

Summary (in English and in Chinese)

国际租界是指在一些主要贸易城市内划出部分地域，依据战争后签署的不平等条约，由外国政权对其进行管理。租界在19世纪下半叶到二十世纪上半叶出现在中国。目前，租界作为一个研究领域被重新审视，以探究我们当下所谓“全球化”的前提条件。

International concessions were strictly delimited enclaves within key trading cities, ceded to and governed by foreign powers after ‘unequal treaties’ resulting from military campaigns. Concessions also came into being in China, from the second half of the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth. They are currently being rediscovered as a field of research on the preconditions of what we today call ‘globalisation’.

天津租界位于北京东南，临近渤海湾。它除了经常与上海及其公共租界进行对比之外，也名副其实地“横亘全球”：九个国家在此设立代表处，包括了日本，俄国，以及六个欧洲国家和美国。英、法、意大利租界区的历史得到了完善的研究，同时它们的实体框架也大部分保留至今。目前，这几个租界区被天津市政府列为具有“大都会风情”的文化遗址。而在这段历史中，有一个元素却几乎被遗忘：奥匈帝国租界区。

Besides constituting a famous counterpart to Shanghai and its International Settlement, the concessions of Tientsin (today’s Tianjin), a city to the south-east of Beijing close to the Bohai Bay, indeed ‘spanned the globe’: nine nations were represented, from Japan, Russia, and six European countries to the USA. The histories of the British, French, or Italian quarters have been rather well explored and today their physical fabrics are still visible to a remarkable extent — currently, they are even being commodified by the Tianjin Municipal Government as a cultural heritage site endowed with ‘cosmopolitan flair’ — whereas one element has almost fallen into oblivion: *the Austro-Hungarian concession*.

本书的基本目标即为填补这一研究空白。本书是第一部对天津奥匈帝国租界（于1901 - 1917年间存续）的都市史和建筑史进行的语境化研究，将利用此前未被世人所知晓的文字和图片档案，将其建筑遗貌与今天当地的文化遗产业进行关联，以当今的视角进行研究。全书聚焦于奥匈帝国租界，同时增加了两个部分：导论部分为读者概括介绍了自十九世纪初奥地利（后期也包括匈牙利）与中国交往过程中采取过的“多重道路”，其最终致使1900年后天津租界的具体设立；而

附录则完整收录了对天津进行历史研究的主要一手文献（详见下文）。

Filling this scientific gap is the overall goal of this book. The urban and architectural history of Tientsin’s Austro-Hungarian concession, which existed between 1901 and 1917, will be contextualised here for the first time, making use of hitherto unknown archival material, both written and visual, while its last physical remains will be set in relation with today’s local heritage industry from a present-day perspective. While the episode of the Austro-Hungarian concession stands at the centre of this book, it is framed by two additional sections: an introduction provides the reader with a historical overview of the ‘many roads’ taken by Austrian (and later also Hungarian) relations with China, from the early nineteenth century onwards, that ultimately led to the concrete concession project in Tientsin after 1900. In the appendix, the central primary source on which this historical analysis of Tientsin is based (see below), has been reproduced in full.

穿插本书讨论的一个主题则是交织的悖论。

一方面，我们可察觉出，对中国贸易口岸租界（存续于十九世纪六十年代至二十世纪四十年代）的研究成为蓬勃发展的学术兴趣点。而此学术趋向不仅涉及了对国际间政治、外交和（与国际贸易有关的）经济关系网的研究，同时也涵盖了对租界区的基建、城市开发和建筑进行规划、实施和管控所必需的物流、技术、设备。而上述各方面，结合到二十世纪初的租界这一微观建制中，常被视为“全球化”——这一象征性肇始于2000年、覆盖全球、纵横交织的复杂过程——的奠基性因素。

A theme running through the main contribution of this book has been that of paradoxical constellations.

On the one hand, a veritable boom in scientific interest for the history of treaty port concessions in China (which lasted from the 1860s to the 1940s) could be detected. This interest does not only concern research in the political, diplomatic, and (‘world trade’-related) economic networks of international collaboration, but also in the logistics, techniques, and instruments that were required to plan, implement, and control the infrastructural, urban, and architectural development of concession systems. All these aspects together, in their micro set-up in concessions around 1900, are often viewed as important founding factors of those entangled pro-

cesses spanning the world that since the symbolic threshold of 2000 have often been summed up as 'globalisation'.

本书对中国最典型的租界天津——其集结了世界版图上的日俄欧美九个国家——的历史及其后世的物质变迁进行了学术成果综述。此外，该书还展现了一段乍看起来颇有悖论的变迁过程：天津这段备受诟病的历史演变成了其光辉的文化遗产。尽管中国历史学家们依旧是研究外国势力统治这一历史篇章的积极承担者，一些富有新思的政客和开发商们则努力尝试将天津那充满帝国主义侵略和耻辱性掠夺的租界史，改写成正面性的、“可以被继承和延续”的、关于现代化、都市化、国家合作和多边友谊的胜利故事。这一改写，将曾经其饱受诟病的过去，融入了天津自我定位于未来国际性都市的追求中。

While mapping out the current status of knowledge about the history and physical afterlife of Tientsin, China's most relevant concession (which assembled nine foreign nations from all over the globe, from Japan and Russia to Europe and the USA), this publication has uncovered a seemingly paradoxical transformative moment: a shift from *Tientsin's contested history* to *Tianjin's glorious heritage*. Although Chinese historians continue to take an active part in investigating this foreign-ruled chapter in their 'own' country's recent past, inventive municipal politicians and developers are trying hard to reformulate Tientsin's concession legacy, namely, pan-imperialistic aggression and humiliating exploitation, into a positive, 'to-be-inherited-and-to-be-continued' success story of modernisation, cosmopolitanism, international cooperation and, even, multilateral friendship. This reinvention of a once contested past thus fits in with Tianjin's self-branding ambitions of the present as a global city for the future.

在这段重大的历史改写中，曾经最富有影响力的法国、英国和意大利租界区的都市和建筑构造都被逐步改造成了文化遗产，兼容着复原的古迹、新建的新式外貌和重新布局的都市空间。其整体的框架构建以对历史上列强的固定文化印象为主题，甚至随着这些文化印象不断强化，产生了一种以全球化为主题的公园氛围。

In this great reworking of history, the urban and architectural fabric of the once most impactful concessions of France, Great Britain, and Italy is gradually being turned into a cultural heritage hybrid of restored original monuments, in-style reconstructed façades, and reinvented urban spaces. With the fabric being 'themed' after, or even enhanced with the enduring cultural stereotypes of these former inter-

national powers, the overall result may be characterised as a global theme park atmosphere.

另一方面，奥匈帝国租界，作为（上述历史中的）微小成分，至今仍被排除在中国（天津）租界史这一全球研究趋势和都市建筑遗产化背后的本地经销这双向过程之外。本书的导论部分阐述了三个主要原因，解释这一租界势力的历史性缺席以及研究盲区。这三条原因逐一被置于全球化逻辑语境中。

On the other hand, one small element — the concession of Austria-Hungary — had, so far, been left out of this dual process: the global trend to research China's (Tianjin's) concession history and the local agency behind the 'heritagisation' of urban and architectural remains. In the introduction to this contribution, three major reasons for this grand historical absence and scientific neglect of one Concession Power were formulated and each one was set in relation to a very global logic.

首先，奥匈帝国租界在1902至1917年运营失败。如今看来，全球和本地的矛盾纠缠，导致了哈布斯堡王朝对于殖民主义/帝国主义的“走向全球”计划（详见Georg Lehner的导论）政治上经验不足，经济上缺乏热情，同时各种实际问题又接踵而至（例如，中国居民的土地征用，资本和投资匮乏，基础设施上的基本经验不足）。这也意味着，对比其他能进行更有效建设的租界势力，奥匈租借实际上只完成了少量的都市基础建设。因此，奥匈帝国零星的建筑遗址在接下去的半个世纪被人遗忘也不足为奇。雪上加霜的是，天津租界带有的类帝国主义的历史，在（后）毛泽东时代是中国客观学术研究的禁区。这一情形一直持续到1990年代，即便那时国外考察项目也被严格限制。

First, the implementation of the Austro-Hungarian concession between 1902 and 1917 was a failure. Owing to what we called an entangled global-local circumstance, the Habsburgs' insufficient political experience with, and economic disinterest for any colonial/imperialist 'going global' projects (see the introduction by Georg Lehner) unfortunately overlapped with too many problems on the ground (expropriation of Chinese residents, no funds or investment, poor infrastructural know-how). This means that, in comparison to more efficient building projects by other Concession Powers, very little urban architectural fabric was *de facto* completed, and it is hardly surprising that these sparse physical reminders of Austria-Hungary easily fell into oblivion for the next half-century — all the more so given that Tientsin's concession *qua* imperialist history was a (post-)Maoist taboo for unbiased Chinese research

until the 1990s, a time when foreign *in-situ* investigations were also restricted.

而导致奥匈帝国租界这段故事至今无人知晓的第二点原因也在书中被点明：在从中国调回奥地利的过程中，领事文字材料错误地与其影像资料分离，致使部分档案资料“遗失于翻译中”。而部分资料的不可利用，即，仅有文字通信可用而相应的绘图、草稿和照片散佚，其后果就是，德国和奥地利20世纪50年代后进行的大部分研究仅聚焦于天津政治和外交史，而无法涉及奥匈帝国租界的都市建筑背景。这些研究材料主要容身于丰富却未被发表的博士论文中。而本书首次以英语将其总结。

A second reason for the hitherto untold story of the Austro-Hungarian concession was also discovered: archival sources were partially ‘lost in translation’ during their repatriation from China back to Austria, when written consular material was erroneously separated from its visual attachments. As a consequence of this partial unavailability of material, whereby only written correspondence was at hand whereas plans, sketches, and photographs had gone astray, German/Austrian research since the 1950s has, for the most part, dealt with Tientsin’s political and diplomatic history, while the urban architectural context of the Austro-Hungarian concession has never been examined. Primarily hidden in rich, but unpublished PhD theses, this research material is summarised here for the first time in English.

其三，富有悖论的是，哈布斯堡王朝短暂的租界运动在现今中国保留下的那些少量的都市构造和建筑遗址，由于上文所述的遗产制造运动的作用而继续被侵蚀。

Third, we argued that paradoxically the small amount of urban fabric and architectural remains of the Habsburgs’ short campaign that still exist in China are being further eroded owing to, precisely, the above-mentioned heritage-making at play.

而我们提出的“从天津的历史到天津的遗产”的演变过程，建构在双重探讨上：a) 在1901—1917年间奥匈帝国天津租界这段短暂的都市化建筑史研究中，本研究首次补齐了那块梦寐以求的缺失拼图；b) 该书将这一租界的历史框架置于当前经济高速发展的“国际天津”的“遗产化”语境下。

What we called a process *from Tientsin’s history to Tianjin’s heritage* was structured in a two-fold inquiry: a) this contribution provided for the first time in scientific research the much-desired missing puzzle piece in the short urban architectural history of the Austro-Hungarian concession between 1901 and 1917 in Tientsin; and b) it situated its historical fab-

ric within the current ‘heritagisation’ of the Chinese economic boom city ‘global Tianjin’.

本研究的第一步，是评估奥地利图书馆和档案馆的系统资料，包括出版和未出版的书写材料，也包括了地图照片等视觉材料，以期对含糊不清的奥匈租界的各项因子语境化。具体包括：当时实际政治局势（从1901—1902年的武装占领和不平等条约，到1917年的投降和移交）；奥匈本国游移不定的媒体报道（从热烈的鼓吹到，漫画版简化而夸张的批评），尤其对比匈牙利和奥地利租界游历者的见闻；奥匈方面所扮演的角色（高尚的领事，不光彩的承办者，悲剧性缺席的当地投资者）以及本地人相对应的角色（包括前来参观的、保有帝国荣耀的总理大臣袁世凯，也包括中国三万多起义者）；其物资运输方面遇到的挑战（从周边河流码头的加固，到不得人心的迁坟，将7000多座坟墓迁出市中心）；最后还包括了机构和法律的设立（从建筑公司条例到当地的税收政策，还涉及暴力征缴）。

For the first working step, a coherent set of sources from Austrian libraries and archives, both written (published and unpublished) and visual (cartographic and photographic) was evaluated to contextualise the different factors of the ambivalent Austro-Hungarian concession project: its political circumstances on the ground (from military occupation and unequal contract in 1901–02 to surrender and handover in 1917); its ambivalent press coverage back home (from great fanfare to cartoonish critique) compared to eye-witness reports from Hungarian and Austrian visitors to the concession; its main Austro-Hungarian actors (from honourable consuls to dubious contractors and tragically absent local investors) and their local counterparts (from visiting General Governor Yuan Shikai in his imperial grandeur to some 30,000 resisting Chinese residents); its logistical challenges (from peripheral river quay consolidations to the unpopular relocation of 7000 graves out of the core zone); and, finally, its institutional/legal set-up (from statutes of a construction company to local taxation and even violent expropriation).

最重要的是，本书介绍讨论了一批前所未知的、颇为壮观的一手文献（全文附于附录）。这批文献可以回溯到1911年左右，包括了手绘比例尺图纸，一本装有115页黑白相片的硬皮相册，外加15页打字机打印的介绍说明。整套文献被用作视觉和空间手册，可将奥匈租界自始至终各个发展阶段进行重新语境化：其包括了首先发生、也是最为重要的标志建筑的建立，即在外交上有标志意义的领事大楼和在制造业上有启发作用的建筑（新奥地利铁吊桥，实际上是部分照搬了第

三方），也包括了城市规划的多种尝试（建立一个新的、“健全的”路表，覆盖在中国本土路面上，以期将租界和租界外的供水、供电和公共轨道交通连接起来）

Above all, for the first time, a so far unknown ‘spectacular’ primary source was introduced and discussed (and published in full length in the Appendix). Going back to c.1911, it comprised a hand-drawn scaled plan and a bound album of 115 black-and-white photographs together with a fifteen-page typewritten description. The entire set was used as a visual and spatial guide to re-contextualise the developmental stages of the Austro-Hungarian concession from its beginning to its end: from establishing the first and most important architectural markers of diplomatic presence (the consulate buildings) and of an ‘engineered’ civilising mission (the new ‘Austrian’ iron swing bridge, *de facto* a project by various national representations) to greater urban planning efforts (establishing a new ‘rational’ texture over the pre-existing local Chinese lane system, connecting the concessions to the cross-concession system of water supply, electricity, and public tramway).

诚然，照片不仅记录着完工的新建筑和“五横五纵”的城市路网。他们还揭示了在租界光鲜的外表下相当令人不安的现实：一片被迁移的坟地，一些被征用和废弃的建筑，因为缺少（国际）投资者而空置的土地，社会阶层的隔离，以及最糟糕的一点，肮脏的偏僻小道，1911年8月30号由台风引发的洪水灾害中，中国本地居民只能眼睁睁的看着周围的大片污水而无能为力，显然，这里并没有建成一个有效的排水系统。1911年前后这批独一无二的影像档案展启示我们，我们必须从整体历史角度，把奥匈帝国租界，这一天津市内的“国际”建制，作为帝国主义式傲慢的工程、作为一个失败工程来重新审视。

However, the photographs not only documented the completed few buildings and urban grid of five-by-five streets; they revealed, right ‘behind the few shining façades’ of the concession, a rather disturbing reality: one of relocated Chinese graves, several expropriated and abandoned buildings, empty plots owing to the lack of (inter)national investors, social segregation and, worst of all, dirty backstreets where local Chinese inhabitants stand around giant pools of waste water, helpless during the flooding catastrophe brought about by a typhoon on 30th August 1911 — clearly, an effective drainage system was never successfully installed. These unique visual documents created around 1911 reveal that the Austro-Hungarian concession, as part of the ‘inter-national’ set-up in Tientsin, must be evaluated from an overall histor-

ical perspective as a project of imperialistic hubris and as a failure.

从更广泛的概念上，这一发现使我们可以对宏大叙事进行调整，这宏大叙事包括天津拥有成绩斐然的国际租界网络，以及租界作为盛极一时的试验，为美好的未来提供了经久不衰的遗产。对无论从历史还是从文化上，这些宏大叙事都太过容易被曲解。在对事实进行更细微的解读过程中，我们发现，在天津租界区，未曾如驻天津领事Hugo Schumpeter在1915年所言，通过“强制的现代化”真正设立新的标准，亦未实现“卫生现代化”，甚至未有“革新”（依据本研究的表述；参见Rogaski 2000 和2004, Rogaski 和Singaravelou 2019）。天津作为租界的历史也不能简单地被“开发”或被夸大，来支撑天津（乃至中国）那充满野心而铺陈的全球现代化道路。

From a broader conceptual viewpoint, this finding enables us to tweak the all too easily appropriated master narrative — historically as well as currently — about a once successful international concession network in Tientsin and its enduring legacy of a once powerful laboratory for a promising future. In a more nuanced reading of the facts, neither did Tientsin in the concession era exclusively set new standards through “enforced modernisation” (as Austria-Hungary’s consul for Tientsin, Hugo Schumpeter claimed in 1915) or lead to “hygienic modernity” or even to a “revolution” (as current research is framing it, cf. Rogaski 2000 and 2004 with Singaravelou 2019). Nor should Tientsin’s history as a concession be allowed to be easily exploited and overvalued as a supporting element for Tianjin’s (and China’s) over-ambitiously staged path into global modernity today.

而这最后的一个方面，即将天津1900年后的历史逐步改编成天津2000年后的遗产，则是本书研究的第二部分内容。旧天津和现代天津的联结，发生在中国那令人惊讶的转型这一语境中：从（后）毛泽东时代（直到二十世纪九十年代）社会主义意识形态对于上海天津这种作为帝国主义掠夺和民族耻辱之所的国际租界的贬低，到以市场为导向的意识形态，在2000年以后在近乎资本主义的企划中将些租界升级为国际合作，甚至是互为友谊的富有创意的试验地。

It is this last facet of the gradual appropriation of *Tientsin’s history* after 1900 as *Tianjin’s heritage* after 2000 that stood at the centre of the second part of this contribution. The Tientsin-Tianjin nexus was contextualised within China’s astonishing transformation from a (late) Maoist socialist ideology (until the 1990s) that downgraded previous international concessions like Shanghai or Tientsin as sites of im-

perialistic exploitation and national humiliation to a market-oriented ideology that upgraded these concessions, now in the context of almost capitalistic planning schemes (in the 2000s), to the status of once innovative test sites of international cooperation and, even, mutual friendship.

在这一语境下，天津作为租界的过去，被富有创造性的市政官员和开发商重新赋予了“待以继承”的国际主义遗产的意味，他们坐镇拥有约一千五百万人口的超级城市天津，在向全球扩展过程中的雄心壮志不言而喻。而在新“文化遗产体制”下，不同的前租界区现今都被当作“发展之地”被系统地“重新赋予，重新激活，重新呈现”。而前英法意租界的案例研究已经很好的呈现了这一过程。然而，意大利的前邻居，奥匈帝国租界，至今却未被蓬勃发展的文化遗产研究领域所包括。

In this context, Tientsin's past as a concession was rediscovered as a 'to-be-inherited-and-continued' legacy of cosmopolitanism by inventive municipal administrators and developers of the current Tianjin megacity of some fifteen million people — with its outspoken ambition of global outreach. Under the new 'cultural heritage regime', diverse former concession areas are now being systematically 're-discovered, re-activated and re-presented' as sites of progress: well-researched case studies of this process already cover the former British, French, and Italian concessions. However, the current fate of Italy's former neighbour, Austria-Hungary's concession, has not been covered thoroughly yet by the expanding field of cultural heritage studies.

这一学术空缺是由上文所述的历史资料的缺失所导致的，而本书则将一批被重新发现的视觉一手文献作为比较研究的背景，将之作为本书作者在2018年，租界归还中国的几百年后，进行图片式游览的手册。而基于这批视觉证据和参照，我们对奥匈帝国的都市和建筑遗产首次进行了集保护，恢复，重建和重新创作于一体的勾勒。

Given that such a scientific lacuna is due to the above-mentioned lack of historical data, the present publication made use of a rediscovered set of visual primary sources (a plan, description, and 115 photographs of the Austro-Hungarian concession from c.1911) as a comparative backdrop and guide for a photographic visit by the writing author in 2018 — some hundred years after the concession was handed over back to China. What was mapped out for the first time on the basis of this visual evidence and comparison can be summarised as a mixture of conservation, restoration, reconstruction, and reinven-

tion of Austria-Hungary's urban and architectural legacy.

这种实体纪念物的范围很广：有的是进行了部分修复或加固的原始框架，有的则是进行了部分改造并增加奥地利新式样（比如奥地利铁吊桥和前领事馆建筑），还有的是模型外表加旧式纪念性装饰（近期一栋公寓整体模仿奥地利萨尔兹堡新教教堂），其落于1949年共产主义伟大解放纪念碑的旁边（根据其遗址地附近的底座题记，该碑“为纪念平津战役于1948年动工”）。这个不大的“原始建筑群”今天搭配了新的环境，其中有新建成的“奥地利式”的河岸风景区，内有巨大而平整的装饰风格的银行和办公大楼林立。

Physical mementos span a wide range: from partly restored/enhanced original fabric and/or partially remodelled in-style additions à l'Autrichienne (the 'Austrian Bridge' and the former consulate building) to mock-up façades with old-style commemorative garnish (a recent flat replica of a whole Protestant church from Salzburg, Austria) next to a new memorial for the glorious 1949 Communist Liberation which, according to the attached commemorative plaque, "started in 1948 with the Beijing & Tianjin Liberation Battle" in the direct vicinities of the site. This small 'original ensemble' is today accompanied by a scenario involving a newly reinvented 'Austrian Style Riverfront', which is framed by giant, flat and in-style decorated bank and office buildings.

而研究此阶段大都市复兴，其中的一个焦点是袁世凯，这个充满争议的军政府首脑和昙花一现的帝国皇帝，在本研究中被解读为一位文化掮客。在历史意义上，他被描述为租界权力和中国的‘国际’中间人物，同时也是未来发展和现代化的改革派人物。他在此过程中持久存在，也需要一些实物证据：现在所谓的袁世凯故居（虽然应该是在他1916年去世后才兴建的），位邻于其他更为显眼的建筑中，也被定位成一个住宅博物馆。

As a focus point in this stage set of urban renaissance, the ambivalent person of the military governor and transient emperor Yuan Shikai is currently being reinvented as a cultural broker. This is happening not only in a 'historical' sense, whereby he is portrayed as an 'inter-national' mediator between the Concession Powers and China, and a national reformer towards future development and modernisation. His enduring presence on-site seems to require some 'physical' proof as well: the so-called Yuan Shikai Residence (most probably built several years after his death in 1916) has been staged in the style

of a house museum next to other 'prominent' neighbours.

而往南移，2018年我们的照片游览以旧时奥匈和意大利帝国交界处告终。此地现在被中国机关，尤其是旅游业，改造成全球主题的文化遗产公园，套用的是佛罗伦萨和维也纳的风格。而在跨文化领域，《走向全球的哈布斯堡》一书，对奥匈帝国租界进行了一个完整的循环论述：从1902-1917年间夹在国民漠视和当地建设失败的那段语焉不详的历史，到几百年后闪烁其词、近乎伪造的遗产。

Further south, the photographic tour in 2018 culminated at the old trans-imperial contact zone between Austria-Hungary and Italy. This spot has been commodified through recent Chinese agency and for a primarily Chinese tourist industry into a global

theme park of cultural heritage stereotypes imported from Florence and Vienna. In a transcultural sense, *Habsburgs going global* has come full circle in the name of the Austro-Hungarian concession: from an ambivalent *history caught between national disinterest and local failure* between 1902 and 1917 to an ambivalent *heritage of close-to-fake* one hundred years later.

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