



# The Habsburg Dynasty Photographs the Mediterranean.

## Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian's Sea Voyage in 1855

Mathias Böhm, Uwe Schögl

fig. 1

Franz Mai, The frigate Novara, September/October 1855, salted paper print 14.2 × 22.6 cm (detail). Austrian National Library, Vienna Pk 5806,1.

In the year 1855, Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, the oldest brother of reigning Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria, undertook a sea voyage of almost five months through the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>1</sup> Fourteen years later, he achieved posthumous fame when he was shot as Emperor of Mexico on 19 June 1867 and this tragic event became immortalised in its artistic interpretation in the work “The Execution of Emperor Maximilian” (1868/69) by Édouard Manet.

On the 1855 voyage, the Archduke, who was only 23 years old at the time, headed a squadron of up to 16 ships in his role as Supreme Commander of the Navy. The route covered almost the entire Mediterranean beginning in Trieste on 19 May and continuing via Athens, Beirut, and Alexandria, to Naples, before going as far as France, and returning to Trieste by the end of September.

It was the personal wish of the Archduke that the most innovative photographic society of the time, the Imperial and Government Printing Establishment, delegate Franz Mai – who was also 23 years of age – to provide photographic support on the cruise. The result is a unique pictorial narrative that has been preserved in the form of a collection of loose sheets with up to 49 photographs. The Imperial and Government Printing Establishment provided the Archduke with a total of six editions of this work.<sup>2</sup> They were exclusively intended for the innermost circle of the House of Habsburg and not for the general public.

The four albums available at the time of investigation<sup>3</sup> have been subjected to thorough research activity and a detailed analysis of their naval historical and photographic aspects for the first time and, as a result, provide an insight into both a biographic episode in the Archduke's life and the photographer's methods in connection with the selection of the motifs of the images and their composition. On the one hand, the ship voyage was conceived as an extensive training run visiting some of the Archduke's favourite places and recording them photographically. On the other hand, the route also took diplomatic visits to the rulers of various Mediterranean countries into consideration and gives an impression of the political dimension of the voyage. The numerous images of ships that provide a conscious demonstration

1 — The squadron sailed from Trieste on 19 May and returned to Muggia Bay near Trieste on 27 September where manoeuvres were held until 22 October.

2 — Monika Faber, Maren Gröning, *Urban panoramas: the photography of the Imperial and Government Printing Establishment, 1850–1860*, exhibition

catalogue “Stadt.Leben.Wien” at the Albertina (20 October 2005 – 22 January 2006), Vienna: Brandstätter, 2005, 22.

3 — Individual copies of the album are in the holdings of the following institutions: Artstetten Castle Archives; Austrian National Library, Vienna; Museo Storico e il Parco del Castello di Miramare; Photoinsitut Bonartes, Vienna.

of the strength of the imperial fleet must also be seen in this context. The analysis of the photographs and their contextualisation within the written sources – chiefly, the files of the Imperial Navy, and the Archduke's correspondence, as well as with the assistance of contemporary reporting in the media – make it possible for an exact reconstruction of this voyage to be made for the very first time.

The portfolio from 1855 is the first photographic documentation of ships of the Imperial Navy<sup>4</sup> and, as a result of its slightly varying narrative style concerning the trip, provides an interpretation of the (photographic) point of view the Habsburgs had of the Mediterranean. (— fig. 1)

### The political arena in 1855

May 1855 – the attention of the European public is dominated by two affairs. First of all, they focused with trepidation to the east to the battle zones of the Crimean War where the Russian Empire had been attempting to expand its territory at the expense of the “ailing” Ottoman Empire since the middle of 1853. Thanks to modern telegraph system, and the introduction of photography as well as innovative printing processes, the readers of the major newspapers had been able to keep themselves informed of the events on an almost daily basis.<sup>5</sup> At a time when the Franco-British alliance was relocating contingents of troops and warships, the imperial government in Vienna still seemed to be undecided about whether it had been wise to enter into an alliance treaty with these naval powers. Although the future of the multinational Habsburg state was seen “in the East” – as Emperor Franz Joseph I, who had been crowned in 1848, stated in the autumn of 1854<sup>6</sup> – the Empire's active entry into the war against Russia was to be avoided at all costs. However, with the signing of the so-called “December Treaty” against Russia, Austria finally broke with the Holy Alliance from the Napoleonic era.

At the same time as the chaos of war, The French Emperor Napoleon III invited the world to the second World's fair, the Parisian Exposition Universelle, which was conceived as a gigantic exhibition of art, culture, and industry, that opened on 15 May 1855 and attracted more than 5 million visitors by the time it closed on 31 October.

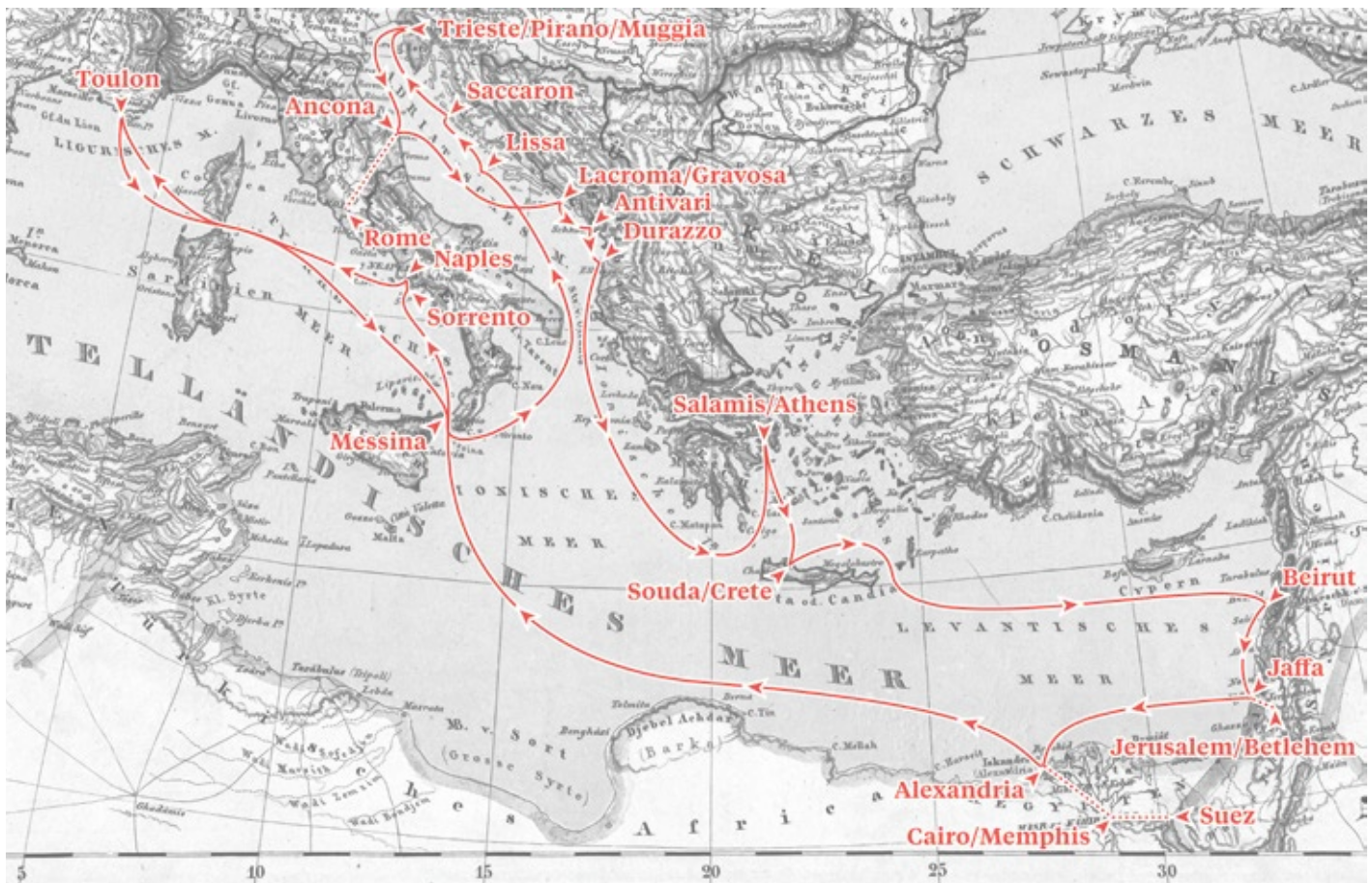
The Austrian squadron went almost unnoticed against this backdrop of countless reports, which were alternately characterized by the suffering of war and leisure time pleasures, when it set out to sea. Nevertheless, the undertaking would have deserved much greater attention. The Habsburg Empire, which, at the time, had been reduced to an almost landlocked country with only a few harbours of any importance, and was usually perceived of lacking any significance as a maritime power, was about to set out on a cruise through the Mediterranean lasting several months during which it would stopover numerous harbours and make several diplomatic visits. Ships of the Imperial Navy did make regular voyages in sections of the Mediterranean to train its crews and officers, but they were usually individual ships and rarely only groups of two or more. This was mainly due to the fact that Emperor Franz Joseph I himself had very little interest in the navy and felt that it was of little importance as a means of war. Compared with the major maritime forces of England and France that con-

4 — Wladimir Aichelburg, *Register der k.(u.)k. Kriegsschiffe*, Vienna 2002, 13.

5 — It is justified in describing the Crimean War (1853–56) as being the birthplace of modern war journalism and, with it, Roger Fenton, with his around 360 photographs from the battle fields, as the first war photographer.

His photos acted as the basis for the woodcuts used for reproduction in the media. See Oliver Wood, ‘Roger Fenton and “The Illustrated London News”’, *PhotoResearcher* no. 39/2023, 10–21.

6 — Franz Schnürer, *Briefe Kaiser Franz Josephs I. an seine Mutter: 1838–1872*, Munich 1930, 232.



Itinerary of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian May–Oct. 1855, map taken from Heinrich Kiepert, *Neuer Handatlas*, Berlin 1860.

tinuously developed and expanded their gigantic fleets, the Imperial Navy had only little military relevance.<sup>7</sup> Even when compared to its immediate neighbours, the Italian Kingdoms of Sicily and Sardinia, the announced expansion of the Imperial Navy remained behind the expectations of its Supreme Command.<sup>8</sup>

The best opportunity to improve aspects of the Imperial Navy did not come until the year 1854 when Emperor Franz Joseph I named his then-only-22-year-old brother Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian Rear Admiral and Supreme Commander of the entire Imperial Austrian Navy.<sup>9</sup> He immediately began with the reorganisation and development of the fleet.<sup>10</sup> His primary target was – from that time on – to be present from the Adriatic Sea to the Levante in order to also expand trade and increase political influence from the sea to the south and east. The young archduke had not only been fascinated by a sailor's life from the early days of his youth,<sup>11</sup> but was also generally considered to have more charm and be better versed in the ways of the world than his imperial brother. In addition, he had an affinity for the arts, was interested

7 \_\_\_\_ At this time, the Imperial Navy had no ships that were larger than frigates (three-masted warships with one continuous gundeck: usually armed with 30 or more canons). Other types of ships, ranked in descending order of size, included corvettes (three masts, up to 24 canons), as well as brigs, and goellettes or schooners (two masts, 6–20 canons). In this period, steam-driven ships (paddle-wheel or screw-driven) were still rare exceptions in the Imperial Navy.

8 \_\_\_\_ Heinz Christ, *Geschichte der k. k. Kriegsmarine während der Jahre 1850–1866*, Vienna 2017, 65 and 179f.

9 \_\_\_\_ Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria; from 1864, Emperor Maximilian I of Mexico (6.7.1832–19.6.1867). Antonio Schmidt-Brentano, *Die österreichischen Admirale vol. 1 1808–1895*, Osnabrück 1997, 94.

10 \_\_\_\_ Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian's predecessors, the Supreme Commanders Dahlerup and Wimpfen, had already made efforts to reorganise the Imperial Navy, however their possibilities were limited. Both occupied the position of Supreme Commander for only a few years each: the Dane Vice Admiral Baron of Dahlerup from 1849–1851 (he unexpectedly left the service), his successor Lieutenant Field Marshal Count of Wimpffen was in charge of the navy provisionally from 1851–1854 until Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian was considered to be old enough to take over the position. See: Christ 2017 (reference 8), 41ff.

11 \_\_\_\_ He announced his desire to join the navy after a visit to Venice in 1845. Wladimir Aichelburg, *Maximilian. Erzherzog von Österreich, Kaiser von Mexiko; in zeitgenössischen Photographien*, Vienna 1987, 15.

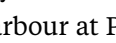
in technology, and liked travelling as it removed from the burdens and obligations of Austrian domestic politics.<sup>12</sup> The fact that he had difficulties managing his finances was somewhat irrelevant seeing that his family usually covered any extra expenses he occurred.<sup>13</sup> Although being named Supreme Commander of the Navy represented an honour and Ferdinand Maximilian grasped the possibility for developing the navy with great enthusiasm, he wrote the following lines to his brother Carl Ludwig shortly after his assignment:

*“The desire of my nautical passion would have been to spend at least 5 or 6 more years in the expanse of the oceans, being able to navigate through the stormy tides, and – at the same time – to go out into the world with the interesting command of a ship and observe and become acquainted with life from its exciting side. However, each Archduke must have the objectives of the state as his main purpose, he should be guided by the Emperor’s wish and will. The Emperor wished and I have to sacrifice myself and spend such a long time sitting behind a desk.”*<sup>14</sup>

The opportunity of leading this training squadron<sup>15</sup> through the Adriatic and Mediterranean from Trieste as its Supreme Commander gave the young Archduke his last opportunity to fulfil his desire for a long sea voyage before ultimately taking up his duties in his office after his return in the autumn of 1855.

### **Start of the sea voyage from Trieste to Durazzo via Piran**

*“Trieste. 19 May. His Imperial Highness, the Serene Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, Supreme Commander, left this harbour on board of the Frigate Novara<sup>16</sup> this morning. [...] At the wish of His Imperial Highness, a photographer from the Imperial and Government Printing Establishment accompanied the fleet to capture the most notable landscapes and buildings in the harbours it has contact with.”*<sup>17</sup>

Already at the beginning of the voyage in Trieste, the reports in the media mentioned the participation of a member of the staff of the highly esteemed “Imperial and Government Printing Establishment”, which underlines the significance photographic “accompaniment” had in the sense of providing a documentation of this enterprise. The photographer was Franz Mai, but the records only provide little information on this person. Franz Mai was probably about the same age as Archduke Maximilian<sup>18</sup> and, in addition to his photographic skills, must have had good sea legs. Franz Mai received his passport that made it possible for him to take part in excursions ashore only a few weeks before his departure.<sup>19</sup> One of the first examples of his activity was taken just a couple of days after sailing from Trieste at the first stopover on the journey and is included in the series of photographs in the album: a veduta view of the harbour at Pirano (Piran, SI) ( fig. 2).<sup>20</sup> The photograph was taken between 19 and 21 May during a brief layover of the paddle steamer *Kaiserin Elisabeth*<sup>21</sup> on which Franz Mai had taken up quarters for the duration of the voyage.<sup>22</sup> The pho-

12 — David Pruonto, ‘Die Orientreisen der Habsburger’, in: Barbara Haider-Wilson, Maximilian Graf (eds.), *Orient & Okzident*, Vienna 2017, 451.

13 — Aichelburg 1987 (reference 11), 12ff.

14 — Erzherzog Ferdinand Maximilian cited after: Gabriele Praschl-Bichler, *Ich bin bloß Corvetten-Kapitän. Private Briefe Maximilians und seiner Familie*, Vienna 2006, 159.

15 — One frigate: *Novara* (1850); three corvettes: *Carolina* (1847), *Minerva* (1838) and *Leipzig* (1826); one brig: *Oreste* (1832); two paddle steamers: *Kaiserin Elisabeth* (1854) and *Volta* (1850).

16 — The Archduke came to admire the frigate *Novara* to such an extent that he was inspired to build the room of the same name in Miramare Castle: a study

that is reminiscent in style and decoration of a ship’s cabin (of course, it is much more spacious and extravagantly furnished). See: Egon C. Corti, *Maximilian und Charlotte von Mexiko vol.1*, Vienna 1924, 91.

17 — *Wiener Zeitung* 22.5.1855.

18 — Faber 2005 (reference 2), 22. The original sources from the Austrian State Archives cited there were not available for a new verification of the data. See also: *Albertina Bio-Bibliographie “Mai, Franz”*.

19 — Faber 2005 (reference 2), 25. The original sources from the Austrian State Archives cited there were not available for a new verification of the data.

20 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806, 30.

21 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 416/4, 17–19.





Pirano.

fig. 2  
Franz Mai, Piran, May 1855,  
salted paper print 14.5 × 26 cm.  
Austrian National Library, Vienna  
Pk 5806,30.

tographer was to use the compositionally identical motif of the prospective view of the harbour and quarters of the town at further stops in Durazzo, Jaffa and Toulon.

The squadron reached Ancona (IT) on 25 May. Together with a small entourage of high ranked officers, but without the photographer Franz Mai, Ferdinand Maximilian immediately set out by coach to Rome where he spent the following days.<sup>23</sup> The reason that Franz Mai did not accompany the Archduke on this excursion by land to Rome, which was 300 km away, can be explained on logistical grounds as a result of the complication attached to the wet collodion process that was customary at the time. The necessity of developing the glass-plate negatives immediately after exposure made it necessary to have a mobile darkroom with its concomitant high personal, material and time costs. It was therefore decided to do without this project in favour of a rapid onward journey to Rome.

Once he reached Rome, the Archduke took part in Pope Pius IX's Whitsun service, was granted a private audience in the Vatican, and received communion in the personal chapel of the head of the Roman Catholic Church. This was followed by visits to the antique sites and art collections in the city, as well as a dinner with important dignitaries. The Archduke, with his artistic interests, acquired a marble group from the workshop of the sculptor Giovanni Maria Benzoni<sup>24</sup> and some photographs

22 — The agreement between the logbooks of the paddlewheel steamer with the motifs of the photographs make this assumption appear feasible – especially because, with his cumbersome and valuable photographic equipment, it

is extremely unlikely that Mai changed his accommodation frequently.

23 — *Wiener Zeitung* 1.6.1855.

24 — 'Die heilige Anna und Maria als Kind darstellend', *Die Presse* 14.6.1855.



fig. 3  
Joseph Selleny (artist) and Joseph Axmann (engraver), Portrait of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria during his visit of Rome, May 1855, steel engraving 36.6 × 26.5 cm. Austrian National Library, Vienna Pk 4449,82.

of art and architecture.<sup>25</sup> A meeting was arranged with the painter Joseph Selleny who was on a study visit to Rome and Naples at the time.<sup>26</sup> The only visual record of the so-journ in Rome is provided by Joseph Selleny's 'ad vivum' portrait study of an apparently relaxed Archduke that has been passed on as a steel engraving by Joseph Axmann.<sup>27</sup> (—fig. 3)

After the Archduke's return from Rome, the squadron sailed south from Ancona and reached the harbour of Gravosa (Dubrovnik, HR) on 3 June. Ferdinand Maximilian visited the offshore island of Lacroma (Lokrum, HR) where three photographs of the deserted Benedictine abbey were taken.<sup>28</sup> In the previous literature, it is falsely claimed that Ferdinand Maximilian and his wife Charlotte only discovered the abbey on their 1859 cruise.<sup>29</sup> However, the three photographs by Franz Mai prove that the Archduke was aware of the abandoned property before that time. The composition of these three architectural photographs differs significantly from that of all the others – usually veduta-like – shots of buildings in the travel album. Franz Mai chose individual partial views of the complex of buildings to depict their (ruinous) condition in frontal and oblique shots (—figs. 4a & b). However, an overall view of the abbey complex embedded in the landscape, such as was customary at the time, does not exist (—fig. 4c). Four years later, Princess Charlotte of Belgium (who married Ferdinand Maximilian in 1857) gave the island as a present

to her husband<sup>30</sup> who then had the abbey reconstructed as a summer residence.<sup>31</sup>

On 6 June, the fleet sailed over Antivari (Bar Island, ME) to Durazzo (Durrës, AL). Ferdinand Maximilian had already successfully carried out his first diplomatic mission in the city two years previously when he managed to free the bishop who had been taken hostage. The young supreme commander definitely still had vivid memories of the subsequent impressive religious service that took place onboard the *Minerva* in front of the population and crew.<sup>32</sup> A single image documents the coastal town,<sup>33</sup> where they participated in the Corpus Christi celebrations on the following day. However, in keeping with the Archduke's taste, these were rather modest on this occasion.<sup>34</sup>

25 — The present location of these photographs has not been clarified. Austrian State Archives HHStA HA MvM K105-28a, fol. 1v and 6r.

26 — Two years later, Joseph Selleny participated in the circumnavigation of the world on board the imperial frigate Novara that the Archduke had initiated during which he created many watercolours and drawings.

27 — Joseph Selleny (2.2.1824–22.5.1875); Joseph Axmann (7.3.1793–9.11.1873); Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 4449,82.

28 — Photoinstitut Bonartes, Vienna, BON\_1686/39-41 all entitled *Nächst Ragusa*.

29 — Joan Haslip, *Maximilian. Kaiser von Mexiko*, Munich 1972, 129 and Praschl-Bichler 2006 (reference 14), 198.

30 — Haslip 1972 (reference 29), 130.

31 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Map Collection KAT 774b. Plans and design drawings (by architect Franz Xaver Segenschmid et.al.) for the conversion of the Lacroma Residence, 1860-67 see: <<https://search.onb.ac.at/>

primo-explore/search?query=any,contains,kat%20774b&tab=default\_tab&search\_scope=ONB\_gesamtbestand&vid=ONB> (04.08.23).

32 — Maximilian I von Mexiko, *Aus meinem Leben. Bd. 4 Reiseskizzen IX Ein Stück Albanien*, Leipzig 1867, 157–163 and Haslip 1972 (reference 29), 64f.

33 — Photoinstitut Bonartes, Vienna, BON\_1686/22 *Durazzo. Albanien*.

34 — *Se. k. Hoheit hatten gewünscht, dass das auf den folgenden Tag fallende Frohnleichnamtsfest mit würdigem Pomp gefeiert werde [...] Da jedoch der Herr Pfarrer die Unmöglichkeit der Abhaltung einer Prozession in entsprechender Weise auseinander setzte, so wohnten Se. k. Hoheit sammt Gefolge dem Gottesdienste in der katholischen Kapelle andächtig bei.* (His Imperial Highness desired that the Corpus Christi festivities taking place on the next day be celebrated with solemn pomp. [...] However, after the priest had explained the impossibility of having a procession in the appropriate way, His Imperial Highness and his entourage attended the service in the Catholic chapel in great reverence.), *Wiener Zeitung* 23.6.1855.



fig. 4a  
 Franz Mai, Abbey of Lokrum, June  
 1855, salted paper print. Museo  
 Storico e il Parco del Castello di  
 Miramare 0600181518,17.

fig. 4b  
 Franz Mai, Abbey of Lokrum, June  
 1855, salted paper print. Museo  
 Storico e il Parco del Castello di  
 Miramare 0600181518,18.



fig. 4c  
Giuseppe Malovich, Coastline of Lokrum with the Abbey in the background, ca.1860, Albumen print 23.1 × 31.3 cm. Austrian National Library, Vienna Pk 1864,62.



### Greece – antique sites and consolidation of the fleet

After a one day stay in Durazzo, the squadron put to sea and headed for Salamis. That was where the frigates *Schwarzenberg*<sup>35</sup> and *Radetzky*,<sup>36</sup> together with the goelette schooner *Elisabeth*,<sup>37</sup> were waiting to join the training squadron. There was usually a permanent coming and going with the squadron seeing that ships, which were not stationed directly on the squadron's route, took part in the manoeuvre exercises. An Austrian correspondent made the following report when the *Radetzky* left Constantinople:

*"We would have really liked to also see the noble Austrian fleet that has gathered now in Greek waters and numbers twelve warships here to show the Turks that the German Emperor also has naval power."*<sup>38</sup>

The fleet arrived in Salamis on 15 June before leaving for the Bay of Phaleron, the harbour of Athens, where it anchored from 16 to 21 June. This is where the squadron reached its greatest strength: The Archduke had a total of sixteen ships under his command.<sup>39</sup> Franz Mai now had five days at his disposal to document the fleet from the shore. This was absolutely essential, for technical reasons seeing that the long exposure times demanded an unmoving surface. The effort was enormous: It was not only necessary to take the transport of a box stand and the glass plates into consideration, but probably also the transfer of a mobile darkroom from the ship to the shore and back again.<sup>40</sup> Mai photographed the fleet twice from an almost identical

35 \_\_\_\_ The frigate, which was also known as *Fürst Felix Schwarzenberg* (1853), already arrived near Salamis on 18 May.

36 \_\_\_\_ The steam-driven frigate *Radetzky* (1854), which had been built in England, departed from its base near Constantinople on 18 Mai and headed for Salamis. *Kronstädter Zeitung* 4. 6. 1855.

37 \_\_\_\_ Goelette *Elisabeth* (1826), not to be confused with the paddle steamer *Kaiserin Elisabeth* (1854).

38 \_\_\_\_ *Kronstädter Zeitung* 4. 6. 1855.

39 \_\_\_\_ Four frigates: *Schwarzenberg* (1853), *Radetzky* (1854), *Novara* (1850), and *Venus* (1832); three corvettes: *Carolina* (1847), *Minerva* (1838), and *Leipzig* (1826); two paddle steamers: *Kaiserin Elisabeth* (1854), and *Volta* (1850); two goelettes: *Arethusa* (1850), and *Elisabeth* (1826); five brigs: *Pylades* (1849), *Dromedar* (1837), *Orest* (1832), *Pola* (1832), and *Montecuccoli* (1831), see: Aichelburg 2002 (reference 4), div. and Austrian State Archives KA Marine AMA 1855 M/b XXIV, adl. M/c 39/106, fol.1r–1v.

40 \_\_\_\_ Due to a lack of source information and the fact that the glass plates have not been preserved, it is not possible to make a conclusive determination of the camera, lens, and size of the plates used.



fig. 5a  
Franz Mai, The Austrian fleet at  
Phaleron, June 1855, salted paper  
print 17.4 × 26.9 cm. Austrian  
National Library, Vienna Pk 5806,4.



fig. 5b  
Franz Mai, The Austrian fleet at  
Phaleron, June 1855, salted paper  
print 16.6 × 26.1 cm. Austrian  
National Library, Vienna Pk 5806,40.

position as shown in details of these images. Influenced by the changing direction of the wind, the ships are shown in differing orientations.<sup>41</sup> (— figs. 5a & b)

Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian not only spent the five days in Athens with sight-seeing in the city and the ancient Acropolis. On behalf of Emperor Franz Joseph I, he also took on the role of official envoy<sup>42</sup> to King Otto I<sup>43</sup> and his wife. He stayed at the Embassy Hotel and visited the Athens royal court on 16 June where he was received with full honours and a festive reception organised.<sup>44</sup> The Archduke returned the royal family's favour with a dinner on board the frigate *Schwarzenberg* to which the most important representatives of the Greek government were also invited. However, the official representatives of France and England, who expected to receive special attention as a result of the December Treaty signed in 1854, were not included. He received the French Admiral Tinan, who had paid his respects the day before, instead.<sup>45</sup>



fig. 6a  
Franz Mai, Man in Greek costume,  
June 1855, salted paper print  
19.3 × 16.2 cm. Austrian National  
Library, Vienna Pk 5806,23.

It seems that the stay in Athens played a central role for the Archduke as is also shown in the extent of the photographic coverage. This is where Franz Mai took more photos than anywhere else on the voyage and is also reflected in their thematic variety. In addition to a single view of the exterior of the Royal Palace taken on 16 June,<sup>46</sup> the album includes seven images of Athens' antic sites shown completely in the (documentary) style of the Grand Tour.<sup>47</sup> One particularly noteworthy picture with an ethnographical background was made during a supper at the royal country estate.<sup>48</sup> (— figs. 6a & b)

The only photograph of the travel party was taken near Athens. It is a group portrait showing the most important officers of the ships included in the squadron on board of the flagship. (— fig. 7, see page 59)

However, there is absolutely no documentation of any of the social events in Athens, or of the royal family and other dignitaries of the Greek court. Nor is there a single visual record of any of the numerous other social events of this voyage. It also appears to be the case that taking portraits of notable personalities was not part of Franz Mai's assignment, and only three photographs of local population have been preserved in the album.<sup>49</sup> Franz Mai's duties – as already shown at the beginning of the journey – primarily followed other goals: demonstrating the qualities of the squadron as a fleet, as well as the diary-like documentation of the sights called at, and the diary-like documentation of the sights visited by the Archduke – completely in the tradition of the Grand Tour.

41 — Aichelburg 1987 (reference 11), 56–59. Here, mention is made (without any indication of source) that the direction of the wind changed from west to south around 18 June 1855. The ships' logbooks indicate that there was a change in the wind more frequently.

42 — *Die Presse* 25. 5. 1855.

43 — Otto I of Greece came from the Bavarian Wittelsbach family and was a cousin of Empress Elisabeth of Austria, the sister-in-law of the Archduke.

44 — *Die neue Zeit* 5. 7. 1855.

45 — *Die neue Zeit* 5. 7. 1855.

46 — *Die neue Zeit* 5. 7. 1855 and Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,27.

47 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,14, 17, 22, 26 (variant of 22), 32, 33, 38.

48 — *Die neue Zeit* 5. 7. 1855.

49 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,9, 23 and 39.





fig. 6b  
Franz Mai, Arch of Hadrian with  
Acropolis seen in the background,  
June 1855, salted paper print  
13.3 × 21.6 cm. Austrian National  
Library, Vienna Pk 5806,32.

The squadron left the Bay of Phaleron on 21 June and set sail towards the south-east. When they encountered a storm off the coast of Crete, they stopped over in Souda to repair the damage caused and carry out other exercises in the protected bay.<sup>50</sup> There, the Archduke received the news that cholera was rampant in the next destination, Alexandria.<sup>51</sup> However, this did not deter the young Supreme Commander.<sup>52</sup> The sailing ships were ordered to head for the Egyptian city, while the Archduke set out for Lebanon with the steamships *Volta* and *Kaiserin Elisabeth* in the meantime.<sup>53</sup>

The Archduke put down his thoughts on the voyage so far, and how he felt about his future activities as Supreme Commander of the Navy, in a letter to his brother Carl Ludwig that he wrote on board the steamer *Kaiserin Elisabeth* on 27 June:

*“... I am dashing around the world and have a squadron to command. [...] I have been fortunate enough to have been able to accomplish quite a lot in Austria’s interests in recent times, in Rome through rapprochement and conviction, in Athens by heartening and calming. Now I am speedily making my way to Jerusalem as a haji. [...] Just how much I thought about you, my dear brother, while I visited all of those interesting spots in Athens that we saw together five years ago in such cheerful company; that was a very pleasant time that will never come again, so soothingly happy ... I have seen all of these places again, this time alone and, even at my age, it is difficult for me to experience any really cheerful days ... I want to celebrate my birthday at the top of the pyramids; definitely an interesting pedestal on which to begin my 23rd year!”<sup>54</sup>*

50 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine AMA 1855 M/b XXIV, adl. M/c 39/105, fol. 1v.

51 — 3970 deaths as a result of cholera were recorded between 29 May and 28 June, with more than 300 on 15. 6. 1855 alone. *Laibacher Zeitung* 17. 7. 1855.

52 — *Kronstädter Zeitung* 26. 7. 1855.

53 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine AMA 1855 M/b XXIV, adl. M/c 39/130, fol. 1r.

54 — Praschl-Bichler 2006 (reference 14), 165f.



# Group Portrait of the High Ranked Officers of the

Identification of the persons and analysis, by Mathias Böhm

Even though the Mediterranean voyage lasted almost five months, only one solitary group portrait of the officers of the fleet was taken this period. It is also the only photograph showing the Archduke himself on this undertaking. The photograph was taken on the deck of the flagship *Schwarzenberg* during the squadron's layover in Athens from 16 to 21 June 1855.<sup>I</sup> Completely in the visual tradition of group portraits of the period, the eleven officers surround the most important person who forms the central point of the image: **Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian** [1] as Supreme Commander of the Navy with folded arms on a kind of improvised seat. A comparison with other pictures makes it possible to identify nine of the totals of twelve persons, while the names of two of the other men can be assigned based on information in the sources.

Following in rank after the Archduke, we see the commander of the flagship *Schwarzenberg*, Ship-of-the-line Captain **Fautz** [2]<sup>II</sup> seated next to him. These are the only two persons who have seating provided especially for them with the Commander placed somewhat lower than the Supreme Commander to satisfy the hierarchical order. As a whole, the arrangement of the group is well thought out and shows that, as an accomplished photographer, Franz Mai was very well aware of the compositional modi for portrait and group pictures.

Moving to the persons in the back row, the man on the left leaning on the cannon is Ship-of-the-line Captain **Pörtl** [5],<sup>III</sup> who was Commander of the frigate *Novara*, followed by Ship-of-the-Line Captain **Scopinich** [6],<sup>IV</sup> Commander of the screw-frigate *Radetzky*, and the commander of the frigate *Venus*,<sup>V</sup> Frigate Captain **Wüllerstorf** [7],<sup>VI</sup> who had arrived in the harbour of Phaleron on 17 June. In the years from 1857 to 1859, Wüllerstorf would be commander of the frigate *Novara* on its circumnavigation of the world. Corvette Captain **Wissiak** [8], Ferdinand Maximilian's nautical science instructor and recently-appointed Director of the new Marine Academy in Trieste, stands behind the Archduke.<sup>VII</sup> At the end of August, he took over the frigate *Venus* from Wüllerstorf to be used on a training voyage for marine pupils. Corvette Captain **Petz** [10]<sup>VIII</sup> is the fourth person from the right. He was the commander of the paddle-steamer *Kaiserin Elisabeth* before assuming command of the corvette *Carolina* in Alexandria for the remainder of the voyage.<sup>IX</sup> The man standing second from the right with his hand on his lapel is, most probably, the Commander of the paddle-steamer *Volta*, Ship-of-the-line Lieutenant **Aurnhammer von Aurnstein** [11].<sup>X</sup>

It is not possible to make a clear identification or ascription of the remaining three officers due to a lack of comparative material. [3, 9, 12]

Based on the assumption that the group portrait depicts the most important officers of the squadron and the circle around the Archduke, the presence of the following two persons seems absolutely feasible. First, Ship-of-the-line Captain **Bourguignon**,<sup>XI</sup> who was the Archduke's squadron adjutant at the time the picture was taken and, second, Corvette Captain **Hadik**,<sup>XII</sup> who was initially Commander of the corvette *Carolina* and, later, took over the position of squadron adjutant from Bourguignon.

The Commander of the goelette *Elisabeth*, Ship-of-the-line Lieutenant **Tegetthoff** [4], is shown on the far left of the picture leaning against one of the ship's cannons with the typical relaxed attitude that can be

seen in other photographs of him.<sup>XIII</sup> His later successes as an Austrian commander of the fleet near Helgoland in 1864 and Lissa in 1866 made Tegetthoff one of the few personalities in the Habsburg Navy who was well-known beyond the borders of the monarchy.

Tegetthoff's presence in this group portrait is particularly significant because it makes it possible to determine exactly when the picture was shot. The goelette *Saida* left the harbour of Athens under Tegetthoff's command on 22 June and headed for Smyrna.<sup>XIV</sup> Shortly before that, on 20/21 June, the Archduke transferred from the *Novara* to the *Schwarzenberg*<sup>XV</sup> that then became the new flagship of the squadron. Assuming that the Supreme Commander wished to be photographed onboard his flagship, this picture, taken on the deck of the *Schwarzenberg*, can be dated with 21/22 June 1855. The presence of the young Tegetthoff among the most important officers of the squadron<sup>XVI</sup> can probably be explained as resulting from the joint manoeuvres carried out by the goelette *Elisabeth* and frigate *Schwarzenberg* that had been taking place off the shore of Salamis since the end of May (before the Archduke's arrival).<sup>XVII</sup>

I — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806, 19.

II — This attribution is made based on a comparison with other photos and the arrangement of the group portrait. Ludwig Ritter von Fautz (20.8.1811–23.2.1880). Antonio Schmidt-Brentano, *Die österreichischen Admirale Bd.1 1808-1895*, Osnabrück 1997, 122–126.

III — Joseph Ritter von Pörtl (31.10.1810–9.5.1889), Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference II), 141–145.

IV — Johann Anton Ritter Scopinich von Küstenhort (8.7.1815–6.11.1898), Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference II), 151–155.

V — *Venus* (1832). Wladimir Aichelburg, *Register der k.(u.)k. Kriegsschiffe*, Vienna 2002, 517f.

VI — Bernhard Aloys Freiherr von Wüllerstorf und Urbair (29.1.1816–10.8.1883), Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference II), 161–170.

VII — Julius Ritter von Wissiak (3.7.1818–27.5.1890), Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference II), 211–215.

VIII — Anton Josef Emmerich Maria Freiherr von Petz (24.1.1819–7.5.1885), Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference II), 216–222.

IX — Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference II), 217 and Austrian State Archives KA Marine AMA 1855 M/b XXIV, 24/7 fol. 2v and 24/8 fol. 3v.

X — Josef Aurnhammer von Aurnstein (3.1.1827–3.7.1872). Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference II), 239–242.

XI — Anton Michael Freiherr Bourguignon von Baumberg (8.6.1808–28.5.1879). Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference II), 115–121.

XII — Béla Mathias Anton Graf Hadik von Futak (27.9.1822–19.12.1885). Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference II), 171–175.

XIII — Wilhelm Joseph Franz Seraph Gabriel von Tegetthoff (23.12.1827–7.4.1871), Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference II), 176–190.

XIV — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 414/32, 52.

XV — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 1345/5, 49.

XVI — Pörtl, Scopinich, Wüllerstorf and Fautz commanded the large frigates, Petz and Aurnhammer the modern steamships, Wissiak was Director of the Trieste Marine Academy.

XVII — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 414/32, 22ff.



# Squadron in Phaleron near Athens

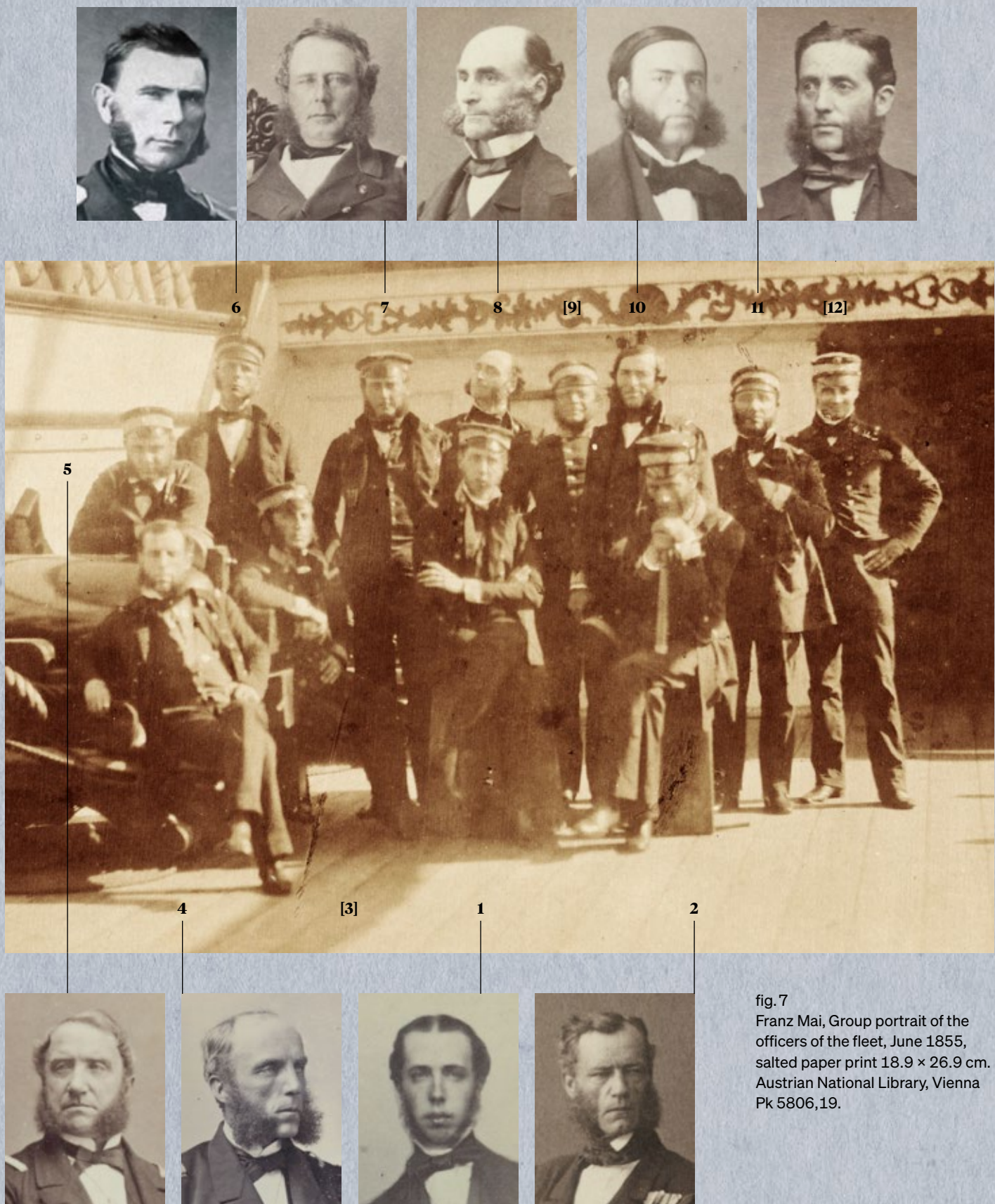


fig. 7  
Franz Mai, Group portrait of the  
officers of the fleet, June 1855,  
salted paper print 18.9 × 26.9 cm.  
Austrian National Library, Vienna  
Pk 5806,19.





fig. 8a  
 Franz Mai, View of Tel Aviv-Jaffa  
 from the coast, June/July 1855,  
 salted paper print 13.5 × 24.5 cm.  
 Photoinstitut Bonartes, Vienna,  
 BON\_1686\_31



Costum aus Jaffa.

fig. 8b  
 Franz Mai, Women in costume,  
 June/July 1855, salted paper print.  
 Collection Serge Kakou, Paris.

### The Levante. from Beirut to Alexandria

The steamship *Kaiserin Elisabeth* reached Beirut in the early morning of 28 June. The Governor Mahmud Pasha received the Archduke with full honours and, in his diplomatic mission, Ferdinand Maximilian presented his host with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Iron Crown in the name of the Emperor.<sup>55</sup> The (diplomatic) programme was densely packed: The Archduke visited the city, met with important represent-

atives of the different religious communities, was invited to go riding in the surrounding countryside, and the customary presents were exchanged.<sup>56</sup> The steamer once again set out to sea on the late evening of the same day, and travelled over Saida (Sidon, LB) and Haifa (IL) to Jaffa (Tel Aviv-Jaffa, IL) to visit the surroundings of Mount Carmel and Jerusalem until the beginning of July.<sup>57</sup> The photographer was also in a great hurry and managed to take only one photograph over the rooftops of the city of Beirut towards the harbour. One could feel that this is simply a classical image, a veduta of the city, but the strong presence of the balustrade of a balcony in the foreground of the image makes it clear that there was too little time to take a compositionally well thought out photograph.<sup>58</sup>

The Archduke reached Jaffa onboard the steamship *Kaiserin Elisabeth* on 29 June<sup>59</sup> and immediately set out on horseback for Jerusalem that he reached in the early hours of the following day where he was ceremoniously welcomed by the worldly and spiritual dignitaries of the city and representatives of other nations.<sup>60</sup> Shortly before, the Governor of Jerusalem had been in the surroundings of the city to put down a Bedouin uprising.<sup>61</sup> The Archduke visited the holy sites, stayed – like other pilgrims – in the Franciscan Convent, and travelled to Bethlehem on 2 July from where he returned to Jaffa.<sup>62</sup> Before leaving, he honoured – once again, as the



fig. 9  
Ludwig Angerer, Young women  
of the Roma community, 1855,  
salted paper print 30.8 × 24.8 cm.  
Austrian National Library, Vienna  
Pk 4400, 6.

representative of his imperial brother – the Governor of Jerusalem, Kiamil Pasha, with the Grand Cross of the Franz Joseph Order.<sup>63</sup>

Franz Mai remained with the steamships until the Archduke returned to Jaffa. Due to the extremely high technical complexity, it was not possible to provide photographic accompaniment and he took advantage of the time to take a veduta photograph of the city (— fig. 8a),<sup>64</sup> as well as two similar shots showing the population.<sup>65</sup> (— fig. 8b)

From the visual perspective, these two group portraits by Franz Mai are in keeping with a simple documentary depiction of civil life, without any ethnographic contextualisation or sophisticated composition (e.g., a triangular arrangement), that was

55 — *Wiener Zeitung* 9. 10. 1855.

56 — Among the presents were an Arabian horse that the Archduke had shipped to Trieste on a Lloyd's steamship. *Laibacher Zeitung* 20. 7. 1855.

57 — Austrian State Archives HHStA HA MvM K105-28b, fol. 12r and *Wiener Zeitung* 15. 7. 1855.

58 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806, 12.

59 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 416/4, 58.

60 — Austrian State Archives HHStA HA MvM K105-28b, fol. 14r.

61 — *Die Presse* 19. 7. 1855.

62 — Austrian State Archives HHStA HA MvM K105-28b, fol. 15v.

63 — *Wiener Zeitung* 9. 10. 1855.

64 — Photoinstitut Bonartes, Vienna, BON\_1686/31 Jaffa.

65 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806, 9 and 39.

66 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 4400, 6 and 8. On the attribution of the authorship to Ludwig Angerer, see: Uwe Schögl, 'Sinti und Roma in der historischen Fotografie,' in: Otto Mueller, *Gegenwelten. Sinti und Roma in der historischen Fotografie*. Kunstmuseum Ravensburg, Nicole Fritz (eds.), Heidelberg, Berlin 2014, 30–95, especially note 3.



fig. 10  
Franz Mai, View of Alexandria  
(west section), July 1855, salted  
paper print 23.3 × 16.4 cm.  
Austrian National Library, Vienna  
Pk 5806,18.

fig. 11  
Wilhelm Hammerschmidt, View of  
Alexandria (west section), 1860s,  
Albumen silver print 24 × 31.3 cm.  
Getty Museum, Los Angeles,  
84.XO.1278.14.

typical of the period as a result of the influence of painting on photography. This becomes apparent when a comparison is made with the earliest photographs of the Roma community created by Ludwig Angerer near Bucharest during the conflict of the Crimean War.<sup>66</sup> (—fig. 9)

### Egypt

Measured by its three-week duration and the Archduke's programmes, the stop-over in Egypt was an additional highlight of the journey. This was also reflected in the reports in the contemporary daily press. The fleet of sailing vessels already appeared in the waters off Alexandria in the morning of 1 July<sup>67</sup> before anchoring in the harbour of the ancient metropolis in the early afternoon. Due to the high-ranking visitor, the Viceroy hurried back to the city together with a force from a military action against rebelling Bedouins in the south of the country. In the coming days, additional Austrian ships arrived in Alexandria: First of all, the steamer *Volta* in the evening of 4 July, followed on the morning of the next day by the steam frigate *Radetzky*, which rejoined the squadron from its station in Constantinople. When the Archduke finally reached Alexandria onboard the steamship *Kaiserin Elisabeth* in the evening of 5 July, a total of thirteen ships of the Imperial Navy were at anchor in the harbour.<sup>68</sup> For unknown reasons, Franz Mai abstained from making a photographic presentation of the entire fleet here.

Habsburg foreign policy in the nineteenth century usually acted as an advocate for the Sublime Porte in Constantinople<sup>69</sup> – a weak, but stable, Ottoman Empire was more in keeping with Habsburg's interests in the Levante than an expanding Tsarist realm – and, therefore, the Archduke was welcomed with open arms. Ferdinand Maximilian meets the most important dignitaries and officials of the city – in particular, the Viceroy Muhammad Said Pasha. The Archduke is not only provided with every comfort for his stay in Alexandria, the Viceroy also agrees to his wish to purchase antique objects.<sup>70</sup> However, the continuing cholera epidemic in the city, and the uprisings in the south of the country had created a tense atmosphere in Alexandria and, as a result, Ferdinand Maximilian only spent a few days there. In this period, he visited the city and the surrounding sights. On 10 July, the Archduke and a small accompanying diplomatic entourage travelled to Cairo, which is about 180 kilometres to the south. The public in the Habsburg monarchy was informed about these days in a detailed report that appeared in the official newspaper *Wiener Zeitung* in mid-August 1855.<sup>71</sup>

The Archduke and his companions initially left Alexandria by train and continued their journey on a steamship on the left arm of the River Nile. En route, they inspected the Nile barrages known as the “Mohammed Ali Bridge” and arrived in Cairo in the early afternoon of the 11 July where they were accommodated in the palace of the Viceroy. On the following day, they visited the ruins at Heliopolis and, after a ride in torchlight, arrived at the Gizeh Pyramids on 13 July – one week after the Arch-

67 — Three frigates: *Schwarzenberg* (1853), *Novara* (1850), and *Venus* (1832); three corvettes: *Carolina* (1847), *Minerva* (1838), and *Leipzig* (1826); four brigs: *Pylades* (1849), *Pola* (1832), *Oreste* (1832), and *Montecuccoli* (1831).

68 — *Laibacher Zeitung* 17. 7. 1855.

69 — This made no change to the – often strained – diplomacy as the power protecting the Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Bernhard Unkel, *Österreich und der Krimkrieg. Historische Studien* 410, Lübeck 1969, 33–57 and 94ff.

70 — *Wiener Zeitung* 15. 7. 1855.

71 — *Wiener Zeitung* 17. 8. 1855.

72 — Together with the Aegyptica that was later acquired for Mexico, this collection is now part of the Egyptian Department of the Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna, see: Regina Hölzl, 'Maximilians Aegyptica – die sogenannte Sammlung Miramar', in: Ilsebill Barta (ed.), *Maximilian von Mexiko. Der Traum vom Herrschen*, Vienna 2013, 137.



duke's 23rd birthday. In the days that followed, Ferdinand Maximilian visited the numerous sights in Cairo and Memphis, went horseback riding, made a boat trip on the Red Sea, and acquired some sculptures and statues in Memphis and Gizeh. Together with some pieces he had purchased previously, the large number of the objects acquired during his stay in Egypt formed the basis for a considerable private collection.<sup>72</sup> Especially noteworthy from its economic dimension was a visit to Suez on 16 July where the Archduke was guided through the area of the future canal connecting the Red Sea and Mediterranean by the main engineer Linant Bey and given a great deal of information on the project that the Austrian engineer Alois Negrelli had already recommended constructing at this site in 1847.<sup>73</sup> He returned to Alexandria on 20 July where, immediately, preparations for the imminent departure of the fleet were made. On behalf of Emperor Franz Joseph I, Ferdinand Maximilian presented many orders to important people in the city – first and foremost, to Viceroy Said Pasha who received the Grand Cross of the Leopold Order.<sup>74</sup>

After that, invitations were issued to a festive dinner onboard the frigate *Schwarzenberg* on the evening of 21 July. The squadron set sail for Messina on the following morning. In the meantime, the number of ships had reduced. Of the thirteen ships that had anchored in the harbour of Alexandria, only seven continued on the voyage.<sup>75</sup>

Franz Mai's photographic documentation stands in complete contrast to the Archduke's highly diversified sojourn. It seems that he spent the entire two and a half weeks of the period in Egypt in Alexandria and, therefore, solely devoted himself to motifs of this city and the immediate surroundings.

Of the six known photographs,<sup>76</sup> two give an overall impression of the city: taken from a raised position; they show the west and east sections of the metropolis as far as the harbour. Although it can be assumed that Franz Mai had the idea of creating a panoramic impression of the city (—fig. 10), this kind of bird's-eye view in a print did not actually find its place in standard photographic aesthetics until the 1860s.<sup>77</sup> (—fig. 11)

73 — Franz Foetterle, 'Bericht über die Durchstechung der Landenge von Suez', in: Franz Foetterle (ed.), *Mittheilungen der k.k. Geographischen Gesellschaft* 1. Jg., Vienna 1857, Abhandlungen IV, 77.

74 — *Wiener Zeitung* 9. 10. 1855.

75 — Three frigates: *Schwarzenberg* (1853), *Novara* (1850), and *Radetzky* (1854); two corvettes: *Carolina* (1847), and *Leipzig* (1826); two paddle steamers: *Kaiserin Elisabeth* (1854), and *Volta* (1850).

76 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,5, 10, 18, 21, 35 and 41.

77 — Two similar photographs, taken by Wilhelm Hammerschmidt, exist that together form a panorama of the city and depict the changed built-up area. Cf.: Wilhelm Hammerschmidt, *Monuments de L'Egypte ancienne et moderne*, ca. 1865, tabs. 2–3.

















# Travel Log of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian's

Arrival	Departure	Event	Location	Number of photographs	Original title of the photographs
Trieste and Pirano: 19 May to 21 May					
	19 May	Departure of the squadron, frigate Novara being flagship	Trieste (IT)	0	
	19 May	Stopover of the squadron in Pirano	Pirano (Piran, SI)	1	Pirano.
Ancona and Rome: 25 May to 2 June					
	25 May	Arrival of the squadron in Ancona, the Archduke departs, with a small entourage, for Rome by way of Loreto	Ancona (IT)		
	26 May	Takes part in the Pope's Whitsun service, private audience with Pius IX and communion, visits art collections	Rome (IT) / Vatican City (VA)	0	
	30 May	Return to Ancona, final receptions, and departure	Ancona (IT)		
Lacroma and Gravosa: 3 June to 6 June					
	3 Jun	Documentation of the state of the old abbey	Lacroma (Lokrum, HR), Gravosa (Dubrovnik, HR)	3	Nächst Ragusa. (3 photos)
Antivari: 6 June					
	6 Jun	Short stay off the coast of the island	Antivari (Bar, ME)	0	
Durazzo: 6 June to 7 June					
	6 Jun	Participation in Corpus Christi celebration	Durazzo (Durrës, AL)	1	Durazzo. Albanien.
Salamis: 15 June to 16 June					
	15 Jun	Several ships join the squadron, the fleet now comprises 16 ships	Salamis (GR)	0	
Athens and Phaleron-Harbour: 16 June to 21 June					
	16 Jun	Received by King Otto I and the royal family	Athens (GR)	1	Königliche Residenz zu Athen.
	16 Jun	Tour of the city and ancient sites, followed by a celebration at the royal country estate	Athens Acropolis (GR)		Tempel des Theseus zu Athen. Tempel der Karyatiden, Akropolis zu Athen. Propyläen, Akropolis zu Athen. Hadrian-Bogen, Akropolis zu Athen. Säulen des Jupiter zu Athen. Parthenon, Akropolis zu Athen. Griechisches Costum.
	16 Jun		Phaleron (GR)	2	Ansicht der k.k.öster. Escadre. Phalerus-Hafen. K. K. österreichische Escadre Phalerus-Hafen.
	20 Jun	The Archduke transfers from the frigate Novara to the frigate Schwarzenberg, which becomes the new flagship	Phaleron (GR)	1	Untitled group portrait of the officers
Souda: 22 June to 24 June					
	22 Jun	Repairs following a storm, and various squadron exercises	Souda, Crete (GR)	0	
	24 Jun	The Archduke sets sail for Beirut onboard the steamship Kaiserin Elisabeth: the remainder of the fleet heads for Alexandria.			
Beirut: 28 June					
	28 Jun	Arrival of the Archduke in Beirut, tour of the city, and horseback ride into the countryside	Beirut (LB)	1	Beirut.
Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Jerusalem and Bethlehem: 29 June to 4 July					
	29 Jun	The steamship Kaiserin Elisabeth reaches Jaffa shortly before midnight and anchors in the harbour, Franz Mai remains in the city	Tel Aviv-Jaffa (IL)	3	Jaffa. Costum aus Jaffa. (2 photos)
	30 Jun	The Archduke rides on horseback to Jerusalem, diplomatic receptions, tour of the holy sites	Jerusalem (IL)	0	
	2 Jul	Visit of the holy sites, the Archduke returns to Jaffa	Bethlehem (IL)		
Egypt: 1 July to 22 July					
	1 Jul	Coming from Souda, most ships of the boats in the fleet arrive at the harbour	Alexandria (EG)	0	



Sea Voyage from 19 May to 22 October 1855

4 Jul	5 Jul	The steamship <i>Kaiserin Elisabeth</i> sails from Jaffa to Alexandria with the Archduke and Franz Mai onboard	Alexandria and surroundings (EG)		Nadel der Kleopatra in Alexandrien. Dattelpalmen in Alexandrien. Säule des Pompejus in Alexandrien. Katholische und griechische Kirche in Alexandrien. Alexandrien. (2 photos)
5 Jul	10 Jul	Diplomatic receptions and tour of the city			
5 Jul	20 Jul	Franz Mai remains in Alexandria, while the Archduke tours Cairo and Suez from 10 to 20 July			
10 Jul	15 Jul	The Archduke travels by train and ship to Cairo, tour of the city and surroundings, visit to the Pyramids	Cairo (EG)		
15 Jul	16 Jul	The Archduke travels to Suez where he visits the site of he future canal, excursion on the Red Sea	Suez (EG)		
17 Jul	20 Jul	The Archduke tours Cairo and Gizah, return to Alexandria	Cairo (EG)		
21 Jul	22 Jul	Dinner onboard the frigate <i>Schwarzenberg</i> , departure of the fleet	Alexandria (EG)		
Messina: 29 July to 13 August					
29 Jul	13 Aug	The steamships <i>Kaiserin Elisabeth</i> and <i>Volta</i> arrive before the royal quarantine decree comes into effect, shore leave is granted	Messina (IT)		Messina. Domkirche zu Messina.
5 Aug	13 Aug	The sailing squadron reaches Messina, but shore leave is refused			
Naples: 14 August to 26 August					
14 Aug	19 Aug	Arrival in Naples, received by King Ferdinand II and the royal family, tour of the city	Naples (IT)		Königliches Schloss zu Neapel. Kirche San Francesco. Neapel.
19 Aug	20 Aug	The Archduke spends the night at a hotel	Sorrento (IT)		
20 Aug	20 Aug	Visit to the excavations in Pompeii, return to Naples	Pompeii (IT)		
22 Aug	22 Aug	Visit of the ancient sites in Paestum, continues on to Salerno	Paestum (IT)		
22 Aug	24 Aug	Franz Mai stays in Sorrento, and the steamship <i>Kaiserin Elisabeth</i> anchors off shore	Sorrento (IT)		Sorrento. Hôtel Rispoli zu Sorrento. (3 photos)
23 Aug	25 Aug	The Archduke makes excursions in the surroundings of Naples	Naples and surroundings (IT)		
26 Aug	26 Aug	The steamships continue on to Toulon; the sailing vessels leave for Lissa	Naples, Castelmare (IT)		
Toulon: 28 August to 30 August					
28 Aug	30 Aug	Tour of the city, the arsenal, and hinterlands	Toulon and surroundings (FR)		Toulon Merkantil – Hafen.
30 Aug	30 Aug	Excursion to La-Seyne-sur-Mer near Toulon			
Trieste: 4 September to 11 September					
4 Sep	11 Sep	Stopover in Trieste	Trieste (IT)		Triest. (2 photos)
Pola: 11 September to 12 September					
11 Sep	12 Sep	Tour of the city	Pola (Pula, HR)		Amphitheater zu Pola.
Lissa and St. Andrä: 12 September to 23 September					
12 Sep	23 Sep	Reunification of the fleet and joint squadron exercises near the islands of Lissa and Sveti Andrija (Saint Andrew)	Lissa (Vis, HR), St. Andrä (Sveti Andrija, HR)		Hafen von Lissa. Dalmatien. S. M. Dampffregatte: Kaiserin Elisabeth. S. M. Kriegs-Schraubenfregatte: Radetzky. S. M. Kriegs-Fregatte: Fürst Felix Schwarzenberg. K. K. österreichische Escadre St. Andrä.
Saccaron: 26 September to 27 September					
26 Sep	27 Sep	Archduke's sojourn on the steamship <i>Kaiserin Elisabeth</i>	Saccaron (Sakarun, HR)		
Muggia: 27 September to 22 October					
27 Sep	22 Oct	Squadron exercises	Muggia (IT)		
Photographs whose location and date cannot be precisely assigned					
12 Sep	22 Oct	Photographs of the ships and squadron exercises	Lissa (Vis, HR) Muggia (IT)		S. M. Kriegs-Fregatte: Novara. S. M. Kriegs-Corvette: Karolina. S. M. Kriegs-Corvette: Minerva. Untitled group portrait of sailors Untitled group portrait of a gunning crew Untitled group portrait of crew members



## The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies

fig. 12a

Franz Mai, Hotel Rispoli at Sorrent,  
Man with pack animal, August 1855,  
salted paper print 18.2 × 23.9 cm.  
Austrian National Library, Vienna  
Pk 5806,24.

fig. 12b

Franz Mai, Hotel Rispoli at Sorrent,  
Man with two pack animals, August  
1855, salted paper print 18.1 ×  
23.4 cm. Photoinstitut Bonartes,  
Vienna, BON\_1686/15.

On 28 July, the steamships *Kaiserin Elisabeth* and *Volta* were the first vessels to reach Messina where shore leave was granted.<sup>78</sup> However, the authorities refused this when the rest of the squadron finally anchored on 5 August. Due to a Royal Neapolitan decree, which was the result of an outbreak of the plague in Albania, all ships coming from Ottoman territory (and this included Alexandria) had to be quarantined for fourteen days. This led to diplomatic negotiations seeing that the Austrian fleet had left Alexandria in good time and had not stopped at any other harbour since then. However, eight days went past, during which the fleet remained in the waters between Naples and Sicily, before the situation was clarified.<sup>79</sup> It was not until 13 August that permission to go on land was finally granted. Two photographs of Messina by Franz Mai are included in the album: A view of the city and its roofscape, and an architectural shot showing the façade of the cathedral.<sup>80</sup>

On 17 August 1855, Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian was received by the regents of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, King Ferdinand II of Bourbon-Sicily and his wife Maria Theresia of Austria, the Archduke's second-degree aunt,<sup>81</sup> in the Residence Palace in Naples.<sup>82</sup> During his ten-day sojourn, Ferdinand Maximilian visited the sights of Naples and the vicinity, and invited to a gala dinner onboard the frigate *Schwarzenberg* that was not only attended by the royal family but also other members of the local aristocracy, and high-ranking officers of the squadron. Although the stay was lengthy, and considering what would have been possible, Franz Mai only managed to deliver a limited photographic portrayal of the city of Naples: views of the façades of the Royal Palace, and the San Francesco Church.<sup>83</sup>

When compared to the few photographs of Naples, things were much different at the next stopover: Sorrento at the start of the Amalfi Coast. The Archduke only spent one night (19/20 August) in the Hotel Rispoli near Sorrento and set out on an excursion to the excavations at Pompei on the following day.<sup>84</sup>

In the Archduke's absence, the steamship *Kaiserin Elisabeth* arrived at Sorrento on 22 August, anchoring there for two more days before returning to Naples.<sup>85</sup> In this time Franz Mai became very active and was able to freely choose his motifs of Sorrento and the surroundings. The album includes four photographs<sup>86</sup> that, when compared with the short period of his stay of just three days, were created with considerable technical effort and motivic variety. An overall view of the coastal town (seen from the southwest) was taken from the difficult terrain of the high mountain ridge, as well as a view of the Hotel Rispoli on a slope leading down to the sea. Another depiction showing the façade with the side entrance (or the back) to the hotel stands out on account of its compositionally well thought out construction. This is depicted in two identical motifs, taken almost simultaneously from the same viewpoint that differ in one – barely perceptible – detail that appears to have been of special importance for the photographer: The persons placed next to the entrance are not

78 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 416/4, 87, and Aichelburg 2002 (reference 4), 528.

79 — Austrian State Archives HHStA HA MvM K132, fol.400r–409v and *Ost-Deutsche Post* 17.8.1855.

80 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,20 and 28.

81 — In the following years, several marriages between members of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the House of Habsburg-Lothringen made their familial relationships even closer. The links between the Habsburg lines and those of Bourbon-Sicily are considered to be classic examples of intra-familial marriage.

82 — *Wiener Zeitung* 28.8.1855.

83 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,2 and Photoinstitut Bonartes, Vienna, BON\_1686/17 *Kirche San Francesco. Neapel.*

84 — *Wiener Zeitung* 2.9.1855.

85 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 416/5, 22–24.

86 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,7, 11, 24, and Photoinstitut Bonartes, Vienna, BON\_1686/15.



the same. One shows an elegantly dressed gentleman – probably one of the hotel’s guests – standing behind a pack animal (—fig. 12a), while the other depicts a male person that seems to be another guest of the hotel in white garb holding two mules by their bridles. (—fig. 12b)<sup>87</sup> The hotel architecture provided the photographer with a projection screen for a genre story in which the world of the upper social class has found its way into the pictorial narrative.<sup>88</sup>

The Archduke returned to Naples from Pompeii before visiting Paestum and Salerno on the following days.<sup>89</sup> No photographs were taken of these sights. After more meetings and dinners with the royal family, Ferdinand Maximilian and his company left Naples for Toulon on 26 August.<sup>90</sup> In order not to waste any more time, the Archduke ordered that only the steam-driven ships in the squadron accompany him to Toulon.<sup>91</sup> He sent the slower sailing ships straight back to Lissa (Vis, HR) under the command of the Ship-of-the-line Captain Fautz.<sup>92</sup>

### **Toulon – base of The French Navy**

The stay in Toulon, the main base of the French Navy in the Mediterranean, turned out to be different than planned. The original idea was to travel from Toulon to Paris to visit the Exposition Universelle. However, when it became known that Prince Albert<sup>93</sup> would probably be there at the same time, these plans were thrown overboard in order to avoid any discussions about rank and name. Instead, Ferdinand Maximilian sent his adjutant Count Hadik<sup>94</sup> with a personal message to Paris where he was received at an audience in the Archduke’s name by Emperor Napoleon III.<sup>95</sup> At this time, Ferdinand Maximilian had no great desire to get to know the Emperor of the French personally himself. Even when his brother Emperor Franz Joseph I sent him to Paris as a diplomat in the year 1856, he initially expressed a negative opinion of the Emperor in Paris and his *court of parvenus*:

*“This small unsightly figure, his thoroughly un noble exterior, his rattling gait, the unattractive hands, the craftily searching gaze of his dull eyes, all of these things form an ensemble that is, in no way, suited for making the first impression any more positive.”*<sup>96</sup>

However, this attitude would soon change, and Napoleon III and the Archduke developed an active interest in the ideas and plans of each other. Around a decade later, he had initially been elevated to the position of Emperor of Mexico with the help of Napoleon III and, after barely three years in power, shot after a trial in front of a military court on 19 June 1867.

During the short stay in Toulon at the end of August 1855, the Archduke presented himself as a Supreme Commander of the Navy with a great interest in technology and visited the large arsenal and artillery training ship *Suffren* several times. The naval prefect of Toulon, Vice-Admiral Dubourdieu,<sup>97</sup> proved to be the perfect host.

87 — The group of women in front of the stairs on the right edge of the picture can also be assumed as hotel guests.

88 — The two photos are included equally in the albums, albeit with only one of the variants in each. The variant fig. 12a see Austrian National Library, Vienna and Museo Storico e il Parco del Castello di Miramare, the variant fig. 12b see Photoinstitut Bonartes, Vienna and Artstetten Castle Archive.

89 — *Wiener Zeitung* 4. 9. 1855.

90 — *Wiener Zeitung* 8. 9. 1855.

91 — Including only the screw driven steam frigate *Radetzky* (1854), as well as the two paddle steamers *Kaiserin Elisabeth* (1854) and *Volta* (1850).

92 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine AMA 1855 M/b XXIV, adl. M/c 39/156, fol. 1r.

93 — Prinz Albert von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha (26. 8. 1819–14. 12. 1861), the husband of Queen Victoria.

94 — Hadik von Futak, Béla Mathias Anton Graf (27. 9. 1822–19. 12. 1885). Schmidt-Brentano 1997 (reference 9), 171–175.

95 — *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung* 22. 9. 1855, 194.

96 — Haslip 1972 (reference 29), 74.

97 — Louis Dubourdieu (15. 6. 1804–26. 6. 1857), see: Etienne Taillemite, *Dictionnaire des marins français*, Paris 2002, 573 and <[https://data.bnf.fr/en/10736356/louis\\_dubourdieu/](https://data.bnf.fr/en/10736356/louis_dubourdieu/)> (20.07.23).

The Archduke also met important officers and citizens of the city, and the French and Austrians raised toasts to the wellbeing of the other's emperor. On 30 August, they went on an excursion to La-Seyne-sur-Mer and, in the evening, Ferdinand Maximilian issued an invitation to a dinner on board one of his ships – this time he presented his guests with the new steam-driven frigate *Radetzky*, which had been built in England.<sup>98</sup> Even though the stay in Toulon was short – but eventful – the only photograph by Franz Mai that has been preserved is a view of the commercial harbour.<sup>99</sup>

### Back to Lissa and Trieste

While the major part of the squadron did not arrive in Lissa (Vis, HR) from Naples until 7 September,<sup>100</sup> the Archduke hurried back to Trieste from Toulon onboard the steamship *Kaiserin Elisabeth* and reached the harbour on 4 September.<sup>101</sup> He spent

the next days in his then abode, the Villa Lazarovich, from where he wrote the following lines to his brother Carl Ludwig:

*“My last letter was from Sorrento, from all the lushness of the beautiful south; leaving the magnificent Gulf, steam soon took me quickly to France, to the busy war harbour at Toulon – I stayed for two days, there were many interesting things for a seaman to look at.”*<sup>102</sup>

Mai accompanied the Archduke to Trieste (—fig. 13) and photographed the magnificent garden of the Villa Lazarovich from the terrace, as well as an unidentified building at the town's hillside.<sup>103</sup> The Archduke lived in this refuge at Via Tigor 23 in the years from 1854 to 1859 before moving to Miramare Castle (built 1856–1860) with his wife Princess Charlotte of Belgium where the two lived until their departure for Mexico in the year 1864. The onward journey continued on 11/12 September; first of all, to Pola (Pula, HR) where Franz Mai found some time to photograph the amphithe-

atre. In Trieste, and then in Pola, which would later become the most important harbour of the Austrian Navy, Mai took photographs of the cities and their architecture providing a plain visual documentation.

On 12 September, the steamship *Kaiserin Elisabeth* once again caught up with the squadron near Lissa.<sup>104</sup> The fleet stayed here for one and a half weeks to engage in manoeuvres and sporting competitions between the crews:



fig. 13  
Franz Mai, Garden of the Villa Lazarovich, September 1855, salted paper print. Museo Storico e il Parco del Castello di Miramare 0600181518,1.

98 — *Wiener Zeitung* 4.9.1855.

99 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,37 *Toulon Merkantil-Hafen*.

100 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 1345/6, 37.

101 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 416/5, 35.

102 — Praschl-Bichler 2006 (reference 14), 168.

103 — Photoinstitut Bonartes, Vienna BON\_1686/20 and 42, both entitled *Triest*.

104 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 416/5, 43.



*A regatta with the boats from the imperial squadron was held in Lissa at which the frigate Schwarzenberg and corvette Diana of His Imperial Highness were awarded the prize that was accordingly presented.*<sup>105</sup>

From the viewpoint of naval history, Lissa formed a centre of focus in Franz Mai's documentation. His photographs were devoted to two thematic areas: depictions of the individual ships on the one hand, and the manoeuvres carried out by the sailors, captured in the form of group photographs, on the other.

Five motifs in the portfolio in the Austrian National Library present views of the Island of Lissa and its vicinity. The first one depicts a stretch of the coastline; it is possible to make out the Harbour of Lissa on the right edge.<sup>106</sup> Another photograph shows the steamship *Kaiserin Elisabeth* at anchor in front of the Gospa od Spilice Church directly on the shore.<sup>107</sup> The remaining photos depict the steam-driven frigate *Schwarzenberg* flanked by two other ships.<sup>108</sup> An additional shot of the naval unit in front of St Andreas Island (Sveti Andrija, to the west of Vis, HR) was taken at the end of the voyage: The ship in the centre of the image is most probably the steam-driven frigate *Radetzky*, on the outer left we see the frigate *Schwarzenberg*, with the steamer *Kaiserin Elisabeth*, which can be easily recognised as the only ship with two masts and the funnel placed towards the stern, on the extreme right (as can be seen in fig. 15a).<sup>109</sup> A circular dated 14 September makes it possible to give the names of the other six ships (although it is not possible to identify them definitively in the photographs): the frigates *Novara* and *Venus*, corvettes *Diana*, *Leipzig*, and *Carolina*, and the steamship *Volta*.<sup>110</sup>

The squadron departed from Lissa on 22 September and sailed into Muggia Bay on the 27th of the same month, where additional manoeuvres were held.<sup>111</sup> The Archduke did not take the direct route but spent a few days on board the steamship *Kaiserin Elisabeth* in Saccaron Bay (Sakarun on the island of Dugi Otok, HR)<sup>112</sup> that is now extremely popular with tourists as the “most Caribbean” beach in the Adria region.<sup>113</sup>

Due to lacking geographical information and the absence of any other identifying factors, it is neither possible to date nor allocate a location to the other three photographs of ships taken by Franz Mai. One image shows the frigate *Novara* with another ship in the background.<sup>114</sup> The remaining two are of the corvettes *Carolina* and *Minerva* – both are shown with other unidentifiable ships from the squadron.<sup>115</sup>

The sailors' manoeuvre exercises were arranged photographically as staged genre shots to give an impression of a seaman's life in the Imperial Navy. The lengthy exposure times made snapshots of genuine exercise activities impossible during this period. A total of three photographs for which the flagship *Schwarzenberg* most probably provided the setting, as seen in some specific details of the ship, were included in the album. Each of these images shows a different group of sailors on deck. One is of sailors with typical objects of daily use (oars, ropes, and boathooks) (—fig. 14a), another shows a gunning crew posing as if they were hauling back a cannon (—fig. 14b), and the third is a group portrait of around twenty members of the crew and (at least) one marine.<sup>116</sup>

105 — *Laibacher Zeitung* 24. 9. 1855. The rowing race took place on 16. 9. 1855, see: Austrian State Archives KA Marine AMA 1855 M/b XXIV, 24/8 fol. 1r.

106 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,29 *Hafen von Lissa. Dalmatien*.

107 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,8 and 31, two identical prints of different quality.

108 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,3 and 34.

109 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,6 *K.K. österreichische Eskadre St. Andrä*.

110 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine AMA 1855 M/b XXIV, 24/8 fol. 3v.

111 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 1345/6, 52–60, and *Wiener Zeitung* 9. 10. 1855.

112 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 416/5, 56–58.

113 — There is no verifiable source for the description of the activities in Saccaron Bay.

114 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,1.

115 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,25 and 36.

116 — Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,13, 15 and 16.



fig. 14a  
Franz Mai, Sailors, September/  
October 1855, salted paper print  
18.2 × 26.1 cm. Austrian National  
Library, Vienna Pk 5806,13.

These naval exercises that had begun on Lissa Island and continued in Muggia Bay lasted until the end of October.<sup>117</sup> That is where Franz Mai took his last photographs<sup>118</sup> that were most probably made without any direct orders from Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, who had left the squadron before that time. He returned to Trieste on board a Lloyd's steamer<sup>119</sup> on 6 October, and then visited his family in Bad Ischl in mid-October.<sup>120</sup> The squadron was definitively dissolved on 22 October and the ships then left Muggia Bay.<sup>121</sup> In the meanwhile the Archduke had visited Vienna and returned to Trieste where he arrived in the night of 26 October.<sup>122</sup> The city organised a ceremonious reception for him on the following day. The *Wiener Zeitung* published a detailed report of what was now the “official” end of the Archduke’s sea voyage:

*“The return of His Imperial Highness, the Most Supreme Lord Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, Supreme Commander of the Navy, from a long and arduous sea voyage, which not only established and increased Austria’s esteem in the most distant places, but also shone a favourable light on the rapid progress the Austrian Navy has made in*

117 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 416/5, 83 and Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 1345/6, 85 and Aichelburg 2002 (reference 4), 117f.

118 — Due to the larger print sizes of these scenic motifs, it can be concluded that Franz Mai had used largeformat negative plates, of which probably a limited number were at his disposal on this voyage.

119 — *Custoza* (1843). Aichelburg 2002 (reference 4), 131f.

120 — *Wiener Zeitung* 12. 10. 1855 and Praschl-Bichler 2006 (reference 14), 168.

121 — Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 416/5, 83 and Austrian State Archives KA Marine NMA Schiffsakten Tagebücher 1345/6, 85.

122 — *Wiener Zeitung* 30. 10. 1855.



fig. 14b  
Franz Mai, Gunning crew, September/  
October 1855, salted paper print  
20.3 × 27.3 cm. Austrian National  
Library, Vienna Pk 5806,15.





recent times, provided the inhabitants of Trieste with the welcome opportunity to once again display their longstanding loyalty to the Supreme Ruling House in the person of the Most Supreme Prince.”<sup>123</sup>

### The photographic Mediterranean mission – a résumé

The carefully planned sea voyage of the young Archduke had a several goals that also included photographic accompaniment for the first time in the history of the Imperial Navy.<sup>124</sup> Led by the young Supreme Commander, the fleet not only set out to sea to carry out military exercises. The impressive number of ships was also intended to make it clear to the other Mediterranean nations that the Austrian Imperial Dynasty had the intention of developing into a maritime power to be reckoned with. This was mainly highlighted by the ships *Schwarzenberg*, *Radetzky*, and *Kaiserin Elisabeth* whose style and weaponry made them the most powerful and modern vessels of the Imperial Navy. However, the young Archduke was also successful in fulfilling his obligations of charmingly paving the way for Austrian interests (especially, the construction of the Suez Canal), and establishing contacts in keeping with the Emperor’s intentions. Nevertheless, from the political and naval historical perspective, this journey had little effect on the geographic cosmos of the Mediterranean region. The album, which was produced in an edition of six pieces, made no historical impact on the public, seeing that they were intended for personal use alone, and – with the variability of the selection of the photographs in these albums – probably took the interests of their specific addressees into consideration. But what is the significance of the photographs that Franz Mai took of this undertaking at the instigation of the Archduke?

The Mediterranean sea voyage of Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian is one of the earliest narratives in the history of photography. On the one hand, this reflects the personal interests (Grand Tour) and obligations (representation) of the album’s commissioner, as well as the approach of the photographer that can be discovered in the (free) choice of motifs and the arrangement of the images on the individual sheets. The album presents itself as a photographic journal with images of the individual stations of the journey, the ships taking part in it, and their crews. Franz Mai played the role of an official travelling companion who visually documented the impressions and perspectives of the Archduke in the countries around the Mediterranean. The photographer’s visual narrative style is subordinate here, and only rarely makes an impact (see fig. 7, figs. 12a, b, and figs. 13a, b).

The numerous photographs of ships in the album were important as they can now function as source material in Austrian photographic history capable of standing on the same level alongside the written documentation (the letters and nautical records). For his depictions of the individual ships, as well as in the case of his photographs showing the fleet, Franz Mai reverted to a documentary visual vocabulary that gave the topographic location, and the presentation of the ships (generally, as a landscape view) equal value (\_\_\_fig. 15). Although the photographs of the ships demonstrate the military strength of the squadron (\_\_\_fig. 16a), they do so with-

123 \_\_\_ *Wiener Zeitung* 1. 11. 1855.

124 \_\_\_ The marine historian Wladimir Aichelburg was the first to draw attention to these oldest photographic depictions of ships in the Imperial Navy. Aichelburg 2002 (reference 4), 13.

125 \_\_\_ With the help of this technology, Le Gray was able to achieve much sharper detail, as well as include dramatic cloud effects, in his photos of ships that he took at approximately the same time. Sylvie Aubenas, ‘Boulevard des Capucines: The Glory of the Empire’, in: Gordon Baldwin (ed.), *Gustave Le Gray 1820–1884*, Los Angeles 2002, 105–147.





fig. 15  
 Franz Mai, The frigate Schwarzenberg in the harbour of Lissa, September 1855, salted paper print 23.3 × 15.4 cm. Austrian National Library, Vienna Pk 5806,34.

out the claim to heroization or dramatic exaggeration found in the ship photographs Gustave Le Gray, who was serving at the French court, created at almost the same time, for which he invented a particularly sophisticated photographic technique (the sandwich negative) (— fig. 16b).<sup>125</sup> Franz Mai's photographic mission must be seen in a completely different light, especially when the circumstances – last but not least those resulting from the technical complexity (wet-collodion process on glass plates) caused by several months of photographic activity on a ship – are taken into consideration. Seen from this perspective, the series of photographs taken by Franz Mai are among the world's first of a maritime expedition in the history of photography.

With a future behind a desk before his eyes, Ferdinand Maximilian fled from the serious side of life for a few months when his position as Supreme Commander of the Navy provided him with the opportunity to undertake a 'Grand Tour' through the Mediterranean with his fleet. All of those official appointments that were not captured photographically underline the impression that this was a maritime excursion that provided the Archduke with great space for self-development.

No matter how manifold the reasons for the journey were, it was successful in the Archduke's eyes. Even though having firm ground under his feet after he returned to

fig. 16a

Franz Mai, The Austrian fleet at St Andreas Island, September 1855, salted paper print 14.5 × 25.1 cm. Austrian National Library, Vienna Pk 5806,6.



fig. 16b

Gustave Le Gray, Salute of the French fleet off Cherbourg, 1858, Albumen print 21.9 × 29.9 cm. Städel Museum, Frankfurt/Main, St.F.117.



Trieste was obviously difficult for him, he summed up his experiences in a letter he wrote to his brother Carl Ludwig at the beginning of November in the following way:

*“Since the 7th of this month, I am once again sitting among the files and my life is dragging on tediously here in Trieste, without any joy, without any lustre, but – if God will – bringing about some good. The Navy is growing piano piano and flourishing, and the Emperor is pleased with me: if I could also flourish personally, but, deep in my heart, I am disgruntled and weary [...] and, even though my villa is really lovely, I hardly ever feel well in it.”*<sup>126</sup>

126 — Praschl-Bichler 2006 (reference 14), 168/177.





Original case, bound in red leather with gold embossing on front and back side, ca. 1855. Photoinstitut Bonartes, Vienna, BON\_1686.



Original case, bound in blue leather with gold embossing on front and back side, ca. 1855. Museo Storico e il Parco del Castello di Miramare 0600181518.

The portfolio Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian commissioned from the Imperial and Government Printing Establishment was produced in an edition of six pieces and delivered to the Archduke.<sup>I</sup> These albums, which were conceived as a collection of loose sheets in a red or blue leather case with gold embossing, were designated exclusively for the innermost circle of the House of Habsburg and, therefore, not for the public.

Here, with the aid of four portfolios – from the holdings of the Castello di Miramare, the Austrian National Library, the Bonartes Photo Institute, and the collection at Artstetten Castle Archives<sup>II</sup> – we are able to make a reconstruction of the size, content, and structuring of this photographic narrative for the first time.

According to the printed inventory catalogue of the Miramare Library from the year 1863,<sup>III</sup> the three albums listed there originally comprised 46 photographs. Due to the lack of any kind of inscription, dedication or introductory text, as well as the fact that there are no records of the holdings of photo negatives in the Imperial and Government Printing Establishment, makes it impossible to determine exactly how many photographs Franz Mai took on the Mediterranean voyage. However, it has been possible to reconstruct 49 photographic motifs that, when one considers the fluctuating number of 39 to 49 prints per album, suggests that there was some slight variation in the composition of the photographs in the individual albums. In principle, it must be assumed that the photographs were organised in the albums following the chronology of the voyage. However, the original sequence in all of the four albums inspected has been lost due to the lack of pagination on the individual sheets. A virtual reconstruction of all of the 49 photographs known to date in the chronological order of the itinerary of the voyage can be accessed at [www.eshph.org/journal/photoreseracher-no-40-2023](http://www.eshph.org/journal/photoreseracher-no-40-2023).

The editorial execution, the lined image framing, and the indications under the photographs<sup>IV</sup> on the mounting paper reveal variations in the mounting.<sup>V</sup> The formats of the prints within an album are, to a large extent, non-uniform,<sup>VI</sup> and there are frequently significant differences in the section shown in prints made from the same negative. The individual albums are also characterised by diverse presentation forms ranging from a noble layout with gold print used for the framing of the images and picture captions, to a 'study edition' with the images framed in black and the captions mounted on labels.<sup>VII</sup> The variability of the print dimensions, framing, and typography suggests that, with the exception of the leather bindings, the production of the six known albums took place in different tranches. It can also not be ruled out that different production sites were involved in the manufacture of the album sheets (possibly Trieste instead of Vienna).

When dealing with their provenance, two of the albums can be traced back to Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian's two younger brothers. One copy was in the possession of Archduke Carl Ludwig of Austria (1833–1895) who owned the Artstetten country castle after 1861 and whose heirs to the estate<sup>VIII</sup> passed it into the possession of the Hohenberg family.<sup>IX</sup> The second album comes from the private property of the youngest brother Archduke Ludwig Viktor of Austria (1842–1919) and is now in the holdings of the Bonartes Photo Institute in Vienna.<sup>X</sup>



# and Content

Ferdinand Maximilian kept three of the portfolios for his archducal library in Miramare Castle in Trieste.<sup>xi</sup> When part of this private library was dissolved, one copy of the portfolio found its way to Vienna and, subsequently, into the holdings of the Austrian National Library in the year 1956.<sup>xii</sup> The motifs of the photographs in this album are – to a large extent – identical with those in the portfolio kept in the archives of Artstetten Castle with the difference that the first mentioned has two doublets resulting in a total of 41 sheets<sup>xiii</sup> and that the photograph of the Hotel Rispoli near Sorrento is a variant with different people shown.

With its original red leather binding, and the exclusive mounting with gold print used to frame the images and for the captions, as well as the total of 46 individual sheets, the album from the holdings of the Bonartes Photo Institute is the only one to correspond with the original description in the inventory catalogue of Miramare.<sup>xiv</sup> The album from the Castello di Miramare has the largest number of 49 prints (including one doublet) and an original blue leather binding.<sup>xv</sup> When comparing their contents, the two last-mentioned albums have a higher number of architectural images than all the others: of Trieste 2; Lokrum 3; Naples 1; Pola 1. The album in the Bonartes holdings has two fewer photographs of the fleet than all other exemplars.<sup>xvi</sup>

Currently, there is no concrete evidence for the whereabouts of the two remaining copies. There are two surviving individual portfolios of 25 prints and eleven prints respectively. The latter volume was auctioned in Vienna in 2016<sup>xvii</sup> including an indication of their provenance from the circle around Julius von Wissiak,<sup>xviii</sup> and today is part of the OstLicht Collection, Vienna. The second set of 25 prints was sold at the Dorotheum auction house in 2002 to the collector Serge Kakou and subsequently resold with the exception of fig. 8b. There is no overlap in the motifs of the two sets, which leads to the assumption that these sets would have formed an album in earlier times.

I \_ Monika Faber, *Stadtpanoramen. Fotografien der k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei 1850–1860*, Vienna 2005, 22.

II \_ Ministero della Cultura – Museo Storico e il Parco del Castello di Miramare, “Album von 46 Photographien” 1863:801 (0600181518,1–49) <<https://www.catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/PhotographicHeritage/0600181518-0>> (07.08.2023); Photoinstitut Bonartes, Vienna (BON\_1686/1–46); Austrian National Library, Vienna, Picture Archives and Graphics Department Pk 5806, 1–41 <[www.onb.ac.at](http://www.onb.ac.at)> (08.08.23); Artstetten Castle Archives <[www.schloss-artstetten.at](http://www.schloss-artstetten.at)> (08.08.23).

III \_ Österreichische Staatsdruckerei (ed.), *Katalog der Bibliothek von Miramar*, Vienna 1863, 71/801.

IV \_ The typography of the photograph captions in the four portfolios varies between serif and sans-serif fonts. Mixed forms in the use of capital letters alternating with standard typefaces can also be observed.

V \_ Three montage variants are known: Black framing with description on a mounted label in the gold print variant; 2nd variant: Black framing and description directly on the paper in gold print. Third and most noble version: Framing and description in gold print directly on the paper.

VI \_ With a few exceptions, the measurements of the prints (usually in landscape format) differ, ranging from around 15.2–16.4 cm in height and ca. 19.5–26.2 cm wide. It is not possible to determine definitively if these are contact prints or enlarge-

ments. Based on the very few prints in the maximum format of 20.3 × 27.3 cm, it can be assumed that (probably only a small number) of glass plates from the stocks of the Austrian National Printing Office were taken on the voyage.

VII \_ As a result of the varying levels of fading of the individual prints (salt paper) in all of the albums, further investigation is planned. This includes questioning the type of the prints (contact print or enlargement of the negative), as well as the processing of the prints that was carried out in the Austrian National Printing Office in Vienna, or in the area near Trieste.

VIII \_ Archduke Franz Ferdinand von Österreich (1863 Vienna – 1914 Sarajevo).

IX \_ Today, the album is in the holdings of the Artstetten Castle Archives that has been administered by Alix de La Poeze d'Hambure-Frave since 2015.

X \_ Purchased from the Dorotheum Auction House, Vienna, *Auktion Fotografie 15.5.2019*, Vienna 2019, Lot Nr.16 <<https://www.dorotheum.com/de/!/6183780/>> (04.07.23).

XI \_ Österreichische Staatsdruckerei (ed.), *Katalog der Bibliothek von Miramar*, Vienna 1863, 71/801.

XII \_ The long process of transferring part of the holdings from the library in Miramare Castle to Austria (see: Austrian National Library – Archive, Protokoll 814/1913) began in the year 1913. The transfer to Vienna finally took place in 1921, and these objects were subsequently placed into temporary storage for decades before being officially taken over by the general management of the Austrian National Library in the year 1956 (see: Austrian National Library – Archives, Protokoll 594/Nr.594, 6. July 1956). These holdings included a copy of the “album” (= Albenwerk der Mittelmeerreise des Erzherzogs Ferdinand Maximilian), in keeping with a changed entry on number 801 in the “Catalogue of the Library of Miramare”, in which the number of photographs was reduced from “46” to “39”. This album was transferred from the Map Department of the Austrian National Library to the institution's Picture Archives and Graphic Department where it was given the inventory number Pk 5806, 1–41.

XIII \_ It seems that the two doublets were not counted in the 1921 inventory. Another distinctive feature is that sheets Pk 5806,4 and Pk 5806,26 are mounted differently than the rest of the album (description in gold print directly on the paper instead of on a label). The latter two sheets are not the doubles mentioned above.

XIV \_ *Katalog der Bibliothek von Miramar*, Vienna 1863, D. Photographien, Nr. 801, dated falsely with “1853”. (see reference XI).

XV \_ Ministero della Cultura - Museo Storico e il Parco del Castello di Miramare, “Album von 46 Photographien” 1863:801 (0600181518,1–49). The catalogue entry cites the title from the *Katalog der Bibliothek von Miramar*, Vienna 1863 (see reference XI).

XVI \_ The following two photographs of the fleet from the holdings of the Austrian National Library are not included in the collection of the Bonartes Photo Institute: Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,6 K.K. österreichische Escadre St. Andrä and Austrian National Library, Vienna, Pk 5806,40 K.K. österreichische Escadre Phalerus-Hafen.

XVII \_ Auction at Dorotheum “Plakate, Reklame, Comics Film-, Bühnen- und Fotohistorika” from 20.09.2016, lot 235 “Österreichische Marine, Konvolut (11 pieces)”. This bundle comprises 8 photographs of ships, 2 group portraits with sailors, and the group portrait of the high-ranking officers with the hand-written note “Wissiak 1855” on the reverse (see fig. 7).

XVIII \_ Julius Ritter von Wissiak was the Director of the Marine Academy in Trieste who accompanied Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian on his Mediterranean voyage as his nautical science teacher. Wissiak, Julius Ritter von (3.7.1818–27.5.1890). Antonio Schmidt-Brentano, *Die österreichischen Admirale vol. 1 1808–1895*, Osnabrück 1997, 211–215