He coordinated other scholars and aimed to finish his own ethnographic-folkloristic study on the historical region of Pokuttia for the occasion of the exhibition.[33] Only a few years earlier, the anthropological commission at the Kraków Academy of Sciences had begun to define and thereby appropriate the population of the crownland Galicia. The anthropologist Izydor Kopernicki (1825–1891) cooperated with Kolberg on this project. Together they compiled the album *Types et costumes de la Pologne* [Types and Costumes of Poland] for the Paris World's Fair in 1878. As Ewa Manikowska argues, this album composed "ethnic groups inhabiting the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth" and thereby presented "Poland in the guise of a multi-ethnic empire."[34] This restorative imagination of past greatness can also be observed with regard to the regional exhibition.

The region Pokuttia presented itself on the map of Austria-Hungary as a Galician wedge between Bukovyna und northeastern Hungary. This particular image resulted from the region's history. The historical Pokuttia changed hands between Poland-Lithuania and Moldavia from the 14th to the 16th centuries several times. Since the 1860s, Romanian historians began emphasizing the belonging of Moldavia to Romania, thus also challenging the Polish hegemony in the region.[35] The Polish civilizing mission towards the Ruthenians, as it was articulated during the exhibition, thus included not only the message regarding Polish domination of Galicia, but also the ownership of a historically disputed sub-region of the crownland. This is the only plausible explanation for constructing Pokuttia as an ethnographic region, since the difference between Hutsuls in the mountains and Ruthenians in the flatlands was considered axiomatic since the late 18th century

travel report by Lemberg university professor Balthasar Hacquet.[36]

Dutkiewicz was hired to conduct a photographic survey on the region of Pokuttia by the organizers. His exact task was to provide "a complete collection of the [landscape, M. R.] views and [ethnographic, M.R.] types of Pokuttia."[37]

Figure 8: Julius Dutkiewicz: no title [main pavilion of the Ethnographic Exhibition of Pokuttia]; Kolomyia (today: Ukraine); 1880; albumen paper on cardboard, 19,3 x 27,8, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa, sign. F.12722/IV, © Public domain, https://polona.pl/item-view/a373a1f2-d6c8-467b-8421-4b96494d6e78?page=0 (10.9.2023).[38]

This instruction already contains the idea that the types in question would be so limited, that this survey–which must have taken place in the summer of 1880, as the images where displayed already in September[39]–could be conducted in a relatively limited timeframe, with a limited budget and limited personnel.[40] To fulfill this task and probably to identify the range and varieties of "types," Dutkiewicz was accompanied by the Kolomyia-based hobby ethnographer Leopold Wajgiel (1842-1906), who was also a member of the Chornahora branch. This is reported by Wajgiel, who does not provide details on their research process,[41] but it is obvious that the two of them held all agency in the field, which resulted in the production of ethnographic and spatial knowledge. The resulting photographs were compiled in two albums, which were presented during the exhibition.[42] A third one, called "Erinnerungen an Kolomea [Memories of Kolomyia]," was given to the Emperor Francis-Joseph I during his visit to the exhibition. This volume was inventoried by the library of *k.k. Fideikomiss* in January 1881[43] and is now in possession of the *Bildarchiv* (Image Archive) of the Austrian National Library.[44] Extremely publicized, this symbolic handover of the volume to the emperor represented Polish epistemic dominance over the region. By contrast, a quickly set up exhibition by the Russophile Kachkovskiy Society at the other end of Kolomyia in response to the announcement of the emperor's visit had made a much worse impression on the emperor; he would have looked at it for only "a few minutes," as *Gazeta Narodowa* [The National Newspaper] reported disparagingly.[45]

The exhibition organizers staged Poland as a politically and scholarly potent nation in contrast to Ruthenians in general and Hutsuls in particular, whom they

conceptualized as part of the Polish sphere of influence and civilization. The promotion of "national house industry" as an economic program for poorer regions was indeed a prominent Cisleithanian program,[46] but in this particular case it was to be conducted under Polish auspices and served as a justification strategy for political dominance in Eastern Galicia.[47] For Dutkiewicz's photographs, this means that they were created under national auspices and were initially inscribed in such a narrative. Their usage in exhibitions was not limited to Kolomyia, as they were shown again at the Galician Land-Exhibition in Krakow (1887), in which Kolberg was involved as well.[48]

At the same time, Dutkiewicz can be thought of as an imperial actor. Not only did "Erinnerungen an Kolomea" become part of imperial collections in Vienna, Dutkiewicz himself made sure to spread his work in the metropolis by donating a part of his photographs to the k.k. Österreichisches *Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (k.k. Austrian Museum for Art and Industry). The collections of the *Volkskundemuseum* in Vienna illustrate the importance of larger networks, which were involved in the circulation of these images. Wilhelm Exner donated 37 of Dutkiewicz's photographs to the museum in the mid-1890s,[49] and in 1904 the museum bought another edition of Dutkiewicz's types[50]. One edition of photographs already had a longer institutional career before it arrived in the museum[51] and another one came in from a private donor.[52] Finally, in 2005, a collection of photographs arrived, which was previously used and owned by Kaindl.[53] Furthermore, a number of other institutions hold his photographs today[54] as well as they were printed in numerous publications and also exist as postcards.[55] Concludingly, his circulating photocards, many of which derived from the 1880 survey, clearly transcended Galicia and shaped the view of the region in all of the Habsburg Monarchy and abroad.

Dutkiewicz thereby illustrated different ideological projects, some intentional and others unintentional, as the following chapter will show. It is not possible, however, to define an ideological agenda of the photographer apart from his strategies to arrange the photos. Due to the multiple actors involved in the process of producing and exhibiting the photographs in 1880 and composing the resulting albums, it is not possible to determine whether Dutkiewicz and/or Wajgiel provided the initial labels for the photographs. The involved members of the Tatra Society, as well as Kolberg or other scholars from the Kraków Academy of Sciences, could have taken part in the process. The album *Pokucie Typy* [Pokuttia Types], prepared for the exhibition and now held by the Museum of Ethnography, Arts and Crafts in L'viv, contains more detailed, handwritten information on different photographs, but the author of these keywords is not clear.[56] There are, however, important details regarding certain photographs, which only Dutkiewicz and Wajgiel could have provided: The names of villages, which often were included in the captions and provided the basis for later derivations of ethnic belonging of the person(s) presented in the pictures.[57] In "Erinnerungen an Kolomea," the

captions of most of the type photographs named a type of person from a specific village. Clear ethnic labels spoke of "A Hutsul Woman [Huzulin] from Dolhopole" or "An Armenian from Kuty."[58] Different categories are to be observed in captions like "Girls from Zhabie," "Wife of Zhabie's mayor," or "Peasants in Festive Costumes from Mykulychyn,"[59] where a connection to the Hutsul region could only be made if the viewers knew the location of the mentioned villages. As this aspect illustrates, the agency to define the image was not limited to field research, but it was part of the post-production of the images until their inclusion in the albums, photocards, or other media.

5 Circulating Images

This section discusses the appropriation of Dutkiewicz's photographs in the framework of different works on the Hutsul region, which followed different ideological currents. All of them contributed to the making and re-making of the imperial image-space by distributing and labeling examples from the famous set of images. However, in all these cases, the territorializing images were part of ideological agendas regarding the territory which they were supposed to illustrate. We therefore argue that a specific characteristic of an imperial image-space is the plurality of strategies to appropriate space through images. Quite often, language-use and ideology correlate, as the following examples on the German ethnographer Kaindl, the Ukrainian ethnographer Volodymyr Shukhevych, and the Russophile journalist and ethnographer Kupchanko will demonstrate.[60]

5.1 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl: Die Huzulen (The Hutsuls)

Raimund Friedrich Kaindl was a state-loyal representative of Bukovynian multiculturalism, i.e., a regional version of the imperial idea of "unity in diversity," which considered the peacefulness with barely any national conflicts as secured by the central government and was particularly proud of colorful ethnographic plurality. Even though Kaindl conducted the research for his book *The Hutsuls* exclusively in Bukovyna, his illustrations provide quite a different impression: Out of his 31 figures the publication featured, nine were type photographs. Eight of these were produced by Dutkiewicz and originated predominantly from Galicia, while the ethnographic type by C. A. Galter from Radautz/Rădăuți was shot in Bukovyna and is comparatively lesser known.[61]

In the following years, Kaindl extended his Hutsul research to Galician and Hungarian parts of the Hutsul region. Especially for his house studies, he started to make photos of his own, and especially in Hungary he began to photograph people as well.[62] Even though his contribution on Hutsul house-building now actually contained material from Galicia, there is still an overbalance regarding Galician Hutsuls in the type photographs he integrated into his paper.[63] Furthermore, neither the people nor the village Kaindl studied match these in the picture; they

were separated by time as well as by space.

Photographs were not only used to stereotype a national or an ethnic group as such, but also to inscribe gender roles to members of the community in question. In his monograph *The Hutsuls*, Kaindl used the aforementioned image "A girl with hair ornaments from Jawornik"[64] (see fig. 3-6) to depict a woman of marriageable age, which would be recognizable by the hair ornaments. To all age groups of male and female Hutsuls, Kaindl ascribed specific features and characteristics. Among those, the occupation is a noteworthy aspect; spinning would be a typical activity for women, and he used the same image to illustrate that aspect in another publication. Furthermore, he argues, young girls would be shy and barely interact with their proud and distant male peers. However, he attributed a high level of promiscuity to Hutsuls once they hit puberty. According to an ominous "report" Kaindl mentioned, Hutsul women would consider it a sin "to deny themselves to a man."[65] This stereotype, which Kaindl underlined with the image in question, demonstrates an orientalizing idea of the Hutsul region in general and Hutsul women in particular.

To this stereotyping, it should be added that "the Hutsuls" were and are a thoroughly heterogeneous group, which could show considerable dialectal and cultural differences depending on the influence of the surrounding spatial circumstances. The most obvious difference of the Bukovyna Hutsuls from the Galician ones was increased cultural contact with Romanian mountain population in the corresponding contact areas, but there are broader cultural implications to consider. The Ukrainian writer and ethnographer Ivan Franko (1856-1916) critically scrutinized the works of Shukhevych and Kaindl. As Franko argued, Hutsuls differed not only clearly from the surrounding population of the plain, but precisely from each other, and not only when they belonged to different administrative regions, but also in the case of villages that were comparatively close to each other. This issue was not properly reflected in the two ethnographers' works, which present a homogenous image of the Hutsuls in Galicia and Bukovyna, respectively. According to Franko's critique, Kaindl would even mix up Hutsuls and non-Hutsuls.[66] However, Franko was also involved in the stereotypical construction of Hutsuls himself. It is also important to note that Kaindl's practices did not impair the generally very positive image he had among Ukrainian scholars from Galicia.[67]

5.2 Volodymyr Shukhevych: Hutsulshchyna/Huculszczyzna

Among the Ruthenian-Ukrainian ethnographers and ethno-photographers of Galicia, Volodymyr Shukhevych is to be considered the most prominent researcher and collector on Hutsul ethnography, but also other Ruthenian-Ukrainian groups of Galicia. He was born as the son of the Greek-Catholic clergyman Osyp Shukhevych in the Pokuttian village of Tyshkivtsi (now in Ivano-Frankivska Oblast, Horodenkivskyi povit), about 30 km northeast of Kolomyia/Kolomea. He received

his middle school education first there, then in Stanislaviv/Stanislawów/Stanislau (today Ivano-Frankivs'k) and finally in Czernowitz/Chernivtsi. After three years of military service in Budapest, Vienna, and Lviv, during which he also attended local universities, he graduated from the University of Lviv in 1877. He found a job as a substitute teacher until 1890, when he was appointed as a middle school ("Realschule") professor in Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv. His education and teaching subjects belonged primarily to the natural sciences. He appeared less as a scientist than as an educator, working as editor of the children's magazine *Dzvinok* (The Little Bell) and the teachers' magazine *Uchytel* (The Teacher), among others. His personal passion, however, was ethnography.

Shukhevych belonged to the quantitatively narrow Ruthenian-Ukrainian middle class of Lviv, which was predominantly loyal to the empire, conservatively Greek Catholic, and partially Ukrainophile. He advocated Polish-Ukrainian cooperation in Galicia and pursued it even in his ethnographic work. When Count Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki (1825-1899) opened his natural history museum in Lviv in 1873, Shukhevych immediately reported the event with enthusiasm in the Ruthenian press; he himself became a staff member and organized his own ethnographic and archaeological exhibition there in 1885. They included, for example, clothing and women's jewelry that his wife Hermina had collected in Pokuttia and the Hutsul region. Dzieduszycki then financed further research trips by Shukhevych, which would serve to assemble a systematic collection of Hutsul exhibits that would eventually be prominently displayed.[68] Continued cooperation allowed Shukhevych to gradually gain experience in the field of exhibiting, while at the same time he became a representative public figure with whom Ruthenian-Ukrainian ethnography was associated, although he did not produce a significant publication until 1899. Initially, however, he offered his labor and expertise to a restorative Polish project.

This tendency changed only during the 1890s, when he assumed at least representative functions for the Ruthenian-Ukrainian community of Galicia, the most important of which was the organization of the entire ethnographic section at the General Provincial Exhibition of Galicia in 1894 and the coordination of a Ruthenian pavilion.[69] Transnational cooperation enabled him to use imperial resources as he saw fit. The Ruthenian ethnographic exhibition consisted not only of folk costumes, but of a complete village set up in Lviv, including a specially carpentered wooden Greek Catholic church complete with bell tower, huts from many ethnographic subregions, including a Hutsul one with living inhabitants, and a complete mountain farm. Through the forced self-indigenization of the Ruthenians in Galicia and the deliberate prioritization of Ruthenian exhibits over Polish ones, Shukhevych appears in this setting as a clearly national actor, even if he made use of transnational structures in the process.

Shukhevych, however, can also be described as an imperial actor as well. In

1901, he was accepted as a member of the *Verein für* österreichische *Volkskunde* (Association for Austrian Folklore) and was immediately co-opted onto the committee to serve as a representative for Galicia.[70] In 1903, the *Volkskundemuseum* bought 106 of his photographs, which included many Hutsul photographs, but contrary to a notification in the *Zeitschrift* für österreichische *Volkskunde* (Journal of Austrian Folklore) not exclusively.[71]

Figure 9: [Julius Dutkiewicz]: "Wásyl Szkryblak przy tokarni (Vasyl Shkrybliak at the woodturning table)," around 1880, 10 × 8.5 cm, in: Włodzimierz Szuchiewicz, *Huculszczyzna*, tom pierwsuy (Lwów: Muzeum im. Dzieduszyckich, 1902), 359.
Figure 10: Julius Dutkiewcz: "Huzule. Berühmter Holzschnitzer und Drechsler. Einiges hat seine Majestät von ihm bezogen (Hutsul. Famous Woodcarver and Woodturner. His Majesty got Several Things from Him)," Jawornik Bez. Kossow, around 1880, albumin print on cardboard, 13.6 × 9.6 cm, Photographic Collection, Volkskundemuseum Vienna, sign. Pos/106/31.

In his four-volume monograph on the (Galician) Hutsul region, Shukhevych presented a homogenous ethnographic landscape and emphasized the formative influences of mountains and valleys on the living environments of the inhabitants. Still, Shukhevych's romantic depictions of Hutsuls appear to have their limitations, as becomes obvious in his coverage of criminal cases, alcohol abuse, and the frequency of diseases. He tried to justify these issues through the supposed indolence of Hutsuls, which was frequently exploited by others, as he highlights in some rare accounts on the contact between Hutsuls and surrounding Jews, Armenians, and unnamed administrative elites, as they influence the life of his heroes.[72] The fact that Shukhevych did not clearly present the administrative elites as "Polish" might have been a strategy to avoid conflict with his own Polish cooperation partners – and publishers of the Polish version of his book – at the Dzieduszycki Museum. Furthermore, Shukhevych's accounts on Hutsul-Jewish relations are particularly

problematic. He considered Hutsuls to be the original element of the population, fused with the landscape, while Jews appear as intruders and disruptive factors of the peaceful countryside, who would exploit the socio-economic problems of the supposedly naive Hutsuls. The antisemitic stereotype of Jewish exploiters is integral for Shukhevych's narrative on the Hutsul region, but at the same time Jews are absent from the otherwise rich illustrations of his work.

While most of the figures in the generously illustrated second volume have been provided by Shukhevych or his anonymous illustrator, he has been accused by Kaindl to have plagiarized his drawings of certain items.[73] Also, Shukhevych used photographs by Dutkiewicz without giving him the proper credit. However, the choice and usage of these specific photos from Dutkiewicz is particularly striking, as they add a dimension to the handling of images not to be found in the other texts. Shukhevych included three images showing representatives of the family Shkrybliak, a well-known Hutsul dynasty of carvers, alongside a wide-ranging compilation of photographs on their artistic products.[74] While Shukhevych discussed Hutsuls as well as their material culture in a stereotypical fashion for long parts of his book, this greatly illustrated part demonstrated individuality. Furthermore, the ethnographer even added historical details to the family history and their long-term work in the village Jaworów/Iavoriv since the early 19th century. These photographs are therefore not types representing a whole population, but specifically and positively highlighted individuals, adding a historical dimension to Shukhevych's narrative about Hutsuls as artists. Still, they serve merely as symbols or tokens. Even if the specific individual and idiosyncratic history is told, Shkrybliak is used as a kind of label, a sort of unique selling point for the region, and an advertisement for his own products: His name even stands in for the woodcarvings, and thus is only a kind of detailed stereotype. Thus, Shukhevych emphasizes the extraordinary with the pictures, instead of giving "ordinary" people a voice, apart from the folklore texts collected from them for the later volumes.

5.3 Grigoriy Kupchanko and the "Russians" of the Habsburg Empire

The Russophile ethnographer and activist Kupchanko was rather disconnected from the direct network of Habsburg *Volkskunde*, and only a certain connection to Kaindl catches the eye. The details of their cooperation are unknown, as it is only comprehensible based on the note in Kaindl's previously discussed text. Kupchanko published a series of brochures on the "Russian inhabitants" of Galicia, Bukovyna, and the Ruthenian regions of northeastern Hungary (to which he referred as "Hungarian Rus"), which he also re-issued in the form of a richly illustrated monograph called *Nasha rodina* (Our tribe).[75] Here, he used strategies to scientize "national characters,"[76] mixed up scholarly results with statements taken from folkloric texts and tried to create an image of the "Russian" (specifically not "Little Russian") people from the Habsburg Empire.

In his treatises on the population of Bukovyna, he unapologetically transferred the data on speakers of "Ruthenian" as a "colloquial language" from the Cisleithanian 1890 census into data on "nationality," as well as translating "Ruthenian" into "Russian." The imperial tool of the census, which listed all Hutsuls as "Ruthenian-speaking," made them, in Kupchanko's logic, members of the Russian nation.[77] Kupchanko constructed the category of "race" based on assigning people to language families. Regarding the "Russians in Bukovyna," he argued they would belong "to the Indo-European race," thereby establishing a distinction from "Turks, Tatars, ... Magyars, Finns, ... Hebrews or Jews"[78] and other peoples of the Russian Empire. Accordingly, he assigned the "Russian people" to the "Slavic tribe." Thereby, the studied philologist chose a larger scholarly concept, which allowed him to ignore the widespread contemporary discussions about a possible non-Slavic descent of Hutsuls and integrate them into his overall concept of one "Russian people" through the notions of "race" and "tribe" through a biologized understanding that equates language and ancestry.

When Kupchanko composed these volumes, he worked under miserable living conditions in Vienna.[79] While he had a set of pictures on Bukovyna at his disposal, which he compiled since the 1870s and reused on different occasions, he lacked such illustrations for the volume on Galicia, which he was nevertheless eager to include in his overall view.

Figure 11: [Julius Dutkiewicz]: no title, [District Horodenka, Galicia], around 1880, autotype, 13.4 × 9.7 cm, from: Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Galichina i ey russkiy zhiteli. Knizhechka dlya naroda s mnogimi obrazkami staroy Rusi i Pol'shi i tepereshnoy Galichiny* (Galicia and Its Russian Inhabitants: A Little Book for the People, with Many Images of Old Rus', Poland and Present-Day Galicia) (Vienna: self-published, 1896), 60.[80]

Kupchanko accompanied his folk types with a brief description of ethnic

subgroups, seeking to draw information about self-designations, folk character, etc. primarily from folklore, thus linking the image to oral traditions. This is particularly obvious when he derived self-descriptions from non-contextualized folklore texts: "The Russian inhabitants of the districts of Kolomyia, Kosiv, and adjacent Stanislaviv, who live in the mountains, call themselves Hutsuls or Horny, Hortsy, *Hors'kie liudy*, etc." [81] Folklore was therefore a crucial source for him to delineate the Podolians of the adjacent plain from the Hutsuls, both of which were considered subgroups of "Russians." The attribution of a so-called folk character functioned primarily via folklore as well, whereby it should be emphasized that Kupchanko refrained from naming place, time and reference person, in contrast to the professionalizing folkloristics[82] at that time.

From a purely substantive point of view, this is problematic, because it means that the not insignificant information is lost as to where Hutsuls would decidedly refer to themselves as such–here there was greater uncertainty among contemporary researchers. Moreover, this inconsistency is even more evident in his work on the Ruthenian areas of Hungary, where he finds fault with the fact that people mostly refer to themselves as "I am Rusnyak" or "I am Hutsul," but rarely as "I am Russian."[83] Overall, Kupchanko's publications thus create the impression of an area-wide identification with the specific ethnonyms, which other researchers have not been able to verify even during several years of extensive travel in the Hutsul region.[84]

By emphasizing similar clothing of the Hutsuls in all three administrative spaces,[85] Kupchanko wants to argue that the administrative boundaries of the ethnic groups were drawn completely arbitrarily. This shows a commonality with the Ukrainian national movement, which sought to prove the same with ethnological observations and anthropometric measurements. Both images and folklore are thus separated from their localization and the identity of those speaking or depicted and brought together in a stereotyping technique. His strategies of nation-building are thus simultaneously strategies of othering. This motive is particularly obvious when considering his strategies of integrating Dutkiewicz's photographs in his volume on Galicia: Kupchanko completely omits to give any captions to the images, which would provide information about their regional or temporal origin, let alone the photographer (see figure 10).

6 Conclusion

As we have demonstrated, photographs circulated vividly in the imperial image-space and were reused, relabeled and reframed several times. All the actors investigated in detail operated in urban settings, where they produced images and narratives about rural spaces. Most of them somehow emphasized their closeness to the region they studied. Even if they were born in a certain village close to the region they studied, such as Kupchanko and Shukhevych, they had outgrown their

social, cultural, or geographic origins and acted like urban intellectuals when they reproduced and redefined image-spaces.

The ethnographic practices of othering, such as depersonalization, delocalization and de-temporalization, are reflected in the outlined photographic practices. The images were centerpieces of argumentations, yet they were sometimes so interchangeable, that a *lirnyk* (a travelling musician, playing the lyre) could be transplanted from Galicia to Bukovyna without further notice, just like the girl from Iavirnyk/Jawornik in Kaindl's texts. This specific handling of ethnographically coded images led to the circumvention of local cultural distinctions and thereby allowed us to produce and visualize the ideas of homogenous ethnographic spaces. Due to the availability of such images, often well-known, the image-space could be appropriated by actors of very different ideologies, as we have demonstrated with the examples of Kaindl, Kupchanko, and Shukhevych.

Today, Dutkiewicz's photographs can be found in various institutions in different countries, primarily the *Muzeum Etnograficzne im. Seweryna Udziela* (Seweryn Udziel Museum of Ethnography) and the *Biblioteka Naukowa PAU i PAN* (Polish Academy of Sciences Scientific Library) in Krakow, the *Państwowe Muzeum Etnograficzne* (State Ethnographic Museum)[86] in Warsaw, the *Bildarchiv der* österreichischen *Nationalbibliothek* (Image Archive of the Austrian National Library), the Photographic Collections of the *Volkskundemuseum Wien* (Vienna Folklore Museum), the Austrian Museum of Applied Arts (all three in Vienna) and the Museum of Ethnography, Arts and Crafts in Lviv. Further reproductions are to be found in private archives and collections, such as the fonds of Raimund Friedrich Kaindl in the archive of the University of Graz.[87] These widespread collections do not only illustrate the range of historical image circulation, but also suggest possibilities to rediscover these images as documentations of imperial diversity. While the scholarly approaches from the perspective of photographic history are increasingly critical, national image archives are not always handled like this. This is suggested by reprints of Kupchanko's brochures on Russians in the Habsburg Empire, which have been issued in Moscow soon after the Euromaidan (in modernized Russian orthography on the title page).[88] Thereby, in the case of the reprint of his volume on Galicia, Dutkiewicz's photographs became, once again, territorializing images as part of political communication and appropriation strategies, which the photographer did not intend.

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Herbert Justnik has been a curator at the Volkskundemuseum in Vienna since 2006 and is responsible for the exhibition program and head of the photographic collections. He works with an open concept of science and broad understanding of the curatorial with experimental approaches with performative/participative elements and/or installations. Previous exhibitions and projects (in collaboration) include: "Bibelstechen. Eine Ausstellung als Einblick und Kommentar" (Microphotographic Bibliomancy) (2012), interrogated boundary markings of scientific and museum regimes by means of a contingency machine. "Gestellt. Fotografie als Werkzeug in der Habsburgermonarchie" (Staged. Photography as a Tool in the Habsburg Monarchy) (2014), dealt with the construction of "folk types" and the epistemic and economic infrastructures behind them.

Endnotes

1 Herbert Justnik's part of this paper contains sections and thoughts from previous papers: Herbert Justnik, "Vorneweg,", Gestellt. Fotografie als Werkzeug in der Habsburgermonarchie, ed. by Herbert Justnik (Wien: Löcker Verlag, 2014), 15–22; id., "Kolonialismus in der Bauernstube. Oder: Wie sich die Volkskunde ihr Objekt machte," Das Museum im kolonialen Kontext, ed. by Pia Schölnberger (Wien: Czernin Verlag, 2021), 304–326. Martin Rohde's research was conducted during his time as a research assistant at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, funded by Volkskundemuseum in Vienna and the Institute for German Culture and History in Southeastern Europe, Munich. Our cooperation was part of the exhibition Ölrausch und Huzulenkult. Fotografische Streitobjekte aus Galizien und der Bukowina (Oil Rush and Hutsul Cult. Photographic Objects of Dispute from Galicia and Bukovina) at Volkskundemuseum Vienna (18.11.2022–26.3.2023).

2 Michael Haberlandt, "*Die Photographie im Dienste der Volkskunde* (Photography in the Service of Folklore)," *Zeitschrift* für Österreichische *Volkskunde* (Journal of Austrian Folklore) 2 (1896), 183−186, 183. First printed in *Wiener Photographische Blätter* (Viennese Photographic Papers) III (1896), no. 5, 97–100. For a detailed discussion of the text and its contexts, cf. Herbert Justnik, "Ein Text als Symptom. Michael Haberlandt's 'Die Photographie im Dienste der Volkskunde' (A Text as a Symptom: Michael Haberlandt's 'Photography in the Service of Folklore)," *Wie Bilder Dokumente wurden: Zur Genealogie dokumentarischer Darstellungspraktiken* (How Images became Documents: On the Genealogy of Documentary Representation Practices), ed. by Renate Wöhrer (Berlin: Kulturverl. Kadmos, 2015), 85–100.

3 Habsburg-style ethnography of one's own, based on the assumption that the population of the Habsburg Empire would be one people, classified in different tribes ("Volksstämme").

4 Similar developments occurred all over Europe during this period. Researchers working on folklore were still trained and situated in other disciplines. Both before and after the establishment of folkloristic institutions, folkloric texts appeared distributed across different disciplines and publications. The scholars involved published in the *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Communications of the Anthropological Society in Vienna) as well as in the *Mittheilungen der K.K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Communications of the Imperial and Royal Geographical Society in Vienna), but also in more popular publications.

5 This was a 24-volume regional encyclopedia on the Habsburg Monarchy, initiated by crown prince Rudolf and published from 1886 to 1902. Cf. *Ethnographie in Serie. Zu Produktion und Rezeption der „*österreichisch-ungarischen *Monarchie in Wort und Bild"* (Serialized Ethnography: On the Production and Reception of the "Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Word and Image"), ed. by Jurij Fikfak, Reinhard Johler (Wien: Verlag des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie, 2008).

6 Michael Haberlandt, „Zum Beginn! (To the Beginning!)" *Zeitschrift* für Österreichische *Volkskunde* 1 (1895), 1–3, 1.

7 The concept of the image-space was developed by Walter Benjamin and Tom Holert. Cf. Sigrid Weigel, *Body-and image-space. Re-reading Walter Benjamin* (London, New York: Routledge, 1996); Tom Holert, *Regieren im Bildraum* (Governing the Image-Space) (Berlin: b-books 2008). Herbert Justnik customized the approach with reference to the Habsburg Monarchy around 1900, Herbert Justnik, ed., *Gestellt. Fotografie als Werkzeug in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Posed: Photography as an Agent in the Habsburg Monarchy) (Vienna: Volkskundemuseum, 2014).

8 Cf. the range of methodological remarks in Justnik, ed., *Gestellt*. We discussed the applicability of these approaches in a number of European case studies during the conference *Reimagining One's Own. Ethnographic Photography in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century Europe*, Volkskundemuseum Wien, December 1-3, 2021.

9 Franz Heger, "Die Ethnographie auf der Krakauer Landesausstellung 1887 (Ethnography at the

Kraków National Exhibition in 1887).“ *Mittheilung der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* XVIII (1888), 190–201, 196.

10 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Huzulen: ihr Leben, ihre Sitten und ihre Volksüberlieferung* (The Hutsuls: Their Life, Customs, and Folk Traditions) (Wien: Hölder, 1894); Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Ruthenen in der Bukowina* (The Ruthenians in Bukovyna) (Czernowitz: Czopp, 1890).

11 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Volkskunde. Ihre Bedeutung, ihre Ziele und ihre Methode; mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Verhältnisses zu den historischen Wissenschaften; ein Leitfaden zur Einführung in die Volksforschung* (Folklore: Its Significance, Its Aims and Its Method; with Particular Reference to Its Relationship to the Historical Sciences; a Guide for Introducing Folklore Research) (Wien: Deuticke, 1903).

12 Agnieszka Jankowska-Marzec, *Między etnografią a sztuką. Mitologizacja Hucułów i Huculszczyzny w kulturze polskiej XIX i XX wieku* (Between Ethnography and Art: Mythologization of the Hutsuls and the Land of the Hutsul in Polish Culture of the 19th and 20th centuries) (Kraków: universitas, 2013); Renata Makarska, *Der Raum und seine Texte: Konzeptualisierungen der Hucul´ščyna in der mitteleuropäischen Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Space and its Texts: Conceptualizations of the Land of the Hutsuls in 20th-century Central European Literature) (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010). On Polish-Ukrainian scholarly concurrence regarding the Eastern Carpathians, cf. Martin Rohde, “Eine wissensgeschichtliche Perspektive auf die ukrainisch-polnische Konkurrenz um die Ostkarpaten im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert (A Historical Perspective on the Ukrainian-Polish Competition for the Eastern Carpathians in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries),” *Spiegelungen. Zeitschrift* für deutsche Kultur und *Geschichte Südosteuropas* (Reflections: Journal for German Culture and History of Southeast Europe) 16 (2021), no. 1: 35–45; id., “Ukrainian ‘National Science’ from a Spatial Perspective: How the Hutsul Lands Were Mapped.” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 23, no. 4 (2022): 773-801. doi:10.1353/kri.2022.0056. On Polish approaches during the interwar period, cf. Jagoda Wierzejska, “A Domestic Space: The Central and Eastern Carpathians in the Polish Tourist and Local Lore Discourse, 1918–1939,” *Prace filologiczne: Literaturoznawstwo* (Philological works: Literary studies) no. 9 (12), pt. 1 (2019): 33–62. On early Polish photographs of the Hutsul region, cf. Ewa Manikowska, *Photography and Cultural Heritage in the Age of Nationalisms. Europe's Eastern Borderlands (1867–1945)* (London et al.: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019).

13 William O’Reilly, “Fredrick Jackson Turner’s Frontier Thesis, Orientalism, and the Austrian Militärgrenze,” *Journal of Austrian-American History* 2, no. 1 (2018), 1–30. https://doi.org/10.5325/jaustamerhist.2.1.0001.

14 On the nexus of photography and politics in Habsburg and Russian Empire, cf. Dominik Gutmeyr, Manfred Pfaffenthaler, “Co-Optation and Autonomy of the Photographic Object. On Ethnographic Photography in the Russian and Habsburg Empires,” *From the Highlands to Hollywood. Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Southeastern Europe. Festschrift for Karl Kaser and SEEHA*, ed. by Siegfried Gruber et al. (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2020), 181–198. On quite a different lacuna, Sönke Kunkel used the idea of an “Empire of Pictures” to describe the United States of America with reference to the global media in the Cold War. Sönke Kunkel, *Empire of Pictures. Global Media and the 1960s Remaking of American Foreign Policy* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016).

15 Museum of *Volkskunde* in Vienna, today’s name of the former *Museum für* österreichische *Volkskunde*.

16 Lorraine Daston, Peter Galison, “The Image of Objectivity,” *Representations* 40 (1992), 81–128, 82. https://doi.org/10.2307/2928741.

17 Johannes Feichtinger/Ursula Prutsch/Moritz Csáky (ed.), *Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis* (Power Structures and Collective Memory) (Innsbruck/Wien: Studienverlag, 2003); Anna Veronika Wendland, “Imperiale, koloniale und postkoloniale Blicke auf die Peripherien des Habsburgerreiches (Imperial, Colonial and Post-Colonial Views on the Peripheries of the Habsburg

Empire)," *Kolonialgeschichten. Regionale Perspektiven auf ein globales Phänomen* (Colonial Histories: Regional Perspectives on a Global Phenomenon), ed. by Claudia Kraft, Alf Lüdtke and Jürgen Martschukat (Frankfurt, New York, 2010), 211–235; Johannes Feichtinger, "Modernisierung, Zivilisierung, Kolonisierung als Argument. Konkurrierende Selbstermächtigkungsdiskurse in der späten Habsburgermonarchie (Modernization, Civilization, Colonization as Arguments: Competing Self-Empowerment Discourses in the Late Habsburg Monarchy)," *Ränder der Moderne. Neue Perspektiven auf die europäische Geschichte (1800–1930)* (Margins of Modernity. New Perspectives on European History), ed. by Christoph DeJung, Martin Lengwiler (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2016), 147–181.

18 Hermann Bausinger, *Volkskultur in der technischen Welt* (Folk Culture in the Technological World) (Frankfurt, New York: Campus, 2005), 93.

19 Sebastian Conrad/Shalini Randeria/Regina Römhild et al. (ed.), *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Beyond Eurocentrism. Postcolonial Perspectives in History and Cultural Studies), (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus, 2013); Jens Adam/Regina Römhild et al. (ed.), *Europa dezentrieren. Globale Verflechtungen neu denken* (Decentralising Europe: Rethinking Global Interdependencies) (Frankfurt am Main: 2019; Helmut Groschwitz, "Postkoloniale Volkskunde. Eine Annäherung über das Museum (Postcolonial Folklore. An Approach through the Museum)," *Dimensionen des Politischen. Ansprüche und Herausforderungen der Empirischen Kulturwissenschaft* (Dimensions of the Political: Demands and Challenges of Empirical Cultural Studies), ed. by Johanna Rolshoven, Ingo Schneider (Berlin: Neofelis Verlag, 2018), 263–277.

20 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

21 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Volkskunde. Ihre Bedeutung, ihre Ziele und ihre Methode. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Verhältnisses zu den historischen Wissenschaften. Ein Leitfaden zur Einführung in die Volksforschung* (Leipzig, Wien: Franz Deuticke, 1903). On Kaindl, his work and reception cf. Serhiy Osachuk (ed.), *Rajmund Fridrich Kayndl'. Rozvidky z nahody 150-littya vid dnya narodzhennya* (Raimund Friedrich Kaindl: Evidence for the Occasion of the 150th Anniversary of His Birth) (Chernivtsi: Knyhy – XXI, 2016). See also an early and apologetic work with a helpful bibliography: Alexander Blase, *Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866–1930). Leben und Werk* (Raimund Kaindl (1866-1930): Life and Work) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962).

22 These included, for example, Josef Szombathy (1853-1943), prehistorian at the Natural History Museum in Vienna, and the architect and professor, later director of the State Trade School in Czernowitz, Karl A. Romstorfer (1854–1916).

23 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, "Die Hochzeitsfeier bei den Ruthenen in Berhometh am Pruth (Bukowina) (The Wedding Celebration among the Ruthenians in Berhomet on the Prut (Bukovyna))," *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift* für Länder- und *Völkerkunde* (Globus: Illustrated Magazine for Geography and Ethnology) 85 (1904), 281–288. For a profound analysis of this text, cf. Herbert Justnik, "Kolonialismus in der Bauernstube. Oder: Wie sich die Volkskunde ihr Objekt machte? (Colonialism in the Farmhouse. Or: How did Folklore Make Its Object?" in *Das Museum im kolonialen KontextAnnäherungen aus Österreich*, Pia Schölnberger, ed. (Vienna: Czernin Verlags GmbH, 2021), 304-326.

24 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, *Die Huzulen. Ihr Leben, ihre Sitten und ihre Volksüberlieferung* (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1894).

25 Kaindl, "Die Hochzeitsfeier," 281.

26 Kaindl, *Die Volkskunde*, 94. Cf. more detailed on the role of such intermediary figures Martin Rohde, "Local Knowledge and the Prospects of Amateur Participation. Shevchenko Scientific Society in Eastern Galicia, 1892-1914," *Studia Historiae Scientiarum* 18 (2019), 165–218. DOI: 10.4467/25437 02XSHS.19.007.11013.

27 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Izuchaemo nash narod* (We Study Our People) (Vienna: self-published, 1891), 3. Cf. also Viktoriya Hryaban, "Grigorij Kupczanko (1849–1902). Volkskunde und Journalismus zwischen Wien und der Bukowina (Grigoriy Kupchanko (1849–1902): Folklore and Journalism between Vienna and Bukovyna)," Österreichische *Zeitschrift* für *Volkskunde* (Austrian Journal for Folklore) LVIII/107 (2004), 1–30, 13–14.

28 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, "Haus und Hof bei den Huzulen. Ein Beitrag zur Hausforschung in Oesterreich (House and Farm of the Hutsuls: A Contribution to House Research in Austria)," *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* XXVI (1896), 147–185, 147.

29 This understanding is provided by Ksenya I. Kiebuzinski, "Rural Practice, Commercial Enterprise, or Imperial Service? Juliusz Dutkiewicz's Carpathian Ethnographic and Landscape Photography," *To Mountains From a City: Imagining Carpathians in Arts and Culture*, 20th May 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P87kODLO4HI (14.06.2023).

30 On the relevance of the *cartede-visite* for *Volkskunde*, cf. Frauke Ahrens, "Das Carte de Visite-Porträt und die frühe Volkskunde. Wissensgeschichtliche Potentiale eines Fotoformats des 19. Jahrhunderts (The Carte de Visite Portrait and Early Folklore: The Historical Potential of a 19th-century Photo Format)." *Skizzen, Romane, Karikaturen. Populäre Genres als soziographische Wissensformate im 19. Jahrhundert* (Sketches, Novels, Caricatures: Popular Genres as Formats of Sociographic Knowledge in the 19th Century), ed. by Christiane Schwab (Bielefeld: transcript 2021), 27–54.

31 Martin Wörner, *Vergnügen und Belehrung. Volkskultur auf den Weltausstellungen 1851-1900* (Entertainment and Education: Popular Culture at the World Exhibitions, 1851-1900) (Münster, New Work: Waxmann, 1999); Anna Veronika Wendland, "Eindeutige Bilder, komplexe Identitäten. Imperiale, nationale, regionale Identitätskonzepte und ihre Visualisierung auf der galizischen Allgemeinen Landesausstellung in Lemberg 1894 (Clear Images, Complex Identities: Concepts of Imperial, National, and Regional Identity and Their Visualization at the Galician General Exhibition in Lemberg in 1894)," *Zeitschrift* für *Ostmitteleuropaforschung* (Journal of East-Central European Studies) 58, no. 1-2, 111–161. On the ethnographic exhibition 1895 in Prague, see: K. Klusáček et al. (ed.), *Národopisná Výstava Ceskoslovanská v Praze 1895* (Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague, 1895) (Prague: J. Otto, 1895).

32 Heinrich Gintl, "Die Huzulen (Huculy). Bergbewohner der Karpathen in Galizien, ihre Trachten und Gebräuche (The Hutsuls: Mountain Dwellers of the Carpathians in Galicia, Their Costumes and Customs)," *Wiener Weltausstellungs-Blatt. Beilage zur „Gemeinde-Zeitung"* (Vienna World Exhibition Gazette: Supplement to the "Community Newspaper"), nr. 21, 17. April 1873, 1–3, 2.

33 Martin Rohde, "Wissenstopographien des Grenzraums. Die ruthenisch-ukrainisch bewohnten Ostkarpaten im Visier von ‚frontier'-Wissenschaften des langen 19. Jahrhunderts (Knowledge Topographies of the Border Region: The Ruthenian-Ukrainian Eastern Carpathians in View of Frontier Studies of the Long 19th Century)," *Raum- und Grenzkonzeptionen in der Erforschung europäischer Regionen* (Spatial and Border Concepts in the Study of European Regions), ed. by Lina Schröder/Markus Wegewitz/Christine Gundermann (Dresden: Institut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde, 2023), 231–255, 240–244; Marceli Turkawski, *Wystawa Etnograficzna Pokucia w Kołomyi* (Pokuttia Ethnographic Exhibit in Kolomyia) (Kraków: Czas, 1880); cf. also the catalogue of the exhibition, *Katalog przedmiotów wystawy etnograficznej oddziału Czarnohorskiego Tow. Tatrzańskiego obejmującej powiaty: kołomyjski, kossowski,* śniatyński*, horodeński, zaleszczycki i borszczowski połączonej z wystawą płodów górskich, która zaszczycona obecnością Najjaśniejszego Cesarza i Króla Franciszka Józefa I. otwartą została w dniu 15 września 1880 r. w Kołomyi* (Catalog of Items from the Ethnographic Exhibition of the Chornahora Branch of the Tatra Mountains Society, Covering the Following Counties: Kolomyia, Kossowski, Sniatyn, Horodenski, Zaleszczycki and Borszczowa, Combined with an Exhibition of Mountain Produce, which was Opened on September 15, 1880 in Kolomyia, Honored by the Presence of the Most Serene Emperor and King Franz Joseph I.) (Lwów: Drukarnia Ludowa, 1880).

34 Manikowska, *Photography*, 53.

35 Philippe Henri Blasen, "Pocuce, injuste prius detractum, recepit... Rumänische Ansprüche auf die südostgalizische Gegend Pokutien? (*Pocuce, injuste prius detractum, recepit*... Romanian Claims to the Southeast Galician region of Pokutia?) (1919)," *Analele Bucovinei* (Annals of Bukovyna) 1 (2014), 201–224.

36 Rohde, "Eine wissensgeschichtliche Perspektive," 38–39.

37 Turkawski, *Wystawa Etnograficzna*, 34. Cf. also *Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* (Memoir of the Tatra Mountain Society) VI (1881), IX–X.

38 There are only a view copies of Dutkiewicz photographs in the National Library of Poland, this one being in its edition very similar to the pictures of the album in the Austrian National Library.

39 Andrzej Wielocha, "Juliusz Dutkiewicz – pierwszy fotograf Huculszczyzny (Juliusz Dutkiewicz: The First Photographer of the Land of the Hutsul)," *Almanach Karpacki. Półrocznik Towarzystwo Karpackiego* (Carpathian Almanac: Semi-Annual of the Carpathian Society) 58 (2019), 38–72, 48.

40 As Manikowska points out, Dutkiewicz already had a selection of types in stock. Manikowska, *Photography*, 77.

41 Leopold Wajgiel, "Pogląd na rzeźbe Czarnohory (A View of the Chornahora Sculpture)," *Pamiętnik Towarzystwa Tatrzańskiego* 10 (1885), 57–75, 74–75.

42 One of them can be found today in the Ethnographic Museum in L´viv, the other one in the Thomas Fisher Library of Rare Books at the University of Toronto.

43 Wiener Zeitung, Nr. 33, 11. Februar 1881, 1. We are grateful to Martin Keckeis for providing us with this reference.

44 Konvolut "Erinnerungen an Kolomea (Memories of Kolomyia)", Austrian National Library, Bildarchiv Austria, Sig. Pk106, online via: https://search.onb.ac.at/primo-explore/search?institution=ONB&vid=ONB&onCampus=false&query=lsr19,contains,Erinnerungen%20an%20Kolomea%20:%20Konvolut&search_scope=ONB_gideon (14.06.2023).

45 "Podróż cesarska," *Gazeta Narodowa* (National Newspaper) XIX (1880), no. 215, 18.09.1880, 1–2, 2.

46 Corinne Geering, "The Hinterland on Display. Establishing a Market for Rural Handicraft in Austria-Hungary," *Rural History Yearbook* 2020, 72–93. https://doi.org/10.25365/rhy-2020-5.

47 Patrice M. Dabrowski, "'Discovering' the Galician Borderlands: The Case of the Eastern Carpathians", *Slavic Review* 64 (2005), no. 2, 380–402, 391.

48 Heger, "Die Ethnographie (Ethnography)," 196.

49 Photographic Collections, *Volkskundemuseum Wien*: pos/106.

50 Photographic Collections, *Volkskundemuseum Wien*: pos/949-pos/976

51 In 1955, a big number of photographs came from *Museum für Völkerkunde* (the ethnological museum in Vienna) to the Österreichisches *Museum für Volkskunde* (today *Volkskundemuseum Wien*) and might have been in other possessions before that: pos/14703-pos/14787.

52 Photographic Collections, *Volkskundemuseum Wien*: pos/8722-pos/8753, with a "dedication by S.W. Kopper, Wien I.," came in 1936.

53 They only came into the photographic collections in 2005, but they have been clearly used by Kaindl. Ibid., part of: pos/63944-pos/63950, pos/63993-pos/64054.

54 See the conclusion of our article.

55 Apart from those publications discussed in the following section, many others are listed in Justnik (ed.), *Gestellt*.

56 *Typy Pokucie* (Pokuttia Types) 1880. Library of the Museum of Ethnography, Arts and Crafts, L'viv,

signature 10.8724.

57 See the example of figure 3–6.

58 Konvolut "Erinnerungen an Kolomea", 72b, 76a.

59 Ibid., 82a, 84b, 90b.

60 However, this is not always the case as there are also various publications by regional authors in German. Cf. Martin Rohde, "Huculska pieśń ludowa dla Austrii. Ukraińsko-austriacka współpraca naukowa u schyłku monarchii Habsburgów (Hutsul Folk Songs for Austria: Ukrainian-Austrian Scientific Cooperation at the End of the Habsburg Monarchy)," *Galicja. Niezakończony project* (Galicia: Unfinished Project), ed. by Jagoda Wierzejska, Danuta Sosnowska, Magdalena Baran-Szołtys (Kraków: Wydawnictwo LIBRON, 2022) on the participation of Ruthenian-Ukrainian scholars in the Kronprinzenwerk.

61 Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, 55.

62 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, "Ethnographische Streifzüge in den Ostkarpathen. Beiträge zur Hausbauforschung in Oesterreich (Ethnographic Forays into the Eastern Carpathians: Contributions to House Construction Research in Austria)," *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* XXVIII (1898), 223–249.

63 Kaindl, "Haus und Hof."

64 Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, 14

65 Ibid., 8–14, quotation 9.

66 Ivan Franko, "Besprechung von: Prof. Volodymyr Šuchevič: Huculčšina. Mit 24 Textabbildungen und 6 Tafeln (Review of Prof. Volodymyr Shukhevych, *Hutsulshchyna*. With 24 text illustrations and 6 plates)", *Zeitschrift* für Österreichische *Volkskunde* (Journal of Austrian Folklore) 8 (1902), 199–211.

67 Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*; Oleksandr Masan, "Pryiatel ukrainskoho narodu (R. F. Kaindl ta ioho Hutsuly) (Friend of the Ukrainian People (R.F. Kaindl and His Hutsuls))" *Huculy: jich* žyttja*, zvyčaji ta narodni perekazy* (The Hutsuls: Their Lives, Customs and Folk Traditions) (Černivci: Molodyj bukovynec', 2000), 174–206.

68 Włodzimierz Dzieduszycki, *Przewodnik po Muzeum im. Dzieduszyckich we Lwowie* (Guide to the Dzieduszycki Museum in Lviv) (Lwów: Muzeum im. Dzieduszyckich, 1895), V; A. A. Karpenko, "Rol' Volodymyra Shukhevycha v orhanizatsiyi ukrayins'koho muzejnytstva v Halychyni (The Role of Volodymyr Shukhevych in the Organization of Museum Studies in Galicia)," *Zapysky istorychnoho fakul'tetu* (Notes of the History Department) 26 (2015), 85–97.

69 Rohde, "Huculska pieśń ludowa."

70 *Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Vereins für* Österreichische *Volkskunde* (Minutes of the Committee Meeting of the Association for Austrian Folklore), 20. April 1901, 3, *Archiv, Volkskundemuseum Wien; Protokoll der Ausschuss-Sitzung des Vereins für* Österreichische *Volkskunde, 28. Juni 1901*, 4, ibid.

71 *Zeitschrift* für Österreichische *Volkskunde* IX (1903), 130. There were types labeled as *Boiko* or *Ruthenian*. Katalog I (1894–1917), *Photographien*, No. 1–2541, 33, and unpaginated supplement on Shukhevych's photographs. Photographic Collections, *Volkskundemuseum Wien*.

72 Volodymyr Shukhevych, *Hutsulshchyna*, tom 1 (L'viv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1899), 36, 51–52.

73 Shukhevych reflected upon that in the Polish re-issue of the first volume, Włodzimierz Szuchiewicz, *Huculszczyzna. Tom pierwszy, z mapą, 5-ma chromolitograficznemi tablicami i 233 illustracyami* (Lwów: Muzeum im. Dzieduszyckich, 1902), V–VI.

74 Volodymyr Shukhevych, *Hutsulshchyna*, tom 1, druha chast' (L'viv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1901), 301–318.

75 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Nasha Rodina. Illyustrovannyy sbornik dlia prostonarodnogo chitan'ya* (Vienna: self-published, 1897).

76 On "national characters" in scholarship, cf. Maciej Górny, *Science embattled. Eastern European Intellectuals and the Great War* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2019), 18–20.

77 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Bukovyna i ei russky zhitely. Knizhechka dlya naroda s kartoyu Bukoviny i mnogimi obrazkami* (Vienna: self-published, 1895), 15.

78 Ibid., 49.

79 Hryaban, "Grigorij Kupczanko," 9–10.

80 On the added information, cf. Photographic Collections, *Volkskundemuseum Wien*: pos/14.740.

81 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Galichina i ei russky zhitely. Knizhechka dlya naroda s mnogimi obrazkami staroy Rusi i Pol'shi i tepereshnoy Galichiny* (Vienna: self-published, 1896), 51–52.

82 On Ukrainian folkloristics in L'viv around 1900, cf. Rohde, "Local Knowledge."

83 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Ugorskaya Rus' i ei russkie zhiteli. Knizhechka dlya naroda s mnogimi obrazkami i kartoiu Ugrii i Ugorskoy, Galicheskoy i Bukovinskoy Rusi* (Hungarian Rus' and its Russian Residents: A Small Book for the People with Many Illustrations and a Map of Hungarian, Galician and Bukvynian Rus') (Vienna: self-published, 1897), 46.

84 Martin Rohde, Nationale Wissenschaft *zwischen zwei Imperien. Die* Ševčenko-*Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1892–1918* (*National Science* between Two Empires: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1892–1918) (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2022), 254–289.

85 Kupchanko, *Ugorskaya Rus'*, 56.

86 Joanna Bartuszek, "Wizerunek Hucułów i huculszczyzny w archiwaliach i fotografiach z XIX i XX wieku w zbiorach Działu Dokumentacji Archiwalnej, Fotograficznej i Filmowej Państwowego Muzeum Etnograficznego w Warszawie," *Dziedzictwo i Pamięć Kresów Wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej. II Muzealne Spotkania z Kresami* (The Image of the Hutsuls and Hutsul Culture in Archives and Photographs from the 19th and 20th Centuries in the Collections of the Archival, Photographic and Film Documentation Department of the State Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw: Heritage and Memory of the Eastern Borderlands of the Republic of Poland. 2nd Museum Meetings with the Borderlands). ed. by Tadeusz Skoczek, Warszawa 2017, 329–343; Grzegorz Graff, "Rusini Karpaccy na archiwalnej fotografii w zbiorach Muzeum Etnograficznego im. Seweryna Udzieli w Krakowie (Carpathian Ruthenians in an Archival Photograph in the Collection of the Seweryn Udziel Ethnographic Museum in Krakow),", ibid., 345–357.

87 *Universitätsarchiv Graz, Nachlass Kaindl* (University of Graz Archives, Kaindl Fond)*, Faszikel* 8.

88 Grigoriy Kupchanko, *Bukovyna i ee russkie zhiteli* (Moskva: Kniga po Trebovaniyu, 2014); id., *Galichina i ee russkie zhiteli* (Moskva: Kniga po Trebovaniyu, 2015).