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'Hasty observations'? - Geographical field research and intercultural encounters in the Austro-Hungarian occupied Western Balkans, 1916 – 1918

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ABSTRACT

This article examines geographical field research in Albania and Montenegro under Austro-Hungarian occupation, which lasted from 1916 to 1918. It focusses on one of the most important German-speaking geographers of the early 20th century, Eugen Oberhummer (1859–1944), a pupil of Friedrich Ratzel, the founder of German geopolitics. In 1917 and 1918, Oberhummer went on two expeditions to Montenegro and Albania during the First World War. He already had travelled in four continents and vaguely knew the Western Balkans from an expedition in 1907. It will be argued that the actual situation in Albania and Montenegro did not alter, but did rather reinforce Oberhummer's attitudes and opinions on the 'other' he encountered. Thus, the two war expeditions – Oberhummer primarily met high-ranking Austro-Hungarian officials and only few locals – confirmed his expectations basing on his 'Ratzelian' theoretical conceptions. It will further be argued that – in contrast to the much younger and less experienced 'scholars-at-arms' of the expedition of 1916 – war and violence were of secondary relevance for the well-travelled and renowned professor of geography in his late 50s. Neither in Oberhummer's articles nor in his diaries the war and the occupation of Albania and Montenegro made up an important part. In Oberhummer's 'Ratzelian' view, humans could not change or overcome the basic features of geography, as humans were clearly subordinated to the elemental forces of geography. People, over generations, adapted to geography, not the other way round. The on-going First World War was an opportunity for Oberhummer to travel to Albania and Montenegro, but the guerrilla warfare in large parts of Montenegro, the violence against the civilian population, and the fighting at the Albanian front were of secondary relevance and interest for him. Nevertheless, what Oberhummer observed offers great insights into the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Montenegro and Albania from the perspective of a renowned and – given the general circumstances – pleasantly relaxed Ratzelian geographer at the height of his academic career.

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1. Introduction

This article investigates scientific intercultural encounters in Austro-Hungarian occupied Albania and Montenegro in 1916 to 1918. Besides the Habsburg army's medical

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personnel and the military administrations itself, various academics undertook ethnographical, geographical, linguistic, and archaeological expeditions into Northern Albania and Montenegro – a region virtually closed to any scientific research since the beginning of the revolts in Northern ('Upper') Albania in 1909.¹

The topic of this paper will not be the young Austro-Hungarian scholars, who travelled with an expedition commissioned by the Austrian Ministry of Education and the Imperial Academy of Sciences² from May to August 1916 to occupied Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania. Those eager scientists were men in their twenties and early thirties, who typically visited the Western Balkans during the First World War for the first time in their lives. They often were Austro-Hungarian military officers, and, even if not, they were armed and wearing uniform-like clothing.³ These '*scientists with guns*' travelled in an official mission, and therefore they served military necessities,⁴ and they '*seemingly appreciated the postings as an opportunity to elude the dangerous trenches of the war's frontlines.*'⁵ Prototypical for these adventurous scientists in the early stages of their career was the Viennese ethnographer – and lieutenant of the Austro-Hungarian army – Arthur Haberlandt (1889–1964).⁶ Haberlandt collected numerous objects, and published several articles and books on his observations and findings in the following years.⁷ The adventurous expeditions of Haberlandt and his companions have been examined in detail by Christian Marchetti in his seminal study on the topic.⁸

Beyond Marchetti's publications, the topic is only marginally present in related scholarly literature. In Maria Todorova's 'Imaging the Balkans', for example, neither Haberlandt nor Oberhummer are mentioned, also the First World War is hardly present in Todorova's monography.⁹ The majority of related works focus on British ethnologists and travellers,¹⁰ most prominently Mary Edith Durham (1863–1944) and her numerous publications.¹¹ In general, there is a pre-1914 focus.¹²

The scholar examined in this paper was not one of these young Austro-Hungarian scholars-at-arms, but a renowned civilian geographer in his late fifties, at the height of his academic career: Eugen Oberhummer (1859–1944), professor of geography in Munich and later Vienna, pupil of Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904), the influential founder of German geopolitics.¹³ During the First World War, Oberhummer went on two – however, compared with Haberlandt's journey, much shorter – expeditions to Montenegro and Albania. They took place under the patronage of the press office of the Austro-Hungarian forces¹⁴ in July 1917 and from April to May 1918.¹⁵ But these expeditions were not Oberhummer's first visits of this region, as he had travelled there already in 1907.¹⁶

For Oberhummer, geographical features were central: In his Ratzelian perspective, physical environments coined human populations. How did he view the 'other' – especially the Albanian 'other' – he encountered in the Dinaric Alps,¹⁷ where the 'Albanian' and the 'South Slav Question' intersected? Whom – occupiers and occupied – did Oberhummer contact? How did the war experience shape his perception? How did war and occupation readjust Oberhummer's pre-war knowledge and biases of land and people in Albania and Montenegro? Did he draw parallels to his former expeditions? Are there general implications for the learning aptitude of decision-makers during military occupations?

2. Exploration – overseas and in the Balkans

Oberhummer was a Bavarian national born in Munich and one of the most versatile German-speaking and internationally recognized geographers of the early 20th century.¹⁸ He had studied natural sciences as well as classical and Egyptian philology, was member of the influential German Colonial Society,¹⁹ and had travelled in Europe, North Africa, West Asia, and North America. In contrast to the thirty years younger Haberlandt, Oberhummer had not only travelled in four continents, but he had been in Montenegro and Albania long before the First World War, even before the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Vienna, the colonial activist Oberhummer was co-founder and chairman of the scientific section of the Austrian Albania Committee,²⁰ a lobby group supporting the interests of Albania and the Albanians by spreading propaganda in their favour, because a strong Albania was seen as in the geostrategic and economic interest of the Habsburg monarchy.²¹

Oberhummer had several Austro-Hungarian contemporaries doing field research both overseas and in the Western Balkans. For example, the geologist and meteorologist Fritz Kerner von Marilaun²² (1866–1944) had worked in the geological survey of Dalmatia before the First World War. Kerner had had visited, amongst other, Latin America, India, the Soudan, and the Near East. On behalf of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna Kerner travelled to Austro-Hungarian occupied Northern Albania in an official geological mission in 1917.²³ The Cisleithanian Geographical Society²⁴ in Vienna subsumed the exotic topic of Kerner's with the words: '*In his lecture, Inspector of Mines²⁵ von Kerner portrayed areas in Northern Albania, which had hardly ever before been visited by European scientists.*'²⁶

Arguably the most interesting of Oberhummer's Austro-Hungarian contemporaries in regard of both overseas and Balkan exploration was the geographer Oscar Baumann (1864–1899). In 1883, just 19 years old, he had already explored and mapped the Durmitor Massif in Montenegro – and this most exotic Balkan expertise qualified him to be a junior member of the great Austro-Hungarian expedition to Central Africa of 1885 to 1887, where Baumann mapped the Congo River. After returning from Africa, Baumann returned to Montenegro in 1889. Financed by the Austro-Hungarian ministry of war, he surveyed the huge parts of the principality and drew the probably most accurate map of the newly independent principality till then.²⁷ The accuracy of Baumann's map of Montenegro was not exceeded before the systematic Austro-Hungarian field survey from 1916 to 1918.²⁸

3. Fighting the third Balkan war

The Austro-Hungarian occupation of the Western Balkans in the First World War began in early 1916 and lasted two and a half years until the end of the war. After three Austrian-Hungarian offensives had failed due to bad planning as well as decisive Serbian resistance in 1914, it was not before October 1915, that a coalition of Austro-Hungarian, German, and Bulgarian forces broke the Serbian defences by superior numbers; in the end of November, a full Serbian retreat to the Adriatic via Montenegro and Albania was ordered.

The Southern Dinarides were one of the least developed parts of Europe in the early 20th century. There were only rudimentary administrative structures, a considerable part of the people lived in traditional tribes. There was almost no industry, no modern infrastructure, and the agricultural production could not sustain the population. The region was in continuous political disorder at least since the beginning of the First Balkan War in 1912. The central government of the Principality of Albania, which had become formally independent from the Ottoman Empire in May 1913, had never managed to project its claims into the tribal regions in the principality's north. Likewise, the Kingdom of Montenegro failed to integrate the territories occupied in 1912/13. The Kingdom of Serbia did only slightly better. With the outbreak of the First World War, the region plunged into chaos and violence. While Albania stayed formally neutral, Montenegro joined Serbia in its war efforts against Austria-Hungary – with limited success, though.

After the Habsburg army had crushed Serbia, the Austro-Hungarian chief of the general staff, Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf (1852–1925), ordered the occupation of Montenegro and of – formally neutral, but partly Montenegrin and Italian occupied – Albania.²⁹ Within two weeks Montenegro surrendered. The Montenegrin king, Nicholas Petrović-Njegoš (1841–1921), fled via Shkodra³⁰ to Italy and further to France where he should stay till his death. While the majority of the Montenegrins noticed the occupiers apathetically, the Muslim and Catholic Albanians as well as the Muslim South Slavs in Eastern and Southern Montenegro welcomed them as liberators from the 'Montenegrin yoke'.³¹ After steamrolling Montenegro, the Austro-Hungarian army pushed the Italian expeditionary corps in Albania southward. But this campaign was slow and highly attritious. Finally, south of River Shkumbin in Central Albania, the Austro-Hungarian lines of communication were overstretched; the push came to a halt. The Albanian seaport Vlora³² stayed under Italian control.³³ Meanwhile, Bulgarian forces had advanced into Eastern Montenegro and Central Albania.³⁴

4. Dividing the prey

After the victory of the joint Austro-Hungarian-Bulgarian-German forces over Serbia and Montenegro, there erupted fierce disputes between Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria on the division of the newly conquered territories. Germany, that had no territorial interests in the hinterland of the Western Balkans,³⁵ could arbitrate between its allies.³⁶ Finally, the administration of occupied Serbia was divided between Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. The Austro-Hungarians established a military general governorate in the north western part of Serbia, including Belgrade, while East and South Serbia came under Bulgarian control.

Regarding the occupation of Montenegro and Albania, the international borders of 1913 were respected. Both Montenegro and occupied Albania became exclusive Austro-Hungarian administrative bodies: Cetinje became the capital of the military general governorate in Montenegro, Northern and Central Albania stayed under direct military control of the Austro-Hungarian XIXth corps, with Shkodra as its administrative centre.³⁷ All Bulgarian troops had to retreat behind the borders of 1913. Altogether, about 65,000 square kilometres with more than 2.5 million inhabitants were occupied

by Austria-Hungary – in total area and population comparable to the combined Austro-Hungarian provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Dalmatia.

The military general governorate in Serbia was, in means of infrastructure, industry, and agriculture highly developed.³⁸ In the military general governorate in Montenegro and occupied Albania, though, the situation was quite different. All of Albania and one third of Montenegro had been part of the Ottoman Empire until 1912, the people in this part of the Western Balkans were commonly regarded as being in a ‘*primitive*’, only ‘*half-civilized*’ or in general ‘*on a low level of civilization*’.³⁹ The Austrian Albania-Committee⁴⁰ even suspected the Ottoman government to have prevented the cultural development and to preserve its ‘*primitive state*’ due to political interests.⁴¹

Consequently, the Austro-Hungarian occupiers undertook various efforts to ‘*modernize*’ inaccessible Montenegro and Albania to fulfil their self-imposed ‘*honourable civilizing duties*’.⁴² In the following two and a half years of occupation, which did not end before the collapse of the Habsburg Empire itself, the Austro-Hungarian forces systematically began to ‘*modernize*’ these inaccessible, sparsely populated, non-industrialized, and economically poor mountain regions: They surveyed the country, they introduced ‘*modern*’ administrative, military, and judicial systems, improved agriculture as well as industry, and built ‘*modern*’ transportation, communication, educational, welfare, and healthcare structures from the scratch.⁴³

5. The Austro-Hungarians and the ‘other’

While the perception of ‘otherness’ in the case of geographers travelling overseas is hardly to deny, the situation in the Western Balkans during the First World War was somewhat different. Obviously, there were countless ‘regular’ encounters between the Austro-Hungarian occupiers and the occupied peoples in Montenegro and Albania, mainly Orthodox Serbs, Muslim South Slavs, and Albanians of Sunni as well as Catholic faith⁴⁴. But in contrast to overseas experiences, the majority of the people in the Western Balkans were no strangers to the subjects of the Emperor and King of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Habsburg Empire: In the Austro-Hungarian military general governorates in Serbia and in Montenegro and occupied Albania combined, there lived about 1.3 million Orthodox Serbs – while there lived about 2 million Orthodox Serbs within the borders the Habsburg Empire.

The often pastoralist Orthodox ‘Highland Serbs’⁴⁵ in the Montenegrin portion of the Dinaric Alps traditionally had strong ties with the Orthodox Serbs living in the Dinarides in the Austro-Hungarian province of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been occupied in 1878 and annexed in 1908. The Serbo-Croatian speaking tribes of the Montenegrin coastland were closely related to the Serbo-Croatian speakers in the southernmost tip of Dalmatia, being part of the Habsburg Empire since 1797,⁴⁶ while the Serbs of Belgrade and the Mačva had ties with the Serbs in the Vojvodina – a region under Habsburg supremacy since the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699. The Orthodox Serbs around the Montenegrin capital Cetinje tended to support Montenegrin independence under the Montenegrin Petrović-Njegoš dynasty, while the Orthodox Serbs in the hinterland tended to a unification of Montenegro and Serbia under the Serbian Karađorđević dynasty.⁴⁷ In the military general governorates in Serbia and in Montenegro, about 200,000 Muslim South Slavs formed an important minority, first of all in the historical region of the Sanjak of Novi

Pazar. But at the same time, there lived more than thrice as many Muslim South Slavs in 'Habsburg's Little Orient',⁴⁸ Bosnia and Herzegovina – while in the Sanjak itself, Austro-Hungarian military was garrisoned from 1878 to 1908.⁴⁹

Just one numerically important ethnic group of the Austro-Hungarian occupied territories in the Western Balkans was not present in the provinces of the Habsburg Empire: The about 650,000 mostly Muslim but also Catholic Albanians living in Northern and Central Albania, but also in Southern and Eastern Montenegro, as well as in the south-eastern district of the military general governorate in Serbia. Nevertheless geographically, the Albanian area of settlement was very close to the Habsburg Empire: The southernmost village of Austria-Hungary, Sutomore, was just three kilometres north of the Montenegrin town of Stari Bar,⁵⁰ which had a substantial Albanian share of population.⁵¹

Historically, Habsburg influence in the affairs of the Catholics in Northern Albania can be traced back to the 17th century; the Austrian 'cultural protectorate'⁵² was formalized in the 19th century and institutionalized in 1877, when the permanent Austro-Hungarian consul in Shkodra was ordered 'to intervene for any reason in the interest of the recognition of the Austro-Hungarian protective rights'.⁵³ The famous British Balkan traveller Mary Edith Durham (1863–1944) noted: 'North Albania is a hotbed of Austrian intrigue. The Austrian Consul-general even takes it on himself to spy the actions of tourists, as though the land were already under Austrian jurisdiction.'⁵⁴

Besides this direct political involvement, many Austro-Hungarian scholars had travelled to Albania. The most illustrious figure arguably was the Hungarian aristocrat Franz Nopcsa von Felső-Szilvá (1877–1933), a renowned palaeontologist and geologist. Nopcsa was one of the founders of Albanian studies,⁵⁵ he even was a contender for the Albanian throne in 1912.⁵⁶ Nopcsa was one of the early activists in the semi-official Austrian Albania Committee that functioned as the institutional framework for the Austro-Hungarian political and scientific interests in Albania. Personally, Nopcsa disliked Oberhummer: He accused him of not having genuine interest in Albania, but of being a me-too hopping on the trendy Albanian bandwagon.⁵⁷

6. Oberhummer and Ratzel's geographical concepts

One of the central topics of Eugen Oberhummer's academic teacher, Friedrich Ratzel, was the discrepancy of ethno-religious and political borders. He wrote in his magnum opus: 'If an ethnic map is a snapshot of lively growing cellular tissue, a political map shows a section view through cellular tissue with artificially hardened walls.'⁵⁸ Ratzel's anthropogeographical 'theory of environment'⁵⁹ was that humans were subordinated to geography, that landscape and topography formed people. And the smaller and isolated a people, the more influential its geography.⁶⁰ The geography of the Dinaric Alps – inaccessible mountains, sparsely vegetated ridges, deep canyons, wide karst landscapes, and fertile depressions (*polje*) – supported the isolation of peoples. Altogether, the Western Balkans were an ideal field of research for a 'Ratzelian' geographer.

Oberhummer did not care much about the details and anthropological questions of origin, identity, and 'racial purity' of the people of Montenegro and Northern Albanian, as for example Haberlandt did intensively.⁶¹ As Oberhummer had written a few months before his first war expedition in 1917, he could happily live with Ratzel's organic view

of ethnicities and therefore broad zones of ethnic transition. Thus, Oberhummer assumed that in the valleys of the Dinaric Alps, within the borders of Montenegro, Albanian tribes had been ‘serbisized’. But more recently, for example in the Kosovo, Serbs had been ‘albanized’.⁶² However, this change of language did in a Ratzelian perspective not affect the way of life of the people of the Dinaric Alps.

Having Ratzel’s assumptions in mind, Oberhummer had already visited the Dinaric Alps in 1907. Oberhummer’s observations and subsequent publications⁶³ had shown that the political borders of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires did not matter much for him. In his writings, there are no categorical differences between his descriptions of Austro-Hungarian Dalmatia or Herzegovina, independent Montenegro or Ottoman Albania. For Oberhummer, the ‘enduring’ topography of the Dinaric Alps (see [Map 1](#)) – and not the ‘transitory’ political units that could be found there – formed a geographical region from the Prenj Range in Herzegovina in the North through the Durmitor Massif and the Brda in Montenegro to the Prokletije Mountains and Dukagjin, if not Šar Mountains in Albania in the South. This region was inhabited by Orthodox ‘Highland Serbs’, Muslim South Slavs, as well as Muslim and Catholic Albanians, sharing a common tribal culture, coined by geography.⁶⁴

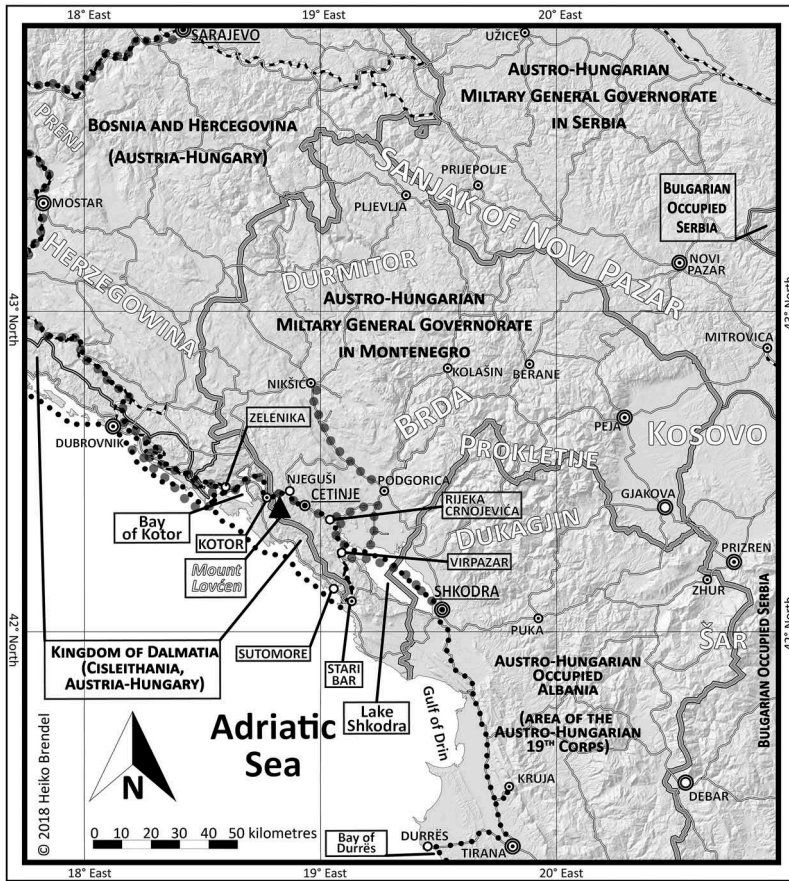
When Oberhummer returned to the Western Balkans ten years later, in 1917 – after various regional and local revolts, after two Balkan Wars, and midst a World War –, the political situation in the Dinaric Alps had changed dramatically. But again, this did not seem central to him, as geography had not changed.

7. Oberhummer’s first war expedition

The Balkan expedition in 1917 was organized by the press office of the Austro-Hungarian forces and had several participants from different disciplines, for example economics, education, law, administration, and even art and culture. Among the participants was Oberhummer’s son Ernst, a lawyer and economist. The tour into the occupied areas was guided by an Austro-Hungarian cavalry lieutenant and took place by cart and by car (see [Figure 1](#)).

Several papers were published after the expedition,⁶⁶ but a planned comprehensive collection of articles and essays was never issued due to the end of the war.⁶⁷ Oberhummer’s own publication, a journal article in the Proceedings of the Geographical Society in Vienna,⁶⁸ had the character of a guidebook to Montenegro and Shkodra for the educated middle and upper class. That the town of Shkodra is the only part of Albania mentioned in the article was the consequence of a severe diarrhoeal infection, that Oberhummer called the ‘*so-called Albanian, Bosnian, or Balkan disease*’⁶⁹ in his diaries – the expedition only scratched the Northern Albanian tribal areas northeast of Shkodra (see [Map 1](#)).

Altogether, Oberhummer’s contact with the Montenegrins, Muslim South Slavs, and Albanians during the expedition of 1917 had close limits. One problem was the tight supervision of the expedition by the occupying forces. Oberhummer was well-aware that the success of his strictly planned and guided expedition depended fully on the support of the Austro-Hungarian supreme command⁷⁰ as well as the good-will of the military in the occupation zones.⁷¹ But the guiding lieutenant of the occupying forces



Legende:

ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT, GEOGRAPHICAL REGION

- CAPITAL (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
- SEAT OF AN AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MILITARY ADMINISTRATION (Military General Governorate in Montenegro, area of the 19th Corps)
- DISTRICT CAPITAL
- OTHER TOWN
- TOWNS WITH MORE THAN 10,000 INHABITANTS

- international border (as of 1913, after the Peace of Bucharest)
- border between the Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian zones of occupation in the Kingdom of Serbia
- border between Dalmatia (Cisleithania) and Bosnia and Herzegovina

- ▲ Mountain
- sea, lake
- road
- - - railroad

Eugen Oberhummer's expeditions into Austro-Hungarian occupied Montenegro and Albania during the First World War:

- First expedition (July and August 1917): ●●●●
- Second expedition (April and May 1918): ●●●●● (the map does not depict the detour to Berat (c70 kilometres south-southeast of Tirana))

Map 1. Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Northern Albania in the Southern Dinaric Alps during the First World War.

was, for practical reasons, an obstacle to any contacts with the occupied 'other'. Another problem was more trivial: Language. Oberhummer spoke – besides German, Latin, and Old Greek – English, French, Italian, a bit Serbo-Croatian and perhaps some Arab, but no Albanian or Turkish. Thus at least contact with monolingual Albanians was always filtered through local interpreters, who were placed at Oberhummer's disposal by the military or even wore Austro-Hungarian uniforms themselves.

Consequently, most of the facts mentioned in his diaries and later publications originated from Oberhummer's long conversations with most often high-ranking



Figure 1. 'Our cars at Njeguš [Njeguši]'.⁶⁵

Austro-Hungarian officers – for example, the governor-general in Montenegro and former Austrian prime minister, Heinrich Clam-Martinic (1863–1932), the commander of the XIXth corps, Ignaz Trollmann von Lovcenberg (1860–1919), and some officers from geographical and statistical units – as well as Austro-Hungarian civilian officials in the occupied countries. On the one hand, he supposedly enjoyed the contact with these decision makers and colleagues, who administered and surveyed the 'other' in Montenegro and Albania; only with them Oberhummer, the distinguished Viennese professor, could interact on equal terms. With the local 'others' themselves, this seemed impossible.

Again and again Oberhummer mentioned cases of backwardness of the locals observed, nevertheless – in line with Ratzel⁷² – his remarks showed neither arrogance nor admiration of the primitive, as it was typical for most other contemporary accounts. Oberhummer attempted to describe what he saw and heard – though not without astonishment and often uncritical. For example, he mentioned that the Montenegrin tribes were accepted legal bodies in the Principality of Montenegro and could own, for example, fishing rights. He remarked that this '*originally tribal structure of all people*'⁷³ did, within Europe, only survive in Albania and Montenegro.

Oberhummer, like many residents of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and especially Viennese, had a sharp eye for the ethnicity of his vis-à-vis: Often when mentioning an individual in his diaries, he stated the supposed ethnic affiliation.⁷⁴ This was true both for the locals and the Austro-Hungarians he mentioned. Thus, Oberhummer had many intercultural encounters with fellow citizens, when he noticed the Czech origin of a surgeon and that Hungarian soldiers were often deployed in the logistics, for example as motorists and railway operators. It seemed to be important for Oberhummer, that there many

coachmen of Hungarian and of ‘Russian’ ethnicity – while it seemed less important for him, if those coachmen were Austro-Hungarian soldiers or prisoners of war.⁷⁵ Noticeable often, locals of Muslim faith and elements of Turkish culture are mentioned in Oberhummer’s descriptions – the attraction that exoticism held for Oberhummer on a personal level is tangible. He also stressed the economic importance of the Muslim population, even in the parts of Montenegro with a clear-cut Orthodox majority.⁷⁶

After contacts with the Albanian ‘other’, Oberhummer often referred to the Middle Ages when describing their way of life; for example, he viewed the ‘strange’ social conditions of the Albanians as a ‘*medieval relic*’, but also as a state of nature.⁷⁷ At one occasion, Oberhummer – originally a specialist for ancient Greek history – even drew parallels to the Late Helladic Mycenaean Greece.⁷⁸ Besides ethnicity, Oberhummer sometimes made notes on physiognomic and ‘racial’ characteristics of his vis-à-vis. For example, he noted on Albanian children: ‘*About half [of them have] blonde or light brown [hair], most [of them have] a characteristic profile with a pointed nose [...].*’⁷⁹ Oberhummer was especially looking for ‘*pointed noses*’, which were regarded a typical racial characteristic of Albanians.⁸⁰ Possibly, Oberhummer tried to find proof for his anthropological theory that the mother tongue of an individual was no valid indicator for his ‘*racial descent*’.⁸¹

The general picture Oberhummer drew of Austro-Hungarian occupied Montenegro and Albania in 1917 was that of colourful, but backward and poor countries with to a large extent apathetically inhabitants. He travelled in an almost touristic manner (see [Figure 2](#)) and highlighted the peace and tranquillity in the occupied territories behind the Balkan Front, which corresponded with the factual situation in the military general governorate in Montenegro and at least the northern part of Albania occupied by the XIXth corps in

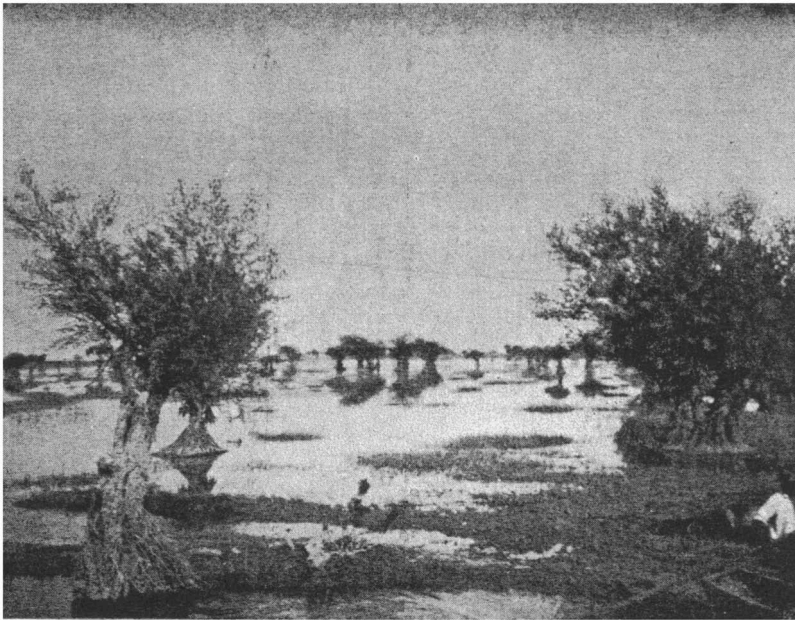


Figure 2. ‘Lake Shkodra near Virpazar’.⁸⁵

summer 1917.⁸² Oberhummer presented Albania as a country with only few women and children to appear in public,⁸³ but only casually mentioned the economic misery of the occupied and the military administration's efforts to relieve it.⁸⁴

8. Oberhummer's second war expedition

Less than a year after his first war expedition into the Western Balkans, in April and May 1918, Oberhummer undertook his second and last expedition to Austro-Hungarian occupied Montenegro and Albania. In the beginning of 1918, the chief of the Austro-Hungarian military secret service in Montenegro, Anton Langauer, had stated in a report on Montenegro's future, that the war drew to its end.⁸⁶ However, it was not clear which side would win the war: In Austria-Hungary, the starving of Vienna, the wave of strikes of early 1918, and especially the Kotor Mutiny alongside with other cases of insubordination deepened the impression that the war was lost, while the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and its consequences – the German Empire was able to transfer dozens of divisions to the Western Front and began its spring offensive there – showed the possibility of a victory of the Central Powers. Scientifically, this second journey was, due to the end of the war and the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, less recognized than the first expedition in 1917,⁸⁷ as several involved institutions ceased to exist.

Given the general situation in the Western Balkans in spring 1918, it was clear that Austria-Hungary would either lose the support of the Albanians or of the few austrophile Montenegrin independentists.⁸⁸ But the Habsburg Empire managed to do even worse: In the maelstrom of conflicting interests, plans, and indecisiveness regarding the South Slav and Albanian Questions between the Austro-Hungarian supreme command, the foreign ministry in Vienna, and the Hungarian government, the local military administrations in Cetinje and Shkodra could not make any final commitments to one group or the other. In the end, the Austro-Hungarian policy caused the loss of both the Albanians and the Montenegrins: Austria-Hungary did not follow the demands of Albanian notables to create a Greater Albania. And, at the same time, it left the Montenegrin independentists – some of them saw a Central Powers' victory as the only chance to save the existence of a Montenegrin state – in the uncertainty that this could happen any day, which could have reduced Montenegro to its mid-19th century borders. In late spring 1918, violence escalated in Montenegro, and there spread worries about the future among the Albanians but also among the independentists, while the Orthodox Serb Montenegrins who hoped for a unification with Serbia under the Karađorđević dynasty became more optimistic. Once more in the history of Austria-Hungary, the decision-makers' elaborate denial to make decisions had created the worst of both worlds.⁸⁹

As in 1917, Oberhummer travelled on behalf of the press office of the Austro-Hungarian forces in 1918.⁹⁰ But this time, Oberhummer was spared by the '*Balkan disease*'.⁹¹ And, almost as important, this time he travelled '*alone and unimpeded*'.⁹² No press officer accompanied him as a 'tour guide' and watchdog. This was especially remarkable because of the worsening security situation especially in Montenegro in spring 1918.⁹³ Thus, the 59-year-old geographer journeyed unaccompanied as far to the South as Berat, deep in Central Albania and just a few kilometres from the frontline.⁹⁴

On this expedition, Oberhummer indeed enjoyed far more freedom than during his journey in 1917. Not the press office of the Austro-Hungarian forces had organized his route. Oberhummer often travelled spontaneously, with varying travelling plans, and diverse temporary companions, both civilian and military. In general, he chose to keep close contact with the military administration at the places he visited. Altogether, this second expedition in 1918 was much more 'adventurous' than the first expedition in 1917, beginning with a nightly trip on a combat-ready and darkened torpedo-boat from the Bay of Kotor to Montenegrin harbour of Stari Bar.⁹⁵ In the Albanian port Durrës,⁹⁶ Oberhummer witnessed the consequences of an Italian airstrike short before his arrival;⁹⁷ after returning to Montenegro, guns were given into his car – because of the escalating insurgency activity in the military general governorate,⁹⁸ the security of his transport could not be guaranteed.⁹⁹

This was the first time during his three expeditions in the Western Balkans that Oberhummer explicitly mentioned the necessity to bear firearms when travelling – but even then, he made clear that this was not his personal opinion, but the military's view and recommendation. And there is no evidence that Oberhummer himself was armed at any time. Oberhummer's perception and behaviour is a striking contrast to the findings of Marchetti, who wrote on Haberlandt's expedition in summer 1916, when the general security situation was by far better than in 1917 or 1918: '*As no one could travel to the Balkans unarmed, the civilians received permissions to carry weapons.*'¹⁰⁰ Oberhummer himself was never interested in such a special permit. But, to be sure, he was accompanied by armed military personnel most of the time travelling in Montenegro and Albania.

During this second journey to the Western Balkans during the war, Oberhummer again primarily met Austro-Hungarian officials, for example several military geographers and the enigmatic August von Kral (1869–1953), the most important Austro-Hungarian advocate of the Albanian cause, ex-consul in Shkodra, ex-member of the International Commission of Control, and head of the civil administration in Albania. When meeting Kral, the Albania-specialist Oberhummer admired Kral's detailed ethnic map of the Balkans and informed himself about the nation-building efforts of the occupying forces in Albania, meaning the overcoming of the traditional tribal structure in favour of an Albanian nation.¹⁰¹ Oberhummer was not particularly interested in the general ethnic and religious policy of the Austro-Hungarian occupiers, though; at least he did not make any remarks that the military administration did favour the Muslims – and even more the Catholics – over the Orthodox in various regards.¹⁰²

Oberhummer had considerable more contact with the local population on his voyage in 1918 than he had on his expedition one year before. In his diaries for example, he explicitly mentioned to have talked to an Albanian peasant in his 'tiny cottage' and to young Albanian pupils in a primary school. To talk with 'normal' people was quite common for Balkan travellers as Edith Durham, but decidedly uncommon for Oberhummer's elitist approach. In this regard, Oberhummer's fieldwork differed from most of his contemporaries, including Haberlandt. It did not differ, though, in an aspect put forward by Ernest Gellner (1925–1995): it '*titillate[d] our cognitive voyeurism*'.¹⁰³

Oberhummer was highly impressed by the comprehension and gift for languages¹⁰⁴ among the Albanians in the region he travelled. The locals often understood Serbo-Croatian, and among the pupils in the primary school he visited, there were even some

10 to 15 years old Albanian boys who free-lanced as interpreters not only for Serbo-Croatian, but also for German and even Hungarian.¹⁰⁵ This was of special importance for the Austro-Hungarians, as the recruitment of both skilled and reliable interpreters remained a fundamental problem in occupied Albania. Most translations took place from Albanian into Serbo-Croatian and from Serbo-Croatian into German and vice versa.¹⁰⁶

As in 1917, Oberhummer especially had a look for Muslims and examples of Ottoman-Turkish culture. For example, he described the Albanian town Tirana as ‘*original Turkish townscape with high minarets*’.¹⁰⁷ Oberhummer apparently tried to identify Roma by their physical characteristics and culture, not by their language. In Tirana, he wrote: ‘*A lot of gypsies [...] All are sedentary and hard-working, but despised; [they] all speak Albanian.*’¹⁰⁸ Also in Kruja, Oberhummer stated: ‘*hard working labourers, who do no longer speak the gypsy language*’¹⁰⁹ In contrast to summer 1917, not the general security situation in Montenegro and Albania had worsened, and also the economy in the occupied areas was in general decay in April and May 1918. For the first time, Oberhummer mentioned that even for the army officers and him even bread was rare.¹¹⁰ Children with ‘*old and tired looking faces*’¹¹¹ begged him.

In general, it is striking how much Oberhummer again focussed on the situation on the spot. As in his first voyage, he did not seem very interested in the big political and strategic picture in 1918: At least in his diaries, Oberhummer concentrates on the situations he observed locally. He did not bother to put them in context, even if a comparison seemed fruitful, as in the case of the economic problems. On the other hand, Oberhummer, as a geographer, was all the time interested in topographical and geological characteristics, which he noted in high detail. For example, when visiting Berat, he speculated: ‘*[...] outside [of the castle’s gate] bedrock (lime marl? Eocene or Cretaceous? Likely Eocene flysch [...]), inclined to the east.*’¹¹² This geological perspective distinguished Oberhummer from most Balkan travellers in his time.

9. Threat perception, self-presentation, and identity

Striking between Marchetti’s findings on Haberlandt’s expedition in summer 1916 and my findings on Oberhummer’s Balkan voyages in 1917 and 1918 are the scholars’ apparently different threat perceptions and self-presentations deep in the hinterland of the Austro-Hungarian occupied Western Balkans. Four explanations of these differences, which are also important in the context of the travellers’ identity and self-perception, seem reasonable:

Firstly, Haberlandt and his companions were supposedly happy to serve as explorers and not as cannon fodder in the trenches of Italy or Galicia. Thus, probably tried to forestall any accusations of being cowards shirking front duty and proudly travelled as ‘*scientists with guns*’ in the mountains and valleys of ‘*Wild Europe*’.¹¹³ Oberhummer, much too old to get draughted, had no reason to stage himself in a martial way. Thus, he was just an unarmed civilian geographer on a scholarly journey in geographically and ethnographically interesting territories.

Secondly, most participants of the expedition in summer 1916 travelled to Montenegro and Albania for the first time in their lives. Their perception of the general situation was shaped by the violent events of an on-going and still escalating global war. Even more, when considering the subsequent Albanian revolts from 1909 to 1912¹¹⁴ – which pivoted in

Northern Albania – as well as the two Balkan Wars of 1912 to 1913 – which began at the Montenegrin-Ottoman border – it could be argued, that Montenegro and northern Albania indeed comprised a zone of brutal violence, armed unrest, and full-scale warfare for more than seven years in the summer of 1916 with the Ottoman Empire, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary, Italy and local tribes as most prominent actors. Thus, these areas of the Dinaric Alps could indeed be seen as a kind of ‘Bloodlands’¹¹⁵ or ‘spaces of violence’¹¹⁶ from Haberlandt’s and his young companions’ perspective: A given geographical region where political actors – accidentally or deliberately – interacted despite their conflicting goals in a matter to increase violence, especially to reinforce the suffering of non-combatants.¹¹⁷ Oberhummer, in contrast, was old enough to have travelled to Montenegro and Northern Albania in peacetime. In 1907, when he first explored the Southern Dinarides,¹¹⁸ this area had been under continuous Ottoman rule for about 450 years – and it was about two years after Oberhummer’s visit, that the a wave of Albanian revolts began to disrupt the region. Thus, the Viennese professor’s expedition had the character of a cheerful, peaceful, and exotic vacation trip with only a modest academic touch. Thus, he had seen the land and its tribal people in peacetime with his own eyes, and did not only know the ‘other’ in Montenegro and Northern Albania from textbooks, ethnographical exhibitions, and anecdotes like most of his younger colleagues. Further, Oberhummer had not only visited the Balkans, but also the Middle East and North America. Thus, he could compare, even in a global scale: The Dinaric Alps were just one of the many interesting places he had visited during his many private and professional journeys as a geographer since 1878.

Thirdly, it could be argued that due to human biology and evolutionary psychology, men in their twenties and thirties have a higher potential of aggression than men in their late fifties.¹¹⁹ To wear martial outfits and to be armed with guns simply is more appealing when being younger.

Fourthly, and highly speculative: Oberhummer could simply have been less fearsome on a psychological level.

10. Conclusions

The ‘other’ encountered by Eugen Oberhummer in Montenegro and Albania in 1907, 1917, and 1918 was described and classified with the sharp eye of an observer accustomed to categorize and evaluate humans by their ethnicity and religious affiliation. For Oberhummer, ‘otherness’ expressed itself by features as language, religion, and physiology. In line with Ratzel’s implicit theory of geographical environment, the base of this ‘otherness’ was not race, but geography: Landscape, topography, and natural resources formed people. And the smaller and more isolated a people, the more important the influence of geography.¹²⁰

With this view, it is not surprising that Oberhummer stressed the similarities of the ‘other’ in the specific geographical area of the Dinaric Alps – whether the Muslim South Slavs in the Austro-Hungarian Herzegovina, the Orthodox Serbs in Montenegro, or the Muslim and Catholic Albanians in Northern Albania. The similar geographical background had, according to Ratzel, created similar people with similar socio-economic systems and similar traditions. Predictably, Oberhummer’s observations reinforced this view.

Also in line with Ratzel's theory of geographical environment, Oberhummer was not particularly interested in the daily efforts of the Austro-Hungarian military administration to secure the occupied areas militarily. He documented some of the occupiers' measures (see [Figure 3](#)), but in general, he was not much interested in the improvement of the infrastructure by building bridges, roads, railroads, and ropeways as well as the – on Central European standards – insufficient communication, educational, welfare, and healthcare systems.

Neither in Oberhummer's articles nor in his diaries, those activities – being a central topic for the Austro-Hungarian occupying forces – made up an important part. Oberhummer mostly ignores these efforts.¹²² Also in this detail, Oberhummer is clearly a pupil of Ratzel: According to the founding father of German geopolitics, humans could not change or overcome the basic features of geography, as humans were clearly subordinated to the elemental forces of geography. People, over generations, adapted to geography, not the other way round or reciprocal. This would be the cultural-ecological concept of Ratzel's French counterpart, the geographer Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845–1918), and the famous Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić (1865–1927).¹²³ Oberhummer disliked Cvijić due to 'his political stance'¹²⁴ and did barely refer to Cvijić's works in his publications. Oberhummer saw himself – in contrast to Cvijić – as a scientist focussing on 'hard facts', especially on the physical features of the land where he travelled, the land that formed in his Ratzelian view the people living there: He watched closely to geologic formations, rocks, river valleys, ground cover, soil, and crops. And he was biased by his elitist attitude: Oberhummer preferred to contact well-informed academic and military specialists on the land and the people living there – professional verdicts on the locals were apparently more interesting and accurate for Oberhummer than the Albanian and Montenegrin locals themselves.



Figure 3. An Austro-Hungarian malaria hospital near Shkodra.¹²¹

The on-going war was just a good opportunity for Oberhummer to travel again to Albania and Montenegro, but the guerrilla warfare in large parts of Montenegro, the violence against the civilian population, and the fighting at the Albanian front were of secondary relevance for him. Thus the First World War was not more than an interesting setting for his voyages that made travelling more adventurous.¹²⁵ Regarding this aspect, also the different threat perceptions between Oberhummer and his younger colleagues are interesting. But obviously, for the well-situated civilian geographer of Bavarian origin, there was much less at the stakes than – for example – the young Austro-Hungarian Lieutenant Haberlandt. Finally, there could even be a grain of truth in Nopcsa's verdict, that Oberhummer was just a me-too with no genuine interest in the Western Balkans.¹²⁶ It could be added that Oberhummer also had no genuine interest in the so far most far-reaching, unsurpassed war in human history.

In 1921 – Austria-Hungary had collapsed, Montenegro was part of the newly created Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – Oberhummer wrote that he had only conducted '*hasty observations*' during his two wartime expeditions in Montenegro and Albania.¹²⁷ Indeed, some of his observations and especially conclusions seemed a bit hasty; indeed, he sometimes seemed not to be informed perfectly. But nevertheless, what Oberhummer observed – and also, what he did not observe – offers great insights into the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Montenegro and Albania from the perspective of a renowned and – given the general circumstances – pleasantly relaxed Ratzelian geographer at the height of his academic career. Oberhummer's records show exemplary, that the 'other' is always in the eye of the beholder. And they show that the actual situation in Montenegro and Albania did not alter, but did rather reinforce Oberhummer's attitudes and opinions on the 'other' he encountered. If generational belonging and social framing matters, there is another aspect: The Viennese professor Eugen Oberhummer was born in 1859. All high-ranking military Austro-Hungarian decision-makers in the occupied Western Balkans were born between 1855 and 1863,¹²⁸ they all had lived in multi-ethnic Vienna for at least some years, they all belonged to the upper-class. The governor-generals and corps commanders as well as the renowned geographer Eugen Oberhummer were men of their time. It seems reasonable to suppose that their judgement of the 'other' was alike.

Notes

1. On the three subsequent anti-Ottoman revolts in Northern Albania from 1909 to 1912, see Pearson, *Albania and King Zog*, 5–29. On further details, especially the Montenegrin role in the Albanian revolts, see Treadway, *The Falcon and the Eagle*, 76–86.
2. 'Kunsthistorisch-Archäologisch-Ethnographisch-Linguistische Balkanexpedition in den k. u. k. besetzten Balkangebieten, im Auftrag des k. k. Unterrichtsministeriums und der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien'.
3. See Marchetti, "Scientists with Guns," 182–5.
4. See Marchetti, "Von hybriden Pflügen und kultureller Neugestaltung".
5. Marchetti, "Scientists with Guns," 183.
6. See Schmidt, "Haberlandt, Arthur Ludwig Wolfgang".
7. For example, Haberlandt, "Bericht über die ethnographischen Arbeiten im Rahmen der historisch-ethnographischen Balkanexpedition"; and Haberlandt, *Kulturwissenschaftliche*

- Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien*, and Haberlandt, *Volkskunst der Balkanländer in ihren Grundlagen*. See also the exhibition s. n., “Eine volkstümliche Ausstellung aus den besetzten Balkangebieten”.
8. Marchetti, *Balkanexpedition*, see also Christian Marchetti, “Austro-Hungarian Volkskunde at War”.
 9. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, originally published in 1997.
 10. See, for example, Allcock, *Black Lambs and Grey Falcons*; and Jezernik, *Wild Europe*.
 11. Her most highly regarded book is *High Albania and Its Customs in 1908*, but she wrote several other monographies, among them *The Struggle for Scutari, Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, and *Through the Lands of the Serb*.
 12. Exceptions are, for example, Golczewski, *Der Balkan in deutschen und österreichischen Reise- und Erlebnisberichten*; and Hammond, “Memoirs of Conflict.”
 13. See Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*. Oberhummer repeatedly refers to Ratzel’s work. In 1923, he edited the third edition of Ratzel’s, “Politische Geographie.”
 14. ‘K. u. k. Kriegspressequartier’.
 15. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummers*, 451–461 and 466–485.
 16. *Ibid.*, 366–72.
 17. Also called ‘Dinarides’.
 18. See Kretschmer, “Oberhummer, Eugen”; Bernleithner, “Oberhummer, Eugen”; Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummers*, 23–8; and Zimmermann, *Eugen Oberhummer und seine akademische Tätigkeit*.
 19. ‘Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft’.
 20. ‘Österreichisches Albanien-Komitee’.
 21. On the foundation of the committee, see Nopcsa von Felsö-Szilvas, *Reisen in den Balkan*, 333–4. In his later function, Oberhummer contributed to Österreichisches Albanien-Komitee, *Was will das österreichische Albanien-Komitee?*
 22. s. n., “Kerner von Marilaun, Fritz.”
 23. See Joerg, “Recent Geographical Work in Europe,” 467.
 24. ‘K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft’.
 25. ‘Bergrat’.
 26. s. n., “Gesellschaftsnachrichten,” 110.
 27. Barbara Köfler-Tockner, “Oscar Baumann,” 197 and 201. See also Köfler-Tockner, “*Denn die Tropenwelt ist eine Circe . . .*”
 28. On these surveys, see Ginzl, “Aufgaben und Tätigkeit der Kriegsmappingung auf der Balkanhalbinsel”. See also Ingrid Kretschmer, “Military Mapping by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.”
 29. Glaise von Horstenau et al., *Das Kriegsjahr 1915*, 598–9.
 30. ‘Scutari’, ‘Skadar’.
 31. ‘Montenegrin yoke’ was a common topos since the Balkan Wars at the latest, see for instance Powell, “Making a Nation to Measure,” 540.
 32. ‘Valona’.
 33. Heiko Brendel, “Der geostrategische Rahmen der österreichisch-ungarischen Besetzung Montenegros im Ersten Weltkrieg,” 171.
 34. See Opfer[-Klinger], *Im Schatten des Krieges*, 65; and Opfer[-Klinger], *Im Schatten des Krieges*, 152–4.
 35. However, the Imperial German Navy was interested in the Albanian coast, especially Vlora Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht*, 566.
 36. Opfer[-Klinger], *Im Schatten des Krieges*, 153–4. Different dates are given in Pearson, *Albania and King Zog*, 97.
 37. On the Austro-Hungarian policy towards Albania during the war, see Fried, “The Cornerstone of Balkan Power Projection.”
 38. As an overview, see Kerchnawe et al., *Die Militärverwaltung in den von den österreichisch-ungarischen Truppen besetzten Gebieten*, 53–269. Jonathan Gumz remarked that Serbia was transformed to a ‘giant farm’ by the occupiers and that many ‘saw Serbia as a place of

- opportunity and abundance' Gumz, *The Resurrection and Collapse of Empire in Habsburg Serbia, 1914–1918*, 170.
39. In German 'halb-zivilisiert' and 'auf niedriger Kulturstufe', see for example s. n., "Albanien" See also s. n., "Montenegro" Comparable statements can be found in almost all contemporary general reference works.
 40. See note 20.
 41. Karl Steinmetz, "Albanische Agrarfragen," 39. More recent research on the Ottoman policy on (Northern) Albania and Montenegro focusses on the limited interest of the Ottoman Empire in this remote and rebellious region. It simply was not profitable for the Ottomans to 'invest' in state-building there. See Maurus Reinkowski, "Double Struggle, No Income," and Reinkowski, *Die Dinge der Ordnung*.
 42. '[E]hrenvolle Kulturaufgaben', see s. n., 'Stari Bar'.
 43. See, for instance, Kerchnawe et al., *Die Militärverwaltung in den von den österreichisch-ungarischen Truppen besetzten Gebieten*, 270–304, Friedjung, "Die gesundheitliche Gefährdung der Besatzungstruppe durch die Einheimischen in Bijelopolje,"; and Ginzl, "Aufgaben und Tätigkeit der Kriegsmappierung auf der Balkanhalbinsel."
 44. The majority of the Albanians were Muslims, only in Northern Albania the Catholics regionally constituted majority. While most Northern Albanian tribes were mixed Muslim and Catholic, only the tribe of the Mirdites (Albanian: *Mirdita*) was exclusively Catholic).
 45. On the highland-lowland dichotomy in the Balkans, see Živković, "Violent Highlanders and Peaceful Lowlanders."
 46. The village of Sutomore (Spizza) became Austro-Hungarian not before 1878/79.
 47. Especially the Vasojevići – the most powerful tribe in the hinterland – seemed to have supported unification, see for example Rakočević, *Crna Gora u prvom svjetskom ratu 1914–1918*, 411; and Pavlović, *Balkan Anschluss*, 148.
 48. See Ruthner, 'Habsburg's Little Orient'.
 49. See Scheer, "Minimale Kosten, absolut keinBlut."
 50. 'Antivari', 'Tivari'.
 51. The southernmost district of Austria-Hungary, South Slav settled Kotor (Cattaro), was the core of 'Venetian Albania' (Albania Veneta) until 1797. See Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*.
 52. 'Kultusprotektorat'.
 53. Deusch, *Das k. (u.) k. Kultusprotektorat im albanischen Siedlungsgebiet*, 24, see also Deusch, *Das k. (u.) k. Kultusprotektorat im albanischen Siedlungsgebiet*, 22–25, 32–36; and Schwanda, *Das Protektorat Österreich-Ungarns über die Katholiken Albanien*.
 54. Durham, *High Albania and its customs in 1908*, 9.
 55. On Albanian studies in Austria-Hungary and the subject's entanglements with Austro-Hungarian politics, see Gostentschnigg, *Zwischen Wissenschaft und Politik*.
 56. Elsie, "The Viennese scholar who almost became King of Albania."
 57. Nopcsa von Felső-Szilvas, *Reisen in den Balkan*, 333–4. Nopcsa called Oberhummer an 'echten rechten Herrn ›Adabei' (Austrian-German for 'auch dabei'), a common Austrian abusive term for a me-too.
 58. 'Wenn eine Völkerkarte die Momentphotographie eines in lebendigem Wachstum befindlichen Zellgewebes ist, so zeigt die politische Karte einen Querschnitt durch ein Zellgewebe, dessen Wände künstlich erhärtet sind.' (Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, 448).
 59. On Ratzel's "Milieutheorie" see Chevron, *Anpassung und Entwicklung in Evolution und Kulturwandel*, 79–94, an interesting contemporary account on this topic is Koller, *The Theory of Environment*.
 60. Friedrich Ratzel, "Über die geographische Lage."
 61. See for example Haberlandt, *Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien*, 33, who tried to distinguish Albanians and Montenegrins by observing their traditional costumes – and by taking the details of these artefacts for more important than the conflicting statements of their wearers.

62. Oberhummer, *Die Balkanvölker*, 24.
63. For instance Eugen Oberhummer, “Zur historischen Geographie von Küstenland, Dalmatien und der Hercegowina.”
64. See, for example, Michael R. Palairat, “The Culture of Economic Stagnation in Montenegro.”
65. Photography by Eugen Oberhummer, source: Oberhummer, “Montenegro und Albanien unter österreichisch-ungarischer Verwaltung”: Tafel VII, Abb. 2.
66. Among the publications was an article by Oberhummer’s son: Oberhummer, “Montenegrisch-Albanische Wirtschaftsbilder.”
67. Eugen Oberhummer, “Landeskundliche Arbeiten in Albanien und Montenegro während des Weltkrieges,” 93–4.
68. Oberhummer, “Montenegro und Albanien unter österreichisch-ungarischer Verwaltung.”
69. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummerts*, 458.
70. ‘K. u. k. Armeeoberkommando’.
71. Haberlandt, “Bericht über die ethnographischen Arbeiten im Rahmen der historisch-ethnographischen Balkanexpedition,” 736.
72. See Chevron, *Anpassung und Entwicklung in Evolution und Kulturwandel*, 88.
73. Oberhummer, “Montenegro und Albanien unter österreichisch-ungarischer Verwaltung,” 345, Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummerts*, 454.
74. For example Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummerts*, 455, 459, 467, 468, 470, 471, 474, and 475.
75. Most often it is not clear if Oberhummer speaks of Austro-Hungarian Ukrainians (Ruthenians) or of Russian prisoners of war.
76. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummerts*, 451.
77. Oberhummer, *Die Balkanvölker*, 24–5.
78. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummerts*, 460.
79. See *ibid.*, 482.
80. See *ibid.*, 370, 469, and 482.
81. For Oberhummer’s remarks on the ‘Race Issue’ see Oberhummer, *Die Balkanvölker*, 57–70.
82. Heiko Brendel, “Der geostrategische Rahmen der österreichisch-ungarischen Besetzung Montenegros im Ersten Weltkrieg,” 172–3.
83. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummerts*, 473.
84. See Oberhummer, “Montenegro und Albanien unter österreichisch-ungarischer Verwaltung,” 344 and Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummerts*, 451.
85. Photography by Eugen Oberhummer, source: Oberhummer, “Montenegro und Albanien unter österreichisch-ungarischer Verwaltung”: Tafel X, Abb. 2.
86. Private family archive Clam-Martinic, Burg Clam, Klam (Austria), box ‘Politische Korrespondenz – sehr wichtig’, Referat ‘Angliederung Montenegros’ (16 January 1918).
87. For example, this second expedition is not explicitly mentioned in Joerg, ‘Recent Geographical Work in Europe’. Joerg, a German-American geographer and specialist not only on the polar regions but also on the Balkans, in general gives a surprisingly complete account on the Austro-Hungarian research during the First World War.
88. On the assumed political views of the Montenegrin elite during the occupation see private family archive Clam-Martinic, Burg Clam, Klam (Austria), box ‘1917–18 HCM Montenegro’, several secret service reports on diverse members of the Montenegrin elite. Former Montenegrin Minister of Interior, Jovan Simonov Plamenac (1873–1944), for example, was supposed to be a austrophile supporter of Montenegrin independence. The report states: ‘First of all, he supports an independent Montenegro, whether under the Petrović dynasty or under a Habsburg or German prince.’
89. On this topic, see the author’s PhD thesis ‘Lieber als Kacake als an Hunger sterben – Bandenwesen, Bandenbekämpfung und Besatzungspolitik im k. u. k. Militärgeneralgouvernement in Montenegro in ihrem historisch-geografischen Kontext’

- (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Potsdam, 2018), which will be published in spring 2019.
90. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummers*, 463–4.
 91. See note 69 above.
 92. Eugen Oberhummer, “Landeskundliche Arbeiten in Albanien und Montenegro während des Weltkrieges,” 94.
 93. Heiko Brendel, “Der geostrategische Rahmen der österreichisch-ungarischen Besetzung Montenegros im Ersten Weltkrieg,” 173–4.
 94. See Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummers*, 476.
 95. *Ibid.*, 467.
 96. ‘Durazzo’.
 97. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummers*, 473–4.
 98. Oberhummer assumed on the base of his information, that guerrilla activity was only a problem in the eastern parts of ‘Old Montenegro’. See Heiko Brendel, “Der geostrategische Rahmen der österreichisch-ungarischen Besetzung Montenegros im Ersten Weltkrieg,” 172–4 and, for further reading, Kordić and Ašanin, *Komitski Pokret u Crnoj Gori 1916–1918*.
 99. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummers*, 484.
 100. See note 5 above.
 101. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummers*, 469 and 483.
 102. On the religious policy of the Austro-Hungarian occupiers see Heiko Brendel, “Austro-Hungarian Policies towards Muslims in Occupied Montenegro.”
 103. Gellner, *Plough, Sword, and Book*, 40.
 104. ‘Auffassungsgabe’ and ‘Sprachtalent’.
 105. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummers*, 471.
 106. See Heiko Brendel, “Austro-Hungarian Policies towards Muslims in Occupied Montenegro,” 89.
 107. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummers*, 471.
 108. *Ibid.*, 472.
 109. *Ibid.*, 471.
 110. *Ibid.*, 480.
 111. *Ibid.*, 482.
 112. *Ibid.*, 481.
 113. See Jezernik, *Wild Europe*.
 114. Pearson, *Albania and King Zog*, 6–29.
 115. See Snyder, *Bloodlands*.
 116. See Baberowski, *Räume der Gewalt*.
 117. Snyder’s ‘Bloodlands’ comprised Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Western Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.
 118. Bertele and Wacker, *Die Reisetagebücher Eugen Oberhummers*, 367–72.
 119. See the classic debate on this topic: Daly and Wilson, ‘Competitiveness, Risk Taking, and Violence’, Polk, ‘Violence, Masculinity and Evolution’ and Farsang and Kocsor, ‘The Young Male Syndrome Revisited – Homicide Data from Hungarian and Australian Populations’.
 120. See note 60 above.
 121. Photography by Eugen Oberhummer, source: Oberhummer, “Montenegro und Albanien unter österreichisch-ungarischer Verwaltung”: Tafel X, Abb. 10.
 122. In *ibid.*, just one sentence on this this topic can be found: ‘[...] was the improvement of the traffic infrastructure one of the most important tasks [...]’ (p. 346).
 123. See Vidal de la Blache, *Tableau de la Géographie de la France*, and Cvijić, *La péninsule balkanique*.
 124. Eugen Oberhummer, “Die Türken und das osmanische Reich (Schluss),” 137.
 125. The above mentioned torpedo-boat trip from Kotor to Stari Bar is the best example, see p. 16.
 126. See p. 8.

127. Eugen Oberhummer, “Landeskundliche Arbeiten in Albanien und Montenegro während des Weltkrieges,” 94.
128. Heinrich Clam-Martinic was born in 1863, his predecessor as governor-general in Montenegro, Viktor Weber von Webenau, in 1861; Ignaz Trollmann was born in 1860, his successors as commander of the XIXth corps, Ludwig Koennen-Horák von Höhenkampf and Karl von Pflanzler-Baltin, in 1861 and 1855 respectively; the governor-generals of Serbia, Johann von Salis-Seewies and Adolf von Rhemen zu Barenfeld, in 1862 and 1855 respectively.

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