Waves across Empires: The Early Modern Habsburg Mediterranean and the New Thalassography

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The Habsburg Mediterranean

This volume charts a Habsburg thalassography, a Habsburg-centred study of the sea and a sea-centred study of the Habsburg world, that encompasses the early modern Mediterranean.[1] Contributors have identified the Habsburg Mediterranean as a constantly re-negotiated space in everyday action; a vivid, contested and challenged early modern assemblage of exchanges and hierarchies, of power-relationships, commerce and interaction, as well as a fluid and hybrid site that was constantly in action. The vibrancy of the Habsburg Mediterranean between circa 1500 and 1800, we argue, relied on the mobility of people as much as the mobile trajectories of animals, plants, things and ideas. Their flows and counterflows drew the Iberian and Central European branches of the Habsburg dynasty into overlapping, at times competing and, above all, mutually interactive relations. These different early modern protagonists' forms of mobility related experiences and actions; a fact which constituted shared practices that generated relational social spaces. Such relations, we show, were assemblages that became manifest in early modern interconnections. We make use of assemblage theory to conceptualise the activities and (dis)connections of the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean. This volume, thus, presents the Mediterranean as a crucial part of the social and cultural fabric of the early modern Habsburg world. The sea was a stage to negotiate the processes that shaped the making and unmaking of Habsburg hegemony. A study of the Habsburg Mediterranean, this volume shows, enriches historians' broader understanding of Habsburg governance and societies.

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[1] By doing so, this introduction opens a conversation with Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology'", *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 722–40; Markus P. M. Vink, "Indian Ocean Studies and the 'New Thalassology'", *Journal of Global History* 2, no. 1 (2007): 41–62; Peter N. Miller, ed., *Thalassography and Historiography* (Chicago: University of Michigan Press, 2013); David Armitage, Alison Bashford and Sujit Sivasundaram, eds., *Oceanic Histories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Sujit Sivasundaram, *Waves across the South: A New History of Revolution and Empire* (London: William Collins, 2020). As the attentive reader will have noticed, this introduction's title is inspired by these publications.

By doing so, this volume addresses a pressing gap in both Mediterranean history and the history of the Habsburg Empire. Thus far, research did not fully address the cultural, economic, imaginative, material, military, political and social presence of both Habsburg subjects in the early modern Mediterranean and the Mediterranean sphere's influence on the Habsburg dominions in a thoroughly comparative and connected perspective. By reconstructing this overlooked yet important fragment of the "human history of the Mediterranean", we pose a variety of questions.[2] For example, which personal and institutional relationships did Habsburg subjects negotiate, cultivate, maintain and subvert between Algiers, Brussels, Budapest, Cairo, Istanbul, Jerusalem, Madrid, Prague, Rome, Seville, Tunis and Vienna, to name only a few hubs of the Habsburg Mediterranean? How did the Mediterranean, as an imaginative and actual space, mould the nature of the Habsburg Empire and its overseas territories? Did Habsburg border zones in the Balkans, the Adriatic Sea, Africa and in the Iberian Peninsula shape the history of the Mediterranean Sea and did Mediterranean events, in return, shape imperial realities at land? What was the role of Mediterranean islands for the course of early modern Habsburg history? Can we trace aesthetic and material exchanges connecting Habsburg and Mediterranean areas and thereby producing broader cultural zones of interaction and exchange?

Introducing Habsburg-centred perspectives on the early modern Mediterranean and vice versa, Mediterranean-centred perspectives on the early modern Habsburg world, however, does more than addressing gaps in current research. This approach, we argue, poses new questions that re-calibrate our understanding of early modern history in various ways. By insisting on the significance of the Mediterranean for the Habsburg world and the sea's capacity to draw, disrupt and channel (dis)connections, this volume contributes to a very recent debate on "how exactly connections worked or failed to work in local contexts, and how, in some instances, they paved the way for disconnection and colonial endeavour".[3] As such, the chapters of this volume enrich our understanding of a polycentric Habsburg world as much as of connected histories more general.[4] A focus on the Habsburg

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[2] David Abulafia, *The Great Sea: A Human History of the Mediterranean* (London: Allen Lane, 2011).

[3] Zoltán Biedermann, *(Dis)connected Empires: Imperial Portugal, Sri Lankan Diplomacy, and the Making of a Habsburg Conquest in Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1.

[4] Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht: Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter, 1522–1699*, 2 vols. (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2003); Géza Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Pedro Cardim et al., eds., *Polycentric Monarchies: How did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony*

Mediterranean furthermore prompts a reconsideration of long-held assumptions about the distinctiveness of the Spanish and the Austrian branches of the dynasty. This, as we argue in further detail below, helps establishing a fruitful dialogue between Atlantic and Central European Studies which will contribute to both making global history more Mediterranean and making Central European history more global.[5] This volume, hence, brings research on the Spanish and Austrian lands of the Habsburg monarchy into a mutual conversation that links such research with broader debates on Mediterranean Studies and connected history.

Following yet expanding Braudel's notion of the *méditerranée*, this volume does not define the Mediterranean by its coastal shorelines but rather as a category of thought, experience and imagination.[6] We explore the extent to which a Habsburg thalassography focusing on the early modern Mediterranean allows for different narratives to explore the multifaceted pasts of the Habsburg world.

Habsburg Thalassography and the Mediterranean Sea

In recent years, historians of the late medieval and early modern world have uncovered, and pro-actively written, a large variety of oceanic histories and thalassographies on a global scale.[7] The Mediterranean Sea, itself a cradle of early historical and historiographical application in thinking and writing the history of the sea, is predominantly considered a space of religious entanglements and

(Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2012); Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015); Arndt Brendecke, *The Empirical Empire: Spanish Colonial Rule and the Politics of Knowledge* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016); Václav Bůžek and Rostislav Smíšek, eds., *Habsburkové 1526–1740: Země Koruny české ve středoevropské monarchii* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2017). On connected histories in general, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia", *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–62.

[5] Stefan Hanß, "Lepanto in the Americas: Global Storytelling and Mediterranean History", *Journal of Early Modern History* 25 (2021): 1–36, https://doi.org/10.1163/15700658-BJA10039; Ronnie Hsia, Carina Johnson, Ulrike Strasser and Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "Globalizing Early Modern German History", *German History* 31, no. 3 (2013): 366–82.

[6] Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Colin, 1949).

[7] In 2018 alone, Armitage, Bashford and Sivasundaram, *Oceanic Histories*; John W. Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750–1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Ronald C. Po, *The Blue Frontier: Maritime Vision and Power in the Qing Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Sebastian R. Prange, *Monsoon Islam: Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

conflicts, or a Spanish, Ottoman, Venetian, as well as Genoese Sea.[8] In Braudelian tradition, historians have spoken about a Habsburg Mediterranean to denominate the Spanish Habsburg dominions in the Mediterranean.[9] The very geographical heart of the early modern Mediterranean, Sicily, was in fact under Habsburg rule with Messina as "the quintessential port of the Habsburg Mediterranean".[10] Its corn transport was one of the most vital supply lines of the empire, feeding and forging the Habsburg lands and the Habsburg Mediterranean alike.[11] Only

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8 Braudel, *La Méditerranée* (1949); Palmira J. Brummett, *Mapping the Ottomans: Sovereignty, Territory, and Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Céline Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Genoese Merchants and the Spanish Crown* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Georg Christ, *Trading Conflicts: Venetian Merchants and Mamluk Officials in Late Medieval Alexandria* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); Stephen O'Shea, *The Sea of Faith: Islam and Christianity in the Medieval Mediterranean World* (London: Profile, 2006); Molly Greene, "The Early Modern Mediterranean", in *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, eds. Peregrine Horden and Sharon Kinoshita (Oxford: Whiley Blackwell, 2014), 91–106; Molly Greene, "The Mediterranean Sea", in *Oceanic Histories*, eds. David Armitage, Alison Bashford and Sujit Sivasundaram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2018), 134–55.

9 Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition*, 12, 47; Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication, and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 140; Ruth Hill, *Sceptres and Sciences in the Spains: Four Humanists and the New Philosophy (ca. 1680–1740)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 191. Cf. Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); Bruno Anatra and Aurelio Musi, eds., *Nel sistema imperiale: l'Italia spagnola* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1994); Thomas J. Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Michael J. Levin, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Thomas J. Dandelet and John A. Marino, eds., *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion, 1500–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Stefan Hanß, "Event and Narration: Spanish Storytelling on the Battle of Lepanto in the Early 1570s", in *Lepanto and Beyond: Images of Religious Alterity from Genoa and the Christian Mediterranean*, eds. Laura Stagno and Borja Franco Llopis (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021), 81–109.

10 Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition*, 47. Cf. Helmut G. Koenigsberger, *The Government of Sicily Under Philipp II of Spain: A Study in the Practice of Empire* (London: Staples Press, 1951); Francesco Benigno, *L'isola dei Vicerè: potere e conflitto nella Sicilia spagnola (sec. XVI–XVIII)* (Palermo: Palermo University Press, 2017).

11 Fernand Braudel, *Das Mittelmeer und die mediterrane Welt in der Epoche Philipps II*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2001), vol. 3, 270; Stefan Hanß, *Die materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571): Materialität, Medialität und die historische Produktion eines Ereignisses*, 2 vols. (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2017), vol. 1, 243–45.

recently, the term has been introduced to a discussion of the relationships between the German-speaking Habsburg domains and the early modern Mediterranean world.[12] The Mediterranean is, as David Abulafia aptly put it, "a sea with many names;"[13] the Habsburg Mediterranean, however, is none of them thus far. This observation needs some explanations.[14]

At a first glimpse, the absence of the 'Habsburg Sea' in writings of early modern historians is not surprising at all. The Habsburg Mediterranean is not referencing a political, legal or territorial entity in the early modern period. After Charles V's abdications in the 1550s, it is the Spanish branch of the dynasty that has become associated with Habsburg claims over the Mediterranean. In fact, the Austrian Habsburgs' sole Mediterranean harbour, Trieste, only prospered from 1719 onwards when having been granted special privileges as a Free Port.[15] Neither exists a geographical or oceanographic Habsburg Mediterranean, nor exists there such an entity in an environmental sense. Neither the sea as such nor one of the many "sub-Mediterraneans"—micro-regions of the fragmentary topography of the Mediterranean basin resulting from its tectonic history—could be termed accordingly.[16] Also early modern protagonists themselves did not use the term *mare habsburgicum*; a term literally out of space for early modern minds since the only *mare austriacum*, which early modern individuals identified as such, was a lunar sea.[17]

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[12] Stefan Hanß, "Hair, Emotions and Slavery in the Early Modern Habsburg Mediterranean", *History Workshop Journal* 87, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 160–87.

[13] Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, xxiii.

[14] Esp. since "the ideological history of oceans and seas is most evident in the continuous geopolitical and epistemological battles over their naming". David Armitage, Alison Bashford and Sujit Sivasundaram, "Introduction: Writing World Oceanic Histories", in *Oceanic Histories*, eds. David Armitage, Alison Bashford and Sujit Sivasundaram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 1–27, here 6.

[15] Franz M. Mayer, "Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Handelspolitik unter Kaiser Karl VI.", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 18, no. 1 (1897): 129–45; Dušan Mihelić, *The Political Element in the Port Geography of Trieste* (Chicago: Department of Geography, 1969), 30; Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618–1815*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 167–68, 214.

[16] Homer Aschmann, "Distribution and Peculiarity of Mediterranean Ecosystems", in *Mediterranean Type Ecosystems: Origin and Structure*, eds. Francesco di Castri and Harold A. Mooney (New York: Springer, 1973), 11–20; David Abulafia, "Mediterraneans", in *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed. William V. Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 64–93, here 67.

[17] Scott L. Montgomery, *The Moon and the Western Imagination* (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 167. For another early modern example, see Marcus Manilius and Edward Sherburne, *The Sphere of Marcus Manilius Made an English Poem with Annotations and an Astronomical Appendix* (London: Nathanael Brooke, 1675), 176.

In spite of such wide-spread assumptions about the absence of a Mediterranean sea-based policy in an apparently landlocked Austrian Habsburg world until the early eighteenth century, early modern sources reveal a stunningly different story. Pictorial albums depicting triumphal processions and courtly entertainments at the time of Maximilian I, for instance, even show German mercenary soldiers (*Landsknechte*) carrying fake galleys and warships as well as a banner praising Habsburg victories at "a number of naval wars at sea and rivers" (fig. I.1). Handwritten and printed newsletters on the Battle of Lepanto crisscrossed the Iberian and Central European Habsburg lands in November and December 1571, mapping a European cultural landscape that has been deeply embedded in the Mediterranean.[18] Uncovering such and similar early modern archival sources of different kinds, contributors to this volume argue that the Mediterranean was an integral part of Habsburg policies long before the eighteenth century. Alexander Koller highlights that "the conflicts concerning the Uskoks, who had been settled by the Habsburgs on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea and used to defend the maritime border against the Ottomans", can be considered a crucial momentum in this long forgotten history of Habsburg-Mediterranean entanglement and enmeshment. "With the settlement of the Uskoks", he argues, "the Adriatic, as an integral part of the Mediterranean, for the first time came into the focus of the politics of the German branch of the *Casa de Austria*".[19]

The Habsburg Mediterranean, thus, is one of the many Mediterraneans that existed within a "complex of seas".[20] The dictum of Fernand Braudel, the doyen of Mediterranean Studies, "that the sea itself […] is the greatest document of its past existence", is fitting when applied to the Habsburg Mediterranean which, despite its absence from historiographical writing, can actually be said to having *taken place*.[21] Political, social and cultural ties thickened into a nexus between the Habsburg regions and the Mediterranean Sea and in consequence created and shaped overlaps, encounters, interactions, exchanges and (dis)connections. The present volume makes this ambiguity between the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean's historiographical and denominative absence on the one hand as well as its historical and experiential presence on the other productive for historical enquiries in epistemic and heuristic terms.

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[18] Hanß, *Die materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht von Lepanto*, vol. 1, 77–83; Kateřina Pražáková, "Das kommunikative Bild Ostmitteleuropas und des osmanischen Reichs in der Zeitungssammlung der letzten Rosenberger", *Frühneuzeit-Info* 21, no. 1/2 (2010): 180–97.

[19] Cf. Alexander Koller's book chapter in this volume, 79–96, here 95, 79.

[20] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 17.

[21] Ibid. "Taking place", here, in the sense of Beth Greenhough, "Vitalist Geographies: Life and the More-Than Human", in *Taking-Place: Non-Representational Theories and Geography*, eds. Ben Anderson and Paul Harrison (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 37–54.

Fig. I.1: German mercenary soldiers carrying a banner praising Habsburg naval victories during a procession at the time of Maximilian I. Anon., *Triunfo del Serenisimo Poderosisimo é invicto Emperador Romano Maximilian I. de este nombre en el arbol Austriaco (...)*, sixteenth century. Pictorial album. BNE, Res/254, no. 64. Imágenes procedentes de los fondos de la Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Mediterranean thalassography, the thinking and writing of the history of the Mediterranean Sea, calls historians' attention to issues of connectivity and exchange, fragmentation and unity, scale, narration and temporality.[22] In a number of studies on the Mediterranean, historians have challenged and decentered traditional narratives of the history of that sea and the people who lived along its coasts and hinterlands. So does this present study with a focus on Habsburg-Mediterranean enmeshment. Mediterranean Studies draw attention towards the interplay of micro-levels, processes of exchange and the variety of temporal layers that constitute Mediterranean history. Braudel's famous triad of Mediterranean temporalities—the "almost imperceptible" *longue durée*, the "slow but perceptible rhythms" of social history, and the history of events, "surface disturbances, crests of foam that the tides of history carry on their strong backs"—are three out of many temporalities that shaped Mediterranean life throughout the past and present.[23] Hence, Mediterranean thalassography has to be considered both a study of distinct historical topics related to the history of the Mediterranean Sea as well as a method and mode of enquiry.[24]

This volume brings assemblage theory to the forefront of a discussion about thalassography and oceanic histories, arguing that such an approach helps conceptualising mobility in ways that renders the Habsburg Mediterranean visible. Focusing on Liguria and the Adriatic Sea as particular case studies, the first part of this volume charts everyday negotiations of the Habsburg Mediterranean, and what it meant to challenge, claim, dynamise or constitute a Habsburg Mediterranean throughout the early modern period. The second part of this volume then traces the trajectories, motivations and actions of those being involved in the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean. We will show that the mobility of people of a variety of different cultural backgrounds interwove the socially and culturally diverse fabric of the Habsburg Mediterranean from the sixteenth till the eighteenth century. The third part of this volume then focuses on the mobility of animals, plants and things, as well as legal concepts and ideas. This final part of the volume examines how the flows and counterflows of flora,

[22] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*; Horden and Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology'"; Peter N. Miller, "Introduction: The Sea Is the Land's Edge Also", in *Thalassography and Historiography*, ed. Peter N. Miller (Chicago: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 1–26.

[23] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), vol. 1, 20–21.

[24] For one such recent example, see Stefan Hanß and Juliane Schiel, eds., *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited (500–1800): Neue Perspektiven auf mediterrane Sklaverei (500–1800)* (Zurich: Chronos, 2014).

fauna, artefacts and ideas materialised and symbolised the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean, a space in which shared legal, aesthetic and cultural concepts could emerge and merge into cultural diversity.

The Habsburg Mediterranean as Assemblages

The Habsburg Mediterranean was, in theoretical terms, an assemblage that drew together people, animals, ideas, plants and objects, thereby generating—as emerging "coevolutionary" histories—specific past experiences that are at the very centre of this volume.[25] Mobility and exchange, thus, produced relations, which were enacting, charting, moulding, challenging and transforming the cultural landscapes, social fabrics and early modern realities of the Habsburg Mediterranean. The Habsburg Mediterranean, as discussed and analysed in this book, is conceptualised as constantly in flux, shaping and reshaping, putting into practice and transforming relationships and hierarchies across and beyond the early modern Mediterranean. Such processes were binary: on the one hand, fluxes and flows exerted by the Habsburg Mediterranean created temporary communities with overlapping aims, whilst at the same time its agents' multiple loyalties had the effect of temporarily destabilising joint ventures, plans and actions.[26]

Thinking of the Habsburg Mediterranean as an assemblage matters both in historical and conceptual terms. Bringing assemblage theory towards the discussion of the Habsburg Mediterranean in particular and oceanic histories and thalassography in general, this volume suggests conceptualising Habsburg-Mediterranean relationships as conflicting, overlapping, energetic and creative flows: sedimented kinds of motion which bundled, charged or decelerated energies constituting shared practices and thereby relational spaces that generated broader (dis)connections. Conceptualising the Habsburg Mediterranean in terms of assemblage theory matters at least in regard to three aspects which will be

[25] On coevolutionary history/ies, see Timothy J. LeCain, *The Matter of History: How Things Create the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 97–98, 147–53; Edmund Russell, "Coevolutionary History", *The American Historical Review* 119, no. 5 (2014): 1514–28.

[26] On multiple loyalties in the early modern Mediterranean, see Mercedes García-Arenal, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Natalie Z. Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008); Eric R. Dursteler, *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Noel Malcolm, *Agents of Empire: Knights, Corsairs, Jesuits and Spies in the Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

spelled out in more detail below: first, this focus allows to examine and narrate for the variety of early modern experiences, as well as a multitude of perspectives on the Habsburg Mediterranean; second, assemblage theory draws our attention to the dynamic functioning of the Habsburg Mediterranean as an early modern field of energy and a space in motion; third, the study of the Habsburg Mediterranean as an assemblage helps to unbundle different temporalities and politics associated with historical agendas.[27]

First, studying the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean as an assemblage accounts for the plurality of experiences of as well as perspectives on the Habsburg Mediterranean. Assemblage theory provides an overall toolkit to see, and to make visible, the Habsburg Mediterranean as a non-static entity with ever changing borders and boundaries that shaped early modern experiences. Instead of taking entities for granted, thus, a focus on the Habsburg Mediterranean as an assemblage helps examining the early modern making and unmaking of such entities. In his study of the Hospitallers, for instance, Emanuel Buttigieg explores the Habsburg Mediterranean as a "category of analysis" that helps "to frame and make sense of a particular reality": "The terms Habsburg and Hospitaller overlap conceptually, and their protagonists also overlapped territorially and economically via the commanderies, militarily via their shared anti-Muslim frontier identity, politically via the familial-dynastic links between them, and culturally via the ways in which they created and sustained links between their places of origin and Malta, not least via material culture".[28] Focusing on the Habsburg Mediterranean as a category and concept of analysis makes researchers explore (dis)connections, and the plurality of protagonists and experiences involved in them. Depending on the itineraries of people, animals, plants, objects and ideas as well as the specific circumstances under which such movements took place (or not), the Habsburg Mediterranean was seen very differently from different viewpoints. Whilst one protagonist in the sixteenth century, a captive for instance, might have experienced the Habsburg Mediterranean in North Africa in cities like Tunis, Algiers and Cairo in captivity, other protagonists in the same century, however, might have encountered or participated in aspects of the Habsburg Mediterranean in a council meeting in Central Germany, on a marketplace in Bohemia, whilst reading printed newsletter in Northern Germany or when travelling in the

[27] Excellent introductions to Assemblage Theory are Manuel DeLanda, *Assemblage Theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016); Yannis Hamilakis and Andrew M. Jones, "Archaeology and Assemblage", *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 27, no. 1 (2017): 77–84; Ben Jervis, *Assemblage Thought and Archaeology* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

[28] Cf. Emanuel Buttigieg's chapter in this volume, 99–118.

imperial diplomatic service. As Katherine Bond puts it in her contribution to this volume, Tunis could be "*a* Habsburg Mediterranean", thus one of many different Habsburg Mediterraneans coexisting and coemerging at the very same time. In her study of Christoph von Sternsee (d. 1560), a sixteenth-century guard of Emperor Charles V, Bond therefore presents the broader methodological plea to study the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean as a variety of microhistories "of how Habsburg subjects experienced, articulated and shaped the Habsburg Mediterranean". Conceptualising such Habsburg Mediterranean(s) as assemblages accounts for the complexity of past experiences.[29]

With its new global expansion and routines of exchange, the early sixteenth-century Habsburg Empire created increasingly connected spaces that engendered opportunities, exchange and interaction as much as encounters and conflicts. Following such diverse stories of mobility, this volume presents a variety of microhistories of how early modern protagonists experienced and "registered the Habsburg Mediterranean world as a collective site".[30] By doing so, the contributors to this volume show a particular sensibility for the multitude of perspectives involved in the history of the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean. In their microhistories of sixteenth-century Genoa and the military campaigns targeting the fortress of Clissa, Michael Levin and Eric Dursteler discuss the wider Habsburg struggle for Mediterranean hegemony in light of the different agendas, motivations and obstacles involved in negotiating relationships in the Habsburg Mediterranean world. Negotiating Habsburg claims over the Mediterranean meant to reconcile and work along several different agendas.[31] The realities of the Habsburg Mediterranean were dictated by the conditions of everyday encounters and in particular by the existence of porous border zones. The porosity of such frontiers, Eric Dursteler argues in this volume, made people "share[] a fluid cross-border culture that withstood all attempts to sketch out clear cut political or religious lines of demarcation".[32] The early modern Habsburg Mediterranean, thus, was composed by a myriad of assemblages that took place in different ways: they overlapped and overflowed, thereby territorialising or deterritorialising its relationships and also generating different experiences among different people.

Second, assemblage theory makes us reconsider the Habsburg Mediterranean as a field of energy and a space in motion. This equips historians for narrating the complex and vibrant dynamics of the Habsburg Mediterranean. As a gathering of

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29 Cf. Katherine Bond's chapter in this volume, 119–45, here 119–20.

30 Cf. Katherine Bond's chapter in this volume, 119–45, here 120.

31 Cf. Michael J. Levin's chapter in this volume, 41–59.

32 Cf. Eric R. Dursteler's chapter in this volume, 61–77, here 77.

people, objects, animals, plants and ideas in motion as well as the actions, feelings and thoughts that such constellations engendered, the Habsburg Mediterranean was defined by experiences related to both the Mediterranean world(s) and the Habsburg Empire(s). These experiences established a repertoire of interactions as well as identifications that crafted both sociocultural relations and a sense of belonging. Experiencing the Habsburg Mediterranean, thus, meant that values needed to be uphold and, if necessary, transformed. In light of such observations, Emanuel Buttigieg considers the Habsburg Mediterranean a space of "relations and movement". Focusing on the Hospitallers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, Buttigieg charts a "Habsburg thalassocracy defined by the regular movement at sea of people, goods and ideas".[33] Similarly, Stefan Hanß examines the Habsburg Mediterranean as an "affective space" of "shared aesthetics". In his contribution, Hanß studies the imperial embassy in Istanbul as a "microcosm in which the Habsburg Mediterranean materialised in ways that connected the Holy Roman Empire with the material culture of the Ottoman Empire and the broader Mediterranean world. (…) Such acts of diffusion and imitation, anchored in and resulting from material exchanges within the imperial embassy in Istanbul, created patterns of practices and familiar styles; a shared taste was born in the Habsburg Mediterranean".[34]

Defining the Habsburg Mediterranean as an assemblage of flows of different kinds also takes a recent epistemic shift in oceanic histories into consideration, which revaluates the significance of waves for thalassographic writing. The waves of the Habsburg Mediterranean of Philip II, as presented by Fernand Braudel, are the ever-changing political events, evanescent "surface disturbances" and "crests of foam that the tides of history carry on their strong backs".[35] Contrary to this traditional notion of the wave, Sujit Sivasundaram, Alison Bashford and David Armitage have recently proposed a different conceptual framing of waves for the writing of oceanic histories. A wave is "a fluid, moving, fluctuating accumulation of energy that cannot be fastened down, confined within limits or divorced from nature or humans' varied experiences and perceptions of it, and one that moves up and down scales, from its depth to its crest".[36] Here, waves are movements of energy with the power to connect and to separate. "To

33 Cf. Emanuel Buttigieg's chapter in this volume, 99–118, here 100.

34 Cf. Stefan Hanß's chapter in this volume, 257–77, here 257, 276.

35 Braudel, *The Mediterranean* (1995), 21.

36 Renaud Morieux et al., "Oceanic Histories: A Roundtable", *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 19, no. 2 (2018), doi:10.1353/cch.2018.0014; Armitage, Bashford and Sivasundaram, "Introduction", 16.

think with waves is to think with the push-and-pull dynamic of globalization", Sivasundaram explains. "It is to consider the surging advance of connection across the sea as well as turbulent disconnection and violence across waters".[37] The present volume suggests conceptualising waves in light of assemblage theory in order to account for the specific dynamism and creativity of the energy of motions which are understood as flows and counterflows whose processes of overflowing cause sedimentation, connections and disconnections alike.[38] Despite opening up a conversation between assemblage studies and oceanic studies, this volume also explores the value of this recent conceptual shift in regard to waves for the study of the Habsburg Mediterranean. By doing so, we consider the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean a conceptual entity in perpetual motion, a field of energy that could slow down or gain speed; it has not been static, but rather an energetic and vibrating amalgam geographically bound by the shores of the Mediterranean Sea yet reaching far beyond it, as well as the engagement of human and non-human beings being acted out in this amalgam. As such, the Habsburg Mediterranean waxed and waned, and it drew different protagonists into its vibrant agglomeration that could call for connections and conflicts alike.

Third, assemblage theory creates an awareness of the Habsburg Mediterranean's capacity to transcend temporalities as well as the often political implications of this.[39] The early modern Habsburg Mediterranean could potentially reference antiquity, and it could also last into the future. In direct competition with Ottoman political discourses and its use of antiquarianism, Habsburg rulers extracted symbolic meanings of the cultural heritage of the ancient Mediterranean in order to claim their own imperial legitimacy during the early modern period.[40] Similar

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37 Sivasundaram, *Waves across the South*, 5.

38 On counterflows, see also Michael H. Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain, 1600–1857* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004).

39 Michael Herzfeld, "Practical Mediterraneanism: Excuses for Everything, from Epistemology to Eating", in *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed. William V. Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 45–63.

40 Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry", *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (1989): 401–27; eadem, "Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople", *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 29 (2012): 1–81; Thomas J. Dandelet, "Imperial Anxiety, the Roman Mirror, and the Neapolitan Academy of the Duke of Medinaceli, 1696–1701", in *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, eds. Barbara Fuchs and Emily Weissbourd (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 145–60; Carina L. Johnson, "Imperial Succession and Mirrors of Tyranny in the Houses of Habsburg and Osman", in ibid., 80–100; Elizabeth Key Fowden, "The Parthenon, Pericles, and King

observations relate to Habsburg subjects travelling as pilgrims to the Holy Land in the early modern period. In his contribution, Mordechay Lewy emphasizes that "subjects of the Habsburg Empire ranked probably as the biggest group of pilgrims during that period if pilgrims from the Iberian Peninsula—including Portugal from 1580 onward—and Southern Italy as well as Dutch and Swiss pilgrims—until 1648 formally subjects of the Habsburg Empire—are included". Ensuring and sponsoring such devotional journeys, Lewy argues, made Ottoman Palestine a platform to negotiate Habsburg and Ottoman claims over the Mediterranean, in which the transport and catering of pilgrims was an important source of religious and economic profits.[41] Managing the flows and presence of pilgrims, thus, was an example of the expansion of boundaries of the Habsburg Mediterranean in both geographical and temporal terms by enveloping the very notion of the Habsburg Mediterranean into layers of Biblical times.

Such early modern activities could transcend chronology, and they could result in later consequences. The foundation of the Austrian Hospice of the Holy Family as well as the Austrian Post Station in Jerusalem during the 1850s, for instance, can likewise be considered as attempts to institutionalize the presence of the Habsburg Empire in the Near East.[42] In the nineteenth century, such institutions could function as a kind of coding to show and channel the flows of people, animals, objects and ideas that are crucial for Habsburg Mediterranean experiences. The very presence of such institutions and their symbolic claims over cultural landscapes illustrate that nineteenth-century protagonists drew upon the early modern notion of the Habsburg Mediterranean, yet actualized it for their very own, often religious or political interpretative claims made in public spaces of other political entities. In the Western Mediterranean, the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean likewise transcended time and kindled political resonances in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Remembering objects from the Battle of Lepanto (1571) as tokens of a Habsburg Mediterranean victory became powerful tools for twentieth-century Francoist ideology.[43] Today, aspects of the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean can be found in the politics of

Soloman: A Case Study of Ottoman Archaeological Imagination in Greece", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 42, no. 2 (2018): 261–74.

41 Cf. Mordechay Lewy's chapter in this volume, 201–27, here 202.

42 Cf. Helmut Wohnout, *Das Österreichische Hospiz in Jerusalem: Geschichte des Pilgerhauses an der Via Dolorosa* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000).

43 Stefan Hanß, "Objects that Made History: A Material Microhistory of the Sant Crist de Lepant (Barcelona, 1571–2017)", *Forum Kritische Archäologie* 7 (2018): 18–46.

controlling the discourses of cultural heritage and the economic, cultural and financial resources of international heritage programmes.[44]

Discussing the Habsburg Mediterranean in terms of assemblages also accounts for the political implications and consequences of such a concept. The Habsburg Mediterranean could be enacted and re-enacted in light of different historical agendas. As such an energetic field, the flows and counterflows channelled claims over cultural otherness and proximity. As overlapping and overflowing assemblages, the Habsburg Mediterranean gathered and bundled energies whose stratification could be (ab)used for different goals. A focus on the Habsburg Mediterranean, if conceptualised in light of assemblage theory, avoids taking entities for granted prior to their actual analysis; it sharpens our view for interactive processes and the agendas involved that enacted boundaries as such. It therefore matters to discern that also the Habsburg Mediterranean, just as "the idea of a vast Mediterranean culture" in general, "has frequently served the interest of disdainful cultural imperialism".[45] Anthropologists have warned that the term 'Mediterranean' has often been loaded with exotic fetishization and romanticism.[46] Michael Herzfeld argued the case for making the term productive for "enclos[ing] researchers and researched in a common frame of analysis"[47] by suggesting

> that we treat attributions of Mediterranean culture, not as literal statements, however literally they may be intended [...], but as performative utterances that can, under the right 'felicity conditions', actually create the realities that people perceive.[48]

Conceptualizing the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean as exactly such unstable and performative assemblages discloses the historical and heuristic function of the term 'Habsburg Mediterranean'. On the one hand, this approach narrates the Habsburg Mediterranean's appropriation across time, revealing the political and conflictual dimensions of such cross-culturally shared assemblages.

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[44] Beatriz Marín-Aguilera, "Distorted Narratives: Morocco, Spain, and the Colonial Stratigraphy of Cultural Heritage", *Archaeologies* 14, no. 3 (2018): 472–500.

[45] Herzfeld, "Practical Mediterraneanism", 48.

[46] For this critique, see ibid., yet it also becomes evident when reading Fernand Braudel, "Personal Testimony", *The Journal of Modern History* 44, no. 4 (1972): 448–67. Cf. Erato Paris, *La genèse intellectuelle de l' œuvre de Fernand Braudel La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II (1923–1947)* (Athens: Institut de recherches néohelléniques, 1999).

[47] Herzfeld, "Practical Mediterraneanism", 52.

[48] Herzfeld, "Practical Mediterraneanism", 50.

On the other hand, assemblage theory creates a conceptual space to breach the use of Mediterranean exoticism as a distancing device, integrating Mediterranean as well as non-Christian history into the history of early modern Central and Western Europe.[49] Today, in a time in which migration, mass tourism and the struggle for economic markets and resources puts the question of the unity and fragmentation of the European Union at the heart of political action, such a conceptual frame also allows for the possibility to think—and act—differently.[50]

Working with the mobility that constituted the assemblages of the early modern Habsburg Mediterranean, thus, allows historians to focus on the politics and realities of Habsburg land and sea based spheres of influence in a contested Mediterranean; an approach in light with the recent "revisionist pluralism […] across space and time" in oceanic histories.[51] In Braudel's words, "no simple narrative of how things happened would be appropriate to its history [the history of the Mediterranean Sea]".[52] Conceptualizing the Habsburg Mediterranean as assemblages accounts for exactly this complexity.

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[49] See Brian A. Catlos, "Why the Mediterranean?", in *Can We Talk Mediterranean? Conversations on an Emerging Field in Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, eds. Brian A. Catlos and Sharon Kinoshita (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 1–18, here 3, who discusses studies of the pre-modern Mediterranean as "a means of integrating Islamic history as protagonist in the history of 'the West.'" On one such example, see Stefan Hanß, "Ottoman Language Learning in Early Modern Germany", *Central European History* 54, no. 1 (2021): 1–33.

[50] Providing different concepts of thinking and narrating early modern Mediterranean history is relevant today also in political terms since there are people who appropriate early modern Mediterranean history as a cultural distancing device, e.g. for presenting their own understandings of how to deal with Muslim refugees in Germany, or for the legitimization of right-wing terrorism. Cf. Stefan Hanß, "Felix Hartlaub, Don Juan d'Austria [sic!] und die Schlacht bei Lepanto', hg. von Wolfram Pyta und Wolfgang Matthias Schwiedrzik, Neckargemünd (Edition Mnemosyne) 2017 (GegenSatz 8), 292.", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 98, no. 1 (2019): 644–47; Stefan Hanß, *Lepanto als Ereignis: Dezentrierende Geschichte(n) der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571)* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2017), 17–27; idem, "Lepanto neu denken", *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung: Zeitung für Deutschland* 76 (Saturday, 30 March 2019), 8.

[51] Sujit Sivasundaram, "The Indian Ocean", in *Oceanic Histories*, eds. David Armitage, Alison Bashford and Sujit Sivasundaram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 31–61, here 31.

[52] Braudel, *The Mediterranean* (1995), vol. 1, 17.

Communities in Motion

The present study of the Habsburg Mediterranean builds on a broader discussion about the cultural landscape of the early modern Mediterranean. The earliest milestones in Mediterranean thalassography originated in the fascination of historians with exploring "a Mediterranean defined not by space but by people".[53] More than half a century later, entrepreneurial investigations by historians of the "human history" of the sea have revealed, above all, the significance of the Mediterranean for shaping overlapping communities.[54] The Mediterranean basin in its fragmentary unity provided neither fixed nor stable identities, but rather a reservoir of potential identifications that generated, when made use of by people's repertoire of practices, a sense of belonging.

The thalassography of the early modern Mediterranean is thus, to quote Peter Miller, "a study of the world made by individuals in motion".[55] The pre-modern Mediterranean was a network of the cultural production of a myriad of overlapping communities. Mediterranean interactions connected and constituted medieval Jewish communities as Shlomo Goitein outlined in his seminal multi-volume study of the Cairo Geniza.[56] Francesca Trivellato's more recent research on Sephardic Jews residing in Livorno, Tuscany, has shown that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mediterranean engendered local communitarian life as much as far-flung trading activities that redefined Jewish communities on a global scale. Sephardim entrepreneurs developed further their Mediterranean networks in their Atlantic, Eurasian and South Asian commerce.[57] David Abulafia argued that Mediterranean commercial interactions were also the springboard for *italianità* ('Italianness') as a cultural category. When Italian merchants of different political entities—Venetian, Genoese, Pisan and Florentine, to name only a view—conducted their business in late medieval Islamic countries, their

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[53] Miller, "Introduction", 8. Cf. idem, "Two Men in a Boat: The Braudel-Goitein 'Correspondence' and the Beginning of Thalassography", in *Thalassography and Historiography*, ed. Peter N. Miller (Chicago: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 27–59.

[54] Abulafia, *The Great Sea*.

[55] Miller, "Introduction", 16.

[56] Shlomo D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967–93).

[57] Francesca Trivellato, "Juifs de Livourne, Italiens de Lisbonne et Hindus de Goa: réseaux marchands et échanges culturels à l'époque moderne", *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 58, no. 3 (2003): 581–603; eadem, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

activities led to the emergence of a corporate ascription. This, however, was hardly shared by business competitors who differentiated themselves in political, linguistic and cultural terms, and who wished to see this mirrored in separate lodging policies in Islamic territories—a well-known phenomenon of diaspora communities around the world.[58] Similar arguments by foreign merchants about multi-layered communities of belonging (*nazioni*) also shaped debates about the accommodation (*fondaco*) of Muslim merchants trading in early modern Venice.[59] Likewise, notions of *venezianità* ('Venetianness') and thus belonging to the *nazione veneziana* ('Venetian nation') were negotiated in the boundary zones of Venetian borderlands and colonies such as in Dalmatia and Crete or in Venetian diplomatic residencies in the Ottoman Empire.[60] The cross-Mediterranean mobility of people, however, not only constituted but also potentially blurred the formation of communities, as Debra Blumenthal illustrated in her research of a child custody dispute in the fifteenth century, filed by a female slave in Valencia against her master and partner, who had been a widely travelled Genoese merchant.[61] The early modern Mediterranean was thus constituted, experienced and transformed by communities in motion, as well as the dynamics which such geographical and cultural mobility unfolded.

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[58] David Abulafia, "Gli italiani fuori d'Italia", in *Commerce and Conquest in the Mediterranean, 1100–1500*, ed. David Abulafia (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), 261–86. For a more detailed discussion of *fondaci*, see Olivia R. Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 107–57; Christ, *Trading Conflicts*, 72–77.

[59] Cemal Kafadar, "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986): 191–217; Murat Çizakça, *A Comparative Evolution of Business Partnerships: The Islamic World and Europe, with Specific Reference to the Ottoman Archives* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 65–85; Maria P. Pedani, "Fondaci dei Turchi", in *Encyclopaedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gabor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File, 2009), 220–21; Hanß, *Lepanto als Ereignis*, 154–64.

[60] Sally McKee, "Inherited Status and Slavery in Late Medieval Italy and Venetian Crete", *Past & Present* 182, no. 1 (2004), 31–53; Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Karen-edis Barzman, *The Limits of Identity: Early Modern Venice, Dalmatia, and the Representation of Difference* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

[61] Debra Blumenthal, "Masters, Slave Women and Their Children: A Child Custody Dispute in 15th-Century Valencia", in *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited (500–1800): Neue Perspektiven auf mediterrane Sklaverei (500–1800)*, eds. Stefan Hanß and Juliane Schiel (Zurich: Chronos, 2014), 229–56.

Emanuel Buttigieg examines how Hospitallers "navigated the Habsburg Mediterranean, and […] the networks developed and sustained across different contact zones. […] A Habsburg Mediterranean was shaped by the administrative and communicative acts of such individuals and others they interacted with".[62] Géza Pálffy focuses on the Habsburg-Ottoman contact zone in Hungary, and how interactions there connected the Austrian and Spanish Habsburg border zones in Central and Eastern Europe with the Mediterranean, and North Africa in particular. During the rule of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, Pálffy shows, Spanish and German-speaking subjects of the Habsburgs, as well as Italians, fought against the Ottomans in Hungary and thereby drew the Mediterranean into the cultural, political and military realm of the Holy Roman Empire. At the same time, a soldier born in Ljubljana fought in Charles's troops in Tunis, as Katherine Bond outlines in her study of the specific experiences of one such geographically mobile protagonists across the Habsburg Mediterranean.[63] The Habsburg Empire, thus, is here envisaged as a relational space of enacted interconnections and disconnections. The Mediterranean, with its broader dynamism, helped instantiating or impeding such (dis)connections.

This volume's case studies therefore invite readers to reconsider long-held assumptions about Habsburg imperial history. Traditionally, historians have studied the Spanish Habsburg maritime empire separated from what was long considered a landlocked Austrian Habsburg empire. Historians have either followed an Atlantic/global or European/continental paradigm in the history of the Spanish and Austrian Habsburg empires in consequence of Charles V's series of abdications in the 1550s.[64] If the Mediterranean entered the scene, it has been seen as a Spanish Habsburg space in the tradition of Braudel's magnum opus.[65] This approach, however, does not fit with early modern notions of the Habsburg empire. When speaking to his subjects on the occasion of the transfer of power to his son, Philip II, in Brussels in October 1555, Charles V said that he had undertaken

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[62] Cf. Emanuel Buttigieg's chapter in this volume, 99–118, here 114, 100.

[63] Cf. the chapters of Katherine Bond and Géza Pálffy in this volume, 119–73.

[64] For a selection of research into this topic see M. J. Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551–1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Henry Kamen, *Spain's Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power, 1492–1763* (London: Penguin, 2003); John H. Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[65] E.g. Braudel, *La Méditerranée* (1949); Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition*, 12, 47; Hershenzon, *Captive Sea*, 140.

> nine voyages to Germany, six to Spain, seven to Italy, ten to the Netherlands, four to France (in peace as well as in war), two to England and two to Africa, which make forty in all [...]. To do this, I was compelled to cross the Mediterranean eight times and the Atlantic three times, not counting the journey that I plan to make next, with God's blessing, which would make four.[66]

Charles V thus considered the Mediterranean the central nexus of the Habsburg Empire. The Mediterranean Sea itself informed Habsburg imperial ideologies and practices on a global scale as Charles V's motto *plus ultra*, "further beyond", illustrates. Yet also before and after Charles's reign, the Mediterranean was a profoundly significant space for the Habsburg monarchy across Europe and beyond. Charles, like his predecessor, Maximilian I, as well as his Spanish successor, Philip II, shaped Habsburg imperial ideology in opposition to the Ottoman Mediterranean Empire.[67]

For the Habsburg imperial gaze and its ideology, the Mediterranean remained centre-stage throughout the entire sixteenth century, thus, even beyond the moment of the conquest of the Americas and Charles's abdications. Before his son's accession to the throne, Charles V is said to have commissioned a map to be given to Philip II. Commonly identified as a map of Battista Agnese, a Genoese mapmaker active in Venice, this map shows Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation of the world as well as the Spanish silver fleet as lines that capture the attention of the viewer (fig. I.2). The very centre of the map is the Mediterranean. In fact, this particular map is part of an atlas that consists of fourteen maps, almost all of them picturing the Mediterranean Sea which is shown to continue being the very heart of the Habsburg imperial imagination even after the American conquests.[68]

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[66] Geoffrey Parker, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 465.

[67] Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent"; Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); idem, "Europe's Turkish Nemesis", in *Representing Imperial Rivalry in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, eds. Barbara Fuchs and Emily Weissbourd (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 58–79; Johnson, "Imperial Succession"; Víctor Mínguez Cornelles, *Infierno y gloria en el mar: los Habsburgo y el imaginario artístico de Lepanto (1430–1700)* (Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2017).

[68] The John Carter Brown Library (JCB), Codex Z 3/2-SIZE; Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 3. Recently, doubts arose regarding the origins of this map. Future research will provide more information on this. Crucial in our context, however, is not the actual story of production but rather the map's significance for charting Habsburg imperial

The Mediterranean, thus, remained the main reference to a connected Habsburg Empire throughout the long century of the colonization of the Americas. This observation is also mirrored in a commentary of the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta (c. 1540–1600) who wrote from the New World in 1590 that "until now there has been no discovery in the New World of a Mediterranean sea such as Europe, Asia, and Africa possess, where arms of that great ocean enter and form different seas".[69] The second part of Acosta's observation, that the "arms of that great ocean enter and form different seas",[70] accounts for the sea's oceanographic characteristics. "The Mediterranean is open at its ends", the constant movements of incoming and outgoing flows of water connect the Mediterranean Sea with the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, as well as the Black Sea.[71] These movements facilitate mobility, the flows and counterflows which constituted the broader Habsburg world, depicted as Mediterranean-centred global mobility in Agnese's map.[72]

imagination. In this context, it is crucial to think about cartography not only as "a key mechanism of […] boundary-making" which "sought to impose stillness on to the changeable medium of water". In the case of the map of Agnese, cartography also represents the flows of the Habsburg world—and the flows emerging from, engendered through and returning towards the Habsburg Mediterranean—as a static entity. The mobility of the flows itself, thus, escapes the eye of the beholder. Armitage, Bashford and Sivasundaram, "Introduction", 21.

[69] José de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Jane E. Managan (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 123.

[70] Acosta, *Natural and Moral History*, 123.

[71] Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, preface.

[72] This wording follows Cyprian Broodbank's description of the Mediterranean Sea as a complex of "provocative places". Cyprian Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2015), 54–81. Cf. Filippo De Vivo, "Crossroads Region: The Mediterranean", in *The Cambridge World History*, vol. 6/1, eds. Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 415–444.

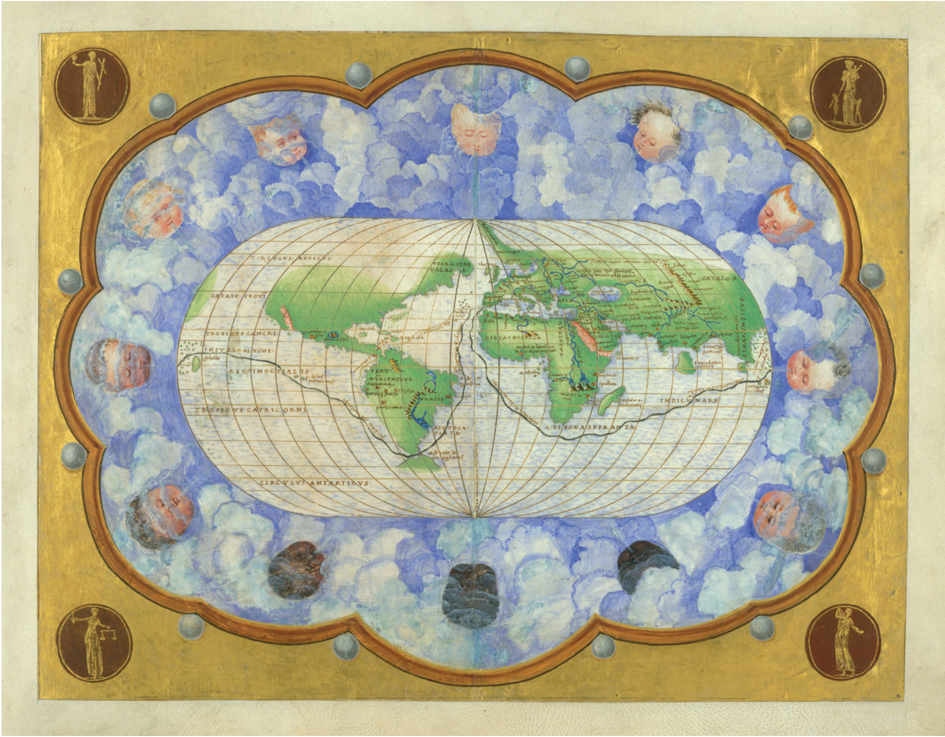

Fig. I.2: The sixteenth-century Spanish imperial world remained centred on the Mediterranean even after the conquest of the Americas. Battista Agnese, *Map of the World*, c. 1540s. Manuscript album, 27 x 34 cm. The John Carter Brown Library, Codex Z 3/2-SIZE (04376-4).

This volume's case studies of mobile communities therefore invite readers to reconsider the interconnectedness of early modern Habsburg Empire(s). In its capacity to connect and divide cultural spheres, the Mediterranean linked and separated also the Spanish- and German-speaking cultural realms of the Habsburg empire(s). This volume's focus on the Habsburg Mediterranean, thus, engages with three branches of methodologically stimulating studies: first, Mediterranean Studies and oceanic histories;[73] second, research on the "connected histories" of the Iberian Habsburg world;[74] as well as, third, with the recent debate on globalising

[73] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*; Armitage, Bashford and Sivasundaram, *Oceanic Histories*.

[74] Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories"; Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde: histoire d'une mondialisation* (Paris: Éd. de la Martinière, 2004); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640", *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (2007), 1359–85; Jorge Flores,

early modern German history.[75] Introducing the Habsburg Mediterranean towards debates on the German Atlantic and the German Pacific will further enrich our understanding of the global (dis)connections of early modern Central Europe.

By doing so, this volume shows that the Habsburg Mediterranean drew Iberian as well as Central European dominions into overlapping and mutually interactive Mediterranean assemblages—vibrant and creative spaces constituted through the mobility of animals, ideas, people, plants and things—, which had considerable repercussions. Géza Pálffy's and Katherine Bond's chapters on mobile Habsburg subjects that fought at a variety of frontiers in Central Europe and the Mediterranean exemplify particularly well that studying the Habsburg Mediterranean as communities in motion draws attention to the fact that a variety of early modern protagonists "continue[d] to connect the two branches" of the Iberian and Central European Habsburgs even after Charles V's abdications between 1554 and 1558, as well as "their courts, and their cultural production".[76] For Hans Khevenhüller, the imperial ambassador at the court of Philip II, hardly anything could have been more familiar and yet at the very same time more outlandish than the Spanish Habsburg court. In his "most humble service" Khevenhüller wrote to the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II in Vienna in 1571 that he knew exactly how to behave in the cultural spaces of the Spanish courtiers, yet these Habsburg courtiers appeared distant at the very same time: "they are hostile and incredibly secretive in all their matters just as it truly should be".[77]

"The Iberian Empires, 1400 to 1800", in *The Cambridge World History*, eds. Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, vol. 6/1: *The Construction of a Global World, 1400–1800 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 271–96.

[75] Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*; Hsia, Johnson, Strasser and Wiesner-Hanks, "Globalizing Early Modern German History"; Pieter M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2016); Peter H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire: A Thousand Years of Europe's History* (London: Penguin, 2017); Hartmut Berghoff, Frank Biess and Ulrike Strasser, eds., *Explorations and Entanglements: Germans in Pacific Worlds from the Early Modern Period to World War I* (New York: Berghahn, 2019).

[76] Carina L. Johnson, *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Ottomans and Mexicans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 17.

[77] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA Vienna), Staatenabteilung, Spanien, Diplomatische Korrespondenz, 8, fasz. 2, fol. 15r–17v, Hans Khevenhüller to Emperor Maximilian II, Madrid, 7 November 1571: *underthenigisten dienst*; *sy sein in allen ihren sachen feindtlich und unglaublich verschwiegen, wies dann warlich sein solle.* Cf. Félix Labrador Arroyo, ed., *Diario de Hans Khevenhüller embajador imperial en la corte de Felipe II* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001).

Through such diplomatic activities, Khevenhüller contributed to cultivating an enduring early modern connectivity between the Central European and Mediterranean domains of the Habsburgs, which also originated from and resulted in other cultural practices. Whilst mobility enacted relational spaces, shared practices sedimented a (dis)connected Habsburg Mediterranean.[78] The exchange of commodities beyond the courtly sphere linked the Central European and Iberian domains of the Habsburg rulers even further with the Mediterranean regions.[79] News from Central German battlefields of the Thirty Years' War reached the Habsburg Viceroyalty of Peru.[80] Furthermore, the Austrian and Spanish aristocracy had intermarried for a long time; now also commoners from the German- and Spanish-speaking lands entered into marriage like an Augsburg woman called Appolonia who married an unnamed Spaniard after meeting him on the occasion of an imperial diet held in that city in 1547/48.[81] German-speaking subjects of the Holy Roman Empire settled in Spain, married and got involved in trans-imperial kinship networks. Some of them even applied for having their status as Spanish subjects certified.[82] Through travelling, Habsburg subjects experienced and connected the empire's diverse cultural spaces.[83] Travelling Habsburg pilgrims, captives and converts further strengthened the connections between the Austrian and Spanish domains as well as the Ottoman Empire,[84] and the merchants of the Habsburg Empires criss-crossed the entire Mediterranean.[85] Such Habsburg communities in motion cultivated manifold

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78 We build here on Stefan Rohdewald, Stephan Conermann and Albrecht Fuess, eds., *Transottomanica – Osteuropäisch-osmanisch-persische Mobilitätsdynamiken: Perspektiven und Forschungsstand* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2019), and their interpretation of Pierre Bourdieu, "Physischer, sozialer und angeeigneter physischer Raum", in *Stadt-Räume: Die Zukunft des Städtischen*, ed. Martin Wentz (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 1991), 25–34.

79 Ulinka Rublack, "Matter in the Material Renaissance", *Past & Present* 219, no. 1 (2013), 41–85.

80 Arthur Weststeijn, "Empire in Fragments: Transatlantic News and Print Media in the Iberian World, c. 1600–1640", *Renaissance Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (Summer 2021): 528–70.

81 Stefan Hanß, "Pastoral Care, Discipline, Everyday Life, Material Culture", in *A Companion to Lutheran Orthodoxy*, eds. Joar Haga and Sascha Salatowsky (Brill: Leiden, in press).

82 Thomas Weller, "How to Become a Spaniard: Migration and 'National' Belonging among Merchants from the Holy Roman Empire in Seventeenth-Century Seville" (journal article under review).

83 Katherine Bond, "Mapping Culture in the Habsburg Empire: Fashioning a Costume Book in the Court of Charles V", *Renaissance Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (Summer 2018): 530–79.

84 Tobias P. Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades: Christian-European Converts to Islam and the Making of the Ottoman Elite, 1575–1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Hanß, "Hair, Emotions and Slavery"; Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*.

85 Dauverd, *Imperial Ambition*; Eberhard Crailsheim, *The Spanish Connection: French and*

relations and established close ties that put the Mediterranean at the very heart of Habsburg exchanges. Charles VI's "Austro-Spanish experiences", having lived "thinking of Spain and an imperial life that might have been", found expression allegedly in his last word, which was not "Vienna", but "Barcelona", as William O'Reilly has highlighted.[86] The Mediterranean flows of ideas, objects and people constituted the pulse of the Habsburg Empire, which was felt throughout the entire Habsburg world and therefore also within Central Europe between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries.

As this volume shows, the Habsburg Mediterranean was always a connected, however, never a coherent entity. Its realities mirrored the "fragmented" cultural landscapes of the Habsburg Empires, and their multiple, overlapping and sometimes also contradicting confessional loyalties.[87] "Ambiguity and confrontation characterized the Habsburg Mediterranean", as Mordechay Lewy argues. In his contribution, he exemplifies that Protestant pilgrims to the Holy Land experienced the Habsburg Mediterranean above all in interaction with Franciscan Friars in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Jerusalem. These friars' demands for confession and communion, as well as the variety of strategies with which Protestant pilgrims could respond to such demands, made the Eucharist community in Ottoman Jerusalem "a process conducive to creating [a] collective religious identity".[88] Focusing on the experiences of one pilgrim to Jerusalem, Bartholomaeus Georgievits, Sundar Henny shows that the Habsburg

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Flemish Merchant Networks in Seville (1570–1650) (Cologne: Böhlau, 2016); Klemens Kaps, "Small But Powerful: Networking Strategies and the Trade Business of Habsburg-Italian Merchants in Cadiz in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century", *European Review of History/Revue européenne d'histoire* 23, no. 3 (2016): 427–55; Yasmina Roc'io Ben Yessef Garfia, "A Genoese Merchant and Banker in the Kingdom of Naples: Ottavio Sera and His Business Network in the Spanish Polycentry System, c. 1590–1620", ibid.: 367–99; as well as Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, xvii–xxii with the more general comment on developments "strengthening the hand of […] German merchants in the Mediterranean".

[86] William O'Reilly, "Lost Chances of the House of Habsburg", *Austrian History Yearbook* 40 (2009): 53–70, here 70. Cf. Franz Pesendorfer, *Österreich – Großmacht im Mittelmeer? Das Königreich Neapel-Sizilien unter Kaiser Karl VI (1707/20–1734/35)* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1998).

[87] Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, vol. 1, 40. For a discussion of how such a fragmented Mediterranean was likewise mirrored in the Habsburg domains, e.g. during political debates on whether the Holy Roman Empire, ruled by the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian II, should join the Catholic Holy League fighting alongside the Spanish Habsburg troops of Philipp II the Ottomans after the Battle of Lepanto, see Stefan Hanß, "War and Peace: Shaping Politics in Reformation Germany after the Battle of Lepanto", *The Muslim World* 107, no. 4 (2017), 652–64.

[88] Cf. Mordechay Lewy's chapter in this volume, 201–27, here 227.

Mediterranean, and Jerusalem in particular, was a space to experiment with cultural affiliations and relations. He argues that pilgrims writing about their experiences in contemporary prints such as turcica, pilgrimage reports and proto-ethnographic writings, "triangulated in the sense of having westerners, eastern Christians and Muslims in picture. The narrative of the Saracen or the Turk needed Christian heresy (both at home and in an unspecified east, the proverbial hothouse of heresies)".[89] Being a space that invited Habsburg subjects to put themselves into relationships with others, the vibrant hub and culturally diverse atmosphere of Jerusalem was a constitutive part of the Habsburg Mediterranean and its claimed (dis)connections.

At the very same time, Mediterranean communities travelled through Habsburg dominions, as Tobias Graf shows in his contribution discussing the narratives of "Arabian princes" travelling eighteenth-century Germany. His discussion of issues of fraud and authenticity draws our attention to the Habsburg Mediterranean as an imaginative space, framed through people's acts of storytelling. A number of Habsburg and Ottoman subjects "participated in the storytelling which helped craft the Habsburg Mediterranean as an imagined space and endowed it with the power to shape lives far beyond the actual shores of the Mediterranean Sea".[90]

The early modern Habsburg Mediterranean was a space of communities in motion; and yet this volume goes further and broadens the very notion of Mediterranean communities and connections, as well as the very protagonists that we think of as being constitutive for engendering flows and counterflows. As assemblages, the Habsburg Mediterranean bundled mobility and thereby created patterns and platforms of communities of all different kinds, such as of people but also of animals, plants, things or concepts. Václav Bůžek, for example, brings animal studies and the history of symbolic communication into a more thorough conversation by arguing that elephants at the court of Maximilian II served "to strengthen kin relations between the Austrian and Spanish House of Habsburg. […] The elephants living at Maximilian II's court symbolically connected the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs bringing the Central European domains of the Habsburg Empire into a symbolic conversation with the Habsburg maritime world". Since they "glorified the unity of the two lines of the Habsburg dynasty", these animals partook in the framing of the Habsburg Mediterranean.[91] In similar ways, Stefan Hanß shows that Habsburg-Ottoman encounters in the early modern

89 Cf. Sundar Henny's chapter in this volume, 175–200, here 181.
90 Cf. Tobias P. Graf's chapter in this volume, 229–53, here 232.
91 Cf. Václav Bůžek's chapter in this volume, 279–303, here 279.

Mediterranean engendered the circulation of a variety of things—textiles, stones, herbs and antiquities, but also chestnuts—, which connected the Habsburg realm and materialised the Habsburg Mediterranean, for example, through shared aesthetics.[92] In her contribution on the legal framework of the Church protectorate in the Ottoman Empire in general and in Egypt in particular, Dorothea McEwan discusses the "historical prerogatives understood by the Habsburg Mediterranean and the legal aspects when called upon to accommodate perceived rights". As such a space of encounters, the Habsburg Mediterranean was a challenging, troubling and productive space that made new legal concepts merge through people's investments in "flux[es] and flow[s] of negotiations, of trust building, [and] of legislation regulating commerce and domestic legal arrangements", which "were endless".[93] Focusing on animals, plants, things and ideas, contributors reconsider the very links that melded into interconnectivities between the early modern Habsburg and Mediterranean realms. Therefore, this volume expands the range of who and what historians think of as protagonists of Habsburg history in general and the Habsburg Mediterranean in particular.

The contributors of this volume used thalassography as an analytical approach to enter more fully into the different aspects of Habsburg power structures, multi-ethnic and multi-religious coexistence and communal life across land and sea-based initiatives and enterprises, as well as in order to reconsider the links that interconnected the Habsburg and Mediterranean worlds. The Habsburg Mediterranean is thus fundamentally an enabling choice prioritizing "one among many heuristic strategies" for analysis.[94] Contributors have chosen this approach in order to reconsider early modern Habsburg-Mediterranean encounters, entanglements and initiatives as well as notions of scale, contexts and practices of contextualization. Since "the Mediterranean", as Dominic Thomas aptly put it, "has emerged as a privileged site for exploring global dynamics" and, more broadly speaking, historians' matter of scale,[95] this volume's choice in approach is essentially an exercise in decentering both Habsburg and Mediterranean history,

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[92] Cf. Stefan Hanß's chapter in this volume, 257–77.

[93] Cf. Dorothea McEwan's chapter in this volume, 305–21, here 305.

[94] Greg Woolf, "A Sea of Faith?", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18, no. 2 (2003): 126–43, here 126. Cf. Nicholas Purcell, "Tide, Beach, and Backwash: The Place of Maritime Histories", in *Thalassography and Historiography*, ed. Peter N. Miller (Chicago: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 84–108.

[95] Dominic Thomas, *Africa and France: Postcolonial Cultures, Migration, and Racism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 162. Also Hakim Abderrezak, *Ex-Centric Migrations: Europe and the Maghreb in Mediterranean Cinema, Literature, and Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 61.

as well as their mutual interactions, (dis)connections and entanglements.[96] The present volume is an invitation to think about and beyond a Habsburg-Mediterranean enmeshment in the early modern period, and to spell out some answers in order to stimulate further enquiries in the future. This volume on the Habsburg Mediterranean is therefore, just as every Mediterranean study, in a Braudelian sense "a necessarily incomplete study".[97]

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[96] Natalie Z. Davis, "Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World", *History and Theory* 50, no. 2 (2011): 188–202.

[97] Braudel, *The Mediterranean* (1995), vol. 1, 18.