



International Symposium

The Habsburg Mediterranean, 1500–1800

Venue: The Austrian Hospice, Jerusalem

Date: 10th and 11th September 2018

Organised by: Hon.-Prof. MMag. Markus St. Bugnyár (Austrian Hospice Jerusalem), Dr. Stefan Hanß (University of Cambridge), Dr. Dorothea McEwan (The Warburg Institute, University of London)

Registration is required for participation

Picture credits: *Triunfo del Sererenisimo Poderosisimo é invicto Emperador Romano Maximilian I. de este nombre en el arbol Austriaco (...)*, pictorial album, ca. 16th century, Biblioteca Nacional de España Madrid, Res/254, no. 64, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000012553&page=1>.



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On 10th and 11th September 2018, the **international symposium *The Habsburg Mediterranean, 1500-1800*** will take place at The Austrian Hospice in Jerusalem. In the light of recent debates on Mediterranean contact zones, mobile imperial agents, and Habsburg-Ottoman frontier zones, this symposium explores the early modern 'Habsburg Mediterranean'. During the sixteenth and eighteenth century, the Mediterranean was a profoundly significant space for the Habsburg monarchy. Yet up to now, research did not address the cultural, economical, material, military, and political presence of Habsburg subjects in the early modern Mediterranean in a comparative perspective. Which personal and institutional relationships did Habsburg subjects negotiate, cultivate, maintain and subvert between Madrid, Seville, Barcelona, Brussels, Prague, Vienna, Rome, Jerusalem, Istanbul, Cairo, and Tunis? How did the Mediterranean, as an imaginative and actual space, tie the Habsburg Empire with its oversea territories together? Did Habsburg border zones in the Balkans, Adria and in Iberia shape the history of the Mediterranean Sea and did Mediterranean events, in return, shape imperial realities at land? To which extent shifts this focus our understanding of the Habsburg Empire's peripheries and centres and invites us to approach the history of the Holy Roman Empire in global terms? Can we trace aesthetical and material exchanges? In sum, the symposium will reflect on a Habsburg Thalassography that centred on the early modern Mediterranean.

No place would be more suitable than **The Austrian Hospice in Jerusalem** to organise a symposium that reconsiders Habsburg agents in their Mediterranean contexts. Founded by Emperor Francis Joseph I in 1856, the Austrian Hospice is located in the Old City of Jerusalem and has welcomed explorers and pilgrims, scholars and tourists ever since. The Hospice has thrived under the protection of the Habsburg Emperors until 1918, and since then under the guardianship of the Austrian State and the Roman Catholic Church. Dr Stefan Hanß (University of Cambridge) and Dr Dorothea McEwan (The Warburg Institute, University of London) are grateful for the consent of Hon.-Prof. MMag. Markus St. Bugnyár (The Austrian Hospice Jerusalem) to host the event. The symposium brings together some of the world's most distinguished specialist on the topic.

Preliminary Programme

10th September 2018

9.00–9.15

Markus St. Bugnyár (Hon.-Prof. MMag., Austrian Hospice Jerusalem, Israel)

Address of Welcome

9.15–9.30

Stefan Hanß (Dr., University of Cambridge, St John's College, England)/ Dorothea

McEwan (Hon. Fellow, The Warburg Institute, University of London, England)

The Habsburg Mediterranean? Comments and Concepts

The Mediterranean Guise of the Habsburg-Ottoman Military Rivalry

9.30–10.15

Géza Pálffy (Dr., Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Ungarn)

The Habsburg Defence in Hungary and the Mediterranean in the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent

10.15–11.00

Eric R. Dursteler (Prof., Brigham Young University, U.S.)

Habsburgs, Ottomans, and Venetians on the Frontiers of Dalmatia: The Capture of Clissa in 1596

11.00–11.15 Coffee Break

11.15–12.00

Emrah Safa Gürkan (Dr., 29 Mayıs University, İstanbul, Turkey)

Sabotage, Bribery, and Information Gathering in Sixteenth-Century Istanbul

12.00–13.15 Lunch Break

The Holy Land and the Habsburg Empire

13.15–14.00

Sundar Henny (University of Bern, Switzerland)

The Engaged Comparatist: Bartholomeo Georgius at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

14.00–14.45

Tobias Graf (Dr., University of Oxford, England)

Fleecing the Habsburgs and Their Subjects? Alleged Dignitaries from the Holy Land in the Eighteenth-Century Holy Roman Empire

14.45–15.15 Coffee Break

The Mediterranean and the Material Culture and Symbolic Universe of the Habsburgs

15.15–16.00

Václav Bůžek (Prof., University of South Bohemia, České Budějovice, Czech Republic)

The Elephant at the Court of Maximilian II

16.00–16.45

Suzanna Ivanič (University of Kent)

The Bohemianization of Mediterranean Material Culture in Rudolf's Prague c. 1600

16.45–17.30

Stefan Hanß (Dr., University of Cambridge, St John's College, England)

A Shared Taste? Material Culture and Intellectual Curiosity in the Habsburg-Ottoman Realms

17.30–17.45 Coffee Break

Habsburg Economic Activities: The Great Sea and the Danube Monarchy

17.45–19.00

Peter Rauscher (PD Dr., University of Vienna, Austria)/ Evelyn Korsch (Dr., University of Erfurt, Germany)

Trading Enemies: Commerce between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires in the Mediterranean and the Danube Region in the Eighteenth Century

11th September 2018

Habsburg Mediterranean I: Genoa

9.00–9.45

Michael J. Levin (Dr., University of Akron, U.S.)

Of the Empire but not in it: Habsburg Spain and Genoa in the Sixteenth Century

Habsburg Mediterranean II: Malta

9.45–10.30

Phillip Williams (Dr., University of Portsmouth, England)

A 'Society of Princes' or an 'Entire Sewer of Corsairs, from all the Nations and Sects that Rob Indiscriminately'? The Habsburgs of Madrid and Hospitaller Malta, 1530–1680

10.30–11.15

Emanuel Buttigieg (Dr., University of Malta, Msida, Malta)

Habsburgs and Hospitallers in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Contacts, Relations, Movement

11.15–11.30 Coffee Break

Habsburg Mediterranean III: Adriatic Sea

11.30–12.15

Alexander Koller (PD Dr., German Historical Institute, Rome, Italy)

The Habsburgs, the Uskoks, and Trieste in the Seventeenth Century

Habsburg Mediterranean IV: The Levant

12.15–13.00

Dorothea McEwan (Hon. Fellow, The Warburg Institute London, England)

The Legal Framework for the Church Protectorate in the Lands of the Sublime Porte

13.00–14.15 Lunch Break

14.15–17.00

Habsburg Jerusalem: A Guided Tour

Imperial Enterprises in the Mediterranean and Beyond: New Approaches in Habsburg Studies

17.00–17.45

William O'Reilly (Dr., Trinity Hall College, University of Cambridge, England)

Globalising Habsburg Interests in the Long Eighteenth Century

17.45–18.30

General Discussion

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Abstracts (for internal use only)

Géza Pálffy (Dr., Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Ungarn)

The Habsburg Defence in Hungary and the Mediterranean in the Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent

The first half of the sixteenth century brought about fundamental changes both in the history of the Habsburg and the Ottoman dynasty as well as in the history of the Mediterranean and Central Europe. The majority of these were related to the thirteen personally led campaigns of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566), seven of which were against Hungary (1521, 1526, 1529, 1532, 1541, 1542, 1566), three against Persia (1534/36, 1548/49, 1553/55), two against the Mediterranean (1522, 1537) and one against the Principality of Moldavia (1538). Due to all this, from the 1520–1530s, the Ottoman Empire threatened both the Habsburg Empire of Emperor Charles V (1519–1556) in the Mediterranean and that of his brother: the Central European Habsburg Monarchy of Ferdinand I (1526–1564), on land, in the Danube Basin. Because of the common threat and the two brothers, events of the Habsburg Mediterranean and Habsburg Central Europe were often intertwined but research has not paid enough attention to this topic so far. The paper would like to fill this gap from an interesting aspect. First of all, it examines how the events of the two Habsburg theatres of war were related, that is, how the anti-Ottoman campaigns of Emperor Charles in the Mediterranean and those of Sultan Süleyman here and against the Safavids influenced the defence of Central Europe, as the fate of the Danube Basin depended on a border defence system to be established on Hungarian and Croatian territory. Of course, the question is also valid the other way round: Did the Ottoman and Habsburg campaigns and military activities in Hungary shape the history of the Mediterranean Sea? From another aspect, with the aid of a case study, namely, the presentation of the career and activities in Hungary of General Sforza Pallavicini (1520–1585), the lecture would like to draw attention to the fact that between the two theatres of war – primarily due to the allowances given by Emperor Charles V – in the years between 1530 and 1550, there was an actual opportunity for free passage for Italian (Sforza Pallavicini, Gianbattista Castaldo) and Spanish officers (Bernardo de Aldana, Alvaro de Sande etc.).

Eric R. Dursteler (Prof., Brigham Young University, U.S.)

Habsburgs, Ottomans, and Venetians on the Frontiers of Dalmatia: The Capture of Clissa in 1596

During the night of April 7, 1596, the great Ottoman fortress of Clissa (Klis) was captured by a small band of men. On its surface, this event seems another example of the sort of religious rivalry and violence that was endemic to the triplex confinium of the Veneto-Ottoman-Habsburg frontier in Dalmatia. This region has been depicted as the tectonic fault line between east and west, Ottoman and European, and most importantly, Muslim and Christian. The reality masked by this incident, however, is less binary and clear-cut, and reveals the complex nature of religion, politics and identity in revolts along the porous frontiers of the Mediterranean. In contrast to our modern-day notions of clearly demarcated and carefully defended political frontiers, the Veneto-Ottoman border in Dalmatia was imprecise and entirely porous, in constant flux both geographically and notionally in the minds of the region's inhabitants. Cross-border movement and trade were regular and seamless and Habsburg, Venetian and Ottoman subjects mingled freely. We should beware of making too much of Dalmatia's ephemeral borders as a shared culture transcended the region's political and religious divisions. While the conspirators who took Clissa draped their actions in a veil of religion, the reality was that economic despair and political dissatisfaction with both Ottoman and Venetian rule, and a hope for Habsburg and papal intervention, were central to the outbreak of violence. Despite attempts to portray the famed capture of the fortress of Clissa as a minor, but symbolically potent moment in the age-old "clash of civilizations" that is often the axiomatic and timeless explanation for seemingly all Muslim-Christian interactions, the reality is much more nebulous. The roots of this rebellion, and other acts of violence and banditry along the border are better understood, not as primarily religious in nature, but rather in the context of economic and political tensions between the Habsburg, Ottoman and Venetian centers, and the distant peripheries of their composite states.

Emrah Safa Gürkan (Dr., 29 Mayıs University, İstanbul, Turkey)

Sabotage, Bribery, and Information Gathering in Sixteenth-Century Istanbul

Drawing from documentation from Spanish, Venetian and Florentine archives, this presentation will deal with European intelligence in the Ottoman capital between 1560s and 1580s. It will delineate the activities of ambassadors, first and foremost the Venetian bailo, and foreign spies operating in Istanbul, the most documented example being the Habsburg intelligence network which at one point consisted of two different teams of 112 persons, unaware of each other.

Focusing on these diplomats' and information brokers' information gathering activities as well as numerous clandestine projects that they proposed in order to sabotage the Ottoman navy, torch the Arsenal and bribe leading Ottoman politicians, the presentation will try to answer the following questions of cardinal importance: How efficient were early modern spies in laying their hands on confidential information? Which methods did nascent central bureaucracies and their spies employ in order to acquire, transmit, and intercept confidential information? What provided the necessary networks of trust between these two? Why did the cash-stripped decision-makers pour handsome amounts in clandestine operations unlikely to succeed? What are the methodological traps awaiting the students of espionage-related sources?

Tobias Graf (Dr., University of Oxford, England)

Fleecing the Habsburgs and Their Subjects? Alleged Dignitaries from the Holy Land in the Eighteenth-Century Holy Roman Empire

---abstract follows---

Václav Bůžek (Prof., University of South Bohemia, České Budějovice, Czech Republic)

The Elephant at the Court of Maximilian II

Mutual kindred and political relationships of Spanish and Austrian Habsburg family members used to be strengthened by exchanging personal gifts. From Portuguese and Spanish residences were sent exotic presents coming from their overseas colonies to Vienna during the rule of Maximilian II. The symbolic meaning of outlandish animals, plants and precious stones could serve for the self-presentation of Maximilian II's Christian virtues in allegorical arrangements of courtly celebrations and pastimes, as the author of paper attempts to show in the example of an elephant.

The military reputation of Maximilian II suffered serious damage 1566 because he did not command Habsburg troops to support defenders of Szigetvár, which was then conquered by sultan Süleyman I. Therefore the Habsburg propaganda strived to improve the Emperor's image as a Christian knight fighting courageously the Ottoman Turks. The glorification of Habsburgs as Christian warriors became a topic of magnificent tournament held by Maximilian II at the Old Town Square in Prague on 26th February 1570 in honour of the wedding of his eldest daughter Ann with Spanish king Philip II. Military successes of both Habsburg dynasty lineages were presented by a fight of Perseus and his companions on horses who defeated a dragon surrounded by wild Muses. The clash with enemies of Christian faith culminated in the arrival of a live elephant at the arena. According to ancient and Christian tradition, which referred mostly to the deeds of Alexander the Great and Old Testament's Books of the Maccabees, there was reflected the strife between Christ and Devil together with godliness and godlessness in the fight of the elephant and the dragon. The elephant personified not only the bravery of the Habsburgs in their defence of Christian faith. It also referred to the range of their rule exceeding borders of Europe.

In the tournament at the Old Town Square there performed the elephant which was delivered from India to the court of Portuguese queen Catherine, from where it was sent to Valladolid to the oldest son of Philip II, who donated it 1562 to Maximilian II. The elephant was transported by a ship to Antwerp and then it went through Brussels, Cologne and Olomouc to Ebersdorf by Vienna where it was placed to the emperor's menagerie in 1563. There it substituted a former and first elephant at the court of Maximilian II which had been donated there as a gift from the Portuguese king John III who had left Valladolid with his wife in autumn 1551 to set sail across the Mediterranean

Sea to Genoa and then went through Milan, Mantua, Trident, Brixen and Innsbruck to Vienna, where his expedition including the elephant arrived in May 1552. Some pictures of the elephant appeared even on Renaissance facades of inns where the voyagers stayed overnight (Brixen, Linz, Vienna) and it also got to symbolic woodcut illustrations used in propagandistic leaflets celebrating the return of young Habsburg man from Spain to Vienna. The king of Portugal recommended Maximilian II to name the elephant according to the sultan Süleyman I as Soliman, because he supposed that Maximilian would be able to tame the sultan as fast as the elephant during following years. However, the elephant survived in the emperor's menagerie for only one year.

Suzanna Ivanic (University of Kent)

The Bohemianization of Mediterranean Material Culture in Rudolf's Prague c. 1600

Rudolfine Prague played host to individuals and communities from throughout the Mediterranean. Italian and Spanish communities lived below the Castle and set up their own churches. Many artists, architects and masons came to Prague tempted by the possibility of court patronage. Conversely, artists from Bohemia and Germany, like Bartholomew Spranger, travelled to Italy to train and returned to the Habsburg centre with their new skills and knowledge. The cosmopolitan nature of Prague c.1600 is well-known and the resulting rich material culture of the court and city amply reveals the diversity of these artistic exchanges. However, there has been little analysis of the relationship between the cultural influences in these material assemblages. How did Central European culture shape Mediterranean styles? How did access to different local and exotic materials in this global city change the nature of what was produced? What artistic networks existed in the city and how did they cut across cultural boundaries? And to what extent did this intercultural moment have a lasting effect? The emerald 'unguentarium' made for Ferdinand III in 1641 by Dionysio Miseroni provides a central case study for exploring centres and peripheries and the longevity of the impact of cultural connections promoted by Rudolf in the Habsburg world. It was Rudolf who had acquired the gigantic Colombian emerald for his collection in the early seventeenth century and who had invited the Miseroni family from Milan to set up a glyptic workshop in Prague. This paper seeks to rebalance our understanding of the agency of 'Central European' culture and 'Mediterranean' styles in Prague and to reset this extraordinary moment of global exchange within a broader context.

Stefan Hanß (Dr., University of Cambridge, St John's College, England)

A Shared Taste? Material Culture and Intellectual Curiosity in the Habsburg-Ottoman Realms

Recent research on the early modern Mediterranean discussed whether Ottomans and Italians were “sharing a taste” (Contadini). Focusing on the language of cross-Mediterranean ornaments, e.g. the usage of Arabic calligraphy in the depiction of Near Eastern textiles in Renaissance paintings and prints, such research addressed the circulation of objects and knowledge across the religious boundaries of the early modern Mediterranean. This debate will serve as a starting point to discuss the material nexuses between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Habsburg diplomacy, I argue, connected the German-speaking heartlands with the material culture of the Ottomans' Mediterranean Empire. The increasing circulation and study of Ottoman manuscripts, textiles, furniture, and further artefacts also promoted a shared interest in ornaments, signatures, and calligraphy; a taste that linked the material world of Ottoman cities such as Istanbul, Sarajevo, Jerusalem and Cairo with Habsburg Imperial cities like Nuremberg, Stuttgart, Tübingen or Vienna. The early modern evidence of the cross-cultural appreciation of written, material, and ornamental aesthetics serves to discuss the question of a shared taste in a Habsburg-Ottoman Mediterranean.

Peter Rauscher (PD Dr., University of Vienna, Austria)/ Evelyn Korsch (Dr., University of Erfurt, Germany)

Trading Enemies: Commerce between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires in the Mediterranean and the Danube Region in the Eighteenth Century

This paper charts the early eighteenth-century commercial ties between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empire in a comparative perspective by discussing the Mediterranean and Danube regions. Werner Sombart argued in his seminal study that war has to be considered a driving force of the emergence of capitalism. More recently, Ronald Findlay and Kevin H. O'Rourke also stated that military conflicts shaped the dynamics of world economy in the second millennium. In the light of these recent historiographical findings, the paper examines the commercial ties between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, but not as a relationship of opposition, but as a consequence of and interaction with the military conflicts of that time.

Among the numerous armed conflicts in Early Modern Europe the military campaigns between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, which lasted with brief interruptions for almost three centuries, rate doubtlessly among the most important armed conflicts in early modern Europe. Despite these campaigns trading relations between Central and Southeast Europe continued uninterrupted after the division of Hungary in 1541. Still, military campaigns did obstruct trading relations, but diplomatic agreements between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires began to regulate commercial relations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onward. In general, Habsburg and Ottoman subjects were allowed to continue to trade. Official documents distinguished between the commerce along the River Danube on the one hand, and the Mediterranean on the other. Based on former agreements and linked to the peace treaty of Passarowitz the commercial treaty between both empires changed the Habsburg-Ottoman trade. In general – with some restrictions – free trade was stipulated, but the commercial contracts differentiated between trade on the Danube - Habsburg subjects were not allowed to travel to the mouth of the river – and trade on the maritime routes in Mediterranean. The peace treaty of Passarowitz strengthened the commercial activities of the Habsburg Empire in the south. Trieste was granted the status of a free port in 1719, thus opening up the north-south Austrian trading routes, which connected Bohemia with Vienna to Trieste. By analyzing the trading activities of the Habsburg empire in the Danube region and the Mediterranean, this paper will also focus on the consequences of diplomacy and war on the Habsburg-Ottoman commerce around 1720.

Michael J. Levin (Dr., University of Akron, U.S.)

Of the Empire but not in it: Habsburg Spain and Genoa in the Sixteenth Century

In this paper, I will focus on the relationship between the Spanish Habsburgs and the Republic of Genoa in the sixteenth century, and more specifically the role that Spanish resident ambassadors played in negotiating, cultivating, and maintaining that relationship. In this period, Spanish Habsburg influence in the Mediterranean World depended on Genoese assistance, for strategic, military and financial reasons. Genoa's status in the Habsburg empire however, was somewhat ambiguous; although allied with Spain, it insisted on its independence. At various times, Charles V, Philip II, their ministers of state, and their representatives in Italy, considered the possibility of seizing control of Genoa, or at least constructing a fortress and imposing imperial troops. In 1528, the Spanish resident ambassador in Genoa, Lope de Soria, advocated for this option. His opinions, however, offended the Genoese, and they forced Charles to replace him. His successor, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa (resident ambassador from 1529 to 1569) argued strongly against the annexation of Genoa. He pointed to the Genoese commitment to liberty and their republican government, and argued that a show of force would stir up resentment and make things worse for the Habsburg Crown. Andrea Doria, the Genoese admiral and de facto leader of the Republic, also strongly opposed the idea—he had sworn an oath of personal loyalty to the emperor, but only on condition that Genoa remain outside of direct Habsburg rule. Despite many temptations, both Charles and Philip accepted this advice. In the case of Genoa, the Spanish Habsburg monarchs allowed themselves to be guided by their representative, and agreed that diplomacy was more effective than brute force. Furthermore, the Genoese successfully maintained their own agency and independence from Spain, indicating limits to Habsburg imperial power in the Mediterranean.

Phillip Williams (Dr., University of Portsmouth, England)

A 'Society of Princes' or an 'Entire Sewer of Corsairs, from all the Nations and Sects that Rob Indiscriminately'? The Habsburgs of Madrid and Hospitaller Malta, 1530–1680

The relationship between Madrid and Malta in the early modern period is nearly always taken to be one of mutual appreciation and approval. The Order of the Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem at Malta is frequently seen as an institution that embodied the crusading ethos which the Habsburgs or 'Austrians' – Charles V, (1516/1519-1556/58), and his successors – implemented across the old continent and, indeed, throughout the New World. Madrid is therefore taken to be an enthusiastic sponsor of the raids from Valetta. Hospitaller Malta was a 'society of princes', an international brotherhood of younger siblings and illegitimate sons drawn from the nobility of Catholic Europe.

There was, however, another side to this relationship: Habsburg statesmen in Italy sometimes dismissed the Hospitallers as base pirates. The paper looks (briefly) at the debate over the training of captains and the profits secured from piracy, examining arguments presented by historians such as Michel Fontenay and Anne Brogini. A focus on Sicily, on privileges, grains and export licences, suggests a more complex relationship between the knights and their Habsburg overlord: Malta was a fief of Sicily, and therefore both within the international monarchy and independent of it, a crusading body under papal leadership and dominated by French knights. Indeed, an appreciation of sovereignty leads to a much more ambiguous view of this community of warrior monks. The events of 1565, when a huge Ottoman force besieged the island, may be much more open to debate than has been appreciated: Philip II's commitment to save the island was a complicated and nuanced one; his concern to rescue the Hospitaller knights was, at best, a secondary consideration and one motivated primarily by his political or 'feudal' obligations in Italy, rather than by military strategy or the cultural imperatives of the *croisade*. Moreover, many incidents and discussions, both before and after the 'Great Siege', suggest a much more fraught relationship between the Hospitaller Knights and their Habsburg overlord in Madrid.

The resultant vision offers a much more nuanced interpretation of how violence and crusade were understood in the early modern period, of how information, events and history were used and manipulated for political purposes, and what, ultimately, were the

pillars of this state or empire known to us as 'Imperial Spain'. Finally (and briefly), an attempt will be made to compare new lines of thinking about the Islamic *gazi* raiders of the Maghreb and the Christians corsairs of Malta.

Emanuel Buttigieg (Dr., University of Malta, Msida, Malta)

Habsburgs and Hospitallers in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Contacts, Relations, Movement

How can we think about the Hospitallers (the Knights of St John / Malta) in a Habsburg-Mediterranean framework? Contacts and relations between the Habsburgs and the Order of St John assumed various forms, in different places and over many centuries. Indeed it could not be otherwise since Habsburg branches controlled Spain and its related territories which included Sicily and Malta between 1516 and 1700, as well as Austria, the family hereditary lands and the title of Holy Roman Emperors between 1521 and 1780. Between 1720 and 1734, Sicily was under direct Austrian Habsburg rule. Hospitallers were present in 1535 at Emperor Charles V's triumph in Tunis; they were also present at Emperor Charles VI's failed Danube campaign of 1736-39. Habsburg-subject Iberian and Germanic / central European elite families enrolled their sons into the ranks of the Order. A large range of Hospitaller properties (commanderies) were situated within Habsburg jurisdictions, from the estate of Cizur Menor in Navarre to the *Malteserkirche* in Vienna. Innumerable Habsburg subjects went through Hospitaller Malta's harbours. What binds together these chronologically- and geographically-scattered elements? This paper cannot address all these varied elements. Instead, they will serve as the framework within which a discussion about contacts, relations and movement between 'Habsburgs' and 'Hospitallers' – incidentally both very porous categories of analysis – will be undertaken in an attempt to define a Hospitaller-Habsburg-Mediterranean that was both a geographical reality and a symbolic space.

Alexander Koller (PD Dr., German Historical Institute, Rome, Italy)

The Habsburgs, the Uskoks, and Trieste in the Seventeenth Century

---abstract follows---

Dorothea McEwan (Hon. Fellow, The Warburg Institute, University of London, England)

The Legal Framework for the Church Protectorate in the Lands of the Sublime Porte

The Habsburg empire and the Ottoman empire, two political entities not based on narrow national or nationalistic foundations, were neighbours for many centuries. In many ways they resembled each other with the multitude of languages spoken and religions practised; in many ways they were unlike each other in lifestyle and civil and civic institutions. For many centuries they had a militarised border between them. Muslims lived within the borders of the Habsburg empire and Christians lived within the borders of the Ottoman empire. To facilitate and regulate their different religious practices legal instruments were agreed by both powers, they were, in fact, promises of the unhindered exercise of religion. The lecture will discuss the so-called church protectorate, that is those articles in the bilateral stipulations which specifically deal with the protectorate of the 'Latin' Christians in Ottoman empire.

Sundar Henny (University of Bern, Switzerland)

The Engaged Comparatist: Bartholomeo Georgius at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre

This paper will focus on Jerusalem as a centre of attraction where different cultures were and are clashing continuously. This is most obvious at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the site where Jesus allegedly was buried. Ever since the end of Crusader rule different Christian communities fight there for dominance over every square inch, held in check only by a daily contested status quo. The synchronicity and coexistence of different chants, ceremonies, and calendars led pilgrims and travellers to describe the scene as either a 'symphony' or a 'cacophony'. Others, like the French antiquarian Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, have identified it as the perfect spot to conduct comparative studies.

In my presentation, I will discuss how one of the most prominent authors of early modern *Turcica*, Bartholomaeo Georgius (1505-after 1566), described the different Christian communities and their encountering at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. In particular, I will discuss Georgius' least known book *De ritibus et differentiis Graecorum et Armeniorum* (Antwerp 1545). Therein, Hungarian born Georgius not only describes the differences in the rites of Greeks and Armenians but also gives an account of the ceremony of the Holy Fire that is celebrated in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on every Easter. Also in this book, Georgius provides us with an account of his eventful youth: made a prisoner of war by the Ottomans, he was a slave for several years until he could escape in the guise of a Greek Christian and travel to Jerusalem in the company of Armenian pilgrims. Georgius thus not only compares rites of different non-Latin Christian communities but also claims to have been in close contact with both of them. In a probably unparalleled way, Georgius combines comparatism and an autobiographical narrative that presents him, at least temporarily, as part of the very communities he claims to compare.

William O'Reilly (Dr., Trinity Hall College, University of Cambridge, England)

Globalising Habsburg Interests in the Long Eighteenth Century

I propose to consider Habsburg interest in Trieste and neighbouring regions (including Goritzia) in the Mediterranean as part of a wider project of globalising Habsburg interests in the long 18th century.

Whereas in the past decades it has been shown how the British, French and Spanish Empire's colonial experience shaped their domestic policies, Vienna's perseverance in emulating the transoceanic projects of maritime empires remains almost entirely unexplored. [Gabriel Paquette; Richard Drayton; James Delburgo; François Regourd] Relegated to the position of "landlocked empire," the Habsburg monarchs' polity is mostly discussed and analysed as a multi-ethnic European state that shattered with the rise of ethnic-nationalism and the experience of the First World War. However, the definitive loss of the Spanish throne in 1714 did not extinguish Habsburg global ambitions. Charles VI brought with him to Vienna Spanish officials experienced in dealing with a worldwide empire and their reforming policies impacted the newly reconquered lands from the Ottoman Empire, such as Transylvania (annexed formally in 1699) and Austrian Wallachia (part of the monarchy between 1718 and 1740). This period of rule resulted not just in varied forms of administration in the Temesvárer Banat, Transylvania and elsewhere, but in the testing of a range of new modes, methods and means of what some have styled 'colonial rule', not least the deportation and forced settlement of convicts and others along the southern frontier. [Friedrich Lotz; Josef Kallbrunner; Konrad Schünemann; Stephan Steiner; Lajos Réti; Ralph Melville, Jirí Pesek and Claus Scharf; William O'Reilly].

Historiography of the Habsburg Monarchy continues to debate the Habsburg Monarchy's expansion towards Eastern Europe as comparable to other empires' colonial ventures overseas, especially in the nineteenth-century context. [Tatjana Buklijas, Emese Lafferton; Jan Surman, Mitchell A. Ash] Moving the discussion earlier in time, to the eighteenth century, this chapter will examine technologies of knowledge showing that in order to understand the full extent of the Habsburg Monarchy's transformation into a centralized multiethnic state in the eighteenth century, we need to consider both their European and extra-European engagements. Did the Habsburgs participate in the trans-imperial competition for global empires in the eighteenth century? What strategies did Vienna use to claim territories or trading privileges? What information, geographic and other, did the

Habsburgs gather about extra-European territories and how did they use this information? In what ways did Habsburg transoceanic experiences influence their approach to the integration of newly conquered European territories, such as Austrian Wallachia and Transylvania? Answers to these questions will insert the transoceanic experiences of the Habsburg Monarchy in the literature on global early-modern empires. Habsburg scholars have examined isolated facets of the Viennese monarchs' involvement with non-European territories in the eighteenth century. Marianne Klemun analyzed imperial scientific practices in domains such as botany, geology and mineralogy and showed how the Garden in Schönbrunn emerged as a global botanical collection that reflected and influenced the "colonial consciousness of Austria." Michal Wanner focused on economic connections and the Habsburg trade companies based in Ostend (1722-1731) and Trieste (1781-1785). David Do Paço has recently considered renewed Habsburg interest in the Mediterranean in the post-1718 period. Robert King revealed the origins of the famous Lapérouse expedition and a project presented by William Bolts to Joseph II in the early 1780s. And I continue to consider ways in which the Spanish Habsburg heritage exerted influence on post-1700 Habsburg Europe in a variety of ways, including in the acquisitions of outposts in the Indian Ocean. These studies have touched the surface in understanding Habsburg involvement in trans-imperial competition in the Age of Empire outside Europe and, for the most part, do not closely look at the correlation between transoceanic enterprises and the enlightened reforms Habsburg monarchs implemented in their continental dominions.

The Habsburgs were also active participants in the process of mapping imperial spaces and revealed that the Habsburg act of mapping was not a neutral process but had deep political, economic and social implications. [Madalina Valeria Veres; Matthew H. Edney; Paul W. Mapp; Ricardo Padron; Maria M. Portuondo; Neil Safier; Heidi Scott, inter alia] The "Habsburg cartographic gaze" did not stop at the borders of the empire and cartography does not merely imply "making maps." Mapmaking refers to the technical aspects of surveying and representing space, and I use cartography to denote a more complex process, involving the commissioning, production, reception and use of maps and geographical descriptions as part of a political discourse. In this way, the Habsburgs' interest in gathering geographic information about non-European territories fuelled in the past and reveals today Vienna's overseas ambitions. Take one example: on 23 October 1770, the custodian of the Court Library in Vienna, Joseph Martines, confirmed his reception of a map of the "Brazilian Forest" prepared by General Michel Angelo de Blasco.

This Prospect of the Big Waterfall of Paraná included a variety of drawings of animals and plants from the Portuguese possessions in Brazil and was housed in the Court Library at the order of Maria Theresa. De Blasco, who had served the Austrian monarchs and the emperor of Portugal throughout his life, was ready to return to Vienna and dispatch his work to impress Maria Theresa and her advisers. [cf. Madalina Valeria Veres].

This incident might be dismissed as mere historical curiosity. Yet, it is symptomatic of a larger trend in the eighteenth-century: Habsburg commitment to establish worldwide connections through the creation of trading factories, participation in global scientific projects, and the amassing of impressive collections of plants, minerals and animals in the Habsburg capital.[Marianne Klemun; Michael Elia Yonan] From today's vantage point it is tempting to interpret Vienna's attempts in the eighteenth century to create a navy, establish commercial factories in India, create lasting trade links with China, or sponsor a circumnavigation expedition on the model of James Cook, as a failure in making the leap from a continental to an oceanic empire. The rich literature addressing the developments of the British, Dutch, French, Spanish or Portuguese empires in the early-modern period, rarely acknowledges that these states viewed the Habsburgs as a competitor and a serious threat to their global interests. [Helma Houtman-De Smedt].