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Rudolf AGSTNER – Elmar SAMSINGER

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The Palazzo di Venezia in Constantinople as I.R. Internontiatore and I & R. Embassy to the Sublime Porte 1799 – 1918 and the Palais in Yeniköy as summer residence of the I. & R. Embassy 1899 – 1918

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English abstracts

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“In such a manner the Imperial Court [...] will for the first time find itself in possession of a legation building in Constantinople [...]”

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Since 1527 the Venetian “Bailos”, i.e. the envoys of the Republic of Venice to the Sublime Porte, owned a piece of land “le vigne di Pera” outside Constantinople. In 1772 Bailo Paolo Renier had a wooden palace built there to serve as Venetian legation building, known as “Palazzo di Venezia”.

The year 1797 spelled the end of the Republic of Venice, whose territory was split up between France, Austria and the Cisalpine Republic in the peace treaty of Campo Formido. Austria obtained the city of Venice, the Venetian lands until Udine, as well as Istria and Dalmatia (today Croatia); with it came the two Venetian legation palaces in Rome and Constantinople. Only after the French chargé d’affaires in Constantinople had been arrested in September 1798, and the “Palais d’Allemagne”, seat of the Imperial Internuntio (envoy) to the Sublime Porte had been destroyed by fire on 14 March 1799, did Internuntio Herbert-Rathkeal actually take possession of the “Palazzo di Venezia”.

The peace treaty of Preßburg (Bratislava) of 1805 transferred the Austrian gains of 1797 to France. In autumn of 1806 the “Palazzo di Venezia” was handed over to French ambassador Sebastiani. The Austrian internuntio rented a building in Pera belonging to his chancellor Bartolomeo di Testa, which became the winter seat of the legation until it burned down on 18 June 1811. The French ambassador Moubourg immediately offered his Austrian colleague to move into the empty “Palais d’Hollande”, formerly the Netherlands legation to the Sublime Porte, and then, as the “Palazzo di Venezia”, one of three palaces belonging to the French Empire in Constantinople. The Austrian internuntio stayed here from 1811 to 1813. Already in 1806, when Testa’s house was rented, Emperor Franz I. had authorized his internuntio to buy an appropriate building in Constantinople should one become available. As the “Palais d’Hollande” was built of stone, internuntio Stürmer suggested buying it. In 1813, the value of the palais was estimated at 317.390 Turkish Piastres or 186.700 Austrian guilders. Prince Schwarzenberg discussed the matter in Paris in April 1813, and negotiations had already been under way, when Napoleon’s luck changed.

In 1814 the victorious Allies entered France, and in May 1814 Austrian troops took Venice. The return of the “Palazzo di Venezia” to Austria was only a matter of time; in August 1816 a rather dilapidated palace was handed over to the Austrian internuntio. It took nearly two years of renovation and roughly 48.000 guilders until the palace could serve as legation again. In 1853 the wooden palace underwent a major renovation. Although losing Venice to the new Kingdom of Italy in 1866, Austria with French help managed to retain the “Palazzo di Venezia”.

In 1867 the “internuntio” was upgraded to “ambassador”. The Austrian embassy palace serving as residence of the ambassador and chancery was the centrepiece of a whole series of buildings constructed over the decades on an area

of 22.000 m², including a consulate, dragomanat, post-office, and apartments of numerous diplomats and consuls.

In 1889 the Austrian ambassador Count Calice was instructed to report on the situation of the embassy, whose location, size and construction material could not compare to the other embassies, the contrast creating the impression of inferiority and shabbiness, “creating an uncomfortable feeling as Orientals are judging might and status by external appearances”. Calice suggested investing 20 to 40.000 Turkish Pounds to buy a suitable site, construct a modern embassy building and sell the Palazzo di Venezia. Unfortunately, nothing came of it; instead, the palace underwent numerous repairs and renovations. By 1912, the structure of the palace had dangerously deteriorated leading ambassador Pallavicini to suggest constructing a new building in Taxim-Schischli next to the German embassy for the embassy and dragomanat, while the consulate was supposed to remain in Pera. Again, nothing came of it, and in 1914 it was decided to literally rebuild the Palazzo.

The building contractor Alfred Michelini, who had built the Austro-Hungarian hospital and the Austrian school, was in charge of pulling down the old wooden palace and rebuilding it in stone, concrete and iron. Total costs were estimated at 550.000 Austrian crowns. The outbreak of World War I was to have an immediate negative effect – construction material and workers became scarce, costs increased, and most of the construction material had to be brought by train from Austria, involving approval of the War Ministry – and leading to gigantic cost overruns.

After four years construction was not yet finished, when the Ottoman Empire was forced to seek for an armistice at Mudros on 30. October 1918. Art. 19 of the armistice stipulated that Austrian, Hungarian and German nationals had to leave Turkey within a month. On 3 November it was Austria-Hungary’s turn to sign an armistice leading to immediate dismemberment of Austria-Hungary. On 30 November 1918 the Austro-Hungarian diplomats and consuls in the Ottoman Empire were deported by the Allied occupation authorities in Constantinople and put on the Sofia-bound train. On 1 December 1918 Italian marines occupied the “Palazzo di Venezia”, thus “returning it to the fatherland” as a marble plaque recalls. The Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) period of this palace had come to an end.

Since the 18th century the Imperial Internuntio spent the summer months from June to October in a rented villa in Bükükdere on the Bosphorus. Between 1813, when the Internuntio left the “Palais d’ Hollande” in Pera, and 1817, when he returned to the renovated “Palazzo di Venezia” Bükükdere was the seat of the Internonciature. While other European powers owned palaces in Therapia (Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy) and Bükükdere (Russia), Austria (Austria-Hungary) chose the most expensive solution, i.e. to rent a villa “*small, without garden, in no way to be compared to the residences of the other diplomats.*”

Sultan Abdul Hamid II was well aware of this situation, and in October 1883, “*in view the existing friendly and warm relations between the Sublime Porte and Austria*” gave a palace in Yeniköy as present to Emperor Franz Joseph. The palace – unfinished and in a deplorable state – had been built on 3 hectares of land at great expense by the Armenian banker Migirditch Dzesairli, and been confiscated by Ottoman tax authorities in lieu of payment of tax arrears; in 1878 it had served to house Turkish refugees from Bulgaria.

In the following years the palace continued to fall into disrepair, and the Austro-Hungarian embassy was on several occasions reminded by Ottoman authorities of the need of urgent repairs. It seems that the Austro-Hungarian foreign ministry was at a loss as to how best use the imperial gift. Only in 1893 was the ministry’s architect sent to Yeniköy to study the building and come up with a

proposal. In 1894/95 the sum of 300.000 guilders was included in the ministry's budget to renovate Yeniköy palace. Work started in August 1894; only in 1899 was the renovated palace used for the first time as summer residence of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador. After World War I the palace remained joint property of Austria and Hungary until 1938. In 1940 Hungary ceded her 36,4% share of the property to the German Reich. In 1947 Yeniköy was returned to Austria. The palace serves presently as Austrian consulate general and Austrian cultural forum in Istanbul.

The Austrian Internuntios / Austro-Hungarian ambassadors to the Sublime Porte had since 1857 a small warship at their disposal. The ships were part of H.M. navy and were armed with small cannons. The first was the paddle-steamer "Prince Eugen", stationed in Constantinople until 1858. It was replaced by the paddle-steamer "Taurus (I)", a ship built in Venice in 1849, which served until 1878, when it was replaced by H.M.S "Taurus (II)", which had been built in Trieste in 1877. In 1909 it was time for a replacement. The last commander of "Taurus (II)", Nikolaus Horthy, who later rose to prominence as head of state of Hungary, recommended buying the yacht "Nirvana" built in 1904 in England. The yacht was bought for 25.000 LSt (British pound sterling), renamed "Taurus (III)" and incorporated into H.M. Navy in Pola / Istria, Austria-Hungary's main naval port. Having undergone refurbishing S.M.S. Taurus III arrived in Constantinople on 21 November 1909. With 970 t, the Austro-Hungarian warship was the biggest of the ships stationed there by the major powers in Constantinople. When World War I broke out, H.M.S. Taurus was ordered to leave immediately for Pola which it reached on 8 August 1914. It was used as quarters for Austro-Hungarian naval pilots and was after the collapse of Austria-Hungary seized by Italy. Renamed "Marechiaro" and in 1928 "Aurora" is served as Mussolini's yacht. It was sunk in 1943 by German speedboats off Ancona, Italy.

To facilitate daily traffic in the Golden Horn and to Yeniköy, the Austrian / Austro-Hungarian diplomats made use of kaiks. By 1880 these kaiks were no longer state of the art, and a steam mouche called "Rosina" was bought. It was sold in 1889 when a mouche called "Pamndora" was rented. In 1891 a mouche "io" was built in Trieste for use by the Austro.-Hungarian embassy in Constantinople. When it was sold in 1908, the Austro-Hungarian foreign ministry ordered a new "io" with Stabilimento Technico in Trieste, which was little used during World War I due to lack of coal. The 10 m long launch was sold on 5 January 1919 by officials of the former Austro-Hungarian embassy to a Greek couple acting as front man for the Greek navy, which used it as longboat of her armoured cruiser "Averoff", then part of an international flotilla anchored off Constantinople.

Rudolf AGSTNER

"To look after the interests of subjects and merchants of my Empire residing in these areas [...]"

Turkish Consulates in Austria (-Hungary) 1718 – 1918

Article 6 of the Treaty on Commerce and Navigation, signed on 17 July 1718 in Passarowitz (Pozarevac) between the plenipotentiaries of Emperor Charles VI and Sultan Selim III, stipulated that the Sultan was free to appoint consuls in the Habsburg lands wherever he deemed necessary. In article 5 of the same treaty the

Habsburg rulers were only granted the right to appoint consuls in those ports in the Ottoman Empire where other foreign consuls already resided.

Sultan Selim III soon made use of this provision; between 1726 and 1732 Ömer Aga was Ottoman consul-general in Vienna. It was only in 1797 that the Sublime Porte sent a resident ambassador to Vienna; 1799 marks a new consular presence in the Habsburg lands, when Angelo Cazzaiti was appointed consul in Trieste by a captain of the Ottoman navy. Vienna did not accept this procedure; Cazzaiti was considered a private agent of the Ottoman ambassador in Vienna. In 1803 the Ottoman chargé d' affaires in Vienna, Constantin de Tipaldo, raised the issue of the rights of Ottoman consuls in Trieste and Venice (the latter part of Napoleonic Italy from December of 1805 to May 1814), claiming they could appoint consular agents at other Adriatic seaports of the Habsburg lands and exert consular jurisdiction over Ottoman subjects. Although European consuls exercised consular jurisdiction in the Ottoman Empire, Vienna, afraid of setting a dangerous precedent, dismissed any notion of an Ottoman consular jurisdiction; for the next 70 years Vienna tried its best to limit Ottoman consuls to the major ports of her Adriatic coast, contrary to article 6 of the 1718 commercial treaty.

From 1809 to 1814, the Austrian Empire had lost Trieste, the only port where foreign consuls were admitted, to Napoleon's „Illyrian Provinces“. In 1816 the Porte appointed Theodor Critico consul in Trieste; while agreeing on the necessity of an Ottoman consul there, Critico was rejected, and the Porte in 1817 named Alessandro Basilli as „Schahbender“ (+ Trieste January 1818). He was succeeded by Michael Basilli. The consulate in Venice was from 1817 to 1837 headed by a caretaker by name of Todorovich; in 1838 Jacob Serpos became consul in Venice. In 1829 a consular agency was established in Fiume (Rijeka).

In 1846 the Porte appointed Puzant Manass consul-general in Vienna. The Ottoman honorary consul general in Vienna between 1866 and 1870 is of particular interest. Sterio Dumba was a Greek from Vlasti in Macedonia who had settled in Vienna in 1817; he was importing cotton from and exporting sugar to Turkey and owned considerable property in the Danube principalities (Romania). Having made a fortune, he had „Palais Dumba“ built at Vienna's Parkring as his residence. His elder son Michael Dumba, a major sponsor of the Vienna „Musikverein“, later became Greek honorary consul general. The post of Ottoman consul-general in Vienna often was held by the embassy's counsellor. From 1872 to 1901 the consulate-general was located in the Ottoman embassy in Vienna.

Between 1850 and 1867 the Ottoman Empire established consular offices, many of the honorary, in the Adriatic ports of Lussinpiccolo (Mali Losinj), Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Spalato (Split) and Zadar (Zara); in 1864 appointment of an Ottoman consul in Metcovich was refused, as the town was „not a seaport and as no foreign consulates are admitted except in Vienna and the seaports“; the real reason being, that Austria did not want foreign consuls along the long border between Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina; in 1868 however Vienna withdrew its objections.

In Venice the Turkish merchant Vinzenz Eram Oglu from Trieste was appointed Schahbender in 1850, was succeeded in 1855 by Austrian Johann Baptist Braganza until 1866, when Venice became part of Italy.

A problem arose when in October of 1864 the Porte appointed Mourad Effendi consul in Orova in the Banat. Born Franz Anton Werner, he had deserted the Austrian army in 1854 and entered the Ottoman army as officer, acquiring Ottoman nationality. In 1856 he had joined the Ottoman Foreign Service. His case involved three problems as after the revolution of 1848/49, the Austrian Empire did not admit any consuls in the interior; Mourad Effendi was considered an Austrian subject who

had emigrated illegally. Granting an exequatur was refused. The Porte drew Vienna's attention to Article 6 of the treaty of Passarowitz, allowing the Sultan to appoint consuls anywhere in the Habsburg realm. The matter was solved only in March 1867, when the Austrian administration realized that its policy to bar consuls in the interior could no longer be reasonably maintained; on 25 March 1867 Emperor Franz Josef I. granted his former subject Mourad Effendi his exequatur and authorized establishment of foreign consulates in the interior. The „Consulat de Turquie au Banat“ was never located in Orsova, but in Temesvar until 1879.

In 1868 an Ottoman consulate-general was opened in Pest, today's Budapest, in 1869 a vice-consulate in Semlin facing Belgrade. By 1877 Ottoman consular offices existed in Vienna, Budapest, Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and Trieste, honorary offices in Semlin (Zemun, Novi Beograd), Temesvar (Timisoara), Fiume (Rijeka), Lussinpiccolo (Mali Losinj), Spalato (Split) and Zara (Zadar).

In 1868 an Ottoman consulate-general was opened in Pest, today's Budapest, in 1869 a vice-consulate in Semlin facing Belgrade. By 1877 Ottoman consular offices existed in Vienna, Budapest, Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and Trieste, honorary offices in Semlin (Zemun, Novi Beograd), Temesvar (Timisoara), Fiume (Rijeka), Lussinpiccolo (Mali Losinj), Spalato (Split) and Zara (Zadar).

The consular office in Spalato was closed in 1878, Semlin in 1879, as was Lussinpiccolo in 1892. The consular office in Zara was headed by a consul from 1877 to 1879, then left vacant, reopened in 1885 under a consul general and closed in 1887. The consular post in Temesvar was re-established as honorary consulate in 1888 and closed in 1913. In 1893 an honorary consulate was established in Moravia's capital Brünn (Brno, Czech Republic) and the consular post in Semlin, closed in 1879 was reopened (last mentioned in 1900). In 1900 the Ottoman consulate-general in Vienna was transformed to an honorary office headed by a Jewish businessman from Budapest.

The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary on 3 October 1908 led to the creation of an Ottoman consulate in Sarajevo in August of 1910. Consul Suad Bey was considered *“not well disposed towards Serbs”*, which was appreciated in Vienna. A suggestion to establish another consulate in Ujvidék (Neusatz, Novi Sad/Serbia) on the Danube, a town facing Peterwardein (Petrovaradin) fortress, was not welcome. The last Ottoman honorary consulate was established in February 1912 in Czernowitz in Bukovina (Cernovci, Ukraine); it was closed during the Russian occupation of the town (June 1916 – August 1917). In the summer of 1916 a career consul-general was again appointed to Vienna.

In 1914 the Ottoman Empire, which had lost practically all of her European lands in 1912/13, maintained 80 career consulates worldwide. In October of 1918, shortly before the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, the Sublime Porte had consulates-general in Vienna, Budapest and Sarajevo, a consulate in Trieste, as well as honorary consulates in Brno and Cernovci.

In a way, Ottoman honorary consulates can be compared to Austro-Hungarian – they were sometimes hereditary in a family. Not only Austria (-Hungary), the Ottoman Empire too sometimes relied on agents of the Austrian Lloyd as honorary consular officials (Ragusa, Zara). The Ottoman consular service, like the Austro-Hungarian, reflects the multinational composition of the Empire: names of Ottoman consuls are easily recognizable as Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Egyptian or Syro-Lebanese.

„ [...] establishing of an Austrian consulate-general in Constantinople is let to rest [...]”

The history of the Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) consulates in Turkey 1718-1918

The study looks into the question *where, when* and *why* Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) consular offices were established in the Ottoman Empire during the two centuries between 1718 and 1918 and *who* these consuls were.

The Austrian consular service has its origin in Article 5 of the Treaty on Commerce and Navigation, signed on 17 July 1718 in Passarowitz (Pozarevac, Serbia) between the plenipotentiaries of Emperor Charles VI and Sultan Selim III, which allowed the Habsburg rulers to establish consulates in those ports of the Ottoman Empire where consuls of other powers existed already. The first 50 years of the Austrian consular service, which was always short of funds and relied heavily on honorary consuls, are often shrouded in mystery as archival evidence is scarce.

Of the 16 consulates existing in 1767, when they are listed for the first time in the official yearbook of the “hereditary lands”, only three were in the Ottoman Empire – Thessaloniki (Greece), Smyrna (Izmir) and Tripoli (Libya). In 1778 an honorary vice-consul is listed in Gallipoli (Sultanieh) for the first time. In 1800 the number of consulates in the Ottoman Empire had risen to 21, of which only the consulate in Izmir was located in the territory of the present Turkish Republic; by 1817, Imperial Austrian consulates existed in Edirne - the first not located in a port as stipulated in the commercial treaty of 1718-, the Dardanelles (Canakkale), Scala Nuova (Kusadasi), and Smyrna (Izmir), the offices in Rodosto (Tekirdag) and Alessandretta (Iskenderun) being vacant.

In 1823 an honorary consular agency was established at Enez (vacant since 1834, closed by 1848), in 1829 an honorary consul was appointed in Trebisonda (Trabzon), whereas in 1831 the consular agency of Scio was relocated from the island of Chios to Cesme on the mainland and upgraded to vice-consulate. In 1836 an honorary consular agency was established in Bursa. From 1839 to 1891 an honorary consular agency was in operation in Aidin, while in 1841 new consular agencies were established in Aivalik (closed 1886) and Tenedos (Bozcada, until 1913), whereas the consular agency in Kusadasi, vacant since 1843, was closed around 1846. Whereas Emperor Franz I in 1835 had refused to authorize a consulate general in Constantinople, his successor Ferdinand I approved its establishment in 1846, which by 1848 brought the number of Austrian consulates in present day Turkey to 16.

After the revolution 1848/49, the government of young Emperor Franz Joseph was determined to expand Austrian presence abroad. In the case of the Ottoman Empire, the interests of the “Austrian Lloyd Steam Navigation Company” and of the Imperial Government were not surprisingly often identical. In 1851 the agent of the Austrian Lloyd at Ineboli (Inebolu) was appointed Austrian honorary consular agent; the office was closed in 1860 already.

Until 1853 the Imperial Austrian consular network witnessed a further expansion, partly reflecting the growing number of ports served by the Austrian Lloyd, whose agents often acted as honorary consular agents or vice-consuls. In today's Turkish Republic, consulates-general existed in Istanbul and Izmir, a consulate in Trabzon, vice-consulates in Edirne, Samsun and Cesme as well as consular agencies in Canakkale (Dardanelles), Inebolu (Ineboli), Tekirdag (Rodosto), Bozcada (Tenedos), Aidin (Güzelhissar) and Erzerum – the latter short-lived post was established to open the way to Persia and the Tigris Valley for Austrian trade.

In 1855 an honorary consular agency was established in Mersin, the local agent of the Austrian Lloyd acting as consular agent. He reported on his taking office: *“The imperial flag was hoisted, and on the occasion, in the absence of batteries on land, it was greeted by a salute of 21 cannon shots from the Lloyd steamer ‘Ionio’.”*

In 1877 an honorary vice-consulate was established in Kerasunt (Girasun), a port called upon twice weekly by Austrian Lloyd steamers, which played a part in the export of maize, rice, hazelnuts and tobacco grown there. Until 1877 – the following year brought about the loss of Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, Bosnia-Herzegovina und Batum – the number of – since 1867 – Imperial & Royal Austro-Hungarian – consular offices in the Ottoman Empire had risen to 101, of which 19 were located in today’s Turkey. In 1880 an honorary consular agent was appointed in Urla near Izmir, and in 1887 another in Kirkklisse *“with a view to prevent us from being driven out from a market which we have dominated for centuries”*, indicating consulates were to promote Austrian exports rather than look after the interests of the Austrian Lloyd.

In 1911 an honorary vice-consulate was created in Adana *“in view of the boom of the cotton production in the vilayet of Adana, the increase of our trade relations with this region and the increasing number of Austrian and Hungarian citizens living there”*. Consular presence in the South was increased in 1913, when a vice-consulate was established in Antalia as a result of a fact-finding mission sent to the area, which had concluded that *“the vilajet of Adana and in particular the very fertile Sanjak Tekke of the vilajet of Konia, both active markets, merit particular attention from the point of view of safeguarding our export interests [...]”*.

World War I brought about the presence of Austro-Hungarian troops in the Ottoman Empire, particularly in the Southern regions, leading to calls for more consulates there, suggestions that were refused by Vienna. The last such proposal dates from May 1917, requesting to replace the existing honorary vice-consulate in Samsun with a consulate, given the economic importance of the port. *“The number of inhabitants has tripled in the last 25 years [...]. After the war, a fast economic recovery can be expected [...]”* The Austro-Hungarian embassy in Constantinople turned down the idea as premature.

In October 1918, a total of 46 Austro-Hungarian consulates existed in the Ottoman Empire, 16 of which in present Turkey: 2 consulates - general in Izmir and Trabzon, 2 consulates in Edirne and Istanbul, a vice-consulate in Adalia, a consular agency in Bursa, all run by career consular officials, and 3 honorary vice-consulates in Antalia, Canakkale (vacant), and Samsun, as well as 7 honorary consular agencies in Iskenderun, Erzerum (vacant for decades), Gallipoli, Girasun, Kirkklisse (vacant), Mersin, and Tekirdag.

In several places the position of consular official was hereditary for several generations; the consular office in the Dardanelles (Canakkale) had been in the hands of the Xanthupulo family since 1814; Mario Xanthupulo served from 1814 to 1859 and was removed from office in 1859 only at the age of 108. Between 1839 and 1906, three members of the Barbon family served in Scala Nova (Kusadasi).

Consulates had to be easily recognizable for ships; for this purpose, Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) consulates had an 18 m tall flag-pole, flying a large Austro-Hungarian consular flag (4 m x 2.20 m), which was identical with the flag of the Austro-Hungarian merchant marine. In 1784 Emperor Joseph II had decreed a consular uniform: red jacket and trousers, with apple green lapels, and golden Port d’Epée, the buttons being decorated with an anchor; in 1900 a green uniform was introduced for career consuls.

The “lingua franca” of the consular service in the Ottoman Empire was Italian, and Italian names of Turkish towns were used. Of the 114 regulations for the merchant marine in force in 1904 all but 14 were in Italian only. Consulates used seals and coats of arms with an Italian inscription. Since 1867, the budget for the “common affairs” (foreign affairs, war) was shared between Austria and Hungary at a ratio of 70:30. In 1908 the ratio was changed to 63,6%:36,4 %, reflecting an increase in the economic power of the Hungarian part of the Monarchy, and leading to a replacement of seals and coats of arms with new ones in both German and Hungarian.

Franz KANGLER

***„In school boys and girls were singing the Austrian imperial anthem [...]”* The History of the Austrian St. George- College in Constantinople / Istanbul**

The Austrian St. George College in Istanbul was founded 25 November 1882. On this day the Lazarist brother Conrad Stroever signed the bill of sale of the church and house of St. George. This beginning was based on a longer history of German-speaking Catholic pastoral activities in Constantinople.

In the second half of the 19th century the number of German speaking people in Constantinople witnessed a considerable increase. In 1866 the figure of roughly 6000 to 7000 is mentioned, mostly skilled manual workers and workers. The situation of their spiritual welfare resulted in the question of a German-speaking Catholic school. An Austrian national school existing since 1850 (today Italian gymnasium was considered German-speaking only to a limited extent. The non-denominational German school (today German gymnasium), which had developed from a Protestant elementary school, was deemed less suited for families of Catholic and Austrian background. As a result, a small German-speaking Catholic elementary school for girls came into existence in 1871; it soon joined forces with an orphanage, founded by an Austrian Catholic ladies association. A house was rented in the neighbourhood of the French order of St. Benedict. At the same time intensive efforts aimed at establishing a German Catholic boys’ school. As the house and church of St. George were offered for sale in the neighbourhood, new possibilities arose for an independent institution. The history of this Church in Galata, the quarter of the Genovese can be traced back to 1303, when it is first mentioned in documents. After centuries of an eventful history the Franciscans of the Bosnian province acquired church and monastery in 1850. For economic reasons and in view of the occupation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary the Franciscans in 1881 decided to sell St. George.

In order to purchase St. George for his planned institution, Stroever, with the blessing of Pope Leo XIII established a committee of German-speaking Catholics. The future institution was to be made up of a hospital, a school and an orphanage, to be run by Lazarist fathers in German language. German-speaking Daughters of Charity were to take care of the social services.

The price was set at 7500 Turkish pounds, 3000 of which to be paid immediately. By October of 1882, apart from the orphanage and girls’ school a boys’ school of 50 moved into the building. In the following years fundamental questions of organisation as splitting the schools of the Daughters of Charity and of the Lazarist fathers were solved.

Already when the property had been purchased it had been noted that the institution was under Austrian protection. First subsidies in kind for the school arrived

from Austria in 1888. In June 1891, when sending additional Austrian Lazarist fathers, the supreme council of the Order of Lazarist fathers in Paris decided that in future St. George would belong to the Austrian province of the Lazarist fathers.

The following years brought about a rapid expansion, leading to the acquisition of neighbouring houses for the school and hospital. The girls' school established a three - grade grammar school following elementary school, while at the boys' school a grammar school and a business school were set up. In 1913 the first student took the officially recognized Austrian school-leaving exam graduated.

Because of the difficult situation of staff and buildings the provincial government of the Lazarist fathers in Graz in 1913 planned to close the school, a step prevented by massive interventions in Austria up to Archduke Franz Ferdinand, successor to the throne. Having survived this threat, the first lay teacher paid by Austria was sent to St. George, and the Austro-Hungarian ambassador discussed with the Ottoman minister of interior an extensive expansion of the college, which did not come about due to World War I. Whereas in July 1918 Sultan Reşad had granted an official Ottoman teaching permission, the college was closed down by the French occupation power in February of 1919.

The school was reopened in the young Turkish Republic, Austria only being able to offer recognition of its diplomas. Kemal Atatürk sent five excellent educationalists to Austria to study the educational reforms of Otto Glöckel. One of them later became the first Turkish deputy director of the college.

After the Anschluss of March 1938 the school was turned into the „German St. George College“. After the breaking-off of diplomatic relations between Turkey and the German Reich, the staff of St. George, as a result of the intervention by Apostolic delegate Angelo Roncalli, and despite of strong German pressure, remained in Turkey where they were interned in Anatolia.

Starting in 1950, St. George was transformed into the only Austrian school abroad by sending the first five teachers paid by the ministry of education. The cultural activities of St. George College led to the establishment of the present Austrian cultural forum. In the 1960s, Austrian painter Anton Lehmden re-decorated the church of St. George. On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of its foundation, an Austrian stamp was issued featuring a bridge. In 1997, the boys' and girls' colleges were merged, while the age for entering school was set at 9th grade by Turkish educational authorities, measures leading to new challenges.

In June of 2005 the foreign ministries of Turkey and Austria signed a Memorandum of Understanding, stating that St. George is one of the most remarkable examples of Austrian-Turkish co-operation which should continue to be supported by both sides in the future.

Yavuz KÖSE

***"Stein cheap and fine – Mayer - stocks poor and prices higher"* Austrian department stores in Istanbul (1855-1942)**

Between 1860 and 1880 department stores established themselves in the urban centres of Europe like Paris, London, Berlin or Vienna. Industrialization, population growth, decline self-sufficiency, increasing circulation of cash, successive increase of

real income and socio-cultural transformation were most important prerequisites leading to their formation.

Similar economic and social circumstances existed during the last third of the 19th century in the urban centres of the Ottoman Empire, led by Istanbul, Izmir, Cairo and Salonika. Nearly at the same time – in any way not much later than in the cities of Europe – we see the emergence of branches of Western department stores. The new stores targeted the urban population. Apart from Europeans and Levantines always established in the empire, the new class of Ottoman civil servants, oriented to the West, promised an ever increasing stock of customers. The Ottoman Court, in particular the Sultan's family were loyal customers of the renowned department stores.

In the urban centres of the Ottoman Empire, retail trade as part of the services trade sector, as embodied in its special form by department stores, was, as the products sold by them predominantly an imported matter. Like its European counterparts these stores originated in the textile-producing sector, and in the case of Istanbul several of the department stores remained in the textile production.

Austrian department stores took a central position among the many enterprises. The paper presents four of the most important department store enterprises: A. Mayer, Orosdi Back, S. Stein and Tiring. Before opening their chains of department stores in the Middle East, all four were active as classic textile producers. With the exception of one, all of them were run as family businesses.

With their numerous branches, these companies left their mark on the urban retail trade of late Ottoman cities; especially in Istanbul, but also in Cairo, we find several branches of the houses of A. Mayer, S. Stein or Tiring. Not only as employers of several hundred mostly non-Muslim employees they belonged to the major enterprises of these cities, closely cooperating with local trade and industry and supplying retailers as well as businesses in the provinces. With their innovative marketing and advertising methods and their architecturally innovative presentation they formed an essential part of urban daily life far into republican Turkish times and became a model for the establishment of numerous local department stores.

Apart from their economic importance their social role is in no way to be underestimated: department stores certainly have to be regarded as the motor of external modernization of the urban Ottoman population. Not only were many Ottomans equipped from "top to toe" by these department stores with European ready-to-wear products, they also served, in times of crisis increasingly manifest since the beginning of the century, as target of protest against the West. Ottoman media reports and numerous memoirs however show that Austrian department stores in Istanbul, disregarding protests linked to political events directed against them, also occupy a place of outstanding importance in the memory of its inhabitants.

Andreas PATERA †

***„On foreign soil [...] postal institutions cannot be run according to
bureaucratic principles“***

The Austrian post offices in Constantinople

Numerous articles have already been published on the history of the Austrian post in Constantinople, none however has elaborated on the question where the Austrian post offices were located, how they were organized, which services they offered and what problems they were facing.

The first Austrian “post official” in Constantinople was Josef Geitter in 1748; as part of the Internuntio’s staff he probably operated from the seat of the Internuntio in Pera’s “Palais d’Allemagne”. This state of affairs continued until 1887, when the main post office serving the general public was moved from the Palazzo di Venezia to Galata; a small post office remained in the embassy’s compound where the public could collect mail. The compromise of 1867 with Hungary, leading to the creation of the “Austro-Hungarian Monarchy”, had no impact on the Austrian postal service in the Levant; as Hungary refused to pay its share, the Levant post remained Austrian, or rather “Imperial Royal” and never became “Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian” like the embassy in whose compound it was located.

In 1869, the I.R. post office within the embassy consisted of a mere two rooms, one for the director and his deputy, in the other “11 paces long and 7 paces wide” a total of 8 staff were at work receiving and despatching mail. As of 1869, this tiny “embassy post office” was in overall charge of the majority of Austrian post offices in the Levant. A constant increase in mail made enlarging the office a necessity. Two rooms of 107 square Paks were added at a cost of 30.480 Piasters.

The Steam Navigation Company of the Austrian Lloyd, established in 1836 in Trieste, had since 1861 run a postal service in Constantinople. Its business was highly profitable and in the first 6 years of operations income amounted to 100.000 florins. By 1874 already 33 Lloyd post offices existed. This soon led to unwelcome disputes over respective areas of competence and competition, as Lloyd agencies sent their mail not to the I.R. post office in other towns of the Ottoman Empire, but to the Lloyd agency. As due to the absence of a distribution system clients in those days had to collect their mail this resulted in clients calling at two offices. In 1874 a compromise was reached allowing the Lloyd offices in Constantinople and Smyrna to continue their operations; all the others had to direct their mail to the I.R. post offices and no longer to their sister agencies. The Lloyd agency being located in Galata, clients could post letters until the steamer’s departure, a considerable advantage compared to the I.R. post office in the embassy compound, situated in a steep narrow road in Pera. In 1882 the Austrian trade ministry envisaged to establish a post office in Galata in lieu of the Lloyd’s post office, and to reduce the post office in the embassy compound to the status of branch office. It took five years to implement the project. By 1886 the French postal administration had opened an office in Galata. Mail sent by the Ottoman, English, French, German and Russian post could be collected in the respective post offices in Galata, whereas mail sent by the Austrian post had to be collected in Pera – a major competitive disadvantage requiring urgent action.

On 25 April 1887 the old Lloyd post office was closed and the main office of the Austrian post (“Constantinople I”) moved to Galata, rue Kara Mustafa 22 near Galata bridge, where – rather inadequate – rooms had been rented in the house of Jacob Gabai, forcing the post office’s staff to sort letters in the open. A branch office in Stambul was numbered “II”, the old office in the Palazzo di Venezia’s compound “III”. In 1888 the Galata post office moved to “Sandalgi-Han”, situated at the Bosphorus, rue Kara Mustafa / rue Karaköi. The building, which also housed the “Credit Lyonnais”, was considered well suited for the purposes of a post office. In 1889, the railroad linking Vienna and Constantinople was opened, resulting in a

major increase in mail and shortage of space. In 1894 the Austrian post office “Constantinople I” moved to Camondo-Han, rue Kurekdschil, behind the Stock Exchange. Although the Austrian post by 1908 occupied the whole ground floor of Camondo-Han, working conditions were abominable. When in 1909 the “Wiener Bankverein”, moved from its rented offices in the first floor of Camondo-Han to its new building near the Galata Bridge designed by Austrian architect Alexander Neumann (* 15 Oct. 1861 † 16 June 1947), the Austrian post rented these additional rooms. The post office “Constantinople I” remained in Camondo Han until autumn of 1914.

Post office “Constantinople III” remained in the Austro-Hungarian Embassy Compound. Sometime between 1890 and 1904 it moved to Grand Rue de Pera 438, not far from the embassy, a building belonging to Dr. Elias-Pasha.

Only scarce information, and no exact address of its location, is available on the post office “Constantinople II”, which was operating in rather poor-looking premises. Since 1877 it was possible to dispatch mail until 90 minutes before the Lloyd steamer departed.

Already since the end of the Fifties of the 19th century the Ottoman authorities had attempted to close all foreign postal institutions in the Ottoman Empire. The outbreak of World War I provided the Ottoman Empire with an excellent opportunity to rid itself of all special privileges known as “capitulations” granted to foreign states in the course of centuries. In the middle of September 1914 the Ottoman Government made known its intention to abolish all capitulations. As of 1 October 1914 all foreign postal institutions were closed. The Central Powers Germany and Austria-Hungary, in those days interested to get Turkey to enter the war on their side, acquiesced in the Turkish decision.

Today only post-marks “Constantinople I, II III” on old letters and postcards, posted with Austrian stamps in “Piaster” as well as the Camondo-Han, once seat of the Austrian post office “Constantinople I”, recall the remarkable history of the Imperial Royal post offices in Istanbul.

Markus PURKHART

„ Trying a new export business to the Levant by producing Turkish caps [...]” Fez from Austria-Hungary in Constantinople

In the second half of the 18th century, fez manufacture in Europe gradually shifted to the North from the Mediterranean. Owing to its manufacturing industry for stockings and flourishing trade with the Orient, Austria proved to provide optimal conditions for production. The first fez manufacturing plant was founded in Brno in 1786, but it was Strakonice in Southern Bohemia that evolved into the main center of the Austrian fez industry. Soon the fez became one of the most important Austrian trade goods.

After a royal decree was issued in the Ottoman Empire making the fez part of the formal dress code, Austria greatly increased production and, in the middle of the 19th century, almost managed to cover completely on its own the most important markets. This monopolistic position was founded on low labor and materials costs, early mass production, technical innovations, and a consistent policy of low pricing while fez production in the selling markets adhered to traditional structures of artisanship and high prices, disregarding local customer demand.

However, gradually the fez industry in Austria also slid into crisis as its dependence on raw materials from abroad increased, European dress continued to gain appeal in traditional markets, and spending power in the Ottoman Empire significantly declined. Austria managed to stay the strongest player in the market and to gain new customers. As the size of the market kept diminishing because of customs barriers and the secession of individual states, the industry reacted with overproduction, price slashing and internal competition, thus necessitating joining together of individual companies and the establishment of the “Aktiengesellschaft der österreichischen Fezfabriken” (corporation of Austrian fez manufacturers) in 1899. Rationalization and diversification of the product range decreased industry dependence upon the fez market but were not sufficient to enable the Austrian fez industry to sustain without damage the ban by Atatürk in 1925. Almost one hundred years after its mandatory introduction, the fez was legally outlawed in Turkey and its wearing made a punishable offense – again in the name of modernization.

Elmar SAMSINGER

***„Austria can be satisfied with the sympathies of the Orient!“* Emperor Franz Joseph and Emperor Charles I. in Constantinople**

„In no less than 361 crates, suitcases and barrels all those things are swimming with us down the Danube which the Emperor Franz Joseph and his entourage will require during their five weeks stay in the Orient, and nothing which in any way might seem necessary or useful in kitchen, caves or household has been forgotten. Cooks, confectioners, vintners, all the necessary assistants, boys and servants will accompany this vast shipment. They will set up temporary headquarters in Varna and will prepare the menu of the imperial table while the emperor is at sea.“

The Journalist Wilhelm Wiener in the „Neues Fremdenblatt“ describes the caravan accompanying Emperor Franz Joseph from 15 October to 6 December 1869 from Vienna to Constantinople, the Holy Land and to Egypt to attend the opening of the Suez Canal. The emperor reciprocated the visit of Sultan Abdülaziz to Vienna in 1867. The Sultan was the first Ottoman ruler who after centuries of Austrian - Turkish wars entered Austria with peaceful intentions. The Sultan warm-heartedly welcomed Emperor Franz Joseph, the Austrian Lloyd made six of its steamers available for the welcoming trip on the Bosphorus free of charge. The state visit was a sequence of festive receptions, gala dinners, a visit to a theatre, sightseeing including grandiose fireworks, and a military parade with an army corps of 22.000 Turkish soldiers participating.

In the run-up to the state visit every effort was made to make the emperor's stay as pleasant as possible. A new street to the Austrian embassy palace was built, a whole row of houses being pulled down. In honour of the emperor the new street the Sultan had the new street named “Emperor Franz Joseph Street”. Triumphal arches were built and flagpoles decorated with coats of arms and the initials of Franz Joseph erected. The Austrian colony in Constantinople did not remain idle either, and

collected an important sum to pay homage to its emperor. Around 1850, the Austrian colony numbered only a few hundred members; by the time of the imperial visit it had grown to more than 20.000 and was rapidly increasing. The emperor paid a visit to the palace of the I. & R. embassy, the Austrian national school and the Austrian hospital.

The Sultan honoured the Emperor by putting his private palace at his guest's disposal, an honour very much appreciated by Franz Joseph, as we can see from a letter he wrote to his wife: „*The bed is made for at least three persons and I cannot stop thinking what already has happened in it. I am staying in the rooms of the Sultan, who has retired into his harem.*”

The voyage of Emperor Charles I. and his wife Zita shortly before the collapse of Austria – Hungary and its defeat in World War I took place under much more dire circumstances. Since the trip of Emperor Franz Joseph the struggle for the “sick man” on the Bosphorus, as the Ottoman Empire was frequently called in politics, had entered into its final stage, with Austria-Hungary participating. The Congress of Berlin had in 1878 granted the Dual Monarchy the right to occupy and administer the Ottoman vilayet of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Contrary to all expectations the Austrian occupation army in 1878 was not welcomed by the population as liberator from the Ottoman yoke. Only after battles involving heavy casualties the land was occupied. Forty years of endeavours of administration and economic development turned Muslim enemies into loyal subjects of the Emperor. The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 led to the recognition of Islam of the Hanafitic rite in Austria in 1912 by law. The four Bosnian-Herzegovinian elite regiments, recognizable by their madder red fez with black tassle, valiantly fought for their emperor until the end of World War I.

Arriving at Sirkeci railway station in May 1918, Emperor Charles I. and his retinue, all in gala dress, left a superb impression. Already when being greeted by the Sultan the Emperor was dressed in a splendid red Hungarian marshal's uniform, resulting in frenzied admiration by the Orientals who are particularly sensitive to theatrical colour effects. The graceful appearance of the Empress, “although dressed in an unassuming white dress, but wearing rare diamond drop earrings and a splendid pearl necklace, aroused general delight.” The trip through the streets of Constantinople closely packed by crowds of people turned into a genuine triumphal procession.

All Austro-Hungarian officers stationed in Constantinople were present to greet their emperor. Since 1915 Austria-Hungary had despatched artillery batteries, transport and medical units including field hospitals in support of the Ottoman ally. Austro-Hungarian officers were active as instructors in the Ottoman Empire, i.a. for skiing. The Skoda Company in Bohemia supplied mountain cannons to the Ottoman Army. Several artillery units from the monarchy were successfully fighting with the Turkish army at Gallipoli, in defending Gaza and the Jordan River, and in advancing towards the Suez Canal. Soldiers from Austria-Hungary dressed in special tropical uniforms were i.a. garrisoned in Constantinople, Jerusalem and Damascus.

After the end of the three-day state visit the Turkish press devoted its attention to the imperial visit and the hopes attached to it for both multinational empires. The newspaper „Taswir-y-Efkiar“ commented: „The basis if the alliance is rooted in the realm of emotions. The feelings are strengthened and consolidated by the common interests; the war has proven how much Turkey and Austria-Hungary even after the war will remain connected, until the time will come to fully develop the economic relations. For Austria-Hungary it is a necessity to count on these relations, and the Ottoman Empire will be happy to remain united with Austria-Hungary.“ History

decided otherwise. Austria-Hungary as well as the Ottoman Empire did not survive World War I.

Elmar SAMSINGER

"In particular we admire human dignity in the Turk [...]"

A look at a travel guide of the Austrian Lloyd – Oriental voyages around 1900

In 1833, upon the initiative of Karl Ludwig Baron Bruck, later Internuntio in Constantinople, seven Trieste insurance companies had founded the "Austrian Lloyd". Three years later the Austrian Lloyd Steam Navigation Company was established, starting to serve the route Trieste-Constantinople in 1837; the "Archiduca Lodovica" took 14 days for the trip. In the same year, the Austrian Postal administration signed a contract with the Austrian Lloyd, whose ships became I.R. mail steamers, flying the I.R. Austrian post flag. The Austrian Lloyd followed its motto "Forward" and soon gained a dominant position in Eastern Mediterranean shipping. In 1842 an express line Trieste-Constantinople was started, reducing travel to 9 days, and in 1845 the company entered the Black Sea navigation linking Constantinople and Odessa. In 1906 the company responded to the increasingly manifest interest in pleasure cruises by refitting the steamer "Thalia" as luxury cruise ship.

The Austrian Lloyd was not only a steam navigation company it was a highly respected institution in the Orient. In 1900, a member of the Austrian parliament described its agents *"as proto-envoys of a foreign power, as quasi-envoys of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The importance of the Austrian Lloyd is similar to the East India Company, as if it had a kind of sovereignty, making Lloyd agents appear in some places of the Orient as a kind of diplomatic representatives of a major foreign power."*

According to the Lloyd's schedule of 1903, travellers to Constantinople had the choice between four weekly lines linking the various ports of Dalmatia, Italy, Greece and Asia Minor with the capital of the Ottoman Empire. An "all included" first class ticket Trieste-Constantinople cost 125.50 florin, compared to 197,8 francs for the Orient Express, and corresponded to 100 days wage of a construction worker. Travels to the Orient were a rather expensive luxury unaffordable to the general public.

To serve its travelling clientele, the Austrian Lloyd had in 1901/02 started publishing travel guides. The final volume IV was dedicated to "Constantinople and Surroundings, Black Sea and Greece".

Once a steamer had anchored in the roads off Constantinople, it was surrounded by all types of boats and "mouches", offering their services. The best way to proceed was relying on the drogman of the hotel, who had the luggage taken to customs control, where passengers, passports, visa and luggage were checked. The Austrian Lloyd travel guide avoided *"to give its readers [...] detailed guidance to evade customs regulations or to bribe customs officials. Polite, unpretentious and correct manners are the most proven way in Turkey as elsewhere to endure such procedure as passport and customs control without particular hardships and to speed up such functions. In cases of manifest injustice it is suggested to contact the consulate for remedy."* Having passed through passport and customs control, the tourist took a cab to his hotel. The very best was "Pera Palace", opened in 1893 and flagship hotel of Constantinople. Other top hotels included Hotel Tokatlian, and the Grand Hotel de Londres et Bellevue and the Bristol, the latter two owned by Greek

hotel king Adamououlos. French restaurant Charles Lebon and Brasserie Viennoise Janni served beer from Munich and Pilsen. *"Janni's deservedly highly recommended Viennese beer hall is located in the upper part of the Grand Rue de Pera and is the meeting place of our compatriots, especially of those officers and civil servants who have entered the service of the Sultan; they have a while ago furnished a small casino on the first floor decorated with a portrait of our Emperor and decoration like home. German is spoken at many tables..."*

European cafés like the German Cafe Paulich offered, apart from European newspapers, also English, French, Turkish, Armenian, Arabic, Hebrew and Greek language newspapers published in Constantinople.

Around 1900, Constantinople was a city of 1 million inhabitants, reflecting the composition of the multinational Ottoman Empire: 450.000 Turks, 200.000 Greeks, 180.000 Armenians, 45.000 Jews, 5.000 Bulgarians and 130.000 foreigners. Its various quarters were characterized by its respective inhabitants: *"Diverse and full of contrasts are the architectural characteristics and atmosphere of the various quarters. Modern apartment buildings, magnificent shops and department stores, hotels, restaurants and cafeterias, European traffic. In Galata narrow, dirty alleys, low houses, gloomy taverns, noise in many languages, bustling confusion, a kind of an oriental port. In Stambul however we meet at every step the majestic serenity and dignity of Turkish folklore, which even in the humming business of khans and bazaars is not easily hidden. Here we find the two-storied Turkish houses, mostly built of wood, with projecting bays, window-grating, cane-work and tile-brick roof, which are protected not only against heat, but inquisitive indiscreet looks as well."*

The Austrian Lloyd travel guide not only gave advice on places of interest, but on the economic situation as well. *"Turkish exports, due to considerably increased production, improved transport communication and technical improvement has in recent years enjoyed constant growth"*. The Ottoman Empire's exports to Austria-Hungary consisted of linseed, sesame, hemp-seed, poppy seed, opium, wool, cotton, meerschaum, staves, coal, tobacco, wine and carpets. Austria-Hungary exported sugar (80% of Turkish imports), rice, flour, matches, alcohol, yarn, woollen cloth, hosiery, cigarette paper, furniture, wine and spirits, in particular maraschino and slivovitz, construction materials, cement, glass, porcelain, pocket-knives, needles, shoes. It had a dominating position in ready-to-wear confectionery for men, and fez. Anton Dreher's brewery was a main supplier of beer.

The travel guides furthermore gave advice how to successfully operate in the Levant to Austrian and Hungarian businessmen, who should contact consulates well in advance. To choose the right agent, and to let him have a generous share of the business, was considered very important. Success also depended on other factors, as careful packing of products, and taking into account the colour-sense of the Orient. The travel guide regretted that *"our industry, due to wrongly applied economics completely dispenses with advertising and only rarely condescends to distribute an elegant prospectus in the local languages, by which customers in the Levant are literally flooded from Germany, England, France and Italy for many years now."* Nevertheless, several Austro-Hungarian companies were highly successful in Constantinople. Fratelli Goldenberg, A. Mayer & Co., Orosdi-Back, and in particular S. Stein were the leading ready-to-wear houses.

Before leaving Constantinople, the Austrian Lloyd travel guide suggested not to miss a trip on the Bosphorus *"which would give the stay in Constantinople the utmost charm. To return in the mild evening breeze, while the last rays of the setting sun are illuminating the fairy-like view of Constantinople and the shadows of dusk slowly are descending on the town's houses, cupolas and minarets and the waves of*

the sea like a veil, is an unforgettable conclusion of the hours spent at the sweet waters of Europe."