

FROM ADRIANOPLE TO 'AKKA
THE AUSTRIAN LLOYD

There are many open questions regarding Bahá'u'lláh's exile from Adrianople to 'Akká. For example, the various eyewitness accounts of the circumstances surrounding the banishment and the journey itself differ, and the identity of the two vessels which carried Bahá'u'lláh and His companions from Gallipoli to Alexandria and hence to Haifa in the course of this journey is not known. This paper reports the preliminary results of research carried out in the archives of the Lloyd Triestino and in the Biblioteca Civica in Trieste. The deductions regarding the identities of the Lloyd vessels which carried Bahá'u'lláh and His companions from Gallipoli to Alexandria and from Alexandria to Haifa were made on the basis of information on the arrivals and departures of Lloyd steamships as well as the timetables found there.

During the latter part of Bahá'u'lláh's residence in Adrianople, the Bahá'í Faith was shaken "to its roots" by "a crisis of the first magnitude": the rebellion of Mírzá Yaḥyá seriously weakened the Faith and thus played into the hands of its external enemies, both civil and ecclesiastical.¹ The unfounded accusations and stories which they and the followers of Mírzá Yaḥyá circulated about the deeds and plans of the Bahá'ís so alarmed 'Alí Páshá, the Prime Minister of the Ottoman Empire, and Fu'ád Páshá, the Minister of Foreign Affairs--already concerned about the volatile situation in European Turkey²--that they pressed the Sulṭán to take action against Bahá'u'lláh, the recognized head of the Bahá'í community. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz thus issued a farman dated 26 July 1968 condemning Bahá'u'lláh to perpetual banishment in the notorious penal colony of 'Akká (St. Jean d'Acre), stipulating His close confinement, and forbidding Him any association with other Bahá'ís or with the local inhabitants.

The farman reached Adrianople by 5 August 1968, as documents in the British Public Records Office show.³ On that date, the local authorities informed 'Abdu'l-Bahá that Bahá'u'lláh, His family and several other believers⁴ were to proceed to Gallipoli and pressed for their earliest possible departure. Áqá Ḥusayn-i-Áshchí, who served as a cook in Bahá'u'lláh's household, recalled that two days' time were given to prepare for renewed banishment;⁵ Bahíyyih Khánum, Bahá'u'lláh's daughter, speaks of three days for preparations.⁶ This Bahá'u'lláh refused, as His household still owed substantial sums in the bazaars of Adrianople, and He would not leave until these were paid.

The accounts of various Bahá'ís living in Adrianople during this period record that the consuls of the European powers resident there offered Bahá'u'lláh their assistance. The discrepancies between these accounts and the records contained in Austrian, British and French archives have been treated in detail in an earlier paper.⁷

The Bahá'ís were not informed of the conditions or the ultimate place of exile--indeed, it appears that the authorities did not know themselves.⁸ Rumors spread throughout Adrianople: the British Consul, Blunt, and the French Vice-Consul, Ronzevalle, reported to their respective ambassadors that the prisoners were to be deported to the interior of Africa;⁹ whereas the Austrian Consul, Camerloher, believed that they were going to be turned over to agents of the Persian government in Gallipoli.¹⁰

The authorities did indicate that only certain people were to be allowed to accompany Bahá'u'lláh into exile.¹¹ Thus, the fear of separation from their beloved Lord spread throughout the community of believers. Following protests by the Bahá'ís and an exchange of telegrams with the Sublime Porte, it was decided to transport the entire group to Gallipoli.¹² In preparation for the journey, the goods belonging to the believers were sold at half price or less.¹³ Carts organized to transport baggage (Ḥusayn-i-Āshchí places their number at about fifty¹⁴), and Mírzá Yaḥyá, his family and Siyyid Muḥammad-i-Iṣfahání were sent ahead to Gallipoli. Fearing he was to be left behind, a newly-arrived Bahá'í, Ḥájí Ja'far-i-Tabrízí, attempted to cut his throat rather than endure separation from Bahá'u'lláh.¹⁵

On Wednesday, 12 August 1868,¹⁶ Bahá'u'lláh and the remaining believers set out for Gallipoli, escorted by a squad of soldiers under the command of Captain Ḥasan Effendí. In the course of this journey,¹⁷ Bahá'u'lláh revealed the Súriy-i-Ra'ís, addressed to 'Alí Páshá, in which He states that no power on earth can quench the fire which God hath enkindled; rather, the acts of the Sublime Porte will increase its burning and its blaze. The fires of the Revelation of God, Bahá'u'lláh prophesied, will encompass the earth and whosoever is thereupon.¹⁸

“The day is approaching when the Land of Mystery (Adrianople), and what is beside it shall be changed, and shall pass out of the hands of the king The course of things shall be altered, and conditions shall wax so grievous, that the very sands on the desolate hills will moan, and the trees on the mountain will weep, and blood will flow out of all things. Then wilt thou behold the people in sore distress.”¹⁹

The exiles remained in Gallipoli for some days.²⁰ Here they were informed that, in accordance with the Sultán's farman, Bahá'u'lláh and several others were sentenced to perpetual banishment in 'Akká, whereas Mírzá Yaḥyá and four Bahá'ís were to be deported to Cyprus. The remaining Bahá'ís were to be taken to Constantinople and then scattered to various fortresses throughout the Ottoman Empire.²¹ Bahá'u'lláh refused to comply with this edict. After a further exchange of telegrams with Constantinople, the original order was revoked through the instrumentality of 'Umar Effendi, the major in command of their military escort for the remainder of the journey.²² It was eventually decided to send all of the Bahá'ís, with the exception of the four destined for Cyprus, to 'Akká.²³ However, the Ottoman government would pay passage only for those persons whose names appeared on their lists.²⁴ Much to the surprise of the officials in Gallipoli, several Bahá'ís not included on the Ottoman registers came forward to pay for their own passage on a steamship to "an unknown prison in an unknown land."²⁵

As Ḥasan Effendi called to take his leave, Bahá'u'lláh reiterated the prophecies made in the Súrîy-i-Ra'ís: "Tell the king that this territory will pass out of his hands, and his affairs will be thrown into confusion. Not I speak these words, but God speaketh them."²⁶ The captain humbly promised to convey His message.

Finally, one evening their baggage was taken to be loaded on a steamer. The next morning, Friday, 21 August 1868, the group and their escort boarded the vessel--according to Bahíyyih Khánum, seventy-two exiles, two officers and ten soldiers.²⁷ She later recalled "the unspeakable conditions" on the ship: the exiles were crowded together for "eleven days of horror," with inadequate space to lie down, and only that little food which they had been able to bring on board with them. Most were "very ill indeed."²⁸

During a two-day layover in Smyrna, one of the believers, Mírzá Áqá-i-Muníb, entitled Jináb-i-Munír, became so ill that he had to be removed to the hospital, where he died shortly thereafter. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, who accompanied him ashore, made arrangements with the hospital's director for a simple funeral.²⁹

Some days later, the steamship arrived in Alexandria. The Bahá'í historian, Mullá Muḥammad-í-Zarandí, known as Nabíl-i-A'ẓam, is cited as recording that the ship arrived in the morning, and the exiles were transshipped to a second vessel, which left at night.³⁰ However, he also recounts seeing one of the Bahá'ís from his prison cell, which was located close to the harbor, on Thursday (27 August) and watching the ship leave on Friday morning (28 August).³¹

The conditions on the second ship were much the same as on the first: "There were also some Tartar passengers in the boat. To be near them was very uncomfortable; they were dirty beyond description."³²

This vessel arrived in Haifa on Monday, 31 August 1868. Bahíyyih Khánum relates they were carried in chairs to the shore, where they were allowed to remain for a few hours. The crossing of the bay from Haifa to 'Akká was made in open sailing boats and required eight hours, due to the prevailing calm. Bahíyyih Khánum speaks of "eight hours of positive misery," with no shelter from the burning rays of the sun. The landing in 'Akká was also difficult; the ladies again had to be carried ashore in chairs.³³

A small group of exiles remained on the steamer for transport to Cyprus.³⁴ One of the Bahá'ís who had been condemned to separation from Bahá'u'lláh, Áqá 'Abdu'l-Chaffár, cast himself into the bay in desperation. He was subsequently rescued and forced to continue his journey with the party of Mírzá Yaḥyá.³⁵ The steamship arrived at Larnaca, the main port of Cyprus, on Wednesday, 2 September.

Although Bahíyyih Khánum speaks of boarding a "small Turkish boat" in Gallipoli,³⁶ all other sources are unanimous in recording that the exiles were transported from Gallipoli to Alexandria and hence to Haifa in steamships belonging to the Austrian Lloyd.



The Austrian Lloyd was founded in 1833 in Trieste, the foremost port in the Adriatic Sea, by seven insurance companies. It was to collect maritime and commercial information of interest to the insurers, ship owners and merchants of that city. The driving force behind this association, analogous to Lloyds of London, was Karl Ludwig von Bruck, who became one of its first directors.³⁷

According to its articles of association, the Austrian Lloyd was to gather information on the arrivals and departures of ships in the harbor of Trieste as well as on their cargoes and to catalogue these goods in lists of imports and exports according to category and port of departure or destination. It further assembled maritime reports, such as weather encountered, facilities of harbors visited and incidents experienced en route, from ships traveling to or from Trieste. In addition, the Lloyd had the duties of compiling a register of ships sailing under the Austrian flag, assembling a collection of geographic and hydrographic maps, and accumulating all pertinent trade and shipping treaties or other information of interest to merchants, sailors or insurers, such as exchange rates, weights and measures in different countries, and current prices in various markets. Information was collected by Lloyd agents in the main ports of Europe and the Levant as well as in important ports in other parts of the world. It was then forwarded to Trieste, where it was made available to members and the general public in the Lloyd's reading rooms, together with important newspapers, magazines and books dealing with economic, maritime and commercial subjects from around the world. Later, this information was augmented by extracts from the reports of Austrian consular agents, stock exchanges and chambers of commerce in various countries. In this function, the Austrian Lloyd was comparable to a news agency which specialized in information of particular interest to Trieste.³⁸

In 1835, the Austrian Lloyd inaugurated the Giornale des Lloyd Austriaco di notizie commerciali e maritime as a newsletter for the members of the association, and complemented it in 1836 with a German language edition; the Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd. These offered the latest information and reports on commercial and maritime events, Trieste's imports and exports and on various markets within the Austrian Empire and its trading partners, as well as informing their readers of the newest prices for goods and commodities and current exchange rates, weights and measures, and shipping and insurance fees. From their common origin as a four page, semiweekly newsletter, these journals--in particular, the German Journal--developed into widely read, daily financial newspapers, which were highly regarded even outside the Austrian Empire. Articles "borrowed" from the Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd were to be found in almost every important German language newspaper.³⁹

The success of the Austrian Lloyd as a gatherer and purveyor of commercial information soon made the need for regular lines of communication between the ports of the Austrian Empire--in particular, Trieste--and those in the Levant apparent. Therefore, a second section of the Austrian Lloyd was created in 1836 to organize regularly scheduled steamship lines between these ports, with Trieste as its main base. Again, Karl Ludwig von Bruck was the initiator of the idea. The first section, responsible for commercial and maritime information, and the new second section were separate entities, with only a common internal administration, the Direzione Generale.⁴⁰

With the second section's initial capital of 1,000,000 Florentine guildens, six steamships were purchased, workshops for their maintenance and repair constructed in Trieste, and coal depots and Lloyd agencies established in each port of call. Regularly scheduled steamship service in the Adriatic Sea and the Levant was inaugurated in 1837. The most important route was between Trieste and Constantinople.⁴¹

A contract concluded with the Imperial Austrian postal service in 1841 gave the Austrian Lloyd exclusive rights to carry Austrian mail in the Adriatic sea and the Levant. To further facilitate the transport of passengers and post, Lloyd initiated scheduled service between Constantinople, Smyrna and Syria⁴² the same year. Three years later, the Lloyd service in the Levant was further expanded by adding several new routes in the Levant and a biweekly trip to Trebizond, a port in the Black Sea through which trade with Persia passed.

By 1847, ten years after its establishment, the Austrian Lloyd had twenty-one steamships in service and another four under construction. The number of yearly voyages had risen from 87 in 1837 to 726 in 1847, totaling 334,555 sea miles.⁴³

A direct, monthly express Lloyd steamship line was inaugurated between Trieste and Alexandria in 1848. Alexandria was the door to India and the Far East, the harbor through which passed the bulk of the passenger and mail service to India and beyond. The mail which the Lloyd steamers brought to Alexandria was transferred to small sailing boats which carried it up the Nile to Cairo, then transported in armed caravans to Suez, where it was placed on English ships bound for India. This route, although arduous, was forty days shorter than that around the Cape of Good Hope.⁴⁴ As the route between Alexandria and Trieste was of particular importance to the Austrian Lloyd throughout its existence, its best steamships were placed into service here, with the result that the Lloyd line was the quickest connection between Europe and Egypt.⁴⁵ A second trip was added in 1851, giving biweekly service.

A further innovation in 1848 was the establishment of a third, "literary and artistic" section of the Lloyd, which was henceforth responsible for the collection and dissemination of information, and thus for the newspapers, the printing shops and the reading rooms. The first section was hereafter purely an association of insurance companies.⁴⁶

During the 1850's the Lloyd fleet was expanded and modernized, with the first ships constructed of iron and the first propeller driven vessels going into service. However, ships with paddlewheels were still ordered, such as the Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano, named after Emperor Francis Joseph I's brother who later became the Emperor of Mexico, which was commissioned in 1855.⁴⁷ The same year saw a further improvement in the Lloyd service between Trieste and Constantinople through the establishment of an express line between these two ports.

Haifa was added as a station on the Syrian Line between Constantinople and Alexandria in 1855. Oskar Stark, who served on this line in later years, considered Haifa to be the most beautiful as well as the most important port in Palestine. However, due to the shallowness of the harbor, the Lloyd steamships were not able to tie up at the quay. Passengers and goods bound for Haifa were transferred into small Arab boats which surrounded the steamship as soon as it dropped anchor to offer their services as transport to shore.⁴⁸

At the close of Lloyd's second decade, it was operating sixty-five steamships which made 2,229 voyages totaling 1,042,284 sea miles during 1857.⁴⁹

During the first twenty years of its existence, the transport of passengers and mail had been the Austrian Lloyd's principal source of revenue. However, at the beginning of the 1860's, changes in the economic situation due to the construction of railroads throughout Europe, which facilitated the transport of merchandise, as well as the increasing competition for existing trade by new steamship companies caused the conveyance of commodities and goods to gain importance. The Lloyd required a new type of steamship: existing ships were lengthened to add cargo space and new vessels built according to its changed needs--larger, with more horsepower and additional room for cargo. Whereas the first Lloyd steamships had between forty and one hundred horsepower, had been rated between 310 and 350 gross registered tons and had carried fifty passengers in a single class, the steamships constructed at this time had 400 horsepower, and 2,000 gross registered tons and carried seventy-six passengers in first- and second-class compartments, and further travellers on deck.

By the end of 1867, the Austrian Lloyd fleet consisted of sixty-four steamships which had made 1,265 voyages and covered 961,460 sea miles during that year. The number of yearly voyages had declined during the past decade, but the distance traveled each year had remained almost constant, the result of closing shorter, less profitable routes on Italian lakes and rivers and in the Adriatic Sea and the simultaneous concentration on the growing trade in the Levant. The size of the steamship fleet had remained fairly constant, for as new ships were commissioned, the older, less economical vessels were sold or scrapped.⁵⁰

An important event in the Levant trade was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. In preparation for the changes in trading patterns which the opening of the Canal would bring about, the Austrian Lloyd had, following negotiations with the Austrian Imperial Ministry of Trade,⁵¹ inaugurated two Circle Lines in May 1868, which, originating in Trieste, served Alexandria, Beirut, Smyrna, Constantinople, Syros and Corfu. Each steamer leaving Trieste for Constantinople would return to Trieste more than a month later from Alexandria, and every steamer bound for Alexandria would return from Constantinople, having called on every port on the Lines. This new schedule connected Trieste with both Constantinople and Alexandria by weekly steamers, eliminated the need for

transfers of passengers and freight at several ports, and permitted longer layovers for service and provisioning in either Constantinople or Alexandria. Five new steamships of 2,000 gross registered tons with four hundred horsepower were ordered for use on the Circle Lines, the first of which, the Saturno,⁵² went into service on 11 March 1868.

A comparison of official Lloyd timetables for the Circle Lines with the information on the arrivals and departures of Bahá'u'lláh and His companions as contained in the various eyewitness accounts is contained in Table 1. With small variations, the eyewitness accounts correspond with the timetables, which confirms that the vessels which carried Bahá'u'lláh and His companions from Gallipoli to Alexandria and on to Haifa were steamships from the Austrian Lloyd fleet.

Table two is a list of arrivals and departures of Austrian Lloyd steamships from the harbor of Trieste from the end of July to the end of October 1868. According to the Lloyd timetables for these routes,⁵³ the voyage from Trieste to Constantinople required five days, and that from Trieste to Alexandria five and a half days. For example, the Pilade, which left Trieste on 15 August, arrived in Constantinople at 17.00 (5.00 p.m.) on 20 August.

The ship which was to carry the exiles to Alexandria departed from Constantinople at 16.00 on 20 August, and must therefore have left Trieste on either 1 or 8 August and arrived in Constantinople on 6 or 13 August. As it is extremely unlikely that this vessel remained at anchor in Constantinople's harbor for one or two weeks, it must have been used on one of the Lloyd routes in the Black Sea before setting out from Constantinople bound for Alexandria.

Notices regarding the departures of Lloyd steamships from Trieste published in L'Osservatore Triestino show that passengers and mail for such Black Sea ports as Varna, Odessa and Trebizond were carried on the vessel bound for Constantinople.⁵⁴ Comparisons of the timetables for the various Black Sea lines⁵⁵ show that the single combination of arrival in Constantinople from Trieste, departure for a Black Sea port, and return to Constantinople in time to depart on 20 August at 16.00 for Alexandria would be for a ship departing from Trieste on Saturday, 1 August (at 02.00), which would arrive in Constantinople on Thursday, 6 August at 17.00. This vessel then journeyed on to Trebizond, departing Constantinople on Friday, 7 August at 12.00, and arriving in Trebizond on Monday, 10 August at 15.00. On the return trip, the steamer left Trebizond on Thursday, 12 August and arrived back at Constantinople on

Table 1

LLOYD TIMETABLE No 136			BAHÁ'Í HISTORY			
<u>Arrival</u>	<u>Duration of Stop</u>	<u>Departure</u>	<u>Arrival</u>	<u>Duration of Stop</u>	<u>Departure</u>	<u>Source</u>
Constantinople		Thursday 20 August 16.00				
Gallipoli	30 min	Friday 21 August 05.00	Friday 21 August 05.30		Friday 21 August before noon	Aqá Riða Nabíl A B
Dardenelles	1 hr	Friday 21 August 08.00	Friday 21 August 09.00			
Bozcaada (Tenedos)	30 min	Friday 21 August 12.00	Friday 21 August 12.30			
Mytilene (Metelino) (Madelli)	1 hr 15 min	Friday 21 August 18.45	Friday 21 August 20.00	same day sunset	few hours at night	Balyuzi Nabíl A B
SMYRNA	1 day 9 hrs	Saturday 22 August 03.00	Sunday 23 August 16.00	sunrise	2 days at night	Balyuzi Nabíl A B
ALEXANDRIA		Wednesday 26 August 02.00		two days later morning		Balyuzi Nabíl C B
LLOYD TIMETABLE No 135			BAHÁ'Í HISTORY			
<u>Arrival</u>	<u>Duration of Stop</u>	<u>Departure</u>	<u>Arrival</u>	<u>Duration of Stop</u>	<u>Departure</u>	<u>Source</u>
ALEXANDRIA		Friday 28 August 11.00			mid-morning at night	Nabíl Nabíl D B
Port Said	12 hrs	Saturday 29 August 05.00	Saturday 29 August 17.00	morning	same day at night	Nabíl B
Jaffa	8 hrs	Sunday 30 August 10.00	Sunday 30 August 17.00		midnight	Nabíl B
HAIFA	7 hrs	Monday 31 August 01.00	Monday 31 August 08.00	Monday 31 August morning		Nabíl B
Beirut	1 day 7 hrs 30 min	Monday 31 August 16.30	Tuesday 1 September 24.00			
Cyprus (Larnaca)	11 hrs	Wednesday 2 September 13.00	Wednesday 2 September 24.00			
Constantinople		Wednesday 9 September 02.30				

A: Quoted in Balyuzi, *Bahá'u'lláh*, p. 264
 B: *The Bahá'í World*, vol. XVII, p. 393
 C: *Bahá'u'lláh*, p. 265
 D: "Unpublished history," quoted in Balyuzi, *Bahá'u'lláh*, p. 268.

Table 2

AUSTRIAN LLOYD STEAMSHIPS IN TRIESTE
1868

11

DEPARTURES				ARRIVALS			
date	steamship	captain	to	date	steamship	captain	from
27 Jul	Trebisonda	Lombardich	Constantinople	30 Jul	Juno Trebisonda	Druscovich Lombardich	Constantinople Alexandria
1 Aug	Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano Apollo	Mazzarovich Giurovich	Constantinople Alexandria	7 Aug	Ceres Progresso	Calvi Forti	Constantinople Alexandria
8 Aug	Trebisonda Juno	Lombardich Grassi	Constantinople Alexandria	13 Aug	Saturno	Benich	Constantinople
15 Aug	Pilade Progresso	Columbo Forti	Constantinople Alexandria	20 Aug 21 Aug	Austria Aquila Imperiale	Rassol Giurovich	Constantinople Alexandria
22 Aug	Minerva Saturno	Lombardini Leva	Constantinople Alexandria	28 Aug	Diana Oreste	Uropina Steyskal	Constantinople Alexandria
29 Aug	Aquila Imperiale Ceres	Giurovich Calvi	Constantinople Alexandria	4 Sep	Apollo Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano	Giurovich Mazzarovich	Constantinople Alexandria
4 Sep	Diana	Uropina	Alexandria	10 Sep 11 Sep	Juno Trebisonda	Grassi Lombardich	Constantinople Alexandria
5 Sep	Vulcan	Florio	Constantinople	18 Sep	Jupiter	Lazzarich	Alexandria
12 Sep	Arciduchessa Carlotta Apollo	Druscovich Giurovich	Constantinople Alexandria	24 Sep 25 Sep	Minerva Saturno	Lombardini Leva	Alexandria Constantinople
19 Sep 21 Sep	Trebisonda Juno	Lombardich Grassi	Constantinople Alexandria	1 Oct 2 Oct	Ceres Aquila Imperiale	Calvi Giurovich	Constantinople Alexandria
26 Sep	Oreste Austria	Benich Rassol	Constantinople Alexandria	8 Oct	Diana Pilade	Uropina Columbo	Constantinople Alexandria
3 Oct	Saturno Minerva	Leva Lombardini	Constantinople Alexandria	15 Oct	Vulcan Apollo	Florio Giurovich	Alexandria Constantinople
10 Oct	Jupiter Ceres	Lazzarich Calvi	Constantinople Alexandria	22 Oct	Trebisonda	Lombardich	Alexandria
17 Oct	Pilade America	Columbo Grubissich	Constantinople Alexandria				

Monday, 16 August at 24.00, in time to be reprovisioned for its further journey on the Circle Line to Alexandria. As Table 2 shows, the steamship leaving Trieste on 1 August 1868 bound for Constantinople was the Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano, under the command of Captain Mazzarovich.

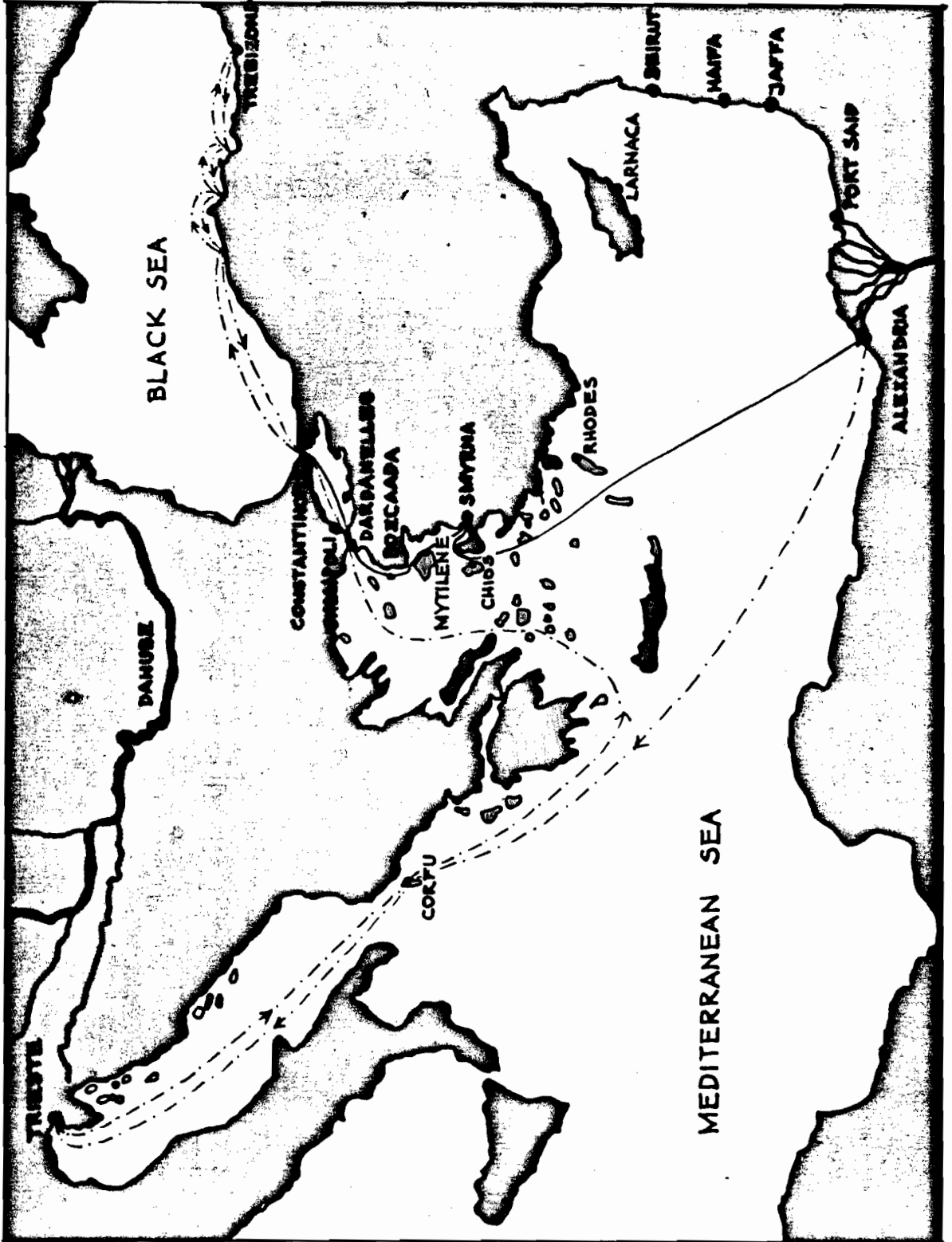
According to the Lloyd timetable, the vessel which carried Bahá'u'lláh and His companions from Gallipoli to Alexandria would have departed from Alexandria on Sunday, 30 August--after taking on passengers and mail from the Indian packet--and reached Trieste on Friday, 4 September. L'Osservatore Triestino records that the Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano arrived in Trieste on 4 September 1868, coming from Alexandria, and confirms thereby that it was the vessel which navigated the Circle Line from Constantinople to Alexandria at the time in question. Map 1 shows this voyage of the Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano.

The steamer which carried the exiles from Alexandria to Haifa would have had to depart from Trieste on 22 August. According to L'Osservatore Triestino, the Saturno left Trieste on 22 August, bound for Alexandria under the command of Captain Leva.⁵⁶ The Saturno was due in Alexandria on Friday, 28 August at 05.00 and departed at 11.00 on the same day for Syria and Constantinople. The exiles must have therefore remained on board the Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano until the Saturno arrived.⁵⁷

According to the timetable, the Saturno reached Constantinople on Wednesday, 10 September 1868, and departed from there bound for Trieste on Saturday, 19 September. L'Osservatore Triestino confirms that she reached that port on Friday, 25 September, more than a month after leaving. The voyage of the Saturno is shown in Map 2.

It is to be hoped that the deductions in this paper regarding the Austrian Lloyd steamships will be confirmed at some time in the future by the log books or passenger lists of the ships in question. The Lloyd archives are currently being reorganized and perhaps additional information will become available at a later date.

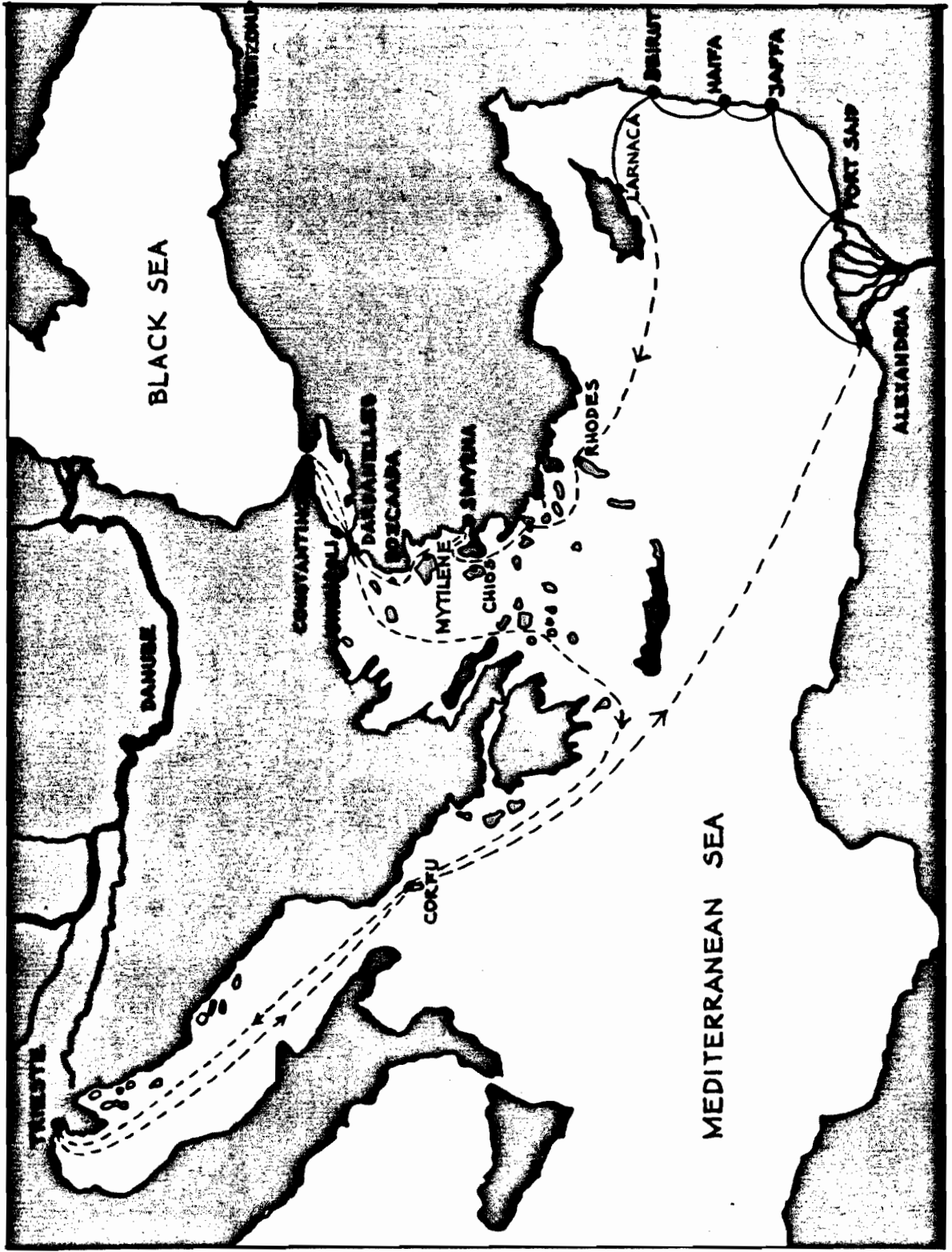
VOYAGE OF THE ARCIDUCA FERDINANDO MASSIMILIANO



1 AUG - 4 SEPT 1868

MAP 1

VOYAGE OF THE SATURNO



22 AUG. - 25 SEPT. 1868

MAP 2

I wish to thank the Direzione Generale of the Lloyd Triestino for giving me access to their archives and permission to copy and publish historical information therefrom, Capitano Angelo Bronzin of Lloyd Triestino's Archivio Storico for his patience in assisting me in my search and in answering my sometimes tiresome questions, Paolo Valenti of the Associazione Marinara "Aldebaran" in Trieste and D. J. Lyon of the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich for providing further detailed information on the Lloyd steamships, Dipl. Ing. Kambiz Poostchi for giving me the original impetus and Mrs. Anna Manavi for translating the Italian material into German for the Austrian Bahá'í archives.

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- ¹ Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By, (Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1970), p. 163.
- ² See Kent D. Beveridge, "Anton Graf Prokesch von Osten: the Adrianople Episode," (unpublished manuscript), p. 25, note 47. Bahíyyih Khánum, one of Bahá'u'lláh's daughters, confirms that "libels" were the reasons for the order of banishment to 'Akká. Quoted in The Chosen Highway, (Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1967), p. 61.
- ³ Published in Moojan Momen, The Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, 1844-1944: Some Contemporary Western Accounts, (Oxford: George Ronald, 1981), chap. 11.
- ⁴ According to a letter assumed to be from 'Abdu'l-Bahá, 'Abbás to Rev. Mr. Rosenburg, enclosure to dispatch Camerloher to Prokesch-Osten, 12 September 1868, Consular & Diplomat. Correspondenz 1864-71, Nachlass Prokesch-Osten, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna - "our honored Lord and Master (Shaykh Ḥusayn 'A.) and two brothers, along with one other and two enemies of the Shaykh." The two brothers of Bahá'u'lláh were Mírzá Músá and Mírzá Muḥammad-Qulí, the other, Darvīsh Ṣidq-'Alí, and the two enemies, Siyyid Muḥammad-i-Iṣfahání and Áqá Ján Big. Adib Taherzadeh, The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh, vol. 2, Adrianople, 1863-68, (Oxford: George Ronald, 1977), adds the names of Mírzá Yaḥyá and four followers of Bahá'u'lláh: Mírzá Ḥusayn, entitled Mishkín Qalam, 'Alí-i-Sayyáh, Muḥammad Bāqir-i-Qahvih-chí, and 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár. who were condemned to life imprisonment in Famagusta on Cyprus (p. 402). Mírzá Muḥammad Javád-i-Qazvíní, whose manuscript was translated by E.G. Browne and published as "An Epitome of Bábí and Bahá'í History to A.D. 1898, Translated from the Original Arabic of Mírzá Muḥammad Jawád of Qazwín" in Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion, (Cambridge: University Press, 1918), states the edict named Bahá'u'lláh and His "brother Áqá Mírzá Músá, Mírzá Muḥammad-Qulí ... and Darvīsh Ṣidq-'Alí of Qazvín, one of the servants...." (p. 26).
- ⁵ Áqá Ḥusayn-i-Áshchí, quoted in Taherzadeh, Revelation, vol. 2, p. 405. In his letter to the British consul in Adrianople dated 5 August 1868, the Reverend Leon Rosenberg states that the Bahá'ís "await exile in two days." Quoted in Momen, Religions, p. 188.
- ⁶ Chosen Highway, p. 62. Had the exiles left on 7 or 8 August as originally planned, they would have reached Gallipoli in time to board the steamer departing on 14 August. This steamer also called in Haifa, which would have eliminated the need to transship in Alexandria.
- ⁷ Beveridge, "Prokesch von Osten".
- ⁸ See Momen, Religions, p. 188n. As the First Dragoman of the British Embassy contacted 'Alí Páshá on 12 August, he was informed that the exiles were to be banished to Cyprus and St. Jean d'Acre (Momen, p. 191). Yet the Austrian internuncio to the Sublime Porte, Graf Prokesch von Osten, was informed in an audience with Fu'ád Páshá on the same day that the group was to be deported to Tripoli!
- ⁹ See Momen, Religions, pp. 189-90.
- ¹⁰ See Momen, Religions, pp. 189-90. Camerloher also reported this opinion to Prokesch-Osten, as is evident from the latter's reply dated 19 August, contained in Nachlass Prokesch-Osten, Consular & Diplomat. Correspondenz, 1864-71.
- ¹¹ Mírzá Áqá Ján, Bahá'u'lláh's amanuensis, states "only those twelve companions who had accompanied Bahá'u'lláh to Adrianople were to travel with Him to Gallipoli." Quoted in Taherzadeh, Revelation, vol. 2, p. 403. Áqá

Muhammad-Riḍāy-i-Qannad-i-Shīrāzī, another eyewitness, later recalled: "whoever had his name recorded in a register would be allowed to go, but those whose names were not there would not be permitted to leave." Quoted in H.M. Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, The King of Glory, (Oxford: George Ronald, 1980), p. 258.

12 Bahíyyih Khánum, quoted in Chosen Highway, p. 62.

13 Ronzevalle and Áqá Riḍá record that "the local authorities had [the Bahá'ís'] belongings sold at public auctions." (Quoted in Momen, Religions, p. 190 and Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, p. 255.) Rosenberg noted that the Bahá'ís were compelled "to sell their businesses and their furniture at great losses." (Momen, p. 194.) The promissory notes given for some of these goods were never paid. (Áqá Riḍá, cited in Balyuzi, p. 258.)

14 Quoted in Taherzadeh, Revelation, vol. 2, p. 408.

15 He later recovered and joined Bahá'u'lláh in 'Akká. See Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, pp. 258-9 and Taherzadeh, Revelation, vol. 2, pp. 406-8.

16 Interestingly enough, both Blunt and Rosenberg give the date of departure as Monday, 10 August. Rosenberg also mentions the time of departure: 1.00 p.m. See Momen, Religions, pp. 193 and 196.

17 The sources differ on the length of this journey. Bahíyyih Khánum speaks of three days (quoted in Chosen Highway, p. 62); Nabíl-i-A'zam (cited in The Bahá'í World, vol. XVII, 1976-1979, (Haifa: Bahá'í World Centre, 1981), p. 393) and Shoghi Effendi (God Passes By, p. 180), of four; and Balyuzi (Bahá'u'lláh, p. 260), of five. The letter cited in note 4 gives the duration of the journey as six days.

18 "Súriy-i-Ra'ís," in H. Holley (ed), Bahá'í Scriptures: Selections from the Utterances of Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá, (New York: Brentano's, 1923), pp. 88-94. See also Taherzadeh, Revelation, vol. 2, pp. 413-8 for a summary of its contents.

19 Quoted in Shoghi Effendi, The Promised Day Is Come, (Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1967), p. 62. These events came about within the decade as 'Alí Páshá died in 1871 and Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz lost his throne and his life in 1876. Roumelia, the province of which Adrianople was the capital, was lost to the Russians and Bulgarians during the disastrous war of 1877-78.

The fulfillment of this prophecy was to have a profound effect on the life of two men who were to be of great importance to the Bahá'í Faith. The first was Mírzá Abu'l-Faḍl of Gulpáygán, who had conditioned his acceptance of Bahá'u'lláh on the fulfillment of the prophecies of the Súriy-i-Ra'ís. "And when it happened and nemesis descended upon 'Abdu'l-'Azíz and his ramshackle realm, he made doubly sure that the report of the downfall of the Sulṭán was correct. Then he dedicated his life, his powerful pen and his vast, unsurpassed erudition to the service of Bahá'u'lláh." (Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, p. 262.)

The second was E. G. Browne, in whom accounts of the siege and fall of Plenva during the Turko-Russian war had first awakened his lifelong interest in the Near East. See also Balyuzi, Edward Granville Browne and the Bahá'í Faith, (Oxford: George Ronald, 1970), chap. 1.

20 The length of stay also varies according to the source: Balyuzi writes of three days (Bahá'u'lláh, p. 263); Shoghi Effendi of three nights (God Passes By, p. 181); and Bahíyyih Khánum of a week (Chosen Highway, p. 62).

21 'Abbás to Rev. Mr. Rosenberg, Nachlass Prokesch-Osten. See also God Passes By, p. 181.

22 Bahíyyih Khánum also mentions the assistance of the governor of Gallipoli. Chosen Highway, p. 62.

23 God Passes By, p. 181, Chosen Highway, pp. 62-3, Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, p. 263.

24 According to the Tariffa Passaggieri per le Linee del Levante, the first-class fare from Gallipoli to Alexandria on the Egyptian line was sixty-six Florentine gulden, second-class, forty-nine gulden, and third-class, eighteen gulden. The first-class fare from Alexandria to Haifa was thirty-five gulden, second-class, twenty-six gulden and third-class, nine gulden. Meals were not included in this price.

25 Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, pp. 263-4.

26 Quoted in Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By, p. 181.

27 Bahíyyih Khánum, quoted in Chosen Highway, p. 63. There is some confusion regarding the actual number of exiles: in a letter dated 5 August 1868, Rev. Rosenberg writes that Bahá'u'lláh "and forty others await exile" (quoted in Momen, Religions, p. 188); a statement bearing the seal Ḥusayn-'Alí gives the number of persons who accompanied Him from Baghdád as fifty-four (Momen, p. 200); Camerloher writes of "more than sixty" Bahá'ís living in Adrianople in January 1866 (Camerloher to Prokesch-Osten 14 January 1866, Consular & Diplomat. Correspondenz 1864-71, Nachlass Prokesch-Osten); and Rosenberg, in a second letter dated 15 August, states that seventy were "carried off" into exile (quoted in Momen, p. 197). Mírzá Javád recorded that "sixty-eight souls in all" departed from Adrianople (Materials, p. 29), and that "about seventy souls embarked in boats for the Austrian-Lloyd steamer" in Gallipoli (p. 31). Balyuzi lists the names of sixty-seven Bahá'ís who arrived in 'Akká, (Bahá'u'lláh, pp. 277-9).

28 Quoted in Chosen Highway, pp. 62-6.

29 According to 'Abdu'l-Bahá, Memorials of the Faithful, (Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1971), pp. 145-7, Jináb-i-Munír was seriously ill prior to the departure from Adrianople, but refused to remain behind. He had to be carried on board the steamship at Gallipoli by three men. On board the vessel, his condition worsened to such an extent that the captain had him removed to the hospital in Smyrna. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, who accompanied him to the hospital, but was only allowed to remain with him for a short time, states that Jináb-i-Munír was alive as He was required to leave. The "spoken chronicle" of Bahíyyih Khánum seems to be in error in this respect.

30 "Historical Data Gleaned from Nabíl's Narrative Regarding Bahá'u'lláh," Bahá'í World XVII, p. 393. Mírzá Javád also records a departure "at the close of day" (Materials, p. 32).

31 "Unpublished history," quoted in Chosen Highway, pp. 247-9 and Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, pp. 265-8, and cited in Taherzadeh, The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh, vol. 3, 'Akká, The Early Years: 1868-77, (Oxford: George Ronald, 1983), pp. 5-11. In this account, Nabíl records that he and a fellow believer in that prison, Dr. Fáris, had given messages for Bahá'u'lláh to a young man. This young man rowed out to the steamship on Friday morning to deliver these messages, but the vessel got underway before he reached it. Unexplicably, it stopped and waited for him. It will be of interest to see, when the log book of the steamship is found, if this incident is mentioned there. According to the official time-tables, the steamer was to depart on Friday at 11.00.

32 Quoted in Chosen Highway, p. 66.

19

33 Quoted in Chosen Highway, p. 66.

34 According to the records of the authorities on Cyprus reproduced by E. G. Browne as an appendix to his translation of ['Abdu'l-Bahá], A Traveller's Narrative Written to Illustrate the Episode of the Báb, (Cambridge: University Press, 1891), pp. 384-9, Mírzá Yahyá was accompanied by his family, consisting of two wives, three sons and four daughters, and by two servants.

35 Although Bahíyyih Khánum, in recounting her memories almost thirty years later, speaks of this incident as having taken place in Alexandria, there is no doubt that it was 'Akká. 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár was subsequently able to escape from Cyprus--according to the above records, on 29 September 1870--and reach 'Akká, where he lived under an assumed name.

36 Chosen Highway, p. 63.

37 Die Dampfschiffahrt-Gesellschaft des Österreichisch-Ungarischen Lloyd von ihrem Entstehen bis auf unsere Tage (1836-1886), (Trieste: Buchdruckerei des Österreichisch-Ungarischen Lloyd, 1886), pp. 4-5; Martin Riedlinger, "Das Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd: Seine Stellung zur Regierung," (unpublished PhD. thesis, Universität Wien, 1948), pp. 26-7, 40-1.

38 Riedlinger, "Journal", pp. 43-5.

39 Riedlinger, "Journal", p. 48.

40 Riedlinger, "Journal", p. 28.

41 Öster-Ungar. Lloyd, pp. 6-9; Riedlinger, "Journal", pp. 28-9.

42 At that time, Lebanon formed a part of Syria, which in turn was a province of the Ottoman Empire.

43 Öster-Ungar. Lloyd, pp. 23 and 45.

44 Oskar Stark, Eine Versunkene Welt: Die Geschichte des Österreichischen Lloyd; Fahrten und Ende seiner 62 Schiffe, (Vienna: Rohrer Verlag, 1959), p. 12-3.

45 Stark, Versunkene Welt, p. 47.

46 Öster-Ungar. Lloyd, p. 28; Riedlinger, "Journal", pp. 33, 47-8.

47 The Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano, an iron ship with paddle wheels, four hundred horsepower and one thousand-sixty gross registered tons, was built by Mare & Co. in Great Britain at a cost of 472,500 guildens. The vessel carried forty-eight first- and twenty-eight second-class passengers in addition to its crew of twenty-five and its cargo. It was in service until 1900, when it was sold for scrap. See appendix 1.

48 Stark, Versunkene Welt, pp. 58-9. At the same time, an Imperial Austrian Levant post office was established at the port.

49 Öster-Ungar. Lloyd, p. 63.

50 Öster-Ungar. Lloyd, p. 82.

51 The correspondence is contained in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, Administrative Registratur, Fach 34SR, Karton 36.


52 According to the Austrian Lloyd's records, the Saturno was built in the Denny Shipyards at Dumbarton, Scotland at a cost of 506,000 guildens. An iron,

propeller-driven vessel with auxillary sails, the Saturno had four hundred horsepower and two thousand gross registered tons, and carried fifty-one first-and twenty-eight second-class passengers as well as a crew of forty. It was sold for demolition in 1910. See appendix 1 for further information from The Denny List.

53 Timetable No. 51 for the route between Trieste and Constantinople and No. 134 for the route between Trieste and Alexandria.

54

205 p.

Navigazione a Vapore  del Lloyd Austriaco

SERVIZIO POSTALE

Partenze dei Piroscali da Trieste dal 17 al 23 agosto 1868.

Per **Alessandria** sabato 22 a mezzanotte via **Corfù**.
Questa corsa sta in congiunzione coi battelli diretti da **Suez** per **Aden e Bombay**.

- **Atene, Bralla, Burgas, Candia, Corfù, Costantinopoli, Dardanelli, Ciatz, Gallipoli, Kustendje, Metellio, Odessa, Selo, Sira, Smirne, Sullnà, Tulcia e Varna** sabato 22 alle 2 ore p. m.
- **Incbell, Rodi, Namsun, e Trebizonda** sabato 22 alle 2 ore p. m.
- **Perutù, Calla, Cipro, Jaffa e Porto-Said** sabato 22 a mezzanotte, via **Alessandria**, per passeggeri.
- **Cavalla, Lagos, Salonicco e Volò (nessuna partenza)**.
- **Ancona, Argostoli, Brindisi, Corigo, Corfù, Sira, e Zante** martedì 18 alle 4 ore p. m.
- **L'Istria, Fiume, Portorè, Szelze e Segna** lunedì 17 alle 10 ore a. m.
- **L'Istria, Fiume e la Croazia** venerdì 21 alle 10 ore antimerid.
- **Veglia e Lussingrande** lunedì 17 e venerdì 21 alle 10 ore ant.
- **la Dalmazia** martedì 18 a mezzogiorno.
giovedì 20 alle 5 ore a. m.
sabato 22 a mezzogiorno.
- **L'Albania** giovedì 20 alle 5 ore a. m.
sabato 22 a mezzogiorno.
- **Venezia** martedì 18, giovedì 20 e sabato 22 a mezzanotte.
- **Ravenna** mercoledì 19 del mese, di sera.

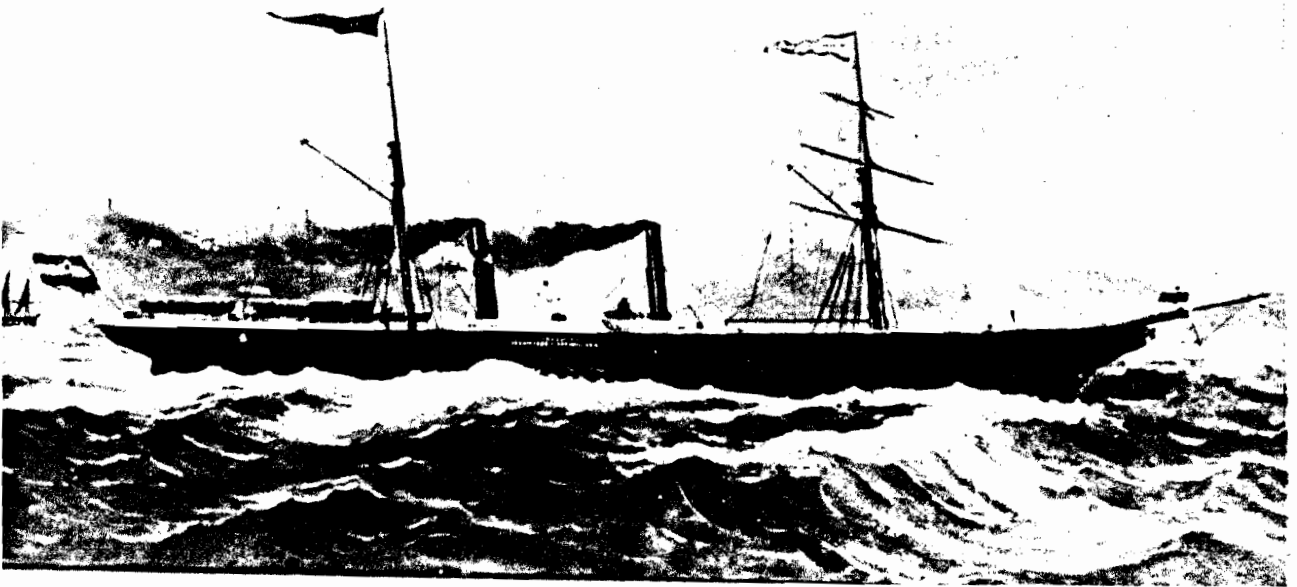
NB. Merci per **Smirna** non vengono assunte che col battello che parte al martedì in linea **Greco-Orientale**.
Merci per le **Indie** devono venir qui affrancate.

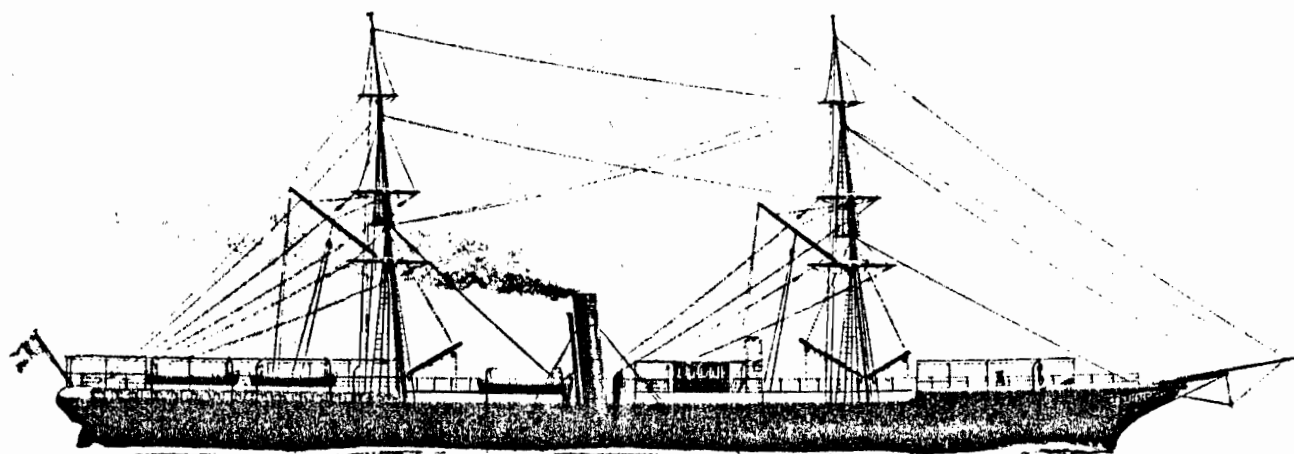
55 Timetable No. 130 for the route between Constantinople and Varna, No. 131 for the line to Odessa, and No. 117 for the Trebizond line.

56 According to the records in the archives of the Lloyd Triestino, Capitano Agostino Leva joined the Austrian Lloyd on 12 November 1845 and promoted to captain on 17 August 1849. At the time of this voyage, Captain Leva was fifty-six years of age and Lloyd's senior captain.

57 The statement made by Muhammad Labib on his Map of Stages in Bahá'u'lláh's Successive Exiles from Tihrán to 'Akká, January 12, 1853-August 31, 1868, "the boat [sic] touched at the following ports en route: ... 76. Alexandria (transshipped the same day for Haifa)" is therefore incorrect.

Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano



Saturno

SATURNO

125-6 CERES, SATURNO 1867

ss passenger/cargo steamers for the Austrian Lloyd S.N. Co.

SATURNO First vessel built at the Leven Yard

274½' x 34' x 18' / 26' + 18½' 2,960 displ / 1,535 dwt / 1,562 bm / 1,761 g / 1,197 n

99,375 cu ft cargo 48 cabin, 28 steerage passengers 254 tons coal

Machinery Nos. 133-4: Inverted direct acting surface condensing 54" .54" x 36" 194 nhp

Two tubular boilers, fired athwartships 25 lbs. 4 bladed screw

Contract: Austrian Lloyd wanted a steamer 6' longer than the *JUNO* (102) and her sisters, which had proved to be better sea-boats than the *APOLLO* (119) and *MINERVA* (113). The company had received a number of very favourable tenders from other British yards, but professed a wish to continue business 'with your respectable firm'. Austrian Lloyd asked for a price of £38,000 and an 8 month delivery time. The final price was settled at £39,000, but during negotiations the purchasers had agreed to order another similar vessel, which was to be priced at £38,000.

Order: 9 April 67 125 launched 14 November 67 / trial 26 December 67

126 launched 11 January 68 / trial 23 February 68 / arrived at Trieste 11 March 68

Trials : 125 2,930 tons / 12.08 knots / 1,000 ihp / 54 rpm

MM trial: 1,552 tons on board / 11 1/6 knots /

126 2,050 tons / 11.88 knots / 739 ihp / 48 rpm

Expected Performance: 11½ knots average / 970 ihp / 24 to 28 tons of coal per day

Description: Brig rig, arrangement generally similar to *APOLLO* (119). Handsomely carved figurehead to fit the name of the ship. Two 9 pounder signal guns

Careers: Sold for breaking up in 1902 and 1908 respectively.

Plans: Rig / lower d / main & spar d
Boiler / MA

Photos: None

source: The Denny List, copyright D.J. Lyon,
National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

Documents: Specification

appendix 2

LLOYD AGENTS AND AUSTRIAN CONSULAR AGENTS IN THE LEVANT

1868

LLOYD AGENTS

Alexandria	Giovanni de Battisti
Beirut	Giovanni Laurella
Constanantinople	Pio Terenzio
Gallipoli	A. C. Siderides
Haifa/ 'Akká	M. Scopinich
Lanarka	Joseph Pascotini
Smyrna	Oscar Marinich

CONSULAR AGENTS

Adrianople	Gustav Wilhelm von Camerloher, vice-consul
Alexandria	Gustav Ritter von Schreiner, consul general
Constantinople	Anton Graf Prokesch von Osten, <u>internuncio</u>
Gallipoli	A. C. Siderides, vice-consul
Haifa/ 'Akká	Joseph Anton Scopinich, vice-consul
Smyrna	Karl August Freiherr von Baum, consul general

sources: Annuario Marittimo per l'Anno 1869, (Trieste: Stabilimento Letterario Artistico, 1869);

Hof- & Staatshandbuch des Kaisertums Österreich für das Jahr 1868, (Wien: Manz, 1868).

FROM ADRIANOPLE TO 'AKKA
THE AUSTRIAN LLOYD

There are many open questions regarding Bahá'u'lláh's exile from Adrianople to 'Akká. For example, the various eyewitness accounts of the circumstances surrounding the banishment and the journey itself differ, and the identity of the two vessels which carried Bahá'u'lláh and His companions from Gallipoli to Alexandria and hence to Haifa in the course of this journey is not known. This paper reports the preliminary results of research carried out in the archives of the Lloyd Triestino and in the Biblioteca Civica in Trieste. The deductions regarding the identities of the Lloyd vessels which carried Bahá'u'lláh and His companions from Gallipoli to Alexandria and from Alexandria to Haifa were made on the basis of information on the arrivals and departures of Lloyd steamships as well as the timetables found there.

During the latter part of Bahá'u'lláh's residence in Adrianople, the Bahá'í Faith was shaken "to its roots" by "a crisis of the first magnitude": the rebellion of Mírzá Yaḥyá seriously weakened the Faith and thus played into the hands of its external enemies, both civil and ecclesiastical.¹ The unfounded accusations and stories which they and the followers of Mírzá Yaḥyá circulated about the deeds and plans of the Bahá'ís so alarmed 'Alí Páshá, the Prime Minister of the Ottoman Empire, and Fu'ád Páshá, the Minister of Foreign Affairs--already concerned about the volatile situation in European Turkey²--that they pressed the Sultán to take action against Bahá'u'lláh, the recognized head of the Bahá'í community. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz thus issued a farman dated 26 July 1968 condemning Bahá'u'lláh to perpetual banishment in the notorious penal colony of 'Akká (St. Jean d'Acre), stipulating His close confinement, and forbidding Him any association with other Bahá'ís or with the local inhabitants.

The farman reached Adrianople by 5 August 1968, as documents in the British Public Records Office show.³ On that date, the local authorities informed 'Abdu'l-Bahá that Bahá'u'lláh, His family and several other believers⁴ were to proceed to Gallipoli and pressed for their earliest possible departure. Áqá Ḥusayn-i-Áshchí, who served as a cook in Bahá'u'lláh's household, recalled that two days' time were given to prepare for renewed banishment;⁵ Bahíyyih Khánúm, Bahá'u'lláh's daughter, speaks of three days for preparations.⁶ This Bahá'u'lláh refused, as His household still owed substantial sums in the bazaars of Adrianople, and He would not leave until these were paid.

The accounts of various Bahá'ís living in Adrianople during this period record that the consuls of the European powers resident there offered Bahá'u'lláh their assistance. The discrepancies between these accounts and the records contained in Austrian, British and French archives have been treated in detail in an earlier paper.⁷

The Bahá'ís were not informed of the conditions or the ultimate place of exile--indeed, it appears that the authorities did not know themselves.⁸ Rumors spread throughout Adrianople: the British Consul, Blunt, and the French Vice-Consul, Ronzevalle, reported to their respective ambassadors that the prisoners were to be deported to the interior of Africa;⁹ whereas the Austrian Consul, Camerloher, believed that they were going to be turned over to agents of the Persian government in Gallipoli.¹⁰

The authorities did indicate that only certain people were to be allowed to accompany Bahá'u'lláh into exile.¹¹ Thus, the fear of separation from their beloved Lord spread throughout the community of believers. Following protests by the Bahá'ís and an exchange of telegrams with the Sublime Porte, it was decided to transport the entire group to Gallipoli.¹² In preparation for the journey, the goods belonging to the believers were sold at half price or less.¹³ Carts organized to transport baggage (Ḥusayn-i-Áshchí places their number at about fifty¹⁴), and Mírzá Yaḥyá, his family and Siyyid Muḥammad-i-Iṣfahání were sent ahead to Gallipoli. Fearing he was to be left behind, a newly-arrived Bahá'í, Ḥájí Ja'far-i-Tabrízí, attempted to cut his throat rather than endure separation from Bahá'u'lláh.¹⁵

On Wednesday, 12 August 1868,¹⁶ Bahá'u'lláh and the remaining believers set out for Gallipoli, escorted by a squad of soldiers under the command of Ḥasan Effendi. In the course of this journey,¹⁷ Bahá'u'lláh revealed the Súriy-i-Ra'ís, addressed to 'Alí Páshá, in which He states that no power on earth can quench the fire which God hath enkindled; rather, the acts of the Sublime Porte will increase its burning and its blaze. The fires of the Revelation of God, Bahá'u'lláh prophesied, will encompass the earth and whosoever is thereupon.¹⁸

"The day is approaching when the Land of Mystery (Adrianople), and what is beside it shall be changed, and shall pass out of the hands of the king The course of things shall be altered, and conditions shall wax so grievous, that the very sands on the desolate hills will moan, and the trees on the mountain will weep, and blood will flow out of all things. Then wilt thou behold the people in sore distress."¹⁹

The exiles remained in Gallipoli for some days.²⁰ Here they were informed that, in accordance with the Sultān's farman, Bahá'u'lláh and several others were sentenced to perpetual banishment in 'Akká, whereas Mírzá Yaḥyá and four Bahá'ís were to be deported to Cyprus. The remaining Bahá'ís were to be taken to Constantinople and then scattered to various fortresses throughout the Ottoman Empire.²¹ Bahá'u'lláh refused to comply with this edict. After a further exchange of telegrams with Constantinople, the original order was revoked through the instrumentality of 'Umar Effendi, the major in command of their military escort for the remainder of the journey.²² It was eventually decided to send all of the Bahá'ís, with the exception of the four destined for Cyprus, to 'Akká.²³ However, the Ottoman government would pay passage only for those persons whose names appeared on their lists.²⁴ Much to the surprise of the officials in Gallipoli, several Bahá'ís not included on the Ottoman registers came forward to pay for their own passage on a steamship to "an unknown prison in an unknown land."²⁵

As Ḥusayn Effendi called to take his leave, Bahá'u'lláh reiterated the prophecies made in the Súrfy-i-Ra'ís: "Tell the king that this territory will pass out of his hands, and his affairs will be thrown into confusion. Not I speak these words, but God speaketh them."²⁶ The captain humbly promised to convey His message.

Finally, one evening their baggage was taken to be loaded on the steamer. The next morning, Friday, 21 August 1868, the group and their escort boarded the vessel--according to Bahíyyih Khánum, seventy-two exiles, two officers and ten soldiers.²⁷ She later recalled "the unspeakable conditions" on the ship: the exiles were crowded together for "eleven days of horror," with inadequate space to lay down, and only that little food which they had been able to bring on board with them. Most were "very ill indeed."²⁸

During a two-day layover in Smyrna, one of the believers, Mírzá Áqá-i-Muníb, entitled Jináb-i-Munír, became so ill that he had to be removed to the hospital, where he died shortly thereafter. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, who accompanied him ashore, made arrangements with the hospital's director for a simple funeral.²⁹

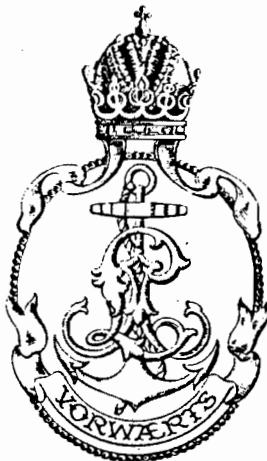
Some days later, the steamship arrived in Alexandria. The Bahá'í historian, Mullá Muḥammad-í-Zarandí, known as Nabíl-i-A'ẓam, is cited as recording that the ship arrived in the morning, and the exiles were transshipped to a second vessel, which left at night.³⁰ However, he also recounts seeing one of the Bahá'ís from his prison cell, which was located close to the harbor, on Thursday (27 August) and watching the ship leave on Friday morning (28 August).³¹

The conditions on the second ship were much the same as on the first: "There were also some Tartar passengers in the boat. To be near them was very uncomfortable; they were dirty beyond description."³²

This vessel arrived in Haifa on Monday, 31 August 1868. Bahíyyih Khánum relates they were carried in chairs to the shore, where they were allowed to remain for a few hours. The crossing of the bay from Haifa to 'Akká was made in open sailing boats and required eight hours, due to the prevailing calm. Bahíyyih Khánum speaks of "eight hours of positive misery," with no shelter from the burning rays of the sun. The landing in 'Akká was also difficult; the ladies again had to be carried ashore in chairs.³³

A small group of exiles remained on the steamer for transport to Cyprus.³⁴ One of the Bahá'ís who had been condemned to separation from Bahá'u'lláh, Áqá 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár, cast himself into the bay in desperation. He was subsequently rescued and forced to continue his journey with the party of Mírzá Yaḥyá.³⁵ The steamship arrived at Lanarka, the main port of Cyprus, on Wednesday, 2 September.

Although Bahíyyih Khánum speaks of boarding a "small Turkish boat" in Gallipoli,³⁶ all other sources are unanimous in recording that the exiles were transported from Gallipoli to Alexandria and hence to Haifa in steamships belonging to the Austrian Lloyd.



The Austrian Lloyd was founded in 1833 in Trieste, the foremost port in the Adriatic Sea, by seven insurance companies. It was to collect maritime and commercial information of interest to the insurers, ship owners and merchants of that city. The driving force behind this association, analogous to Lloyds of London, was Karl Ludwig von Bruck, who became one of its first directors.³⁷

According to its articles of association, the Austrian Lloyd was to gather information on the arrivals and departures of ships in the harbor of Trieste as well as on their cargoes and to catalogue these goods in lists of imports and exports according to category and port of departure or destination. It further assembled maritime reports, such as weather encountered, facilities of harbors visited and incidents experienced en route, from ships traveling to or from Trieste. In addition, the Lloyd had the duties of compiling a register of ships sailing under Austrian flag, assembling a collection of geographic and hydrographic maps, and accumulating all pertinent trade and shipping treaties or other information of interest to merchants, sailors or insurers, such as exchange rates, weights and measures in different countries, and current prices in various markets. Information was collected by Lloyd agents in the main ports of Europe and the Levant as well as in important ports in other parts of the world. It was then forwarded to Trieste, where it was made available to members and the general public in the Lloyd's reading rooms, together with important newspapers, magazines and books dealing with economic, maritime and commercial subjects from around the world. Later, this information was augmented by extracts from the reports of Austrian consular agents, stock exchanges and chambers of commerce in various countries. In this function, the Austrian Lloyd was comparable to a news agency which specialized in information of particular interest to Trieste.³⁸

In 1835, the Austrian Lloyd inaugurated the Giornale des Lloyd Austriaco di notizie commerciali e maritime as a newsletter for the members of the association, and complemented it in 1836 with a German language edition; the Journal des österreichischen Lloyd. These offered the latest information and reports on commercial and maritime events, Trieste's imports and exports and on various markets within the Austrian Empire and its trading partners, as well as informing their readers of the newest prices for goods and commodities and current exchange rates, weights and measures, and shipping and insurance fees. From their common origin as a four page, semiweekly newsletter, these journals--in particular, the German Journal--developed into widely read, daily financial newspapers, which were highly regarded even outside the Austrian Empire. Articles "borrowed" from the Journal des österreichischen Lloyd were to be found in almost every important German language newspaper.³⁹

The success of the Austrian Lloyd as a gatherer and purveyor of commercial information soon made the need for regular lines of communication between the ports of the Austrian Empire--in particular, Trieste--and those in the Levant apparent. Therefore, a second section of the Austrian Lloyd was created in 1836 to organize regularly scheduled steamship lines between these ports, with Trieste as its main base. Again, Karl Ludwig von Bruck was the initiator of the idea. The first section, responsible for commercial and maritime information, and the new second section were separate entities, with only a common internal administration, the Direzione Generale.⁴⁰

With the second section's initial capital of 1,000,000 Florentine guildens, six steamships were purchased, workshops for their maintenance and repair constructed in Trieste, and coal depots and Lloyd agencies established in each port of call. Regularly scheduled steamship service in the Adriatic Sea and the Levant was inaugurated in 1837. The most important route was between Trieste and Constantinople.⁴¹

A contract concluded with the Imperial Austrian postal service in 1841 gave the Austrian Lloyd exclusive rights to carry Austrian mail in the Adriatic sea and the Levant. To further facilitate the transport of passengers and post, Lloyd initiated scheduled service between Constantinople, Smyrna and Syria⁴² the same year. Three years later, the Lloyd service in the Levant was further expanded by adding several new routes in the Levant and a biweekly trip to Trabizond, a port in the Black Sea through which trade with Persia passed.

By 1847, ten years after its establishment, the Austrian Lloyd had twenty-one steamships in service and another four under construction. The number of yearly voyages had risen from 87 in 1837 to 726 in 1847, totaling 334,555 sea miles.⁴³

A direct, monthly express Lloyd steamship line was inaugurated between Trieste and Alexandria in 1848. Alexandria was the door to India and the Far East, the harbor through which passed the bulk of the passenger and mail service to India and beyond. The mail which the Lloyd steamers brought to Alexandria was transferred to small sailing boats which carried it up the Nile to Cairo, then transported in armed caravans to Suez, where it was placed on English ships bound for India. This route, although arduous, was forty days shorter than that around the Cape of Good Hope.⁴⁴ As the route between Alexandria and Trieste was of particular importance to the Austrian Lloyd throughout its existence, its best steamships were placed into service here, with the result that the Lloyd line was the quickest connection between Europe and Egypt.⁴⁵ A second trip was added in 1851, giving biweekly service.

A further innovation in 1848 was the establishment of a third, "literary and artistic" section of the Lloyd, which was henceforth responsible for the collection and dissemination of information, and thus for the newspapers, the printing shops and the reading rooms. The first section was hereafter purely an association of insurance companies.⁴⁶

During the 1850's the Lloyd fleet was expanded and modernized, with the first ships constructed of iron and the first propeller driven vessels going into service. However, ships with paddlewheels were still ordered, such as the Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano, named after Emperor Francis Joseph I's brother who later became the Emperor of Mexico, which was commissioned in 1855.⁴⁷ The same year saw a further improvement in the Lloyd service between Trieste and Constantinople through the establishment of an express line between these two ports.

Haifa was added as a station on the Syrian Line between Constantinople and Alexandria in 1855. Oskar Stark, who served on this line in later years, considered Haifa to be the most beautiful as well as the most important port in Palestine. However, due to the shallowness of the harbor, the Lloyd steamships were not able to tie up at the quay. Passengers and goods bound for Haifa were transferred into small Arab boats which surrounded the steamship as soon as it dropped anchor to offer their services as transport to shore.⁴⁸

At the close of Lloyd's second decade, it was operating sixty-five steamships which made 2,229 voyages totaling 1,042,284 sea miles during 1857.⁴⁹

During the first twenty years of its existence, the transport of passengers and mail had been the Austrian Lloyd's principle source of revenue. However, at the beginning of the 1860's, changes in the economic situation due to the construction of railroads throughout Europe, which facilitated the transport of merchandise, as well as the increasing competition for existing trade by new steamship companies caused the conveyance of commodities and goods to gain importance. The Lloyd required a new type of steamship: existing ships were lengthened to add cargo space and new vessels built according to its changed needs--larger, with more horsepower and additional room for cargo. Whereas the first Lloyd steamships had between forty and one hundred horsepower, had been rated between 310 and 350 gross registered tons and had carried fifty passengers in a single class, the steamships constructed at this time had 400 horsepower, and 2,000 gross registered tons and carried seventy-six passengers in first- and second-class compartments, and further travellers on deck.

By the end of 1867, the Austrian Lloyd fleet consisted of sixty-four steamships which had made 1,265 voyages and covered 961,460 sea miles during that year. The number of yearly voyages had declined during the past decade, but the distance traveled each year had remained almost constant, the result of closing shorter, less profitable routes on Italian lakes and rivers and in the Adriatic Sea and the simultaneous concentration on the growing trade in the Levant. The size of the steamship fleet had remained fairly constant, for as new ships were commissioned, the older, less economical vessels were sold or scrapped.⁵⁰

An important event in the Levant trade was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. In preparation for the changes in trading patterns which the opening of the Canal would bring about, the Austrian Lloyd had, following negotiations with the Imperial Ministry of Trade,⁵¹ inaugurated two Circle Lines in May 1868, which, originating in Trieste, served Alexandria, Beirut, Smyrna, Constantinople, Syros and Corfu. Each steamer leaving Trieste for Constantinople would return to Trieste more than a month later from Alexandria, and every steamer bound for Alexandria would return from Constantinople, having called on every port on the Lines. This new schedule connected Trieste with both Constantinople and Alexandria by weekly steamers, eliminated the need for

transfers of passengers and freight at several ports, and permitted longer layovers for service and provisioning in either Constantinople or Alexandria. Five new steamships of 2,000 gross registered tons with four hundred horsepower were ordered for use on the Circle Lines, the first of which, the Saturno,⁵² went into service on 11 March 1868.

A comparison of official Lloyd timetables for the Circle Lines with the information on the arrivals and departures of Bahá'u'lláh and His companions as contained in the various eyewitness accounts is contained in Table 1. With small variations, the eyewitness accounts correspond with the timetables, which confirms that the vessels which carried Bahá'u'lláh and His companions from Gallipoli to Alexandria were steamships from the Austrian Lloyd fleet.

Table 2 is a list of arrivals and departures of Austrian Lloyd steamships from the harbor of Trieste from the end of July to the end of October 1868. According to the Lloyd timetables for these routes,⁵³ the voyage from Trieste to Constantinople required five days, and that from Trieste to Alexandria five and a half days. For example, the Pilade, which left Trieste on 15 August, arrived in Constantinople at 17.00 (5.00 p.m.) on 20 August.

The ship which was to carry the exiles to Alexandria departed from Constantinople at 16.00 on 20 August, and must therefore have left Trieste on either 1 or 8 August and arrived in Constantinople on 6 or 13 August. As it is extremely unlikely that this vessel remained at anchor in Constantinople's harbor for one or two weeks, it must have been used on one of the Lloyd routes in the Black Sea before setting out from Constantinople bound for Alexandria.

Notices regarding the departures of Lloyd steamships from Trieste published in L'Osservatore Triestino show that passengers and mail for such Black Sea ports as Varna, Odessa and Trabizond were carried on the vessel bound for Constantinople.⁵⁴ Comparisons of the timetables for the various Black Sea lines⁵⁵ show that the single combination of arrival in Constantinople from Trieste, departure for a Black Sea port, and return to Constantinople in time to depart on 20 August at 16.00 for Alexandria would be for a ship departing from Trieste on Saturday, 1 August (at 02.00), which would arrive in Constantinople on Thursday, 6 August at 17.00. This vessel then journeyed on to Trabizond, departing Constantinople on Friday, 7 August at 12.00, and arriving in Trabizond on Monday, 10 August at 15.00. On the return trip, the steamer left Trabizond on Thursday, 12 August and arrived back at Constantinople on Monday, 16 August at 24.00, in time to be reprovisioned for its further journey

Table 1

LLOYD TIMETABLE No 136				BAHA'I HISTORY			
Arrival	Duration of Stop	Departure		Arrival	Duration of Stop	Departure	Source
Constantinople		Thursday 20 August 16.00					
GALLIPOLI	Friday 21 August 05.00	30 min	Friday 21 August 05.30			Friday 21 August before noon	Áqá Riða A Nabíl B
Dardanelles	Friday 21 August 08.00	1 hr	Friday 21 August 09.00				
Bozcaada (Tenedos)	Friday 21 August 12.00	30 min	Friday 21 August 12.30				
Mytilene (Metelino) (Madelli)	Friday 21 August 18.45	1 hr 15 min	Friday 21 August 20.00	same day sunset	few hours	at night	Balyuzi A Nabíl B
SMYRNA	Saturday 22 August 03.00	1 day 9 hrs	Sunday 23 August 16.00	sunrise	2 days	at night	Balyuzi A Nabíl B
ALEXANDRIA	Wednesday 26 August 02.00			two days later morning			Balyuzi C Nabíl B
LLOYD TIMETABLE No 135				BAHA'I HISTORY			
Arrival	Duration of Stop	Departure		Arrival	Duration of	Departure Stay	Source
ALEXANDRIA		Friday 28 August 11.00				mid-morning at night	Nabíl D Nabíl B
Port Said	Saturday 29 August 05.00	12 hrs	Saturday 29 August 17.00	morning		same day at night	Nabíl B
Jaffa	Sunday 30 August 10.00	8 hrs	Sunday 30 August 18.00			midnight	Nabíl B
HAIFA	Monday 31 August 01.00	7 hrs	Monday 31 August 08.00	Monday 31 August morning			Nabíl B
Beirut	Monday 31 August 16.30	1 day 7 hrs 30 min	Tuesday 1 September 24.00				
Cyprus (Lanarka)	Wednesday 2 September 13.00	11 hrs	Wednesday 2 September 24.00				
.....							
Constantinople	Wednesday 9 September 02.30						

A: Quoted in Balyuzi, *Bahá'u'lláh*, p. 264.
 B: *The Bahá'í World*, vol. XVII, p. 393.
 C: *Bahá'u'lláh*, p. 265.
 D: "Unpublished history," quoted in Balyuzi, *Bahá'u'lláh*, p. 268.

AUSTRIAN LLOYD STEAMSHIPS IN TRIESTE
1868

Table 2

DEPARTURES				ARRIVALS			
date	steamship	captain	to	date	steamship	captain	from
27 Jul	Trebisonda	Lombardich	Constantinople	30 Jul	Juno Trebisonda	Druscovich Lombardich	Constantinople Alexandria
1 Aug	Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano Apollo	Mazzarovich Giurovich	Constantinople Alexandria	7 Aug	Ceres Progresso	Calvi Forti	Constantinople Alexandria
8 Aug	Trebisonda Juno	Lombardich Grassi	Constantinople Alexandria	13 Aug	Saturno	Benich	Constantinople
15 Aug	Pilade Progresso	Colombo Forti	Constantinople Alexandria	20 Aug 21 Aug	Austria Aquila Imperiale	Rassol Giurovich	Constantinople Alexandria
22 Aug	Minerva Saturno	Lombardini Leva	Constantinople Alexandria	28 Aug	Diana Oreste	Uropina Steyskal	Constantinople Alexandria
29 Aug	Aquila Imperiale Ceres	Giurovich Calvi	Constantinople Alexandria	4 Sep	Apollo Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano	Giurovich Mazzarovich	Constantinople Alexandria
4 Sep	Diana	Uropina	Alexandria	10 Sep 11 Sep	Juno Trebisonda	Grassi Lombardich	Constantinople Alexandria
5 Sep	Vulcan	Florio	Constantinople	18 Sep	Jupiter	Lazzarich	Alexandria
12 Sep	Arciduchessa Carlotta Apollo	Druscovich Giurovich	Constantinople Alexandria	24 Sep 25 Sep	Minerva Saturno	Lombardini Leva	Alexandria Constantinople
19 Sep 21 Sep	Trebisonda Juno	Lombardich Grassi	Constantinople Alexandria	1 Oct 2 Oct	Ceres Aquila Imperiale	Calvi Giurovich	Constantinople Alexandria
26 Sep	Oreste Austria	Benich Rassol	Constantinople Alexandria	8 Oct	Diana Pilade	Uropina Colombo	Constantinople Alexandria
3 Oct	Saturno Minerva	Leva Lombardini	Constantinople Alexandria	15 Oct	Vulcan Apollo	Florio Giurovich	Alexandria Constantinople
10 Oct	Jupiter Ceres	Lazzarich Calvi	Constantinople Alexandria	22 Oct	Trebisonda	Lombardich	Alexandria
17 Oct	Pilade America	Colombo Grubissich	Constantinople Alexandria				

on the Circle Line to Alexandria. As Table 2 shows, the steamship leaving Trieste on 1 August 1868 bound for Constantinople was the Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano, under the command of Captain Mazzarovich.

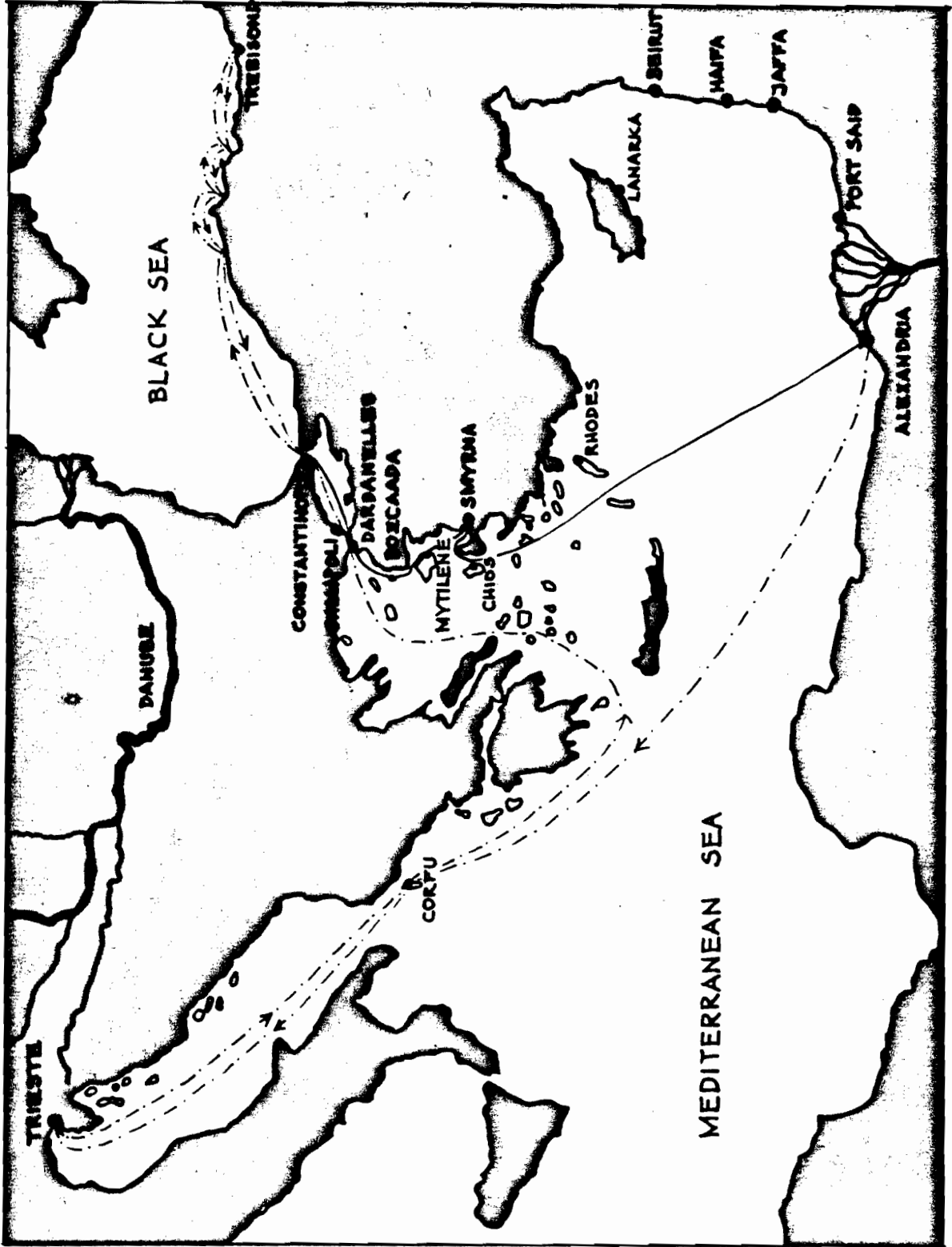
According to the Lloyd timetable, the vessel which carried Bahá'u'lláh and His companions from Gallipoli to Alexandria would have departed from Alexandria on Sunday, 30 August--after taking on passengers and mail from the Indian packet--and reached Trieste on Friday, 4 September. L'Osservatore Triestino records that the Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano arrived in Trieste on 4 September 1868, coming from Alexandria, and confirms thereby that it was the vessel which navigated the Circle Line from Constantinople to Alexandria at the time in question. Map 1 shows this voyage of the Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano.

The steamer which carried the exiles from Alexandria to Haifa would have had to depart from Trieste on 22 August. According to L'Osservatore Triestino, the Saturno left Trieste on 22 August, bound for Alexandria under the command of Captain Leva.⁵⁶ The Saturno was due in Alexandria on Friday, 28 August at 05.00 and departed at 11.00 on the same day for Syria and Constantinople. The exiles must have therefore remained on board the Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano until the Saturno arrived.⁵⁷

According to the timetable, the Saturno reached Constantinople on Wednesday, 10 September 1868, and departed from there bound for Trieste on Saturday, 19 September. L'Osservatore Triestino confirms that she reached that port on Friday, 25 September, more than a month after leaving. The voyage of the Saturno is shown in Map 2.

It is to be hoped that the deductions in this paper regarding the Austrian Lloyd steamships will be confirmed at some time in the future by the log books or passenger lists of the ships in question. The Lloyd archives are currently being reorganized and perhaps additional information will become available at a later date.

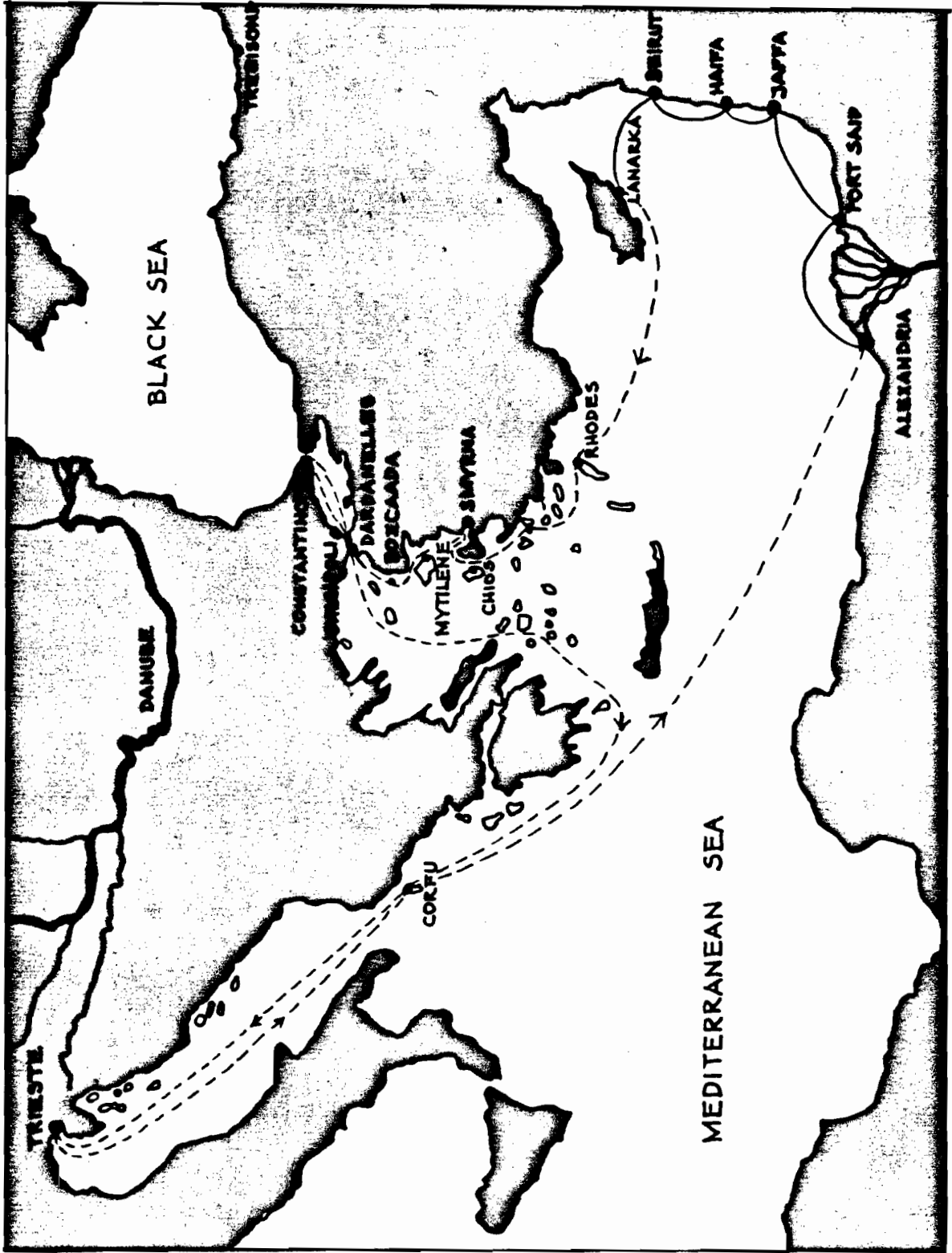
VOYAGE OF THE ARCIDUCA FERDINANDO MASSIMILIANO



1 AUG - 4 SEPT 1868

MAP 1

VOYAGE OF THE SATURNO



MAP 2

22 AUG. - 25 SEPT. 1868

I wish to thank the Direzione Generale of the Lloyd Triestino for giving me access to their archives and permission to copy and publish historical information therefrom, Capitano Angelo Bronzin of Lloyd Triestino's Archivio Storico for his patience in assisting me in my search and in answering my sometimes tiresome questions, Paolo Valenti of the Associazione Marinara "Aldebaran" in Trieste and D. J. Lyon of the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich for providing further detailed information on the Lloyd steamships, Dipl. Ing. Kambiz Poostchi for giving me the original impetus and Mrs. Anna Manavi for translating the Italian material into German for the Austrian Bahá'í archives.

Kent D. Beveridge

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- ¹ Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By, (Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1970), p. 163.
- ² See Kent D. Beveridge, "Anton Graf Prokesch von Osten: the Adrianople Episode," (unpublished manuscript), p. 25, note 47. Bahíyyih Khánúm, one of Bahá'u'lláh's daughters, confirms that "libels" were the reasons for the order of banishment to 'Akká. Quoted in The Chosen Highway, (Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1967), p. 61.
- ³ Published in Moojan Momen, The Babi and Baha'i Religions, 1844-1944: Some Contemporary Western Accounts, (Oxford: George Ronald, 1981), chap. 11.
- ⁴ According to a letter assumed to be from 'Abdu'l-Bahá, 'Abbás to Rev. Mr. Rosenberg, enclosure to dispatch Camerloher to Prokesch-Osten, 12 September 1868, Consular & Diplomat. Correspondenz 1864-71, Nachlass Prokesch-Osten, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna - "our honored Lord and Master (Shaykh Ḥusayn 'A.) and two brothers, along with one other and two enemies of the Shaykh." The two brothers of Bahá'u'lláh were Mírzá Músá and Mírzá Muḥammad-Qulí, the other, Darvīsh Šidq-'Alí, and the two enemies, Siyyid Muḥammad-i-Iṣfahání and Áqá Ján Big. Adib Taherzadeh, The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh, vol. 2, Adrianople, 1863-68, (Oxford: George Ronald, 1977), adds the names of Mírzá Yahyá and four followers of Bahá'u'lláh: Mírzá Ḥusayn, entitled Mishkín Qalam, 'Alí-i-Sayyāḥ, Muḥammad Bāqir-i-Qahvih-chí, and 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár. who were condemned to life imprisonment in Famagusta on Cyprus (p. 402). Mírzá Muḥammad Javād-i-Qazvíní, whose manuscript was translated by E.G. Browne and published as "An Epitome of Bábí and Bahá'í History to A.D. 1898, Translated from the Original Arabic of Mírzá Muḥammad Jawād of Qazvín" in Materials for the Study of the Bábí Religion, (Cambridge: University Press, 1918), states the edict named Bahá'u'lláh and His "brother Áqá Mírzá Músá, Mírzá Muḥammad-Qulí ... and Darvīsh Šidq-'Alí of Qazvín, one of the servants...." (p. 26).
- ⁵ Áqá Ḥusayn-i-Áshchí, quoted in Taherzadeh, Revelation, vol. 2, p. 405. In his letter to the British consul in Adrianople dated 5 August 1868, the Reverend Leon Rosenberg states that the Bahá'ís "await exile in two days." Quoted in Momen, Religions, p. 188.
- ⁶ Chosen Highway, p. 62. Had the exiles left on 7 or 8 August as originally planned, they would have reached Gallipoli in time to board the steamer departing on 14 August. This steamer also called in Haifa, which would have eliminated the need to transship in Alexandria.
- ⁷ Beveridge, "Prokesch von Osten".
- ⁸ See Momen, Religions, p. 188n. As the First Dragoman of the British Embassy contacted 'Alí Pāshá on 12 August, he was informed that the exiles were to be banished to Cyprus and St. Jean d'Acre (Momen, p. 191). Yet the Austrian internuncio to the Sublime Porte, Graf Prokesch von Osten, was informed in an audience with Fu'ád Pāshá on the same day that the group was to be deported to Tripoli!
- ⁹ See Momen, Religions, pp. 189-90.
- ¹⁰ See Momen, Religions, pp. 189-90. Camerloher also reported this opinion to Prokesch-Osten, as is evident from the latter's reply dated 19 August, contained in Nachlass Prokesch-Osten, Consular & Diplomat. Correspondenz, 1864-71.
- ¹¹ Mírzá Áqá Ján, Bahá'u'lláh's amanuensis, states "only those twelve companions who had accompanied Bahá'u'lláh to Adrianople were to travel with Him to Gallipoli." Quoted in Taherzadeh, Revelation, vol. 2, p. 403. Áqá

Muḥammad-Riḍāy-i-Qannad-i-Shīrāzī, another eyewitness, later recalled: "whoever had his name recorded in a register would be allowed to go, but those whose names were not there would not be permitted to leave." Quoted in H.M. Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, The King of Glory, (Oxford: George Ronald, 1980), p. 258.

12 Bahíyyih Khánum, quoted in Chosen Highway, p. 62.

13 Ronzevalle and Áqá Riḍá record that "the local authorities had [the Bahá'ís'] belongings sold at public auctions." (Quoted in Momen, Religions, p. 190 and Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, p. 255.) Rosenberg noted that the Bahá'ís were compelled "to sell their businesses and their furniture at great losses." (Momen, p. 194.) The promissory notes given for some of these goods were never paid. (Áqá Riḍá, cited in Balyuzi, p. 258.)

14 Quoted in Taherzadeh, Revelation, vol. 2, p. 408.

15 He later recovered and joined Bahá'u'lláh in 'Akká. See Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, pp. 258-9 and Taherzadeh, Revelation, vol. 2, pp. 406-8.

16 Interestingly enough, both Blunt and Rosenberg give the date of departure as Monday, 10 August. Rosenberg also mentions the time of departure: 1.00 p.m. See Momen, Religions, pp. 193 and 196.

17 The sources differ on the length of this journey. Bahíyyih Khánum speaks of three days (quoted in Chosen Highway, p. 62); Nabíl-i-A'zam (cited in The Bahá'í World, vol. XVII, 1976-1979, (Haifa: Bahá'í World Centre, 1981), p. 393) and Shoghi Effendi (God Passes By, p. 180), of four; and Balyuzi (Bahá'u'lláh, p. 260), of five. The letter cited in note 4 gives the duration of the journey as six days.

18 "Súriy-i-Ra'ís," in H. Holley (ed), Bahá'í Scriptures: Selections from the Utterances of Bahá'u'lláh and 'Abdu'l-Bahá, (New York: Brentano's, 1923), pp. 88-94. See also Taherzadeh, Revelation, vol. 2, pp. 413-8 for a summary of its contents.

19 Quoted in Shoghi Effendi, The Promised Day Is Come, (Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1967), p. 62. These events came about within the decade as 'Alí Páshá died in 1871 and Sultán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz lost his throne and his life in 1876. Roumelia, the province of which Adrianople was the capital, was lost to the Russians and Bulgarians during the disastrous war of 1877-78.

The fulfillment of this prophecy was to have a profound effect on the life of two men who were to be of great importance to the Bahá'í Faith. The first was Mírzá Abu'l-Fadl of Gulpáygán, who had conditioned his acceptance of Bahá'u'lláh on the fulfillment of the prophecies of the Súriy-i-Ra'ís.

"And when it happened and nemesis descended upon 'Abdu'l-'Azíz and his ramshackle realm, he made doubly sure that the report of the downfall of the Sultán was correct. Then he dedicated his life, his powerful pen and his vast, unsurpassed erudition to the service of Bahá'u'lláh." (Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, p. 262.)

The second was E. G. Browne, in whom accounts of the siege and fall of Plenva during the Turko-Russian war had first awakened his lifelong interest in the Near East. See also Balyuzi, Edward Granville Browne and the Bahá'í Faith, (Oxford: George Ronald, 1970), chap. 1.

20 The length of stay also varies according to the source: Balyuzi writes of three days (Bahá'u'lláh, p. 263); Shoghi Effendi of three nights (God Passes By, p. 181); and Bahíyyih Khánum of a week (Chosen Highway, p. 62).

21 'Abbás to Rev. Mr. Rosenberg, Nachlass Prokesch-Osten. See also God Passes By, p. 181.

18

22 Bahíyyih Khánum also mentions the assistance of the governor of Gallipoli. Chosen Highway, p. 62.

23 God Passes By, p. 181, Chosen Highway, pp. 62-3, Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, p. 263.

24 According to the Tariffa Passaggieri per le Linee del Levante, the first-class fare from Gallipoli to Alexandria on the Egyptian line was sixty-six Florentine gulden, second-class, forty-nine gulden, and third-class, eighteen gulden. The first-class fare from Alexandria to Haifa was thirty-five gulden, second-class, twenty-six gulden and third-class, nine gulden. Meals were not included in this price.

25 Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, pp. 263-4.

26 Quoted in Shoghi Effendi, God Passes By, p. 181.

27 Bahíyyih Khánum, quoted in Chosen Highway, p. 63. There is some confusion regarding the actual number of exiles: in a letter dated 5 August 1868, Rev. Rosenberg writes that Bahá'u'lláh "and forty others await exile" (quoted in Momen, Religions, p. 188); a statement bearing the seal Ḥusayn-'Alí gives the number of persons who accompanied Him from Baghdád as fifty-four (Momen, p. 200); Camerloher writes of "more than sixty" Bahá'ís living in Adrianople in January 1866 (Camerloher to Prokesch-Osten 14 January 1866, Consular & Diplomat. Correspondenz 1864-71, Nachlass Prokesch-Osten); and Rosenberg, in a second letter dated 15 August, states that seventy were "carried off" into exile (quoted in Momen, p. 197). Mírzá Javád recorded that "sixty-eight souls in all" departed from Adrianople (Materials, p. 29), and that "about seventy souls embarked in boats for the Austrian-Lloyd steamer" in Gallipoli (p. 31). Balyuzi lists the names of sixty-seven Bahá'ís who arrived in 'Akká, (Bahá'u'lláh, pp. 277-9).

28 Quoted in Chosen Highway, pp. 62-6.

29 According to 'Abdu'l-Bahá, Memorials of the Faithful, (Wilmette: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, 1971), pp. 145-7, Jináb-i-Munír was seriously ill prior to the departure from Adrianople, but refused to remain behind. He had to be carried on board the steamship at Gallipoli by three men. On board the vessel, his condition worsened to such an extent that the captain had him removed to the hospital in Smyrna. 'Abdu'l-Bahá, who accompanied him to the hospital, but was only allowed to remain with him for a short time, states that Jináb-i-Munír was alive as He was required to leave. The "spoken chronicle" of Bahíyyih Khánum seems to be in error in this respect.

30 "Historical Data Gleaned from Nabíl's Narrative Regarding Bahá'u'lláh," Bahá'í World XVII, p. 393. Mírzá Javád also records a departure "at the close of day" (Materials, p. 32).

31 "Unpublished history," quoted in Chosen Highway, pp. 247-9 and Balyuzi, Bahá'u'lláh, pp. 265-8, and cited in Taherzadeh, The Revelation of Bahá'u'lláh, vol. 3, 'Akká, The Early Years: 1868-77, (Oxford: George Ronald, 1983), pp. 5-11. In this account, Nabíl records that he and a fellow believer in that prison, Dr. Fáris, had given messages for Bahá'u'lláh to a young man. This young man rowed out to the steamship on Friday morning to deliver these messages, but the vessel got underway before he reached it. Unexplicably, it stopped and waited for him. It will be of interest to see, when the log book of the steamship is found, if this incident is mentioned there. According to the official time-tables, the steamer was to depart on on Friday at 11.00.

32 Quoted in Chosen Highway, p. 66.


- 19
- 33 Quoted in Chosen Highway, p. 66.
- 34 According to the records of the authorities on Cyprus reproduced by E. G. Browne as an appendix to his translation of ['Abdu'l-Bahá], A Traveller's Narrative Written to Illustrate the Episode of the Báb, (Cambridge: University Press, 1891), pp. 384-9, Mírzá Yahyá was accompanied by his family, consisting of two wives, three sons and four daughters, and by two servants.
- 35 Although Bahíyyih Khánum, in recounting her memories almost thirty years later, speaks of this incident as having taken place in Alexandria, there is no doubt that it was 'Akká. 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár was subsequently able to escape from Cyprus--according to the above records, on 29 September 1870--and reach 'Akká, where he lived under an assumed name.
- 36 Chosen Highway, p. 63.
- 37 Die Dampfschiffahrt-Gesellschaft des Österreichisch-Ungarischen Lloyd von ihrem Entstehen bis auf unsere Tage (1836-1886), (Trieste: Buchdruckerei des Österreichisch-Ungarischen Lloyd, 1886), pp. 4-5; Martin Riedlinger, "Das Journal des Österreichischen Lloyd: Seine Stellung zur Regierung," (unpublished PhD. thesis, Universität Wien, 1948), pp. 26-7, 40-1.
- 38 Riedlinger, "Journal", pp. 43-5.
- 39 Riedlinger, "Journal", p. 48.
- 40 Riedlinger, "Journal", p. 28.
- 41 Öster-Ungar. Lloyd, pp. 6-9; Riedlinger, "Journal", pp. 28-9.
- 42 At that time, Lebanon formed a part of Syria, which in turn was a province of the Ottoman Empire.
- 43 Öster-Ungar. Lloyd, pp. 23 and 45.
- 44 Oskar Stark, Eine Versunkene Welt: Die Geschichte des österreichischen Lloyd; Fahrten und Ende seiner 62 Schiffe, (Vienna: Rohrer Verlag, 1959), p. 12-3.
- 45 Stark, Versunkene Welt, p. 47.
- 46 Öster-Ungar. Lloyd, p. 28; Riedlinger, "Journal", pp. 33, 47-8.
- 47 The Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano, an iron ship with paddle wheels, four hundred horsepower and one thousand-sixty gross registered tons, was built by Mare & Co. in Great Britain at a cost of 472,500 guildens. The vessel carried forty-eight first- and twenty-eight second-class passengers in addition to its crew of twenty-five and its cargo. It was in service until 1900, when it was sold for scrap. See appendix 1.
- 48 Stark, Versunkene Welt, pp. 58-9. At the same time, an Imperial Austrian Levant post office was established at the port.
- 49 Öster-Ungar. Lloyd, p. 63.
- 50 Öster-Ungar. Lloyd, p. 82.
- 51 The correspondence is contained in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, Administrative Registatur, Fach 34SR, Karton 36.
- 52 According to the Austrian Lloyd's records, the Saturno was built in the Denny Shipyards at Dumbarton, Scotland at a cost of 506,000 guildens. An iron,

propeller-driven vessel with auxillary sails, the Saturno had four hundred horsepower and two thousand gross registered tons, and carried fifty-one first-and twenty-eight second-class passengers as well as a crew of forty. It was sold for demolition in 1910. See appendix 1 for further information from The Denny List.

53 Timetable No. 51 for the route between Trieste and Constantinople and No. 134 for the route between Trieste and Alexandria.

54

205 p.



Navigazione a Vapore del Lloyd Austriaco

SERVIZIO POSTALE

Partenze dei Piroscali da Trieste dal 17 al 23 agosto 1868.

Per **Alessandria** sabato 22 a mezzanotte via **Corfù**.
Questa corsa sta in congiunzione coi battelli diretti da Suez per **Aden e Bombay**.

- **Atene, Bralla, Burgas, Candia, Corfù, Constantinopoli, Dardaneli, C. Iatz, Gallipoli, Kustendje, Metellio, Odessa, Scio, Sira, Smirne, Sullinà, Tulcia e Varna** sabato 22 alle 2 ore p. m.
- **Inchell, Rodi, Namsun, e Trebisonda** sabato 22 alle 2 ore p. m.
- **Perutti, Caffa, Cipro, Jaffa e Porto-Said** sabato 22 a mezzanotte, via **Alessandria**, per passeggeri.
- **Cavalla, Lagos, Salonicco e Volos** (nessuna partenza).
- **Ancona, Argostoli, Brindisi, Corigo, Corfù, Sira, e Zante** martedì 18 alle 4 ore p. m.
- **L'Istria, Fiume, Portorè, Anzeze e Segna** lunedì 17 alle 10 ore a. m.
- **L'Istria, Fiume e la Croazia** venerdì 21 alle 10 ore antimerid.
- **Veglia e Lusningrande** lunedì 17 e venerdì 21 alle 10 ore ant.
- **la Dalmazia** martedì 18 a mezzogiorno.
giovedì 20 alle 5 ore a. m.
sabato 22 a mezzogiorno.
- **L'Albania** giovedì 20 alle 5 ore a. m.
sabato 22 a mezzogiorno.
- **Venezia** martedì 18, giovedì 20 e sabato 22 a mezzanotte.
- **Ravenna** mercoledì 19 del mese, di sera.

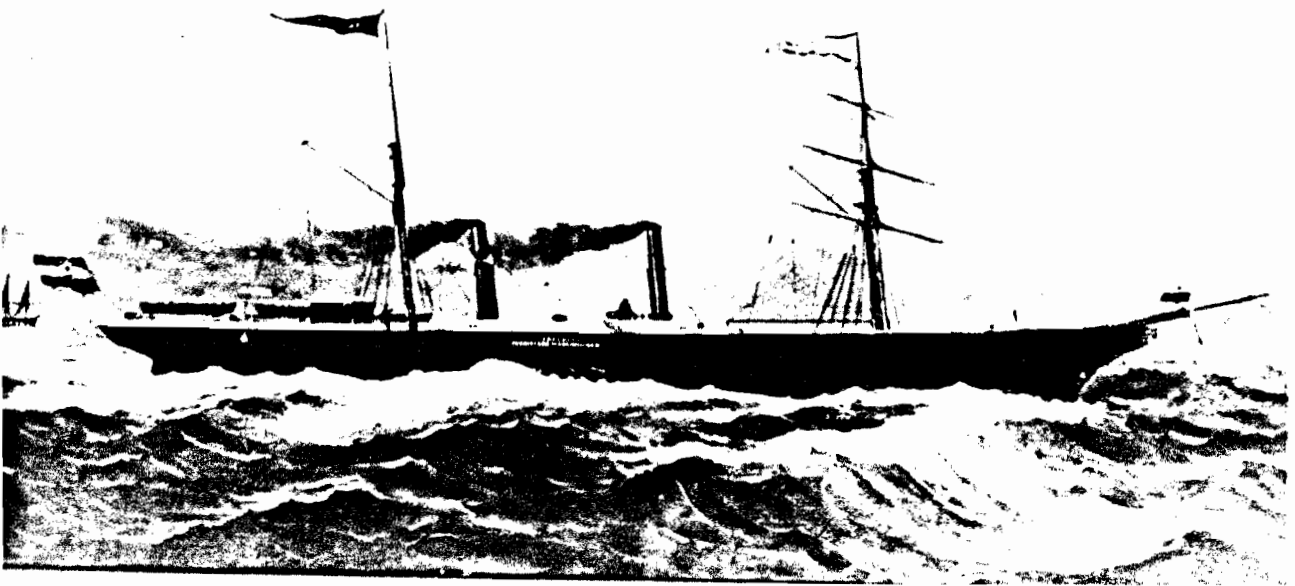
NB. Mercè per **Smirna** non vengono assunte che col battello che parte al martedì in linea **Greco-Orientale**.
Mercè per le **Indie** devono venir qui affiancate.

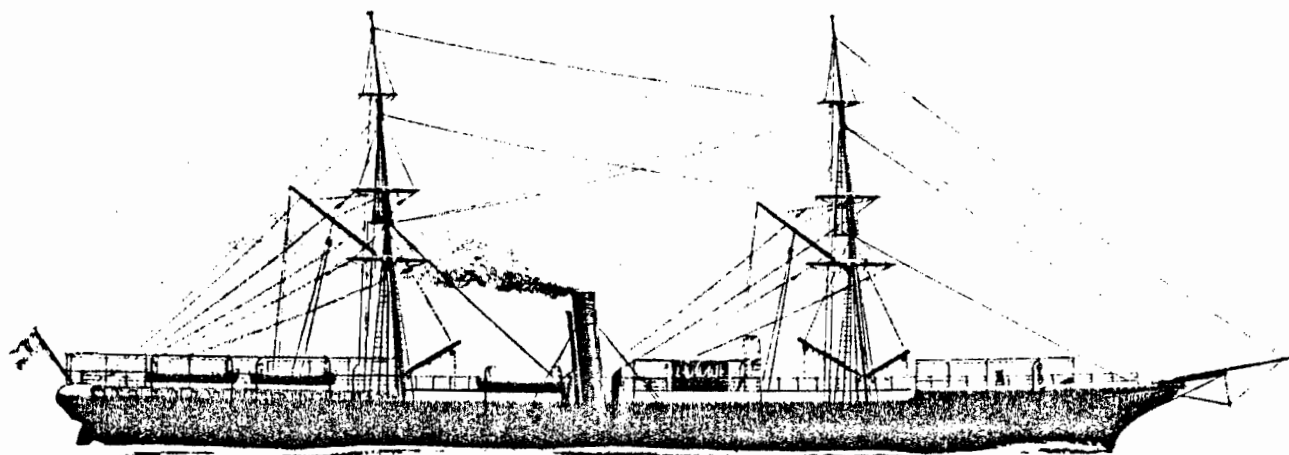
55 Timetable No. 130 for the route between Constantinople and Varna, No. 131 for the line to Odessa, and No. 117 for the Trabizond line.

56 According to the records in the archives of the Lloyd Triestino, Capitano Agostino Leva joined the Austrian Lloyd on 12 November 1845 and promoted to captain on 17 August 1849. At the time of this voyage, Captain Leva was fifty-six years of age and Lloyd's senior captain.

57 The statement made by Muhammad Labib on his Map of Stages in Bahá'u'lláh's Successive Exiles from Tihrán to 'Akká, January 12, 1853-August 31, 1868, "the boat [sic] touched at the following ports en route: ... 76. Alexandria (transshipped the same day for Haifa)" is therefore incorrect.

Arciduca Ferdinando Massimiliano



Saturno

SATURNO

125-6 CERES, SATURNO 1867

ss passenger/cargo steamers for the Austrian Lloyd S.N. Co.

SATURNO First vessel built at the Leven Yard

274½' x 34' x 18' /26' + 18½' 2,960 displ/1,535 dwt/1,562 bm/1,761 g/1,197 n

99,375 cu ft cargo 48 cabin, 28 steerage passengers 254 tons coal

Machinery Nos. 133-4: Inverted direct acting surface condensing 54".54" x 36" 194 nhp

Two tubular boilers, fired athwartships 25 lbs. 4 bladed screw

Contract: Austrian Lloyd wanted a steamer 6' longer than the *JUNO* (102) and her sisters, which had proved to be better sea-boats than the *APOLLO* (119) and *MINERVA* (113). The company had received a number of very favourable tenders from other British yards, but professed a wish to continue business 'with your respectable firm'. Austrian Lloyd asked for a price of £38,000 and an 8 month delivery time. The final price was settled at £39,000, but during negotiations the purchasers had agreed to order another similar vessel, which was to be priced at £38,000.

Order: 9 April 67 125 launched 14 November 67/trial 26 December 67

126 launched 11 January 68/trial 23 February 68/arrived at Trieste 11 March 68

Trials : 125 2,930 tons/12.08 knots/1,000 ihp/54 rpm

MM trial: 1,552 tons on board/11 1/6 knots/.....

126 2,050 tons/11.88 knots/739 ihp/48 rpm

Expected Performance: 11½ knots average/970 ihp/24 to 28 tons of coal per day

Description: Brig rig, arrangement generally similar to *APOLLO* (119). Handsomely carved figurehead to fit the name of the ship. Two 9 pounder signal guns

Careers: Sold for breaking up in 1902 and 1908 respectively.

Plans: Rig/lower d/main & spar d
Boiler/MA

Photos: None

Documents: Specification

source: The Denny List, copyright D.J. Lyon,
National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

LLOYD AGENTS AND AUSTRIAN CONSULAR AGENTS IN THE LEVANT

1868

LLOYD AGENTS

Alexandria	Giovanni de Battisti
Beirut	Giovanni Laurella
Constantinople	Pio Terenzio
Gallipoli	A. C. Siderides
Haifa/ 'Akká	M. Scopinich
Lanarka	Joseph Pascotini
Smyrna	Oscar Marinich

CONSULAR AGENTS

Adrianople	Gustav Wilhelm von Camerloher, vice-consul
Alexandria	Gustav Ritter von Schreiner, consul general
Constantinople	Anton Graf Prokesch von Osten, <u>internuncio</u>
Gallipoli	A. C. Siderides, vice-consul
Haifa/ 'Akká	Joseph Anton Scopinich, vice-consul
Smyrna	Karl August Freiherr von Baum, consul general

sources: Annuario Marittimo per l'Anno 1869, (Trieste: Stabilimento Letterario Artistico, 1869);

Hof- & Staatshandbuch des Kaisertums Österreich für das Jahr 1868, (Wien: Manz, 1868).