

# The Austro-Hungarian Embassy (Legation) in Tokyo (1869–1914)\*

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## 1. Introduction

This year (2009) celebrates the 140th anniversary<sup>1</sup> of Japan-Austria diplomatic and commercial relations which officially began in October of 1869. It goes without saying that Austria has come to be one of the familiar European countries for Japanese. Most of them can easily imagine some certain typical images of the country, for example the charming waltzes by the Strauss family in the *Neujahrskonzert* at the golden *Musikvereinsaal*, Maria singing in the *Mirabellgarten* in Salzburg in *the Sound of Music*, or ski equipment etc. However, there are few Japanese or Austrians who can trace the 140 years of political or commercial history between them. To commemorate this occasion, the present essay tries to draw a short history of the less-known former Austro-Hungarian Embassy (Legation until 1907), which finally settled in Kioi-cho (紀尾井町), Kojimachi-ku (麹町区), Tokyo (東京).

Looking back ninety-five years ago, Japan and Austria experienced a tragic record that both countries were drawn into the *de-jure* and in a sense *de-facto* state of war. Imperial Japan, an ally of Great Britain through the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902) broke down its diplomatic relations with Germany in August of 1914 due to the outbreak of war in Europe between the two hostile blocs, namely, the Triple Entente and the Dual Alliance. Due to the mechanism of the prewar alliance systems, Japan and Austria were almost destined to become nominal enemies without mutual material hatred. When Baron Ladislaus Müller von Szentgyörgy (1855–?), the last Austro-Hungarian ambassador, i.e. the last master of the Tokyo Embassy left the platform of Shimbashi (新橋) Station with disappointment in August 31, 1914, he could never have imagined that the Embassy would no longer be used by his country because of its dissolution in 1918, and the building itself would be totally destroyed in the Great Kanto Earthquake (関東大震災) in 1923.

Among the several academic works on Japan-Habsburg Relations, the first reference was Professor Peter Pantzer's magnum opus, which was published in 1973<sup>2</sup>. He introduced not only the

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<sup>1</sup>The Austrian Embassy in Tokyo is now hosting a web-site commemorating the 140th anniversary. Cf. <http://www.austria-japan2009.org/> (Accessed on 26 Mar. 2009)

diplomatic relations, but cultural, economic and social interactions, and of course he did not miss referring to the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in his works<sup>3</sup>. In terms of “pure” diplomatic history, Professor Charles Burdick had already described the days around the outbreak of the war using primary sources found in Vienna archives<sup>4</sup>. Recently Professor Atsushi Otsuru (大津留厚) published his work on the Austrian Prisoner-Of-War (POW) camp located in Aonogahara (青野ヶ原), Onoshi (小野市), Hyogo Prefecture (兵庫県) during the First World War<sup>5</sup>. The author has tried to understand Austria-Hungary’s Far East policy in terms of the much wider international power-political context<sup>6</sup>. In this essay, the Author introduces the Embassy or Legation itself with some illustrations as a basis of the study of the Japan-Austria relations, using mostly Japanese materials found in the Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (Gaiko-Shiryokan: 外交史料館)<sup>7</sup> with some Japanese newspaper articles.

## 2. Searches for residences in Tokyo

Two Austro-Hungarian warships, “Donau” and “Erzherzog Friedrich” conveying the diplomatic representatives and other officials at last arrived at Yokohama on September 1869<sup>8</sup>. Under the support and guidance of Sir Harry Parks, the British minister and the doyen of diplomatic corps,

<sup>2</sup>Peter Pantzer, *Japan und Österreich-Ungarn, Die diplomatischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Beziehungen von ihrer Aufnahme bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Vienna: Institute für Japanologie, 1973) (竹内精一・芹澤ユリア訳『日本オーストリア関係史』(創造社, 1984年)). Professor Pantzer also wrote down a brief summary of Japan-Austria relations in the above mentioned web-site. Cf. <http://www.austria-japan2009.org/history/> (Accessed on 26 Mar. 2009)

<sup>3</sup>Pantzer, *Japan und Österreich-Ungarn, passim*; *Idem*, “Japan und Österreich zwischen beiden Kriegen”, Josef Kreiner (ed.), *Japan und die Mittelmächte im Ersten Weltkrieg und in den zwanziger Jahren* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, 1986), pp. 176–181;

<sup>4</sup>Charles Burdick, “Austro-Hungarian Missions in the Pacific at the Outbreak of the Great War,” *Research Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (March 1983), pp. 12–24.

<sup>5</sup>Atsushi Otsuru, *Aonogahara furyo shuuyoujo no sekai (Austrian Prisoners of War in Japan. The Aonogahara Camp 1915–1919)* (Tokyo: Yamakawa-shoten, 2007) (大津留厚『青野原俘虜収容所の世界 第一次世界大戦とオーストリア捕虜兵』(山川書店, 2007年)).

<sup>6</sup>Masayuki Shimada, “Osutoria hangar no ‘rokkoku shakkandan’ kanyu monndai 1912” (“Austria-Hungary’s Effort for the Participation in ‘Reorganization Loan (Six-Power) Consortium’ and its Consequence 1912,” (島田昌幸「オーストリア＝ハンガリーの『六国借款団』加入問題 (1912)』 *Journal of Law and Political Studies* (Keio Univ.) (『法学政治学論究』), No. 60 (2004), pp. 357–390; *Idem*, “Osutoria hangari gaiko ni okeru nihon no ichizuke (Japan’s Position in Austria-Hungary’s Foreign Policy with Reference to the Bosnian Annexation Crisis 1908–1909),” (同上「オーストリア＝ハンガリー外交における日本の位置付け』 *Journal of Law and Political Studies* (Keio Univ.), No. 62 (2004), pp. 199–232, both are written in Japanese.

<sup>7</sup>The Diplomatic Record Office is located at Iikura (飯倉), Minato-ku (港区), Tokyo. Cf. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/annai/honsho/shiryoo/> (Accessed on 2 April, 2009)

<sup>8</sup>A detailed account of the commencement of the diplomatic relations between both countries can be found in Professor Pantzer’s work. Pantzer, *Japan und Österreich-Ungarn, passim*.

Austria-Hungary attained the most favourable treaty of commerce and navigation among the other western powers (October 1869), whilst it would be ratified in both countries more than two years later (1872). To tell the truth, it is a complicated task to trace the footsteps of Austro-Hungarian legations in Japan in the first stage. Austria-Hungary chose Shanghai as the centre of its diplomatic and consular mission in Far East. The first diplomatic and consular representative to Japan, Baron (later Count) Heinrich von Calice, served as a Minister Resident (弁理公使) and General Consul not only in Japan, but also in China and Thailand (Siam). Due to the frequent absence of Baron Calice, he told the Foreign Ministry of Japan to send their communications to the private house of Heinrich von Siebold, a son of the famous German medical doctor, Philipp von Siebold. Heinrich served as a translator of both British and Austro-Hungarian legations, who lived next to the British legation in Takanawa (高縄), Tokyo<sup>9</sup>. So it can be assumed that the British legation held the function of the Austro-Hungarian legation to some extent in the beginning of its diplomatic relation with Japan<sup>10</sup>, although there were several Austro-Hungarian diplomats and consular agents stationed in Tokyo or Yokohama. The author tried to clarify accurate locations of the Austro-Hungarian legation in the early stage, but the search is in progress and some evidence may be found in the Vienna archive.

It is evident from the Japanese archival sources that there were several attempts to settle the legation in Tokyo since 1871. Baron Ladislaus von Hengellmüller, the acting diplomatic and consular representative, told the Foreign Ministry of Japan that they rented an uninhabited temple, called Gankaiji (願海寺) in Mita (三田), Tokyo<sup>11</sup>. The Foreign Ministry of Japan suggested the Austro-Hungarian Legation find suitable places in Tokyo in March of 1871<sup>12</sup>, and the Austrians replied that they had found four candidates, i.e. Takashima (高嶋)-*Hantei* (藩邸)<sup>13</sup>, Tsuyama (津山)-*Hantei*, Sukanuma (菅沼)-*Hantei* in Hamacho (浜町), and Takaoka (高岡)-*Hantei* in Yanokura (矢野倉)<sup>14</sup>. To their disappointment, these were all occupied by other tenants, so the Foreign Ministry suggested other alternatives in Akasaka-Tameike (赤坂溜池), Atagoshita (愛

<sup>9</sup>Diplomatic Record Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (DRO), Record of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (RMFA) (『外務省記録』), “Kojimachi-ku kioicho sanbanchi oukoku koushikan youchi toshite kashiwatashi ikkenn (The Estate of No. 3, Kioi-cho, Kojimachi-ku, lent to the Austrian Legation) (3.12.1.14)” (『麹町区紀尾井三番町奥国公使館用地として貸渡一件 (3.12.1.14)』), No. 3, Calice to Foreign Minister Munenori Terashima (寺島宗則), 9 Apr. 1871 (20 Feb. Fourth of Meiji (Chinese calendar (CC))). ※Documents in this file have own reference numbers, but the numbers are not allotted to the documents after 1882.

<sup>10</sup>Seiro Kawasaki, *Bakumatsu no chunichi gaikokan, ryojikan (Foreign diplomatic and consular missions in the end of Edo period)* (Tokyo: Yushodo, 1988), pp. 144-5 (川崎晴朗『幕末の駐日外交官・領事官』(雄松堂, 1988年)).

<sup>11</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 1, Hengellmüller to Machida, Foreign vice minister, 1 Jan. 1871 (30 Nov. fourth of Meiji in Chinese calendar (CC)).

<sup>12</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 4, Foreign Ministry to Siebold, 11 May 1871 (22 Mar. Fourth of Meiji (CC)).

<sup>13</sup>“*Hantei*” is the former residence in Edo (Tokyo) of Japanese daimyos, feudal lord in Tokugawa-Shogunate Period.

<sup>14</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 5, Siebold to Foreign Ministry, 17 May 1871 (28 Mar. Fourth of Meiji (CC)).

宕下) and Iikura-katamachi (飯倉片町)<sup>15</sup>. At last the Austrians seemed to be satisfied with Yonezawa (米沢)-*Hantei* in Iikura-katamachi, and the Foreign Ministry and the legation started some negotiations to make a contract to buy the estate and renovate the old wooden *Hantei* building<sup>16</sup>. However, in September 1872 the Austrians decided to abandon the idea because of the sudden return of the Minister Resident Baron Calice to Vienna<sup>17</sup>. In this way, Austria-Hungary lost their chance to settle their legation in Tokyo permanently in the first stage. But after his five-week stay in Yokohama, Baron Ignaz von Schaeffer, the successor of Baron Calice, was convinced in 1875 that “he ought to take up his permanent residence in [Y]edo”<sup>18</sup> [No. 1]. So the Austro-Hungarian legation decided to buy the former residence of Oscar Heeren, located in No. 31 Tsukiji (築地), Tokyo<sup>19</sup> [No. 2], [No. 3]. There was a foreign settlement located there at that time. This large residence had originally been used as Murakami (村上) *Hantei* before the Meiji restoration, and sold to Heeren, an ambitious German merchant from Hamburg, in 1870<sup>20</sup>. As he abandoned his business in Tokyo, he left Japan to seek a new business frontier in Peru in 1874. This large residence was then used as the Peruvian legation (1874–76) and its next tenant was the Austro-Hungarian legation. Unfortunately this Tsukiji legation was very short-lived because of a fire in November of 1876<sup>21</sup>, and the legation took refuge in the house of Arinori Mori (森有礼), who was the Japanese minister to China at that time<sup>22</sup>, whose house was located in Kobiki-cho (木挽町). Just before Baron Schaeffer’s departure to Vienna in April of 1877, the minister and the Foreign Ministry negotiated its alternatives, and the result was Kioi-cho<sup>23</sup>.

### 3. A long way to the legation in Kioi-cho

The Austro-Hungarian legation decided to settle in Kioi-cho in December of 1877<sup>24</sup> and the estate was at last handed over to them in May 8, 1878<sup>25</sup>. A Japanese newspaper reported on June of

<sup>15</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 6, Foreign Ministry to Siebold, 2 June 1871 (15 Apr. Fourth of Meiji (CC)).

<sup>16</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 14, Siebold to Foreign Ministry, 15 Nov. 1871 (3 Oct. Fourth of Meiji (CC)).

<sup>17</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 22, Siebold to Foreign Ministry, 21 Oct. 1872 (19 Sept. Fifth of Meiji (CC)).

<sup>18</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No number, Schaeffer to Terashima, 4 Jan. 1875. \*The Japanese government decided to use New Style (Gregorian calendar) in 1873. 3 Dec. 1872 (Fifth of Meiji) in Chinese calendar was turned into 1 Jan. 1873 in New Style.

<sup>19</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No.23, Siebold to Foreign Ministry, 18 Jul. 1875.

<sup>20</sup>Seiro Kawasaki, *Tsukiji gaikokujin kyoryuchi—Meiji jidai no Tokyo ni atta gaikoku (Tsukiji Settlement: Foreign Countries in Meiji-era Tokyo)* (Tokyo: Yushoudo, 2002), pp. 68–73 (川崎晴朗『築地外国人居留地—明治時代の東京にあった「外国」』(雄松堂, 2002年)).

<sup>21</sup>Kawasaki, *Tsukiji gaikokujin kyoryuchi*, p. 72.

<sup>22</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 34, Koichi Miyamoto (宮本小一) to Superintendent General (大警視), 26 Dec. 1876.

<sup>23</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 35, Record of the conversation with Schaeffer, 6 Apr. 1877.

<sup>24</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 50, Siebold to Miyamoto, 3 Dec. 1877.

*Private & confidential.*      Yokohama, the 9<sup>th</sup> January 1878

Sir;

My stay of about five weeks in Yokohama has convinced me, that if the Austro-Hungarian Minister should be of any use to his government, he ought to take up his permanent residence in Yedo. To that purpose I intend to make a detailed report to Vienna. Considering the greater difficulty of finding a suitable house in Yedo as in other capitals in Europe, I venture to ask You, before I make the above report, whether the Imperial Japanese Government, in case I settle here, would give me a helping assistance in finding a house at moderate terms etc. etc. a piece of land to build upon.

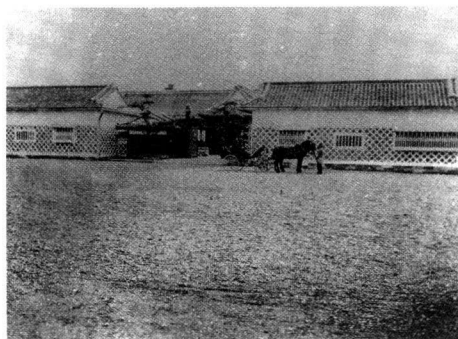
Expecting an early reply I remain

Your Excellency's  
most obedient servant

Schaeffer

To His Excellency  
Ferdinand von Sotomatsu  
Minister of Foreign Affairs  
of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

[No. 1] Baron Schaeffer's letter claiming the necessity to settle in Tokyo



[No. 2] Tsukiji legation (the former property of Oscar Heeren)



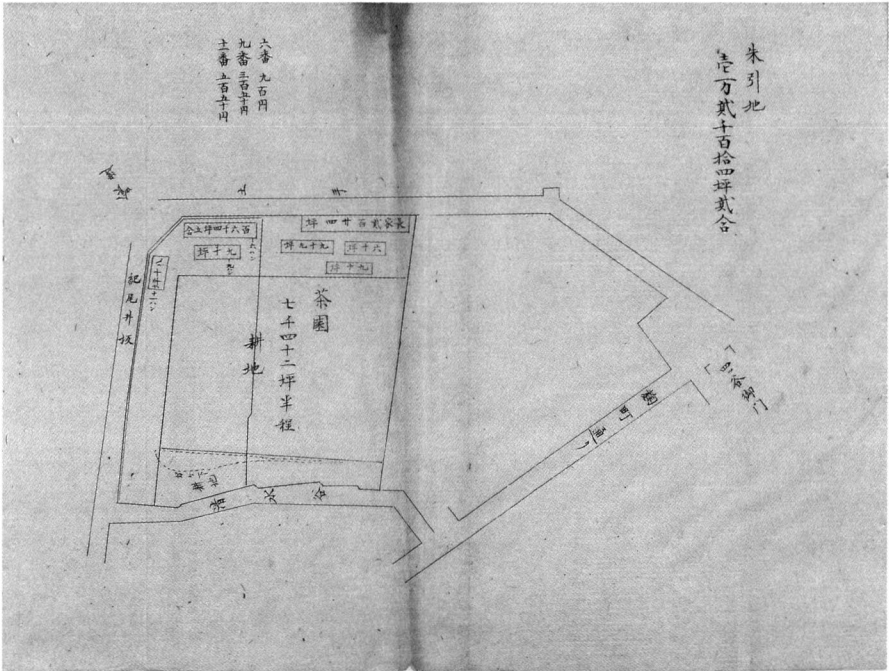
[No. 3] Tsukiji legation

1878 that the new Austro-Hungarian legation would be constructed in Kioi-cho<sup>26</sup>. However, this was just a starting point. It would take more than twenty years to settle down in Kioi-cho. The new estate for the legation in Tokyo was located in No. 3, Kioi-cho, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo and its estate was enlarged three times (1890 (1896), 1896, 1904). Today this estate ranges from the southern part of the campus of Sophia University (上智大学) to the Tokyo Head Office of *House Foods Corporation*. The initial estate of 1230 *Tsubo* (坪) (= 4066.12 square metres) had originally belonged to the Kishu *Han* (紀州藩), which was one of the ruling families of the Tokugawa-shogunate before the Meiji era. After the restoration, this became a property of Kanau Kitamura (北村叶), a samurai class citizen (士族) of Niigata prefecture (新潟県)<sup>27</sup>, which was used partly as tea estates [No. 4]. The estate itself was purchased by the Tokyo city government with the per-

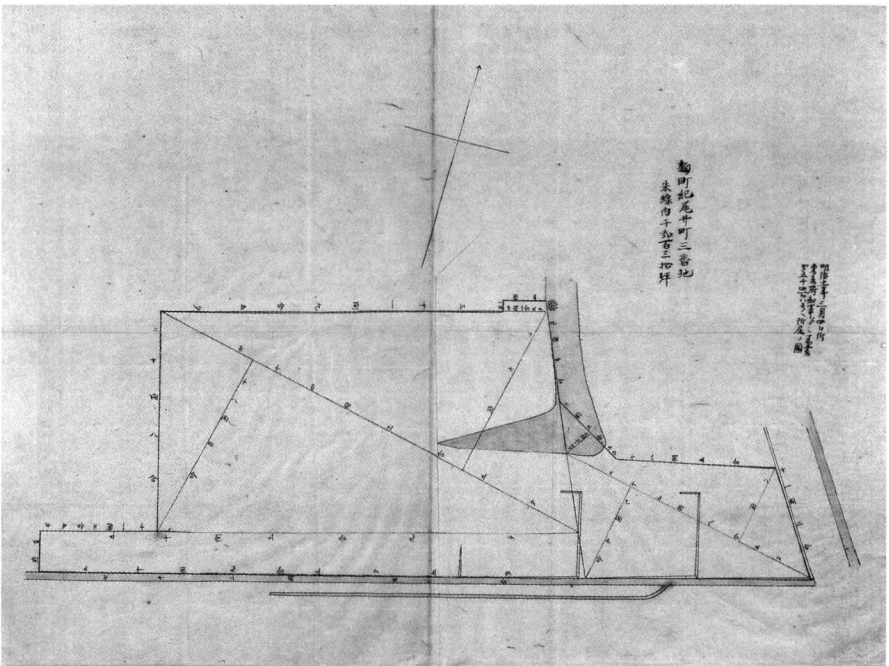
<sup>25</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 64, Masataka Kusumoto (楠本正隆), the Mayor of Tokyo to Miyamoto, 8 May 1878.

<sup>26</sup>The *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 21 Jun. 1878 (読売新聞).

<sup>27</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No number, Kanau Kitamura to the foreign affairs division of the Tokyo city government, 2 Nov. 1877.



[No. 4] Original map of entire Kioi-cho estate: described as tea estates (茶園)



[No. 5] Original map of the allotted estate for the Austro-Hungarian legation

mission of the Ministry of Finance, and lent to the legation<sup>28</sup>. The annual rent was 28.303 Japanese Yen per year<sup>29</sup> [No. 5].

Although the Austro-Hungarian legation acquired the new estate, they could not move to Kioi-cho, on which there was no building at all. According to the address directories published in Japan and China<sup>30</sup>, the Austro-Hungarian legation located again in Yokohama (No. 145, “Bluff” in Yokohama) until 1880, then moved to No. 19, Nagata-cho (永田町), Itchome (一丁目), Kojimachi-ku and stayed there until 1883. However, an article of *the Yomiuri Shimbun* revealed that the Austrian legation located in Nagata-cho had been burgled on December 26, 1879<sup>31</sup>. So it is supposed that the Nagata-cho legation had already existed as early as the end of 1879, and it must have moved to Yokohama temporarily in 1880. In October of 1881, Maximilian Hoffer von Hoffenfels, the next Austro-Hungarian minister, requested the Foreign Ministry to enlarge the Kioi-cho estate<sup>32</sup>. Due to the construction of a paved road next to the land, he argued that he could not set up the main gate in an appropriate place. By enlarging the estate, they could build its main gate in a much more favourable setting. So the Foreign Ministry permitted the lending of No. 6 and No. 7 of Kioi-cho, 329.227 *Tsubo* (=1088.35 square metres) to the legation<sup>33</sup>, but these additional lands were not handed over until March of 1890<sup>34</sup> [No. 6]. In sum, Herr von Hoffer succeeded in making the Foreign Ministry accept the enlargement of the estate, but he could not start the construction of the building.

When the next minister, Count Carl von Zalsuki came to Tokyo, the legation moved to No. 9 Tsunamachi (綱町), Mita (三田), Shiba-ku (芝区), which was sometimes referred as Koyama-cho (小山町). The legation had to move to No. 15 Shirokane-shida-cho (白金志田町), Shiba-ku, due to the return of the owner, Marquis Mochiaki Hachisuka (蜂須賀茂韶). They stayed there until 1887. In 1888, Count Zaluski moved to No. 3 Aoi-cho (葵町), Akasaka-ku (赤坂区), which

<sup>28</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No. 54, Miyamoto to Kusumoto, 10 Dec. 1877; No. 55, Kusumoto to Miyamoto, 14 Dec. 1877; No. 60, Miyamoto to Kusumoto, 22 Feb. 1878; No.61, Kusumoto to Miyamoto, 4 Mar. 1878; No. 62, Miyamoto to Kusumoto, 26 Mar. 1878; No. 63, Kusumoto to Miyamoto, 29 Mar. 1878.

<sup>29</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No ref. number, The contract on the lease, 27 Jun. 1878, with No. 65, Kusumoto to Miyamoto, 9 May 1878.

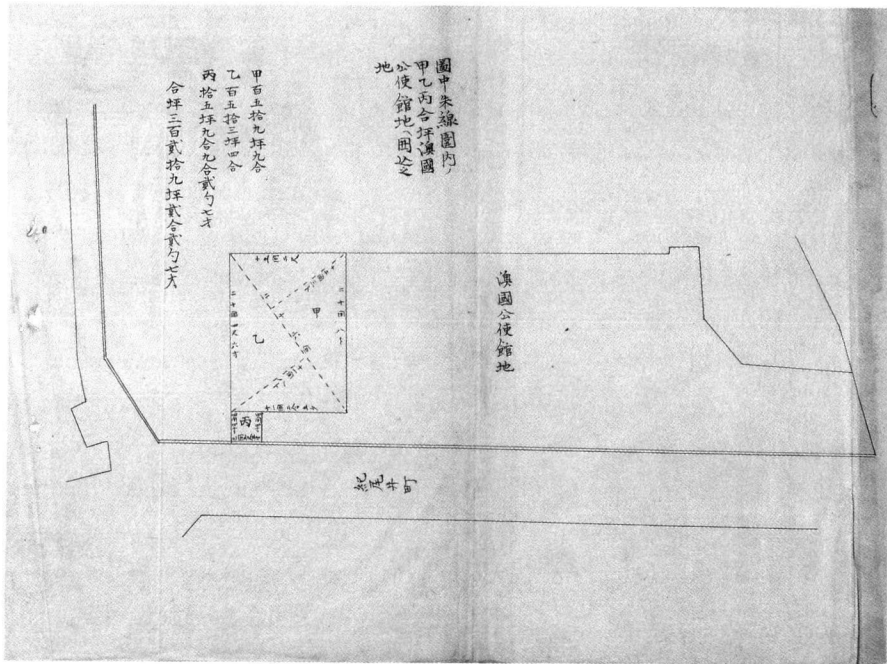
<sup>30</sup>Kazuo Tatewaki ed., *Bakumatsu Meiji zainichi gaikokujin, kikan meikan (Japan Directory)* Vol. 1-3 (Tokyo: Yumani Shobo, 1996) (立脇和夫編『幕末明治在日外国人・機関名鑑：ジャパングイド』(ゆまに書房, 1996))

<sup>31</sup>*The Yomiuri Shimbun*, 28 Dec. 1879.

<sup>32</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No ref. number, Kaoru Inoue (井上馨), Foreign Minister to Sanetsune Tokudaiji (徳大寺実則) (No. 15), Minister of Imperial Household, 22 Oct. 1881; No ref. number, Inoue to Michiyuki Matsuda (松田道之), Governor of Tokyo, 5 Dec. 1881; No. ref. number, Matsuda to Inoue (No. 16876), 17 Dec. 1881; No. ref. number, Sanetomi Sanjo (三条実美), the Chancellor of the Realm (No. 9), 31 Mar. 1882.

<sup>33</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No ref. number, Inoue to Hoffer von Hoffenfels (No. 15), 16 Jun. 1882.

<sup>34</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No ref. number, Shuzo Aoki (青木周蔵), Foreign Minister to Goroku Takasaki (高崎五六), the governor of Tokyo (No. 56), 28 Mar. 1890.



[No. 6] First enlargement (1890)

was called “Yamato *Yashiki* (大和屋敷)” [No. 7]. This property belonged to Baron Kihachiro Okura (大倉喜八郎), a millionaire who established the Okura *Zaibatsu* (財閥), where the Hotel Okura stands today. The next minister Baron Rüdiger von Biegeleben felt the Yamato *Yashiki* was too small<sup>35</sup>, so decided to move to No. 15, Kami-nibancho (上二番町), Kojimachi-ku, which was owned by Viscount Shuzo Aoki (青木周蔵), the former Japanese minister in Vienna. Baron Biegeleben urged the Foreign Ministry to transfer the additional estate of 329.227 *Tsubo* in Kioi-cho on March 27, 1890<sup>36</sup>, and the land was handed over to the legation on 28th without its formal contract.

After Baron Biegeleben left for Vienna, Count Heinrich von Coudenhove-Kalergi came to Tokyo to serve as a *Chargés d'affaires* in 1893. He moved to No. 26, Ushigome Nandocho (牛込納戸町), which was the possession of Viscount Nobuyoshi Kaieda (海江田信義), and as a matter of fact, where he made a dramatic *rencontre* with Mitsuko Aoyama (青山光子).

The Ushigome legation welcomed the next minister, Count Christian von Wydenbruck in 1896. Count Wydenbruck concluded the final contract of the hitherto mentioned additional estate in Kioi-

<sup>35</sup>The *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 19 Apr. 1889.

<sup>36</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No ref. number, Biegeleben to Aoki, 27 Mar. 1890.





[No. 7] Yamato Yashiki

cho with the Foreign Ministry on November 20, 1896, accepting the annual rent of 7 Yen per 100 *Tsubo*<sup>37</sup>. He wanted to conclude this first enlargement contract, because he had a concrete plan to build a new legation building in Kioi-cho<sup>38</sup>.

The legation asked Dr. Josiah Conder<sup>39</sup> to design the new legation building [No. 8] ~ [No. 12]. Dr. Conder is the most prominent British architect in Japanese modern history, who at first served as a professor of the Imperial College of Engineering (工部大学校) and later an adviser at the Ministry of Works (工部省), and some of his works are still preserved throughout Japan. Dr. Conder designed three legations of “*Dreibund*” countries, and they were his only works for foreign diplomatic missions in Japan. Designed in Renaissance style, this bricked two-floor Building resembled the appearance of the German legation<sup>40</sup> to some extent. A Japanese scholar of Conder’s architecture said the Austro-Hungarian legation’s “grandiosity was more emphasized than its German counterpart<sup>41</sup>”, but an Austrian diplomat described the property only as “a charming house

<sup>37</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.14), No ref. number, Draft of the final contract of land lease, 20 Nov. 1896 with Tokyo.

<sup>38</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), “Zai honpo kakkoku koshikan youchi kasiwatashi zakken (Miscellaneous file of the land lease for foreign legations: Austria)” (「在本邦各国公使館用地貸渡雑件，奥洪国之物 (3.12.1.112-2)」), No ref. number, Wydenbruck to Shigenobu Okuma (大隈重信), Foreign Minister, 26 Oct. 1896.

<sup>39</sup>Many books on Josiah Conder are published in Japan, but mostly in Japanese.

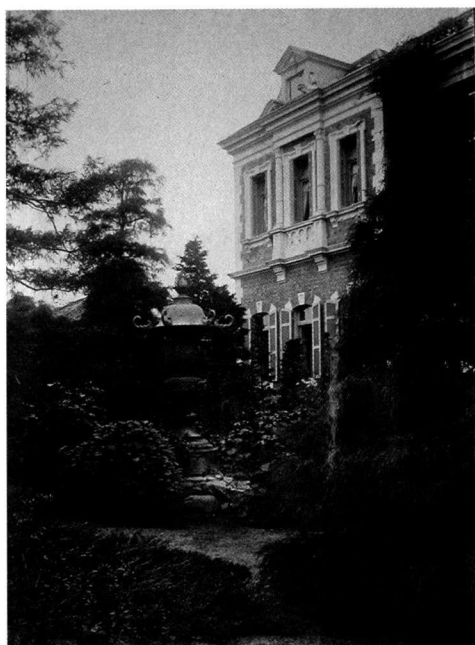
<sup>40</sup>Kondoru Hakushi kinen hyosho-kai (The Commemoration Committee for Dr. Conder) ed., *Kondoru hakushi isaku-shu* (Collection of the posthumous works of Dr. Josiah Conder, F.R.I.B.A.) (Tokyo: Kondoru Hakushi kinen hyosho kai, 1931) (コンドル博士記念表彰会『コンドル博士遺作集』(コンドル博士記念表彰会, 1931年)).



[No. 8] The legation (Embassy) building in Kioi-cho inaugurated in 1898



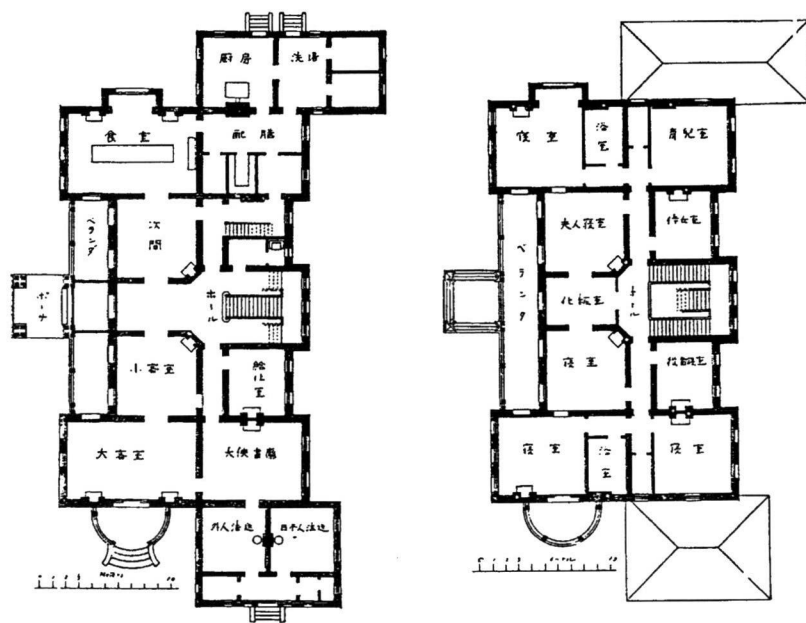
[No. 9] Legation (Embassy) in Kioi-cho from Kioi-zaka



[No. 10] The legation building from the garden



[No. 11] Japanese Lantern in the garden



埃 太 利 大 使 館  
 洪 牙 利 大 使 館  
 名 譽 員 ジョサイア・コンドル博士設計作物  
 明治三十二年竣工

[No. 12] Rough sketch of the interior

with a beautiful garden<sup>42</sup>.” We can find two dates in several academic works on Condor’s architecture as the completion date of the new building of the Austro-Hungarian Legation, i.e. July 1898<sup>43</sup> and September 1899<sup>44</sup>. Diplomatic records reveal that the Austro-Hungarian legation moved temporarily to No. 15 Kami-nibancho (上二番町) from Ushigome on April 26, 1897, and it moved to Kioi-cho on August 10, 1898<sup>45</sup>. This suggests that the new building itself might have been completed in the summer of 1898, and its full completion including exteriors might have been in 1899.

To construct the new building, Count Wydenbruck asked Count Shigenobu Okuma (大隈重信), the Foreign Minister of Japan to enlarge the estate again<sup>46</sup> [No. 13]. Okuma authorised this second enlargement in his private letter<sup>47</sup>, so the new 900 *Tsubo* ( $\doteq$  2975.21 square metres) was handed over to the legation in 1899. In addition, another 528 *Tsubo* ( $\doteq$  1745.45 square metres) estate was added to the legation in 1904. So the estate of the legation finally measured approximately 2987.2 *Tsubo* ( $\doteq$  9875 square metres) in 1904. The expanded lands belonged to the Imperial House of Japan (御料地), so the land lease contracts were made between the legation and the Ministry of the Imperial Household (宮内省).

#### 4. The Promotion to “Embassy” and its masters

When the new embassy building was inaugurated in 1898, Japan and the Habsburg Monarchy did not exchange ambassadors, but only ministers. Since the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, Japan had been treated as a “Great Power” in international relations. There were distinct ranks among the nations of the international society at that time. For example, Austria-Hungary exchanged “Ambassadors” only with ten countries in 1907. This meant that the Habsburg

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<sup>42</sup>Yoshiyuki Kawato, *Josaia Kondoru kenchiku zumen-shu II (Architectural plans of Josiar Condor, vol. II)* (Tokyo: Chuo-koron bijutsu shuppan, 1981), p. 39 (河東義之編『ジョサイア・コンドル建築図面集 II』(中央公論美術出版, 1981年)).

<sup>43</sup>Sir George Franckenstein, *Facts and Features of My Life* (London: Cassell, 1939), p. 92.

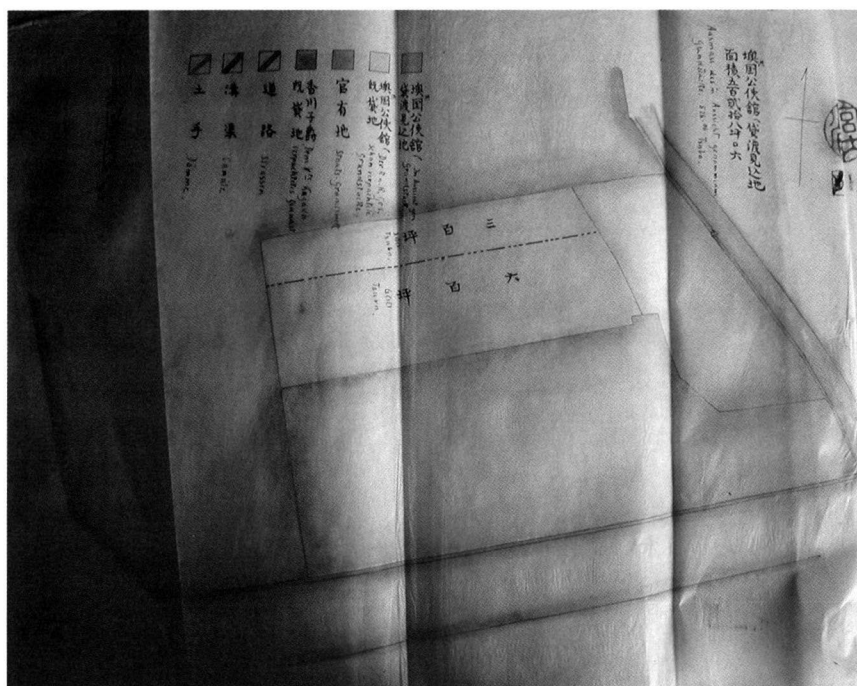
<sup>44</sup>Nihon Kenchiku-gakkai (Architectural Institute of Japan) ed., *Meiji Taisho kenchiku shashin shuran (The Pictorial Catalogue of Architectures built in Meiji and Taisho era)* (Tokyo, Nihon Kenchiku-gakkai, 1936), p. 83 (日本建築学会編『明治大正建築寫真聚覽』(建築学会, 1936年)).

<sup>45</sup>*Kenchiku-zasshi (Journal of Architecture and Building Science)*, Vol. 34, No. 402 (1920), p. 266 (52) (『建築雑誌』); Kondoru hakushi kinen hyosho-kai ed., *Kondoru hakushi isakushu*; Yoshiyuki Kawato, *Josaia Kondoru kenchiku zumen-shu I (Architectural plans of Josiar Condor, vol. I)* (Tokyo: Chuo-koron bijutsu shuppan, 1980), p. 18 (河東義之編『ジョサイア・コンドル建築図面集 I』); Kawato, *Josaia Kondoru kenchiku zumen-shu II*, p. 39.

<sup>46</sup>DRO, RMFA, “Zai honpo kakkoku koshikan secchi iten kankei zakken (Settlements and moves of foreign legations in Japan) (6.1.3.1)” (「在本邦各国公使館設置移転関係雑件 (6.1.3.1)」), Wydenbruck to Foreign Ministry (No. 79), 26 Apr. 1897; Secretary of Austro-Hungarian legation to Foreign Ministry (No. 101213), 9 Aug. 1898.

<sup>47</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), No ref. number, Wydenbruck to Shigenobu Okuma (大隈重信), 26 Oct. 1896.

<sup>48</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), No ref. number, Okuma to Wydenbruck, 26 Oct. 1896.



[No. 13] Second (1896) and Third enlargement (1904)

Monarchy admitted Great Power Status for only ten countries<sup>48</sup>. In 1906, Great Britain changed the rank of the diplomatic corps into “ambassador,” then European Great Powers and the United States began to exchange “ambassadors,” too. So the Austro-Hungarian Legation was turned into the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian “Embassy” in July of 1907<sup>49</sup>.

According to Dr. Godsey, “of the three missions in East Asia, that in Tokyo proved the least objectionable among diplomats, but it was the least popular of the ten embassies maintained by the monarchy in 1914<sup>50</sup>.” Adarbert Ambró von Adamócz, a Hungarian, who at first served as a minister, became an ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Imperial Japanese Court and submitted his credentials to the Emperor in March of 1907. In the next month however, he was permitted a long leave and he returned to Tokyo in December. In November of 1908, Herr von Ambró was dismissed and replaced by a young able Hungarian diplomat, Julius von Szilassy, who served as a *Chargés d'affaires*. As a curious young diplomat, he had ardently been asking the

<sup>48</sup>An exception was Vatican. So Austria-Hungary had two embassies (Italy and Vatican) in Rome at that time.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 19 Nov. 1906.

<sup>50</sup>William Godsey, Jr. *Aristocratic Redoubt: The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office on the Eve of the First World War* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1999), p. 172.

Foreign Ministry to send him to Tokyo since 1904<sup>51</sup> and at last he came to Japan as a counsellor with his sister on November of 1907<sup>52</sup>. There he made very sharp (maybe a little prejudiced) observations on East Asian affairs<sup>53</sup>, which were highly evaluated in the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry. In November of 1908, an important figure in the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry was nominated to fill the vacant seat of the ambassador in Tokyo, and his formal appointment took place in January of 1909. He was Baron Guido Call von Rosenberg und Klumbach, an Austrian peer, who was at that time known as an Austrian expert in commercial and Balkan affairs, and had served as Minister of Commerce in the Ernst von Koelber administration (1900–1905) in Austria [No. 14], [No. 15]. The Japanese government found in this nomination that Austria desired to promote trade between the two countries<sup>54</sup>. While his two-year tenure in Tokyo (January 1909–March 1911) was nothing but calm except for some rumours about the alleged Japan-Habsburg alliance<sup>55</sup>, he must have experienced the happiest moment as a father of his beloved beautiful daughter, Maria Pia von Call aged 23, who married a British naval officer stationed in Tokyo<sup>56</sup>. She loved Japanese drawings particularly, which she learned with Ogura (小倉)-san, a graduate of the national school of arts. On her wedding, she was granted a silver vase directly from the Empress and her younger brother, who served also as an officer of Austro-Hungarian Navy, visited Tokyo



[No. 14] Baron Call in his office of Kioi-cho Embassy



[No. 15] Baron Call

<sup>51</sup>Godsey, *Aristocratic Redoubt*, p. 176.

<sup>52</sup>Julius von Szilassy, *Die Untergang der Donaumonarchie* (Berlin: Neues Vaterland, 1921), p. 140.

<sup>53</sup>Szilassy, *Die Untergang*, chap. 6.

<sup>54</sup>DRO, RMFA (?), "Zai honpo kakkoku taishi ninmen zakken: oukokoku no bu (Miscellaneous file on the nomination and dismissal of foreign ambassadors) (?)" (「在本邦各国大使任免雑件：奥洪国之部」(?)), No. 4171, Yasuya Uchida (内田康哉) to Jutarō Komura (小村寿太郎), 23 Nov. 1908.

<sup>55</sup>Szilassy, *Die Untergang*, p.166; Shimada, "Osutoria hangari gaiko ni okeru nihon no ichizuke," *passim*.

<sup>56</sup>*The Yomiuri Shinbun*, 7 Sep. 1910.

to attend the wedding ceremony. During his tenure in Tokyo, Baron Call made a Trip to Thailand from November 1910 to January 1911.

However, Szilassy (or Baron Call maybe) must have been an exceptional case. In reality, it was very difficult to find suitable figures for the Embassy in Tokyo, because most of the candidates refused their promotions for several reasons. For example, when the Foreign Ministry in Vienna looked for a new counsellor in Tokyo, at least five candidates refused<sup>57</sup>. Baron Erich Zwiedineck refused to go to Tokyo, because the legation in Tokyo did not have enough rooms for his family and servants and he could not tolerate Japanese style houses, which were thought to lack “the most primitive furnishings<sup>58</sup>.” Some refused because of the health of their parents, wives or their own<sup>59</sup>. At last, Count Alois Lexa von Aehrenthal, the Foreign Minister, decided to send Baron Georg von und zu Franckenstein, a young Austrian diplomat of very distinguished lineage, and one of Aehrenthal’s most beloved young diplomats<sup>60</sup>. Count Aehrenthal wanted him to learn how to foster the commercial interests of Austria-Hungary in Tokyo. Baron Franckenstein filled the vacant ambassador seat as a *Chargés d'affaires* for a year (September 1911 to September 1912) and engaged in several important negotiations such as the renewal of the commercial treaty and the china loan business, although the results were not favourable ones<sup>61</sup>.

Then the last master of the Embassy came to Tokyo in September of 1912 not only as a new ambassador, but also as a special envoy of Emperor Franz Joseph to attend the funeral of the Emperor Mutsuhito (睦仁) [No. 16] ~ [No. 18]. Baron Ladislaus Müller was an unmarried Hungarian diplomat aged 56, who had served as the ambassador in the Ottoman Empire and the first section chief of the Foreign Ministry<sup>62</sup>. During his tenure in Japan, he had started to build the annex of the Embassy building in June of 1914<sup>63</sup>. Its construction was in progress when he received an order to request his passport from the Japanese government and return home in August 27, 1914<sup>64</sup>. It is very

<sup>57</sup>Godsey, *Aristocratic Redoubt*, p. 173.

<sup>58</sup>Godsey, *Aristocratic Redoubt*, pp. 173–174.

<sup>59</sup>Godsey, *Aristocratic Redoubt*, p. 174.

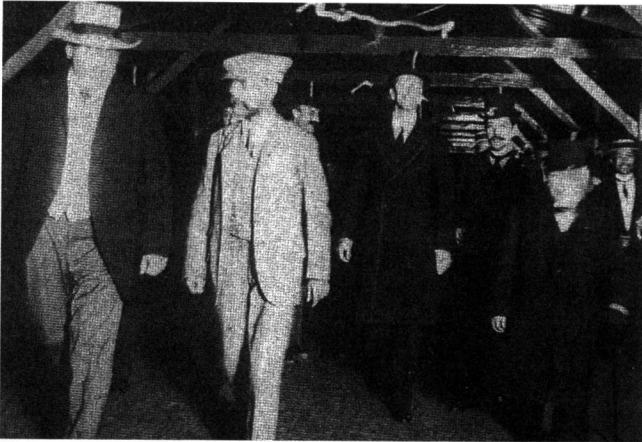
<sup>60</sup>Franckenstein, *Facts and Features*, p. 88; Fritz Fellner (ed.), *Das politische Tagebuch Josef Redlichs 1908-1919* Vol. 1 (Graz: Boehlau, 1953), p. 97; Masayuki Shimada, “Tokyo no furankenshutain, aru osutoria hangari gaikokan no Tokyo chuzai, 1911–1913 (2) (Baron von Franckenstein’s mission in Tokyo (2)),” (「東京のフランケンシュタイン(2)」) *Gakushuin Boys’ High School Bulletin*, No. 5 (2007), pp. 91–93.

<sup>61</sup>Shimada, “Tokyo no furankenshutain (2),” pp. 91–103; *Idem*, Tokyo no furankenshutain, aru osutoria hangari gaikokan no Tokyo chuzai, 1911–1913 (3) (Baron von Franckenstein’s mission in Tokyo (3)),” (「東京のフランケンシュタイン(3)」) *Gakushuin Boys’ High School Bulletin*, No. 6 (2008), pp. 65–83.

<sup>62</sup>*The Asahi Shimbun*, 3 Sept. 1912.

<sup>63</sup>DRO, RMFA, Nichi-doku senso no sai zai-honpo doku ou to koukan oyobi shinmin hikiage ikkenn (Evacuation of German, Austrian and Turkish diplomatic missions and their nationals in Tokyo in the event of war with Germany (5.2.1) (「日独戦争の際在本邦独逸土公館及臣民引揚一件 (5.2.1.23)」), No. 179, Takaaki Kato (加藤高明) to Postwheeler, 4 July 1915.

interesting to know the difference in the press descriptions of Austro-Hungarian and German ambassadors when their diplomatic relations with Japan were broken. In general, Japanese people thought that Austria-Hungary's belligerency towards Japan was an unavoidable outcome of the Dual Alliance with Germany, and Baron Müller was much more sympathetically described in press articles than Count Rex, his German counterpart. *The Asahi Shimbun* described Baron Müller as an extraordinary diplomat who graduated at the head of the Consular Academy in Vienna

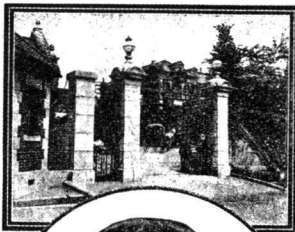


[No. 16] Baron Müller arriving at Shimbashi station



二日夜新橋驛着の新任奥匈大使  
(第一面記事参照)

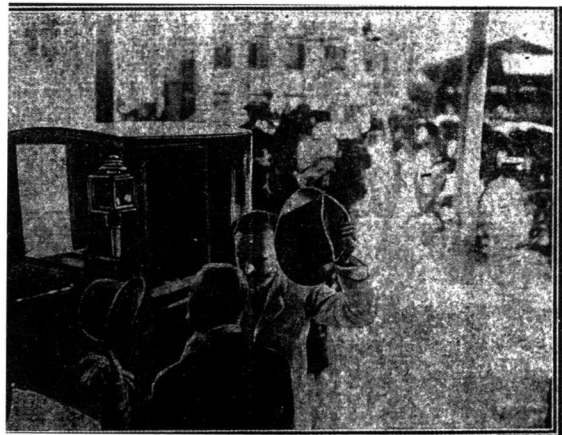
[No. 17] Müller and Franckenstein



奥匈大使ミユルレル男爵大使館



[No. 18] Müller and the Embassy



奥匈大使引揚  
(新橋驛自展村大使)

[No. 19] Müller's farewell at Shimbashi station on his return to Vienna

<sup>64</sup>*The Asahi Shimbun*, 28 Aug. 1914.



(*Theresianum*) and whose exquisite diplomatic talent had been reflected in the success of the Annexation of Bosnia Herzegovina in 1908<sup>65</sup>. When he had to leave Tokyo for Yokohama to get on the steamship “Manchuria” to go home via the United States in August 31, 1914, his attitude was modest and calm enough to impress Japanese journalists<sup>66</sup> [No. 19].

### 5. Aftermath of the Embassy

During the Great War, all the Austro-Hungarian properties in Kioi-cho were entrusted to the American Embassy, and the Austro-Hungarian government paid the rent through the U.S. embassy for three years (1914–1916)<sup>67</sup>. Nonetheless Japan and Austria-Hungary were in a state of war, the Habsburg Foreign Ministry made an inquiry as to “whether the Japanese Government has made sufficient provision for the protection of the buildings of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy” in June of 1915 through the Department of State<sup>68</sup>.

With the United States’ entry to the Great War in 1917, the Austro-Hungarian property was then entrusted to the Spanish Legation and they managed the property for five years (1917–1922)<sup>69</sup>. The Spanish Legation asked the Foreign Ministry of Japan to authorize the small renovation of the Embassy building in April of 1918<sup>70</sup>. The legation asked Matakichi Yabe (矢部又吉) for the repair works of the Kioi-cho building, which cost 1323 Yen<sup>71</sup>. These naturally suggested that the Austrians took it for granted that the property would be returned after the war. In July of 1922, however, the government of the newborn Austrian Republic asked the Spanish Legation to sell the former Austro-Hungarian property in Kioi-cho to the Italian Embassy<sup>72</sup>, which was burned in 1920<sup>73</sup> and looked for a new location. The former Austro-Hungarian possessions consisted of the building and the furniture, and the estate itself belonged to the Tokyo city government and the Ministry of the Imperial Household. The Austrian government finally made the formal declaration to return the whole estate to the Japanese government through the Spanish legation on August 11<sup>74</sup>, and after the land inspection held on August 22<sup>75</sup>, the whole estate was returned on August 31, 1922<sup>76</sup>, which

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<sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup>*The Asahi Shimbun*, 1 Sept. 1914.

<sup>67</sup>Cf. DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), No 190, Receipt to the American ambassador, 17 Dec. 1914.

<sup>68</sup>DRO, RMFA (5.2.1), No. 243, Postwheeler to Takaaki Kato (加藤高明), June 8, 1915.

<sup>69</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), No. 18 Receipt to the Spanish minister, 14 Jul. 1917.

<sup>70</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), No. 11, Jose Caro to Yasuya Uchida (内田康哉), Foreign Minister, 5 Mar. 1918.

<sup>71</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), No. 20, Jose Caro to Ichiro Motono (本野一郎), Foreign Minister, 11 Apr. 1918. Yabe is a famous Japanese architect, who studied in Germany and is known for his architectures for banks.

<sup>72</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), No. 25, Jose Caro to Uchida, 10 Jul. 1922.

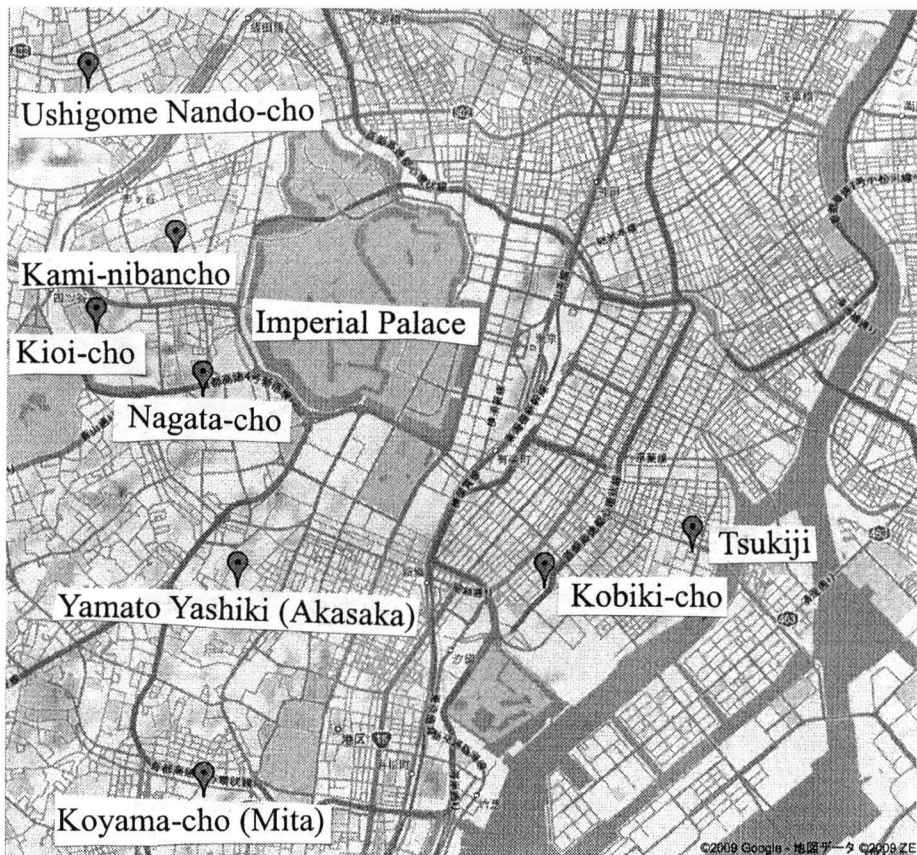
<sup>73</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), No. 241, Matsubara to Masanori Katsu (勝正憲), 16 Aug. 1917.

<sup>74</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), No. 36, Jose Caro to Uchida, 11 Aug. 1917.

ended the short history of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy (Legation) in Kioi-cho. Unfortunately, the charming building was totally destroyed in the Great Kanto Earthquake (関東大震災) in September 1923.

## 6. Provisional conclusion

Investigating the diplomatic records found in Tokyo, this short paper traced almost the entire footsteps of the Austro-Hungarian legations (embassy) in Tokyo and very briefly introduced the “Ambassadors” and “*Chargé d'affaires*” who served in the Kioi-cho “Embassy”. The author now



[No. 20] Locations of the Austro-Hungarian Legations (Embassy)

<sup>75</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), Kozo Kijima (木島孝蔵), “Kyu oukoukoku taishikan you shikichi kenbun kaishu no ken (The inspection and its return of the estate for the former Austro-Hungarian Embassy) (旧奥匈国大使館用敷地見分回収の件),” 22 Aug. 1922.

<sup>76</sup>DRO, RMFA (3.12.1.112-2), No. 32, Uchida to Jose Caro, 31 Aug. 1917.

feels obliged to study the diplomatic records in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, which might give us a more comprehensive picture of the legation (embassy) along with the facts revealed in this essay. Since the Diplomatic Record Office of the Japanese Foreign Ministry scarcely holds the materials related to the legation building commissioned to Dr. Condor, it is especially anticipated that it will be possible to illuminate the architecture itself by researching Viennese documents. Amid the celebration of the 140 years of bilateral relations, the forgotten memory of the Tokyo Embassy, the tenth Embassy of the Habsburg Monarchy is about to be revived in our hearts.

### Sources of Illustrations

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- [No. 2] Seiro Kawasaki, *Tsukiji gaikokujin kyoryuchi*, p. 68.
- [No. 3] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
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- [No. 8] “J”, “The Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Tokyo”, *The Japan Magazin*, No. 3 (1912/3), p. 638.
- [No. 9] By the courtesy of Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai (Architectural Institute of Japan).
- [No. 10] HHStA (Vienna), PA XXXX, L. 330.
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- [No. 15] Godsey, Jr., *Aristocratic Redoubt*, pp. 123–4, illustration page.
- [No. 16] “J”, “The Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Tokyo”, *The Japan Magazin*, No. 3 (1912/3), p. 638.
- [No. 17] *The Asahi Shimbun*, 31 Aug. 1912.
- [No. 18] *The Asahi Shimbun*, 28 Aug. 1914.
- [No. 19] *The Asahi Shimbun*, 1 Sept. 1914.
- [No. 20] Drawn by the author using “Google map”.