I. Premise

In recent historiography, the international, world and universal exhibitions have been rediscovered and dealt with as cultural artifacts, as systems capable of working on multiple, interconnected levels and that, drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept, have been described as fleeting “isomorphic chronotopes”. In the last decade, in particular, historians’ growing interest in this particular field of research can be explained by the impact these expositions had in the West, and by the fact that they provide illuminating historical precedents as regards the process of globalization and contemporary visual-virtual worlds. On the model of the first Great Exhibition of London in 1851 and the 1873 Exposition Universelle of Paris, it is instructive to take into consideration the physiognomy that these exhibitions took on in the political and cultural climate of the central European powers. The exposition that took place in Vienna in 1873 was the fifth chronologically and the first ever in the German language area. As it would be seen some years later in the Berlin Exposition of 1879 – smaller in scale but not in importance – the Vienna Exhibition set out to show a network of international relations at a global level into which they endeavored to collocate the Central European powers which had, nonetheless, an almost negligible weight in colonial initiatives as compared to those of England and France. In the case of the Wiener Weltausstellung moreover, it is worthwhile...
to single out certain phenomena that were typically Oriental within the overall complex of the Exposition, especially given the fact that it was the first ever to open up to the cultural dimensions of the Far East. However, as it has often been noted, the colonial-imperialistic aspect that was an integral part of the most varied exhibitions of otherness typical of the nineteenth century – and subsequent – expositions does not seem, at first glance, to be the most salient component of the Vienna case.

Nevertheless, certain specific details that can be attributed to an issue that is, by extension, colonial, can be pinpointed in this case too. In recent times a rereading of the cultural and literary history of the Austro-Hungarian Empire has been proposed that takes leave of the Central European categories and the revision of them introduced by the Habsburg myth in favor of testing a conceptual set of instruments deduced from postcolonial studies.

In Central Europe the Vielvölkerstaat, although devoid of a colonial past as such, was, in fact, at various stages of its history, crisscrossed by processes of homogenization and unification in which there were implicit aspects of colonialism that were not merely cultural. In the nineteenth century the most notable example of this was provided by the policy of centralization and Germanization put into practice by Emperor Joseph II. Later, primarily in the second half of the nineteenth century, under the thrust of modernization, the linguistic, ethnic, religious and cultural plurality that characterized the Empire certainly underwent a wide variety of hybridization and contamination, however it also produced within itself new cultural differentiations, often constructed on narratives organized around national collective identities. Hence, if the Wiener Weltausstellung of 1873 featured, as we shall see presently, as the setting for a new imperial mission, how was the exhibition perceived and dealt with in those areas of the Empire where the German element was not

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in the majority? How, in particular, was it viewed in an essentially peripheral or, in other words, ‘external’ and ‘different’ center vis-à-vis Vienna, such as Trieste?

The Vienna Exhibition, in fact, took place during a crucial phase in the history of Trieste, the Adriatic port of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The great season of the harmonious coexistence between the various ethnic, linguistic, national and religious components that had followed the establishing in 1719 of the free port as an emporium of international status thus began to wane. The uprisings of 1848 did not lead to particularly painful consequences with regard to the pluralistic identity of the city, but at that point in Trieste new national identities were definitely taking shape. Furthermore, a financial crisis of far-reaching proportions hit the city and seemed to call into question the very basis of its economy. Thus began the end of the developing phase based on the emporium and the commercial and financial brokerings linked to it. Above all as far as the Italian component was concerned, the proclamation in 1861 of the Kingdom of Italy, with its serious economic repercussions on the traffic of Trieste as a port, marked a split with respect to the past. Within the ruling elite – heterogeneous as regards its components but united up until then as regards the objectives of civic development – a rupture took place between the Habsburg Loyalists and those who supported, although not yet in a disruptive form, pro-Italian separatism,\(^5\) who were still firmly concerned with the municipal traditions of Trieste.\(^6\)

What then was the impact of the Vienna Exhibition on a city that was going through a period of profound change? To what extent did the incipient political-nationalistic elements affect the considerable participation of Trieste in the Exhibition? What characteristics of the city principally came to the fore and what aspects of its physiognomy were most evident? What aspects of the city’s economic and social life did the exhibition act as a catalyst with an outlook on the future?

In an effort to answer these questions, an invaluable source to draw on is the *Triester Zeitung*, the most influential German language daily newspaper in Trieste, and indeed of the whole Habsburg area. Throughout 1873, in connection with the Vienna Exhibition, the paper published a wide selection of feuilletons, articles, correspondence and notifications, providing information on the great event and on the local initiatives related to it. Hence, the prominent place assigned to the first Central European *Weltausstellung* in the Trieste paper cast a new light on a reality that, though ‘peripheral’, was of strategic importance to


the Empire – a light which should not be neglected as it has been up until now. Indeed, by now a consistent line of international research exists on the corpus of numerous German language periodicals published outside the German language area as such. This corpus became accessible only after the fall of the Berlin wall in those countries that were part of the Eastern Bloc and that had for several centuries been subject to the Habsburg domination.\(^7\) It is precisely in relation to the *Wiener Weltausstellung*, for example, that the publicity correspondence of the Budapest *Pester Lloyd*, the most important Hungarian financial paper in German, has been recently studied, thus providing a different viewpoint from that of the central government of Vienna.\(^8\) Yet, another reason, therefore, to investigate the analogous case represented by the *Triester Zeitung*.

II. The City and the Exhibition: The Vienna Case

What were the most salient features of the Vienna Exhibition to which the city of Trieste paid so much attention in its German language newspaper? A brief summary of an event still relatively ignored in the German speaking area in comparison to the Berlin Exhibition,\(^9\) is called for. Inaugurated on May 1, 1873 by the Emperor Franz Joseph and

\(^7\) Deutschsprachige Öffentlichkeit und Presse in Mittelost- und Südosteuropa (1848-1948), hrsg. von A. Corbea-Hoische, I. Lihaci, A. Rubel (Kostanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2008); Grenzdiskurse. Zeitungen deutschsprächiger Minderheiten und ihr Feuilleton in Mitteleuropa bis 1939, hrsg. von S. Schönborn (Essen: Klartext, 2009). In all its scope and spatial-temporal articulation, the corpus of the German language periodicals circulating outside the German speaking area has only recently emerged. German and Austrian scholar tendencies have given precedence to the phenomenon in the countries of the ex-Soviet area which accounts for the numerous studies on the Czech-German, Croatian-German, Rumanian-German, etc. cultural transference. For a systematic sorting of this impressive corpus: cf. C. Müller, “ANNO Austrian Newspapers Online-Eine Zeitungs-Massendigitalisierungs-Initiative der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek”, Deutschsprachige Öffentlichkeit und Presse, hrsg. von Corbea-Hoische, Lihaci and Rubel, 529-541; see also: ANNO, Austrian Newspaper Online, last accessed 1 June 2014, http://anno.onb.ac.at/. The Zeitungsabteilung of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the largest journalistic archives in German, has started a program of digitalization: last accessed 1 June 2014, http://zefys.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de. In this field of international research, studies on the periodicals of Habsburg Trieste are significant for their absence. This neglect may perhaps be attributed to their apparently less exotic appeal as compared to the many recently rediscovered East European centers.


closed on November 2 of the same year, the Vienna Exhibition took place at a time when the Imperial capital and residential city (according to its official title) was living to the utmost the splendor of the liberal era of the so-called Gründerzeit (Foundation Years). It occurred paradoxically in coincidence with the dramatic Vienna stock exchange crash of May 1873 soon to be followed in October by the New York crack and the following global economic crisis that put an end to the Gründerzeit itself. After the Ausgleich (Compromise) reached with Hungary in 1867, a more relaxed and positive atmosphere had taken hold in the city, in part encouraged, on the economic level, by the contemporary so-called Wundernute (a year of extraordinary harvests). The Exhibition, therefore, provided a great opportunity for the German speaking Trieste bourgeoisie to show that it was keeping up with the times before international public opinion and for the city to transform itself to all effects into a world metropolis. The Wiener Weltausstellung, together with the previous English and French exhibitions and the universal expositions in general, shared certain basic motifs – from the cult of the progress of civilization to the principle of competition among the great powers, to the logic of outdoing rivals overtaking them in quantity and quality standards. More interesting, however, are other particular elements. From the outset, the conditions Vienna offered to foreign visitors were much less favorable, as compared what London and Paris had been able to set up. The city lacked a hotel system that was adequate for the occasion of the Exhibition and the road and transport systems were obsolete. From this emerges what is, perhaps, the most salient feature of the Vienna event: the occurrence of the Exhibition and the urban re-shaping interacted on carrying out a grandiose rethinking of the raison d’être of the old multinational State structure.

As stages for global settings in limited territorial units, the universal exhibitions inevitably ended up attributing a specific, dramatic role to the host city. The Weltausstellung of 1873 marked a radical change in the urban image of Vienna. Announced in 1857, the project for the demolition of the medieval bastions and the opening of the Ringstrasse was moved up for the occasion of the Exhibition and, at the same time, the impressive infrastructural transformation that the project entailed made the layout of the Weltausstellung possible. Throughout its duration the Exhibition was shrewdly exploited to display the works in progress and the plans for urban development to the citizens of the Empire and to foreign visitors. It was no accident that the many public events scheduled alongside the Vienna Exhibition included many ceremonies connected with the laying of the first stone of important public buildings.


In this restyling operation, which redefined the historic city structure in favor of the Hausmann-style avenues of the Ring, some decisive factors emerged aiding in the construction of a new national consciousness or, in other words, of a redefinition of the Habsburg centrality. The non verbal discourse of architecture plays an important role in the standardizing process coherent with the intentions of the Central Powers. The push toward homogenization and the desire to establish an inherently colonial relationship between the city center and the periphery finds expression in the creation of a ‘universal Habsburg style’. Following the solutions put into place on a vast scale for Vienna’s numerous public buildings – both in the ‘Crown countries’ and in the recently acquired ones —, were erected in this ‘universalistic’ style based on the great architectural examples of the past and which only afterwards were charged with nationalistic meanings.\(^\text{12}\) The

display of historical styles in the monuments of the *Ringstrasse* (Gothic for the City Hall, Neoclassic for the parliament buildings, Neo-Renaissance for the Opera House) acted in turn as a universal exhibition which made the past usable, reducing it to a material citation. *Kultur* became the password launched by the organizers.\(^{13}\) The Vienna Exhibition was the first ever to envision a space for historical-cultural themes. A re-proposal of the Habsburg tradition was also confirmed by the choice for the exhibition site: a section of the Prater, the Crown hunting reserve transformed by Joseph II into a public park that soon became the traditional place of relaxation for the Viennese. There, in homage to the logic of *grandeur* and of technological progress, the Rotunda was erected to house the exhibition that was soon to be proudly proclaimed as the largest dome in the world.\(^{14}\) The crown of the Austrian Emperor stood out at the

\(^{13}\) Pemsel, *Die Wiener Weltausstellung*, 14, 60-74.

\(^{14}\) See illustration on the previous page: the Rotunda in its advanced construction, and on this page: the inside of the Rotunda.
summit, and an analogy is suggested between the protection provided by the enormous roof and the protective mantle that the Emperor extended over all the peoples in his Empire.\textsuperscript{15} At the same time, by marking the centrality of the Habsburg capital, the Rotunda signaled the spatial distribution of the national sections present in the Exhibition: Austria and Germany at the center, and the other nations situated at the Eastern and Western sides according to the place they occupied on the geographical map in relation to Vienna.

According to the foreign policy intentions of the Viennese government, the decision to hold the Exhibition corresponded with the Habsburg Empire’s strategic urgency to redefine and reinforce its State structure on the European and Central European stage, following the heavy defeats it had suffered in 1859 at the hands of the Franco-Piedmont troops, and in 1866 at the hands of Prussia. With the proclamation of the German Reich in 1871, the traditional Austrian hostility toward Prussia seemed substantially diminished.\textsuperscript{16} If the Paris Exposition of 1867 had already come across as a sort of political summit, the same feature was further stressed at the Vienna Exhibition, marked as it was by numerous State visits, such as the one by Victor Emanuel II, the first Italian sovereign to set foot in Austria. Disappointments, however, occurred all the same. The speculative ambitions bound up with the Exhibition and the highly inflated expectations of an economic return of the enormous real estate and infrastructural investments heralded in an extremely grave financial crisis. The stock exchange crack of May 9, 1873 – just a few days after the inauguration of the Exhibition – marked the advent of a long depression. In August a cholera epidemic broke out, and from a purely economic point of view the final balance of the Vienna Exhibition was far from rosy: it recorded a deficit of 17 million gulden.

III. The \textit{Triester Zeitung}

It comes as no surprise that the \textit{Triester Zeitung} threw itself wholeheartedly into covering the Exhibition. Indeed, the press paid the utmost attention to the event throughout the Empire. In Vienna, in particular, great care was taken in providing channels of communication. The organizing committee saw to the publication of an

\textsuperscript{15} Plener, \textit{Sehnsüchte einer Weltausstellung – Wien 1873}, 2.

\textsuperscript{16} The Hungarian nationalists were favourable to the improvement of the Austro-Prussian relationships, since they saw in the Wilhelmine Reich a possible ally against Czarist Russia; in Vienna, among the milieus of the army, the clergy and the state bureaucracy, the hostility against the Prussians abode; Pemsel, \textit{Die Wiener Weltausstellung}, 83.
official body of information, the *Weltausstellungscorrespondenz.* The editorial staff of the most influential newspapers of Vienna and the provinces were put on the alert, as was the press in Trieste.

Since March 1851, the *Triester Zeitung* had been commenting for a good sixty-seven years (the paper closed down in November 1918) on the development of the port of Trieste. The newspaper, in fact, had been closely tied up with the fortunes of the port from the very start. Founded according to the wishes of Karl Ludwig von Bruck, the paper definitively took the place of the *Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd*, the information sheet of the great Lloyd’s navigation society of the Empire and the Mediterranean, founded in 1835 in Trieste. All this accounts for the amount of space dedicated to news relating to the world of economics and to political themes, insofar as these impinged on commercial and financial activities. Later on coverage followed local events in Trieste also including references to the arts and literature, with particular attention the cultural life of the German-speaking community. Subsidized by the state, the *Triester Zeitung,*

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17 Two subsequent editions were directed at those who were unable to visit the Exhibition: the *Wiener Weltausstellung-Zeitung* and the *Allgemeine Illustrierte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung*, cf. Pemsel, *Die Wiener Weltausstellung*, 93.

18 The *Triester Zeitung* is held in the “Archivio diplomatico” (Diplomatic Archive), “Direzione di Polizia” (Police Administration) of the Trieste City Public Library “A. Hortis” and in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. All the excerpts from this newspaper are hereafter quoted with the title, when available, followed by the abbreviation TZ, with the specification of year, number, date and page number. The publication officially ceased in November 1918, but since Italy’s entry in the World War I in May 1915, the *Triester Zeitung* was replaced by the *Triester Tagblatt*, already recorded as a morning daily publication.

19 The German language press, particularly flourishing in Trieste, one of the most important multicultural Habsburg centers, has, to date, been systematically ignored. On Trieste and the Classic see A. Ara e C. Magris, *Trieste. Un’identità di frontiera* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982). A specific study on the history of German culture in Trieste, rich in information and that aims at popularizing the subject is S. de Lugnani, *La cultura tedesca a Trieste dalla fine del 1700 al tramonto dell’Impero Asburgico* (Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1986), 50-51; only a few pages about Trieste in the context of very wide analysis on the Habsburg cities can be found in M. Csáky, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte. Kulturelle Verflechtungen – Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa* (Wien-Weimar: Böhlau, 2010), 314-319; see also the entry: M. C. Foi, “Trieste”, *Atlante della letteratura tedesca*, a c. di F. Fiorentino e G. Sampaolo (Macerata: Quodlibet 2009), 360-366.


notwithstanding its pro-government stance, was inclined to follow its own autonomous line,\textsuperscript{22} which tended to a well-balanced liberalism attentive to national issues and, above all, to the multinational context of its Trieste readers, who were certainly not limited to the German-speaking community. One cannot help being struck, as a proof of the truly noteworthy international slant of the newspaper and of the city, by the vast network of foreign correspondents from London, Paris, Constantinople and Saint Petersburg to as far afield as Sofia and the Levant.

In terms of their quantity and type, the articles dedicated to the *Wiener Weltenausstellung* are impressively numerous and varied: leafing through the editions of the paper relating to the year 1873, we come across brief announcements, contributions from local journalists, direct correspondences from Vienna, two types of *feuilletons* that cover the period in which the Exhibition was open and a series of special reports in serial form, dedicated respectively to the army, navy, real estate and transport.

\textbf{IV. How was Trieste represented in Vienna?}

What did the *Wiener Weltenausstellung* mean for Trieste? Two articles dated January 15 and February 11 allow us to grasp the main issues. In the first, an original piece from Vienna – unsigned as was almost always the case – is an announcement stating that the Prater probably will not make space available for the Navy.\textsuperscript{23} According to the anonymous correspondent, that refusal would mean missing the chance to exhibit the progress of maritime and nautical sciences, especially as far as military applications were concerned. He expresses the hope that the Italian shipbuilders would do their best in order that their interests would not be damaged by the decision to exclude the military section of the marine. The second is a short article written by the editorial team and sent – like the first – to the *Deutsche Zeitung*.\textsuperscript{24} It makes the following points: if the participation of Trieste in the Exhibition should not be as considerable as one might justifiably expect for the leading commercial emporium of the Empire, it would be well to remember that Trieste was not an industrial but a commercial city whose industrial production was limited to relatively few articles. Nonetheless the Trieste exhibitors would be favored in their undertaking if the organizing committee would provide more definite information about the timetable and methods of the Exhibition. These were

\textsuperscript{22} It is not a chance that in the “Direzione di Polizia” (Police Administration) classified acts in the Trieste State Archive there are copies of cases brought against the editorial staff of the newspaper which was, evidently under close surveillance.

\textsuperscript{23} *Die österreichische Marine auf der Wiener Weltenausstellung*, TZ, XXIII, 11 (15. Januar 1873), 3.

\textsuperscript{24} *Triest auf der Weltenausstellung*, TZ, XXIII, 34 (11. Februar 1873), 3.
the valid arguments to be put forward against possible criticisms about the negligible presence of the Trieste industrialists in Vienna.

Reading these articles between the lines, it is not difficult to pinpoint references to some burning issues in the Trieste contemporary public debate. Indeed, the well-known crisis of the free ports in Europe, which by then were inadequate to deal with the volume of traffic between producing and consuming countries, had induced the Viennese government in 1867 to finance the construction of a new extended railway and port complex. This action – which was resisted by those who in the loss of duty-free privileges saw an attack on the deep-seated *raisons d’être* of the community – was the first step in a strategic transformation of Trieste from an emporium city to a great, modern, international port of call. The economic consequences of this substantial public intervention for such a project evidently reinforced the reasons of the pro-Habsburg party. Conversely, within the town council the project was cause for alarm for the separatist party in that it came across as a maneuver by the imperial power aimed at depriving Trieste of its economic prerogatives. This, in short, was the backdrop against which the articles of the *Triester Zeitung* must be situated. The newspaper hailed the *Wiener Weltausstellung* as an opportunity, challenge Trieste had to accept in order to affirm its new political-economic strategy, to stimulate local productive forces and to increase the political significance of the State intervention in the dialectic between the Austrian capital and the Italian periphery.

V. The Local Actors

How did the local actors respond to this challenge? What was the attitude of that most important Trieste institution, the Chamber of Commerce, representative of the city’s economic-financial elite? Reformed in 1868 with the absorption of the Borsa di Commercio (Commercial Stock Exchange), the task of the Chamber of Commerce was to coordinate the local economic actors providing them with consultation, information and assistance.

Mirroring the political contrast between the Loyalist and the Separatist parties in the Town Council, in 1872 the Chamber of Commerce saw an important change in its management. The *Triester Zeitung* of 18 January 1872 did not hesitate in reporting


the minutes of the meeting called to elect the new president for the year 1873. The pro-Italian party candidate Solomon de Parente took over from the Baron Giuseppe Morpurgo. This seemed to mark the exit from the scene of the great entrepreneurs with their international aspirations, their dealings with the great European counterparts and excellent relations with the Central Powers.

Considering the tireless activity of the Chamber of Commerce under the presidency of de Parente to guarantee the presence of Trieste at the *Wiener Weltausstellung*, the impression of a possible disengagement of the city from the imperial policies should perhaps be put into perspective. Together with other members of his influential family, Giuseppe Morpurgo himself engaged in an indefatigable effort to promote the Trieste exhibitors in Vienna. Leaving aside political differences, the various members of the Trieste ruling class found themselves united in a noteworthy organizational effort. It is enough to leaf through the numerous short articles in the *Triester Zeitung*, which diligently reported the names of private citizens and of larger and smaller firms offering financial support for the Vienna Exhibition, in order to see firsthand to the unanimity of effort on the part of the various factions.

From the months preceding the opening of the Vienna Exhibition, the Trieste newspaper witnessed the wide spectrum of activities carried out by the Chamber of Commerce. These ranged from the agendas of its meetings and the decisions reached by the Executive Committee – which included representatives from Gorizia and Istria nominated by the Chamber of Commerce – to the organizational coordination of the requests of the exhibitors, as well as the selection of the jurors who would confer prizes on the best exhibitors, the setting up in Vienna of an agency of the local executive committee, the decision to produce a bilingual final report and the admission of

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27 Protokoll der am. 8. d.m. abgehaltenen Sitzung der triester Handels- und Gewerbekammer, TZ, XXIII, 14 (18. Januar 1873), 2.


29 The Participation of Tunis with a pavilion to the the Exhibition was made possible by Marcus Morpurgo de Nilma. See Pemsel, *Die Wiener Weltausstellung*, 49; *Weltausstellung 1873*, TZ, XXIII, 32 (8. Februar 1873), 3.


31 Beschlüsse des Executivcomités für die Wiener Weltausstellung in der am. 13 d. m. abgehaltenen Sitzung, TZ, XXIII, 61 (14. März 1873), 2.

32 Beschlüsse des Executivcomités für die Wiener Weltausstellung in der am. 31 März d. j. abgehaltenen Sitzung, TZ, XXIII, 74 (1. April 1873), 2.
various local experts and consultants for writing articles on the Exhibition.\textsuperscript{33} Such an effort earned for the Trieste firms widespread recognition and honors, which the \textit{Triester Zeitung} did not fail to report,\textsuperscript{34} also by publishing the Vienna regulations for prize conferring.\textsuperscript{35} Among the several recognitions, the one which stood out was that of the Emperor on 3\textsuperscript{rd} November 1873, the day the Exhibition closed attributed to some of the most important organizations in the city: the \textit{Seebehörde} (Maritime Government), the Chamber of Commerce, the Austro-Hungarian Lloyd’s Navigation Company and the \textit{Südbahn} (Southern Railway).\textsuperscript{36}

VI. Favoring Participation

The Chamber of Commerce’s executive committee devoted itself to increase the stream of visitors to Vienna by measures that were duly published in the \textit{Triester Zeitung}. Such measures ranged from railway ticket discounts\textsuperscript{37} to financial support for the craftsmen willing to take part,\textsuperscript{38} and grants for school teachers.\textsuperscript{39} As many as seventy teachers from the Italian schools of Trieste applied for the apartments that the \textit{Rudolphinum} Institute – still today of a student hall of residence in Vienna – made available free of charge.\textsuperscript{40} The newspaper also published an article – listing the “marine clubs” as its source\textsuperscript{41} – that requested facilities to encourage visits and to update the Navy officers.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} \textit{Tagesneuigkeiten}, TZ, XXIII, 189 (19. August 1873), 3; \textit{Tagesneuigkeiten}, TZ, XXIII, 190 (20. August 1873), 3; \textit{Tagesneuigkeiten}, TZ, XXIII, 196 (26. August 1873), 3; \textit{Auszeichnungen von der Weltausstellung}, \textit{Tagesneuigkeiten}, TZ, XXIII, 197 (28. August 1873), 7.
\item \textsuperscript{35} \textit{Die Medaillen der Weltausstellung}, TZ, XXIII, 209 (12. September 1873), 6.
\item \textsuperscript{36} \textit{Tagesneuigkeiten. Auszeichnungen anläßlich des Schlusses der Weltausstellung}, TZ, XXIII, 252 (3. November 1873), 3.
\item \textsuperscript{37} \textit{Weltausstellung}, TZ, XXIII, 109 (13. Mai 1873), 3.
\item \textsuperscript{38} \textit{Beschlüsse des Executivscomités für die Wiener Weltausstellung in der am. 23 Juni d. J. abgehaltenen Sitzung}, TZ, XXIII, 146 (24. Juni 1873), 2.
\item \textsuperscript{39} \textit{Beschlüsse des Executivscomités}.
\item \textsuperscript{40} \textit{Zur Wiener Weltausstellung}, TZ, XXIII, 47 (26. Februar 1873), 3.
\item \textsuperscript{41} \textit{Zur Weltausstellung}, TZ, XXIII, 87 (17. April 1873), 6.
\end{itemize}
As a whole, these initiatives witness to the reception in the Imperial periphery of the special emphasis on culture and formation put by the Central Commission of the Vienna Exhibition – an emphasis that was totally new, as we have said, with respect to previous expositions. In the widely advertised conferences organized during the exhibition, the *Wiener Weltausstellung* itself would be defined as “a teaching institution” so large in scope and ambition as to be without precedents in world history. Didactics played a prominent role in the acculturation and formation processes activated by the exhibition. In the pavilion specifically dedicated to education the model of the German school system was singled out, inspired as it was by the neo-Humanistic values of the Bildung (Goethe, Schiller) and the cult of the Wissenschaft (Humboldt). This pavilion was extremely articulate in its approach, from primary schools to technical institutions to academies.

However, in the attention paid to updated instruction in several fields, to which the already mentioned Trieste initiatives bear witness, other interesting factors emerge that the Triester Zeitung correspondence from Vienna emphasized reasonably well. Through the newspaper coverage we can perceive the long-term effects and the spirit of the reform program outlined by the Emperor Francis I in 1821 when speaking to Ljubljana professors: “Stick to what is positive – he said to his audience – because I have no need for learned scholars, but for honest, competent citizens”. As we know, this Restoration approach aimed at banning the influence of German classical philosophy (the potentially subversive Kant and the dangerously speculative Hegel) in Austria in favor of the development of natural sciences and technical-positive knowledge. Secondly, an approach stressing, in contemporary terminology, the ‘*populärwissenschaftliche Literatur*’ (popular scientific literature), or, in other words, the *Weltausstellung* organizers’ task to spread scientific and technological knowledge was, in turn, in line with the Central Government’s political objectives of homogenization. The grants offered by the Chamber of Commerce for attending courses and lectures in Vienna reveal, a significant program to stir up allegiance toward the Monarchy addressing the class of the teachers in the multilingual peripheries.

After the exposition’s opening, the Triester Zeitung intensified its service providing useful information for the benefit of its readers in order to entice them into visiting Vienna. It even took the trouble to dispel the doubts of invitation tickets-holders, emphasizing that seasonal tickets were also good for accompanying ladies. In order to dismiss pumped-up rumors concerning the price of hotels the paper published a reassuring

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42 *Original-Correspondenz*, TZ, XXIII, 236 (16. Oktober 1873), 3.
43 *Feuilleton. Weltausstellungbriefe XVI*, TZ, XXIII, 211 (15. September 1873), 5.
45 Short article, TZ, XXIII, 100 (2. Mai 1873), 3.
Hotels, however, were not the only solution for lodging, as evidenced by a report sent from Ulm. Here, a firm producing river navigation transports got involved with providing inexpensive, salubrious and comfortable lodgings in the form of floating accommodations to be placed on the Danube canal running alongside the site of the exposition, each house-boat equipped with eighteen cabins and moored in an optimal position with respect to restaurants, as well as horse transports to the city center. The lucky guests of the floating houses – as the author of an article points out – could consider themselves to be a living part of the Exhibition.

VII. Preparing for the Exhibition

How did the *Triester Zeitung* highlight the strong points that the Trieste Committee had concentrated on? What kind of Trieste was going to be presented at the *Wiener Weltenausstellung*? In the months immediately preceding the event, the newspaper coverage came thick and fast. An article on 1st March entitled “Das Küstenland auf der Wiener Weltenausstellung” (The “Litorale” [the North-Adriatic Austrian coastal regions] at the universal exposition), takes stock of the situation. The Trieste, Gorizia and Istrian industrial production was represented in the fourth out of the more than twenty sections that made up the Exhibition. It was the section dedicated to alimentary products (flours, macaroni!), which, up until then had drawn the largest number of exhibitors. According to the political line the newspaper took, however, this was certainly not the most desirable or appropriate choice to exemplify the reality of Trieste and indeed, as went the complaint of an article on January 15, it risked putting in the shade the crucial activities revolving around the science of navigation and the sea. There was a real risk that a distorted perspective on the city was being projected as a result of the War Ministry’s decision not to participate in the Exhibition with a section on the Navy. The reservations expressed by the newspaper are understandable if we only think of the *Stabilimento Tecnico Triestino* (Trieste Technical Works), founded in 1857 and destined to become the most important docks in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the majority of the imperial Navy’s war ships (battleships, cruisers, frigates and corvettes) were built, as were numerous vessels destined for mercantile use. In short, in the view of the writer of the article, the only practicable solution was to be present at least in the section of the *Wiener Weltenausstellung* dedicated to the Navy in general.

46 *Vermischte Nachrichten*, TZ, XXIII, 114 (19. Mai 1873), 7.
48 *Das Küstenland auf der Wiener Weltenausstellung*, TZ, XXIII, 50 (1. März 1873), 3.
In this preparatory phase of the Exhibition, therefore, many articles of the *Triester Zeitung* pointed out the technical-scientific improvements in the maritime field; for example, two full-length articles on the *Special Programm für Marine-Wesen auf der Wiener Weltausstellung* (Special Program for the Marine section of the *Wiener Weltausstellung*) stated that:

in no field of human activity in the last decade has progress been so remarkable as the progress made in the Navy and the techniques of navigation […] and, indeed, there is no technical invention in our century that has not found an application and development in the Navy. […] An exhibition of the conquests made in this sector can provide an instructive picture of the state of progress that has actually been achieved.49

Naturally, what Trieste could offer in this specific field was emphasized. Therefore an advertisement said that in the section devoted to military-geographic Imperial-Royal Institute, not only important cartographic surveys, but the city itself would have been on display. In fact, six plastic models of the whole Adriatic coast from Trieste to the Bocche di Cattaro (Bay of Kotor) with a surface area of no less than 54 sq. meters, manufactured with considerable technical expertise in the workshops of Trieste, were to be put on show.50 The city center with the new port, the railway station and even the buildings with their windows were clearly discernible as the admiring journalist pointed out in his extended article.51 It goes without saying that there had to be an article on the museum of Natural History and the Station of Zoological Biology by its director Simon von Syrski. 52 Author of an important study on eels that successfully lured the young Sigmund Freud to visit Trieste to investigate his results, Syrski undertook the public presentation of a systematically ordered series on all the fish of the Adriatic – edible crustaceans, shell fish, cephalopods and echinoderms, including examples of sharks that had found their way into the gulf – and he oversaw the construction in the Prater of an aquarium celebrated as “the largest on the continent”.53 To be sure, there was also talk about the Selva di Tarnova and the problem of the reforestation of the Karst region, for example in the March 11 article titled “Betheiligung der k.u.k. Straatsforste im Küstenlande an der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873” (Participation of the Imperial Royal Coastal Forestry Division at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873). Yet one could not

50 *Zur Wiener Weltausstellung*, TZ, XXIII, 50 (1. März 1873), 4.
52 Short article, TZ, XXIII, 50 (1. März 1873), 3.
help going back to the sea, or rather, to the winds conditioning navigation: the crooked trunk of a tree from the Karst region was sent to the exposition as a demonstration of how the ‘bora’ (the typical strong and cold North-Eastern wind of the Trieste region) had affected its growth.\footnote{Betheiligung der k.u.k. Staatsforste im Küstenlande an der Wiener Weltdausstellung 1873, TZ, XXIII, 58 (11. März 1873), 2.}

VIII. Reporting the Exhibition in Trieste

Signed by a “Dr L. J.” (or by a more disquieting “Luzifer”) but probably attributable to the same author, two kinds of feuilleton – the \textit{Weltausstellungsbriefe} were added to the customary \textit{Deutsche Briefe aus Wien} – reported on the events of the exposition from Vienna. They were very far from the aesthetic and literary quality this genre had reached in the German language area, and which it was to reach especially in early twentieth-century Vienna. The articles, in informal and impressionistic style, told of the organizational delays of the opening (only the German pavilion was actually ready), the fluctuations of the restaurants prices, the up and down of the weather, the quality of the beer (the Bohemian Pilsen, obviously, was the best), the irregular waves of the foreign visitors arrival, the attention that the latter attracted from the beautiful Viennese ladies and even, in August, the specter of a cholera epidemic to which, however, not much credit was to be given. Mundane gossip was not lacking, especially in regard to the visits of famous personages. Franz Liszt wanted to attend a performance with the most recent model of the Quator piano, but upon being immediately recognized he had to flee the scene to escape the attentions of his admirers.\footnote{Der Klavierkönig in der Ausstellung, TZ, XXIII, 249 (29. Oktober 1873), 6.} There was wide coverage of the Italian king Victor Emanuel II’s visit. To everyone’s surprise, the by then ex-“sworn enemy” of Austria was welcomed with open arms in Vienna. The female public was absolutely charmed by his friendliness and simplicity. “It’s true” – remarked one woman interviewed by the journalist – “he’s a little overweight and his face is as dark as a gypsy’s, but just look at his eyes! They flash and what’s more [...] what a fine mustache!”.\footnote{Feuilleton. Deutsche Briefe aus Wien, TZ, XXIII, 219 (24. September 1873), 2.} In short, this was a report destined to the Italians of Trieste with a due hint of humor and subtle political overtones. Next in line after the ladies, as it was suggested, the people most interested in the Italian King’s visit were the Catholic priests. The memory of Porta Pia was still too close for comfort, and when Emperor Franz Joseph would reciprocate the King of Italy’s visit with his own trip to Rome, out of respect for the Pope he avoided meeting him.
The articles from Vienna published by the *Triester Zeitung* also refer to what the reader in Trieste, and likewise the Executive Committee of the Chamber of Commerce are most interested in listening to – the success of Trieste itself. On May 30 we read:

> In the World Trade pavilion, Trieste finds itself at home. Indeed, with the exception of the little coming from England, Trieste occupies it almost exclusively; it would perhaps have been better to call it the Trieste Pavilion.57

All the wares on sale in the city were exhibited and also those in transit in the port – coffee, rice, spices, exotic fruit, coarse and refined sugar, even the famous natural sponges of the Escher brothers. In short, as another article reported, the Trieste exhibitors had put on a “masterly display”, “a veritable academic lecture room of commodity economics and commercial policy”.58

Above all the *Triester Zeitung* was able finally to dispel the fears – which it had itself previously fed – about the possibility that the most advanced technical and industrial production of Trieste, tightly bound up as it was with the port and related programs of advanced research, would be put into the shade. Thanks to the intense involvement of the Imperial-Royal Seebehörde (Maritime Government) in the central committee of the Exposition,59 in the Pavilion of the Austrian Navy and lighthouses60 it was possible to admire, among other things, the military navy’s new nautical maps, small models of both civil and military ships built by the *Navale Adriatico* (Marine Adriatic Shipyards) and the *Stabilimento Tecnico Triestino* (Trieste Technical Works). Outside the pavilion, beside the lighting devices and the optical telegraph, a special foghorn, an original design carried out in Trieste, became an authentic attraction of the *Wiener Weltausstellung*, announcing as it daily did the hour of closing.61 Inside the much admired pavilion, which the Austro-Hungarian Lloyd’s Company of Navigation had erected at its own expense, the roof imitated the deck of a great ship on which the mainmast was erected. The scenery made it possible to put on a real-life performance: sailors climbed up the yard-arms and from on high they raised a triple hurrah to welcome the arrival of the Kaiser, accompanied by the Baron Elio Morpurgo and the technical director of the Lloyd Arsenal, the naval architect Friederich Petke.62

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58 Short article, TZ, XXIII, 124 (31. Mai 1873), 3.
59 *Die marinenotechnischen Erzeugnisse Triest’s auf der Wiener Weltausstellung*, TZ, XXIII, 87 (17. April 1873), 2.
The articles published the *Triester Zeitung* in this period of time did not limit themselves to satisfying the pride of local readers. In many ways, for popularization purpose, they took on the task of spreading detailed information on the items on display and the techniques employed in producing them, attempting also a balanced comparison between the respective performances of the exhibiting countries. Along the same lines, extensive reports were also assigned by the newspaper to qualified external collaborators: the sub-lieutenant Josef Lehnert for the merchant and military navy; Alphons Danzer for the army; and Franz Bömches, a chief engineer of the *Südbahn* for road and railway infrastructures.

By systematically leafing through the articles of the *Triester Zeitung* in 1873 on the *Wiener Weltenausstellung* and its impact on Trieste, quite a detailed picture comes into light, rich in thematic suggestions that would, undoubtedly, merit further in-depth investigation. Within the limits of this first survey, however, it is possible to discern at least the main lines followed by the Trieste paper. By means of the meticulous information provided by short notices and advertisements, full length articles and specialized contributions, the paper sought, above all, to bring out all aspects of the naval and marine world. This strenuous work of public opinion awakening aimed at pinpointing the strategic direction which the city and its port should move toward. It is a matter of fact, however, that the modernization of the Trieste port infrastructures – justified though they were by the excellence of the docks and their heritage of scientific and technical knowledge duly extolled by the paper – could not be carried out without massive public investments.

**IX. Conclusion**

It would be a restrictive conclusion, however, that in this circumstance the *Triester Zeitung* represented nothing more than a mouthpiece of a project conceived by the Viennese government for Trieste. In its reportages on the Exhibition, it is possible to single out clues that refer to more complex dynamics then at work in the Austrian monarchy. It is worth paying attention to certain passages whose meaning may have appeared obvious to Trieste readers in 1873, but which can be better understood today if placed within a wider context; and more precisely, the observations disseminated here and there on Hungary which, after the *Ausgleich*, presented itself at the *Wiener...*
Weltausstellung as a sovereign State. They praised – sometimes by a bitterly sarcastic tone – the Hungarian genius for self-aggrandizement,\textsuperscript{64} in contrast with other nations that preferred to keep a low profile. Looking at the results of the Wiener Weltausstellung, they compared Budapest to Vienna, pointing out that the former had actually managed to present itself as the capital of a nation, whereas the latter had become in the meantime a metropolis of world importance.\textsuperscript{65} Another clue should not be overlooked: more often than not the newspaper just mentioned the ‘Austrian Lloyd’, thus avoiding the denomination of ‘Austro-Hungarian Lloyd’ which became obligatory after the Ausgleich: a sort of psychological resistance to mar the glorious undertakings of Trieste putting them side by side with the Hungarian component.

These observations are to be understood by looking at the complex internal situation of the multinational Habsburg State and the phenomena of homogenization running through it. Even after 1867, at the epoch of the Dual Monarchy, the homogenization process remained a priority to be pursued, for example, through such supra-national ties as those represented by the figure of the Emperor and the Army, the Administration and the Aristocracy. When the centralizing push diminished after the military debacles of 1859 and 1866 and because of the internal weaknesses, new alliances rose to support the policies of homogenization: the ascending liberal-German bourgeoisie in Austria and, in Hungary, the ethnic element of the Magyars. These social strata with a marked national bent, through uniformization process aimed not only to protect their economic interests within the Dual Monarchy but also to earn supremacy for their respective national ideas. No matter how strongly the constitution formally guaranteed the linguistic-national equality of its peoples: there can be no denying that the German liberals and the Magyars had hegemonic aspirations. It is a question of tendencies that, with the development of the national-political claims of the Slavs, reinforced.\textsuperscript{66}

The competition that was taking shape between the German liberals and the Magyars within the multinational Habsburg Monarchy was also being echoed in Trieste. The repercussions of these processes as far as Trieste is concerned may help explain why, in proximity to the Weltausstellung, the divergences between Loyalists and pro-Italian Separatists within the economic elite of Trieste and within the Chamber of Commerce could be provisionally silenced. As a matter of fact what most of all, if vaguely feared in Trieste for several aspects is the ascendance of Fiume (Rijeka) – a city rarely mentioned in the pages of the Triester Zeitung dedicated to the Exhibition but, for all that, a no less threatening background presence. At the time of the Ausgleich in 1867, the Austrian

\textsuperscript{64} Feuilleton. Deutsche Briefe aus Wien, TZ, XXIII, 121 (28. Mai 1873), 4-5.
\textsuperscript{65} Feuilleton. Weltausstellungsbriefe XIII, TZ, XXIII, 177 (4. August 1873), 4-5.
\textsuperscript{66} Feichtinger, “Habsburg (post)-colonial”, 15.
government had undertaken to abolish the free port of Trieste in favor of the rival port of Fiume. And Fiume, after the various ups and downs in the first half of the nineteenth century as regards its status and territorial belonging, now was included in the the region of the Habsburg State corresponding to the Kingdom of Hungary after 1867 called Transleithania.

Hungary then took sides with Fiume, which was once again in its sphere of influence, thus fomenting competition of Inner Austria against Trieste. Every renewal of the Compromise forced the central government to economic concessions that affected Trieste overseas trade causing losses to the Trieste port traffic. The free port was definitively abolished in 1895. Nonetheless, thanks to the top-down modernization project first proposed in the 1860s and hinted at in the pages of the Triester Zeitung on the occasion of the Wiener Weltenausstellung, Trieste was able to enjoy, at the turn of the nineteenth century, its last period of growth, made possible by its transformation in an international industrial port of call.

X. An Epilogue? The 1913 Adria-Ausstellung

The experience acquired and the results obtained in the Wiener Weltenausstellung of 1873 were brought into play again for the realization of an exhibition hinging on the Imperial-Royal motive, which was held once again at the Prater, transformed for that occasion into a theme-park proper, between 3 May and 5 October 1913. This was the Österreichische Adria-Ausstellung (Austrian Adria Exposition), organized by the Österreichischer Flottenverein (Austrian Navy League). It was the last great exposition of the Austrian monarchy and it aimed to present the beauties, culture, history and economic resources of the Habsburg territories on the Adriatic Sea. Outside the exhibiting pavilions, along an artificial canal directly leading to the Rotunda, the most representative monuments of the various cultures that had succeeded one other over the centuries on the East Adriatic coast were reconstructed in scale. It was an impressive attempt at regaining the Habsburg symbolic control of the Dalmatian and Southern provinces: the non-German backward and under-developed peripheries which had been

67 Millo, “Un porto fra centro e periferia”, 192.
69 The Wien Museum Karlsplatz recently devoted an exhibition to the Adria-Ausstellung of 1913 and published the catalog: Österreichische Riviera. Wien entdeckt das Meer, hrsg. von C. Rapp, N. Rapp-Wimberger (Wien: Czernin, 2013). See illustration on the following page: the Adria-Ausstellung, the Capodistria (Koper) town hall is visible on the right hand side of the man-made canal.
recently annexed, at a time when the question of the Slavic Southern populations had become a crucial issue of domestic and foreign Austro-Hungarian politics.70

What is more, in the wake of the First World War, and following the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908, which sanctioned the Habsburg expansionistic push in the Balkans, the Österreichische Adria-Ausstellung featured the Imperial-Royal Austrian Navy, which, thanks to the investments largely made in Trieste and Pula, had become the sixth most important fleet in the world. On entering the southern portal of the Rotunda, the visitor found himself thrown, so to speak, onto the deck of an ultra-modern warship. For the crowds of visitors who thronged the bridge of the warship ravished between surprise and delight, it would have been hard to imagine that they were actually witnessing the final scene in a long succession of vicissitudes: not only those of the Austro-Hungarian Empire’s expositions, but also those concerning Habsburg Trieste and its calling as a Central European port.

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