A Shared Taste?
Material Culture and Intellectual Curiosity in the Habsburg Mediterranean*

Stefan Hanß

The Habsburg Mediterranean: An Aesthetic Experience

This chapter discusses the Habsburg Mediterranean as an "affective space"[1] anchored in and shaped by the circulation of artefacts and the mobility of people. Across the imperial and religious divide, early modern Habsburg and Ottoman subjects cultivated—at least to a certain extent—shared aesthetics. I take a praxeological stance in order to reconsider what Andreas Reckwitz called "the relevance of aesthetic objects and experiences and their significance for moulding collective forms of perception and sensation".[2] The cross-cultural appreciation of ornaments and artefacts, then, reveals a story that reaches beyond mere aesthetic similarities; such shared aesthetics, in fact, shall be considered as consequences of the movement of people and flow of goods engendered through the imperial ambassadorial household in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. The imperial embassy (*elçi han*) in Istanbul, I argue, was 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.[3] The study of Ottoman artefacts and their increasing circulation—facilitated through the milieu and cultural setting of the Habsburg embassy and its specific "atmospheres"[4]—promoted a shared interest in ornaments, calligraphy and objects; taste that linked the material world of Ottoman cities such as Istanbul, Jerusalem or Cairo to equally important cultural sites in the German

* This title references the title of Anna Contadini's seminal chapter: "Sharing a Taste? Material Culture and Intellectual Curiosity around the Mediterranean, from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Century", in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, eds. Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 23–61. If not noted otherwise, all translations are mine.

1 Andreas Reckwitz, "Affective Spaces: A Praxeological Outlook", *Rethinking History* 16, no. 2 (2012): 241–58.

2 Ibid., 242.

3 Cf. Gábor Kármán, *A Seventeenth-Century Odyssey in East Central Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 73–88 on "the micro-society of the Transylvanian embassy in Constantinople".

4 Gernot Böhme, *Atmosphäre: Essays zur neuen Ästhetik* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1995).

and Habsburg lands. It is in this particular interplay of travelling artefacts, shared spaces and practices of exchange, as well as patterns of sociability, that the sixteenth-century Habsburg Mediterranean emerged as an affective space.

In order to consider the sixteenth-century material nexuses between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, it is worth starting with a recent debate on the early modern Mediterranean. Recently, researchers discussed whether Ottomans and Italians were "sharing a taste".[5] Anna Contadini in particular argued that a plethora of aesthetic styles and practices connected Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Levant. Arabic and pseudo-Arabic designs were prominent elements of Near Eastern textiles depicted in Renaissance paintings and prints.[6] The Florentine artist Jacopo del Sellaio (c. 1441–93), for instance, put considerable efforts into the representation of pseudo-Arabic scripture embroidered in gold, that garnished the apparel of the Virgin Mary.[7] In the *tondi* of Filippino Lippi (c. 1457–1504), in the frescoes in the Collegiate Church of San Gimignano, or in altarpieces as Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi* (1423, c. 1385–1427), oriental decorative elements feature prominently in the representation of textiles and halos.[8] Only recently have painting conservators revealed the astonishingly complex techniques that artists needed to master when producing such oriental decor: water gilding, mordant gilding, shell gold and *sgraffito* techniques were often employed when artists applied pseudo-Arabic details, techniques that required plenty of time, intricate skills and "special attention".[9]

Research focusing on the visual language of cross-Mediterranean ornaments hints at the broader circulation of objects and knowledge across the religious boundaries of the early modern Mediterranean. Gülru Necipoğlu coined the terms "visual cosmopolitanism" and "creative translation" when studying artistic exchanges between Renaissance Italy and Istanbul during the reign of Mehmed II

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5 Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?"

6 Ibid., 40–43; Hidemichi Tanaka, "The Mongolian Script in Giotto's Paintings at the Scrovegni Chapel at Padua", *Acts of the 25th International Congress of the History of Art* 6 (1983): 167–72; Sylvia Auld, "Kuficising Inscriptions in the Work of Gentile Da Fabriano", *Oriental Art* 32, no. 3 (Autumn 1986): 246–65; Hidemichi Tanaka, "Oriental Scripts in the Paintings of Giotto's Period", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 113 (1989): 214–26.

7 Regula Berger, Matthias Frehner and Rainer Lawicki, eds., *Liechtenstein: Die Fürstlichen Sammlungen* (Munich: Hirmer, 2016), 182.

8 Auld, "Kuficising Inscriptions", and personal observations in the Collegiate Church of San Gimignano as well as the museums of Florence.

9 Christine Slottved Kimbriel and Paul Joannides, "On the Unorthodox Origin and Byzantine Journey of the Lavenham Madonna", *The Hamilton Kerr Institute Bulletin* 6 (2016): 104–15.

(r. 1444–46, 1451–81).[10] At the same time, Venetian book bindings imitated oriental leatherwork and Mamluk metalwork is referred to in Renaissance Italian inventories and paintings.[11] Abigail Brundin, Deborah Howard and Mary Laven stressed that such artefacts with their "fine inlays of silver and gold within endlessly repeating arabesque patterns created an enlivened surface that seemed to cast tiny flashes of light and gave a magical, almost talismanic potency to such articles". For such aesthetic characteristics these artefacts reminded an Italian audience "of the visual experience of the Holy Land" with is particularly bright light, as well as all its emotional connotations.[12] Venetian craftsmen, therefore, imitated oriental visual aesthetics when producing candlesticks to meet local demands.[13]

Similar observations could be made for the Habsburg domains, as well as for the Holy Roman Empire, in the sixteenth century. Ottoman textiles taken as booty during the Battle of Lepanto (1571), for instance, were held in high esteem at the Habsburg court in Madrid.[14] Tailors active in the same city specialised in manufacturing Ottoman morning gowns.[15] In the Habsburg domains in Central Europe, Ottoman artefacts were prominently referred to in the inventories of the collection of Emperor Rudolf II (r. 1576–1612) in Prague. In addition, they were known in and circulated beyond the milieu of the imperial court. Ottoman carpets were depicted in sixteenth-century German paintings such as the portrait of Ladislaus von Fraunberg (1505–66), painted by Hans Mielich (1516–73) in 1557, shortly after Ladislaus's marriage to Emilia Rovella di Pio, niece of Duke Ercole d'Este (1431–1505).[16] Building on his family's far-reaching commercial

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[10] Gülru Necipoğlu, "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.

[11] Deborah Howard, "The Role of the Book in the Transfer of Culture between Venice and the Eastern Mediterranean", in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, eds. Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 97–108; Mary Corry, Deborah Howard and Mary Laven, eds., *Madonnas and Miracles: The Holy Home in Renaissance Italy* (London and New York: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2017), 3.

[12] Abigail Brundin, Deborah Howard and Mary Laven, *The Sacred Home in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 77–78.

[13] Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?", 56–57; Victoria & Albert Museum London (V&A), 553-1865, 554-1865; The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York (MET), 17.190.637.

[14] Stefan Hanß, *Die materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571): Materialität, Medialität und die historische Produktion eines Ereignisses* (Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2017), vol. 1, 313–64.

[15] Juan de Alcega, *Tailor's Pattern Book, 1589: Facsimile*, transl. Jean Pain, Cecilia Bainton and J. L. Nevinson (Carlton: Bean, 1979), 38–39, fol. 45a–47b.

[16] Berger, Frehner and Lawicki, *Liechtenstein*, 13.

networks, Raymund Fugger (1528–69) counted Ottoman carpets among his treasured possessions, and Octavian Secundus Fugger (1549–1600), president of the council of Augsburg, owned "five Arabic and Turkish coins" as well as "two books made from Turkish paper".[17]

Oriental styles, in fact, affected sixteenth-century Habsburg and German craft cultures to an astonishing degree. The Nuremberg artist Peter Flötner (c. 1490–1546) published a volume on arabesque motifs in 1546, which vividly illustrated the fashionableness of designs associated with Ottoman textiles and ceramics.[18] In 1561, a Zurich book of popular German and Swiss textile patterns was published that contained rosette-shaped knitting patterns (*Küssemodel*) associated with Islamic architecture and Ottoman designs.[19] A considerable number of German, Austrian, Swiss and Spanish scholars collected Ottoman manuscripts and proceeded with learning oriental languages.[20] The dukes of Saxony collected Ottoman artefacts, in particular horse's harnesses.[21] In Württemberg, Stuttgart goldsmiths like Eraßmo Domus's widow went even further and following such tastes produced "Turkish harness[es]" in oriental designs. One of these items and its jewelry cost the substantial sum of 200 florins.[22] Goldsmiths active in the Southern German city of Ulm likewise imitated Ottoman motifs when producing intricate inlaid goblets. The surfaces reflected the light and their finely

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17 Fugger-Archiv Dillingen (FA), FA. 11.2, Augsburg, 30 und 31 July 1582; FA, 1.1.11; Norbert Lieb, *Octavian Secundus Fugger (1549–1600) und die Kunst* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1980), no. 393, 702.

18 Peter Flötner, *Das Kvnstbvch des Peter Flötner (…)* (Berlin: Schvster, 1882 [1549]).

19 R. M., *Nüw Modelbu[o]ch/ Allerley gattungen Da[e]ntelschnu[e]r/ so diser zyt in hoch Tütschlanden geng vnd brüchig sind/ zu[o] vnderricht jre Leerto[e]chteren vnnd allen anderen schnu[e]rwürckeren zu[o] Zürych vnd wo die sind/ yetz nüwlich zu[o]bereit (…)* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1561).

20 Stefan Hanß, "Ottoman Language Learning in Early Modern Germany", *Central European History* 54, no. 1 (2021): 1–33; idem, "Die Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert", in *Spätrenaissance in Schwaben: Wissen, Literatur, Kunst*, ed. Wolfgang Mährle (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2019), 119–46; Claire Gilbert, "Grammar of Conquest: The Spanish and Arabic Reorganization of Granada After 1492", *Past & Present* 239 (May 2018): 3–40; Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger: Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

21 Holger Schuckelt, *Die Türckische Cammer: Sammlung orientalischer Kunst in der kurfürstlich-sächsischen Rüstkammer Dresden* (Dresden: Sandstein-Verlag, 2010).

22 HStAS, A 256 Bd. 97 (1610/11), fol. 345^{v}. For comparison, gilding two pairs of spurs cost 4 florins in the same year. Cf. Stefan Hanß, *Court and Material Culture in Early Modern Germany: A Sourcebook on the Duke of Württemberg's Payments to Artisans, Stuttgart, 1592–1628* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, forthcoming).

arranged, meditative patterns created stunning visual effects (fig. XI.1).[23] These artefacts evoked the very same affective aesthetics that researchers have referred to when debating shared tastes in the early modern Mediterranean.[24] However, Habsburg examples indicating aesthetic experiences shared with the Ottoman and Muslim Mediterranean tend to be neglected so far or entirely forgotten in works studying the Holy Roman Empire's relationship with the Ottoman Empire as such historiographical debates focused either on the 'Turkish menace' or on the 'emergence of the exotic'.[25] This chapter therefore examines how the imperial embassy in Istanbul brought about the exchange of objects and fostered shared tastes in the Habsburg Mediterranean, in which the 'other' was less 'exotic' than what one might assume at first.

Fig. XI.1: Goblet, so-called *Praunsche Birne*, 1576. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, HG4062, Leihgabe von Praun'sche Familienstiftung, photograph: G. Janssen.

[23] GNM, HG 8402; GNM, HG 4062.
[24] Brundin, Howard and Laven, *Sacred Home*, 77–78.
[25] Johnson, *Cultural Hierarchy*, 231–62.

The Imperial Embassy in Istanbul: Crafting Cultures of Taste

After its celebrated victory over the Ottomans at Lepanto, contentions arose amongst the imperial elite on the question of whether the Holy Roman Empire should support the Catholic Holy League. The Habsburg imperial court in Vienna made a remarkable concession to the Protestants by appointing David Ungnad von Sonnegg (c. 1535–1600) as diplomatic envoy to Istanbul in 1572. His first major undertaking was to present the diplomatic gifts of Emperor Maximilian II (1562–76) to Sultan Selim II (1566–74). Just a few months later, Ungnad received the title of an *Orator*, becoming the first Habsburg ambassador of Lutheran faith at the Ottoman court. Residing in Istanbul between 1573 and 1578, his main task was to negotiate a new peace treaty.[26] When leaving for Istanbul, Ungnad's ambassadorial entourage numbered some sixty people, among them Austrian, Bohemian, Dutch, German, Hungarian and Silesian noblemen, secretaries, scribes, servants, chefs, watchmakers and musicians.[27]

Among those who joined the Habsburg embassy in Istanbul in 1573 was the chaplain to the embassy, Stephan Gerlach (1546–1612, fig. XI.2).[28] Trained at a famous centre of Lutheran scholarship, the University of Tübingen, Gerlach maintained his close relationship with Tübingen whilst in imperial service in Istanbul. Gerlach's papers, which are kept in the Research Library of Gotha, document his personal involvement in Ottoman culture. None other than the chancellor of the University of Tübingen, Jacob Andreae (1528–90), encouraged Gerlach to use his sojourn in Istanbul for establishing Lutheran contacts with Orthodox Christians. Andreae, himself a leading figure of Lutheran Orthodoxy and Protestant church administration, asked Gerlach to gather information on Muslim religious customs and Ottoman political rites. Gerlach was also told to study the Qur'ān, the Tübingen chancellor emphasized in a correspondence which

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[26] Andreas Ferus, *Die Reise des kaiserlichen Gesandten David Ungnad nach Konstantinopel im Jahre 1572* (Vienna: unpublished Magister thesis of the University of Vienna, 2007), 34–39; Hönisch, "David von Ungnad, Freiherr zu Sonnegg und Bleiburg, Orator an der hohen ottomanischen Pforte, k. k. Hofkriegsraths=Präsident und wirklicher geheimer Rath", *Carinthia: Zeitschrift für Vaterlandskunde, Belehrung und Unterhaltung* 76, no. 8 (1877): 169–83; Stefan Hanß, "War and Peace: Shaping Politics in Reformation Germany after the Battle of Lepanto", *The Muslim World* 107, no. 4 (October 2017): 652–64.

[27] Stephan Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage=Buch (…)* (Frankfurt a. M.: Zunner and Friesen, 1674), 5.

[28] Julius Hartmann, "Gerlach: Stephan", in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Commission bei der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 9 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1879), 23.

lasted many months.[29] Gerlach took that task seriously and initiated the first contacts between Lutheran Greek scholars based at Tübingen, most prominently Martin Crusius (1526–1607), and the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople, Jeremias II (c. 1536–95).[30]

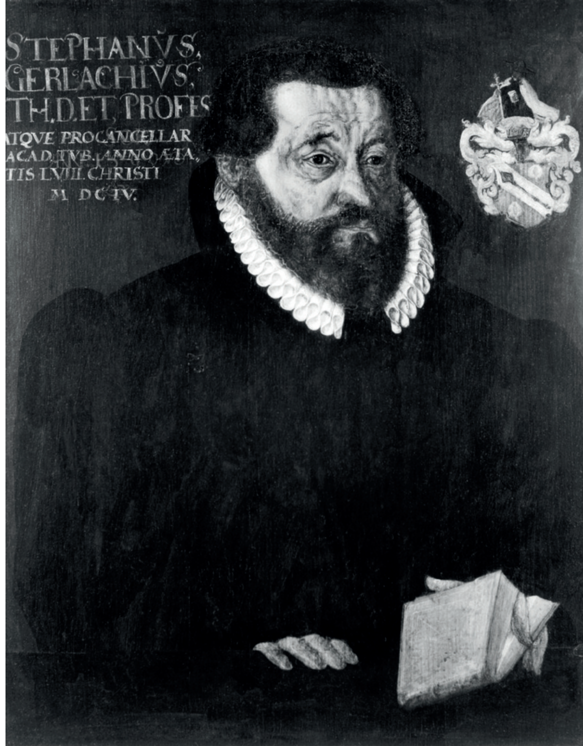

Fig. XI.2: Hans Ulrich Alt(?), *Portrait of Stephan Gerlach*, Tübingen, 1604. Oil painting. Photo Credit: Ernst Suhrkamp/ Wikimedia Commons.

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[29] Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, Universität Erfurt (FB Gotha), Chart. A 407, fol. 14r–16r, Jacob Andreae to Stephan Gerlach, Tübingen, 4 March 1574, 15 September 1574, 26 March 1575; Peter Meinhold, "Andreae, Jakob", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 1 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953), 277; Hanß, "Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien".

[30] Ernst Benz, *Wittenberg und Byzanz: Zur Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung der Reformation und der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche* (Munich: Fink, 1971 [1949]); Hildegard Schaeder, ed., *Wort und Mysterium: Der Briefwechsel über Glauben und Kirche 1573 bis 1581 zwischen Tübinger Theologen und dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1958); Dorothea Wendebourg, *Reformation und Orthodoxie: Der theologische Briefwechsel zwischen der Leitung der württembergischen Kirche und dem Ökumenischen Patriarchen Jeremias II. in den Jahren 1574–1581* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

Through his intellectual pursuits Gerlach forged a link between the German lands and Ottoman Istanbul in order to achieve the more general goal of Lutheran knowledge production. At that time, Tübingen had assembled a number of outstanding Lutheran scholars who were fascinated by the idea of generating Christian knowledge through the production, study and collection of objects.[31] And it was Gerlach and like-minded ambassadorial residents who connected that academic milieu with their interest in Ottoman craft cultures and knowledge about the material culture of Ottoman Istanbul. Through contacts with local Greek scholars like Theodosios Zygomalas (1544–1607), the chaplain collected Greek manuscripts and texts on Byzantine history. He then dispatched them from Istanbul to Tübingen where they served as important materials for Crusius's studies on the Greek Orthodox subjects of the sultan.[32]

Papers signed by Greek subjects of the Ottoman sultan rated among the most valued documents sent back from the imperial embassy to Tübingen. Crusius in particular studied these signatures with the utmost enthusiasm: he copied them with his own hand and speculated on and analysed their meanings.[33] Building on his personal notes, Crusius then published many of these signatures together with detailed explanations regarding the meanings and composition of the elaborate signatures.[34] Crusius's pupils such as Salomon Schweigger (1551–1622), Tübingen student of theology and Gerlach's successor in office in Istanbul, copied similar signatures from oriental manuscripts into their own publications.[35] Consequently, it became more widespread for Greek scholars living in the Habsburg lands to sign some of their own correspondence with similarly elaborate (pseudo) Orthodox

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[31] Ulinka Rublack, *The Astronomer and the Witch: Johannes Kepler's Fight for his Mother* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 232–39.

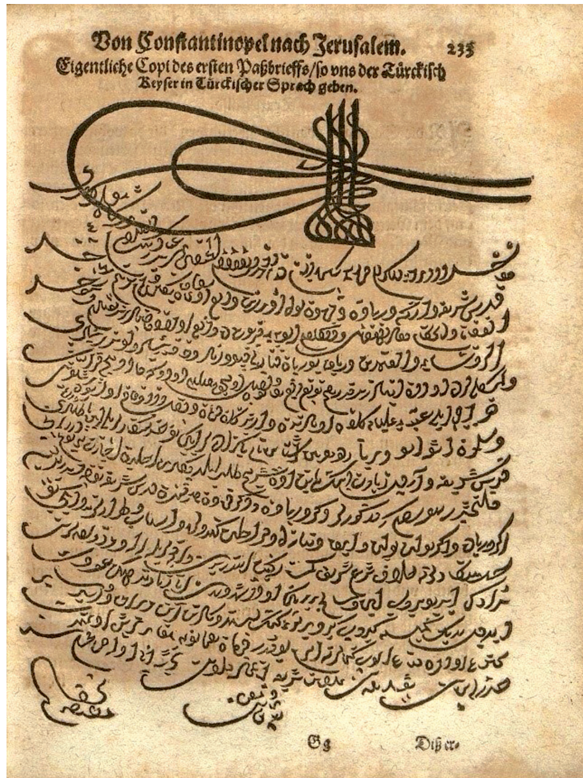
[32] Compare Gerlach's Greek material preserved in FB Gotha, Chart. A 386—some pages even contain marginalia notes of Martin Crusius—with Martin Crusius, *Tvrcograeciae libri octo (…)* (Basel: Ostein and Petri, 1584). On that comparison, cf. Hanß, "Universität Tübingen und die Anfänge osmanischer Sprachstudien"; Asaph Ben-Tov, "Turco-Graecia: German Humanists and the End of Greek Antiquity: Cultural Exchange and Misunderstanding", in *The Renaissance and the Ottoman World*, eds. Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 181–95.

[33] FB Gotha, Chart. A 407, fol. 87r–88v, Martin Crusius to Stephan Gerlach (in Istanbul), Tübingen, 18/19 March 1577.

[34] Crusius, *Tvrcograeciae*, 104, 191–92, 204, 227, 229–30, 235, 247, 258, 262, 281–82, 287, 289, 293, 295, 297, 299, 318, 331, 334, 341.

[35] Salomon Schweigger, *Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung*, 236–37; Alexander Schunka, "Schweigger, Salomon", in *Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland 1520–1620: Literaturwissenschaftliches Verfasserlexikon*, eds. Wilhelm Kühlmann et al., vol. 5 (Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), col. 590–97.

signatures. Together with pseudo-Arabic writings, some sixteenth-century German authors even assumed that such decorative signatures had magical power in rituals.[36] In addition, Crusius was also fascinated by Ottoman and Arabic signatures, seals and shorthand symbols. He meticulously copied into his diary the *tughra,* the sultan's elaborate sign from a document sent by Schweigger.[37] Years after his return to the German lands, Schweigger published a facsimile and translation of the very same document which was issued to him as the safe-conduct certificate by Ottoman authorities on occasion of a journey to Jerusalem (fig. XI.3).[38]


Von Constantinopel nach Jerusalem. 235

Eigentliche Copi des ersten Paßbrieffs/so vns der Türckisch Keyser in Türckischer Sprach geben.

Gg Diß etc.

Fig. XI.3: A safe-conduct certificate issued by Ottoman authorities on occasion of Salomon Schweigger's journey to Jerusalem. Salomon Schweigger, *Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel vnd Jerusalem (…)* (Nuremberg: Lantzberger, 1608), 233. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, 999/4Hist.pol.97g, S. 233, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb 11062310-4.

[36] Stephen Gordon, "Necromancy and the Magical Reputation of Michael Scot: John Rylands Library, Latin MS 105", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 92, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 73–103.

[37] University Library of Tübingen (UBT), Mh466, vol. 2, fol. 505. Cf. Richard Calis, "Reconstructing the Ottoman Greek World: Early Modern Ethnography in the Household of Martin Crusius", *Renaissance Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (2019): 148–93.

[38] Schweigger, *Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung*, 233–34.

These publications and lexical occupations—brought about by the activities of residents at the Habsburg imperial embassy in Istanbul where Ottoman language teachers were even reimbursed for the purchase of Ottoman manuscripts[39]—fed into the creation of a shared taste. The material nexuses were the result of both intellectual curiosity and the material culture of writing since the appearance and material properties of such documents sparked affective resonances among Habsburg subjects. Often, Ottoman signatures were written in gold or silver ink that changed its visual appearance depending on varying degrees of light irradiation.[40] The stunning appearance of these signature in terms of calligraphy and material composition attracted Ottoman and Habsburg audiences in equal measure. Oriental shorthand symbols had become a prominent element in Habsburg print culture debating the Ottoman Empire.[41] Around the same time, the handwritten documents of Protestant reformers were collected as what Ulinka Rublack has called "grapho-relics".[42] Artists as well as artisans cultivated specific skills in handwriting. Latin Schools and so-called *Schreibmeisterschulen* (schools for master scribes) trained pupils and artists in calligraphy as a bodily engagement with the sensory experience of writing and reading. Such aesthetic appreciation of the written word in the Habsburg lands, in fact, resonated with the Islamic concept of calligraphy as "haptic visuality, that is, a tactile way of seeing and knowing that engages the viewer's body in movement".[43] Therefore, Duke Ernest I of Saxe-Gotha (r. 1640–75) even commissioned an "exemplary scribe" (*Musterschreiber*) from Kassel to "make a Turkish prayer" in 1664.[44] Such shared aesthetics connecting the Holy Roman and Ottoman Empires came about through the brokering activities of ambassadorial residents and their contacts in Istanbul.

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[39] Tobias Graf, ed., *Der Preis der Diplomatie: Die Abrechnungen der kaiserlichen Gesandten an der Hohen Pforte, 1580–1583* (Heidelberg: heiBooks, 2016), 15.

[40] Mohamed Zakariya, *Music for the Eyes: An Introduction to Islamic and Ottoman Calligraphy* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Art, 1998); David J. Roxburgh, "'The Eye is Favored for Seeing the Writing's Form': On the Sensual and the Sensuous in Islamic Calligraphy", *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 275–98.

[41] *Sendbrieff/so Jbraym Wascha/den Herrn kriegßcommissarien zu[o] Wien mit seynem handtzeygen versygelt/zu[o] geschickt* (Vienna: Beham and Guldenmund, s.a. [c.1530]).

[42] Ulinka Rublack, "Grapho-Relics: Lutheranism and the Materialization of the Word", *Past & Present* 206 (January 2010): 144–66.

[43] Roxburgh, "'The Eye is Favored'", 295; Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), 143–53.

[44] Staatsarchiv Gotha (StAG), Kammerrechnungen, Nr. 26 (1663/64), fol. 123v: *6 g[ulden] Einem Musterschreiber von Cassel, so ein Türckengebet gemachet, den 26. Aug: 1664.*

These ambassadorial residents' engagement with the bookish cultures of Ottoman Istanbul, in fact, often took on a Mediterranean guise. The ambassador's Lutheran entourage had secretly provided Lutheran captives with copies of hymnbooks, prayer books and catechisms since the early 1580s.[45] This not only brought solace to the captives, but also facilitated their conversion to the Lutheran faith. In 1585, Schweigger even translated Luther's catechism into Italian which was widely spoken among the large community of captives. The translation was printed with the financial support of Duke Louis III of Württemberg (r. 1568–93). In Istanbul, the Habsburg chaplain distributed copies of the Lutheran catechism in Italian among the multi-national community of predominantly Catholic slaves and captives.[46] These activities of the Habsburg embassy staff, in turn, provoked resonances in the wider Mediterranean: in particular, the indignation of Catholic diplomatic residents. The Papal nuncio asked Emperor Rudolf II to intervene to prohibit employees of the imperial embassy from further circulating the books deemed heretical and listed on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, and was successful with his intervention.[47]

The Habsburg compound in Istanbul was a lively venue for fostering cultural contacts and exchange (fig. XI.4). Gerlach and Schweigger portrayed the residence as a large building complex guarded by Ottoman personnel, five çavuşes and four janissaries. The embassy building itself was constructed like caravanserais around an inner courtyard that accommodated a number of chambers, kitchens and stables with space for more than four hundred horses. The balustrade of the second floor gave access to the large dining and residence hall and offered a view of the courtyard and all the comings and goings down below. The windows of the residents' rooms opened to the streets as well as to the building's inner courtyard. Little stores run by craftsmen and artisans such as dressmakers, shoemakers and blacksmiths further connected the inner part of the building with the busy streets.[48]

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45 Schweigger, *Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung*, 97.

46 Idem, *Il catechesimo translatato della lingua todescha in la lingua italiana* (Tübingen: Gruppenbach, 1585); idem, *Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung*, 97; Valdo Vinay, "Die italienischen Übersetzungen von Luthers Kleinem Katechismus", in *Vierhundertfünfzig Jahre lutherische Reformation: Festschrift für Franz Lau zum 60. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 387–88.

47 Alexander Koller, ed., *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken*. Abt. 3: *1572–1585*, vol. 10: *Nuntiaturen des Orazio Malaspina und des Ottavio Santacroce: Interim des Cesare Dell'Arena (1578–1581)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), LXXIV–XV, 400–32.

48 Schweigger, *Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung*, 51–53; Gerlach, *Tage=Buch*, 20–21; UBT, Mh466, vol. 1, fol. 723.

Fig. XI.4: The imperial embassy (*elçi han*) depicted in Salomon Schweigger, *Ein newe Reyßbeschreibung auß Teutschland Nach Constantinopel vnd Jerusalem (…)* (Nuremberg: Lantzberger, 1608), 52. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, 999/4Hist.pol.97g, S. 52, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11062310-4.

Fig. XI.5: The imperial embassy (*elçi han*) sketched in Martin Crusius's diary. University Library of Tübingen, Mh466, vol. 1, fol. 723.

The residence cannot thus be considered a space of isolation and enclosure, but of contacts as well as of social and religious diversity. It was a lively space that stimulated contact between Christians, Jews and Muslims on the one hand, and between noblemen and craftsmen on the other;[49] contacts that made the Habsburg embassy a hub for the exchange of objects and a prime agent in the moulding of shared aesthetic styles and tastes. Due to its particular spatial arrangement, the embassy was defined by an atmosphere of material exchanges; an atmosphere that stirred the "affective moods" of its residents.[50] Such resonances even affected Habsburg and German subjects back home when reading about the embassy and when handling the objects which were exchanged and purchased there. In his diary, Tübingen Greek scholar Martin Crusius even inserted a sketch of the imperial embassy (fig. XI.5). When imaging himself in such a place—and judging from the dreams recorded in his diary we can safely assume that he imagined himself visiting Istanbul from time to time[51]—, Crusius could rely on his detailed knowledge of the spatial arrangement and atmosphere of the embassy. His sketch documents the degree of details that he imagined, pointing out the trade shops (*Hantwercksleden*) and the arrangement of the windows (*Fenster der Kemmerlin*). Furthermore, Crusius added to the sketch of the compound of the embassy its urban setting indicating the direction to the Orthodox Patriarchate as well as nearby ancient antiquities such as the Column of Constantine. Whilst other "Mediterranean encounters" used to take place in Galata, the quarter at the Northern shore of the Golden Horn, the imperial embassy building was located on the opposite shore, at the Ottoman Empire's cultural, religious and political centre, like the Topkapı Sarayı, near antiquities and the city's main bazaars and mosques.[52] The particular location and arrangement of this space fostered contacts across the religious divide and attuned the Habsburg ambassadorial entourage to engage with the city's material heritage and presence.

This attunement to and engagement with the material culture of Istanbul, then, made Habsburg subjects establish networks and patterns of practices that allowed the Habsburg Mediterranean to be experienced as an imaginative as

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[49] For stories exemplifying these exchanges across religious boundaries and social status, see Johannes Wild, *Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangenen Christen Anno 1604* (Stuttgart: Steingrüben-Verlag, 1964), 325–28.

[50] Böhme, *Atmosphäre*; Reckwitz, "Affective Spaces", 254.

[51] Ben-Tov, "Turco-Graecia", 181.

[52] Graf, *The Sultan's Renegades*, 97; Fariba Zarinebaf, *Mediterranean Encounters: Trade and Pluralism in Early Modern Galata* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018); Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

well as a materially lived and transmitted affective space. This engagement with Ottoman material culture, resulting from the embassy's affective atmosphere, allowed large numbers of ambassadorial residents to "form specific networks in which social practices emerge[d], reproduce[d] and evolve[d]"; "these activities are not primarily considered as discrete and intentional acts by individual agents, but rather as recurring, spreading and evolving patterns of practices which carry their agents and are at the same time carried (out) by them".[53] These patterns of social practices, originating from and articulating through the engagement with objects, shaped the realities of the Habsburg Mediterranean.

Habsburg ambassadorial residents entered a city of taste and culture, a society which was highly literate and sensitive about material culture.[54] When longing for the purchase of objects—an appetite that built upon material expectations which ambassadorial travellers had developed, trained and contributed to when travelling through Ottoman cities in the Balkans on their way to Istanbul[55]—Habsburg subjects could build upon the knowledge and diverse offers of local salesmen. Reinhold Lubenau (1556–1631), an apothecary and physician who grew up in Königsberg and had widely travelled in Europe, travelled to Istanbul to join the imperial embassy in 1573.[56] He kept personal notes that further illustrated the degree to which the Habsburg embassy stimulated an engagement with Ottoman material culture. Lubenau not only strolled through the local bazaars to purchase medicine, herbs and other natural objects, he also visited and sketched the antiquities of the city:

> I spent quite a lot of time depicting the city. […] I walked around, searching for old manuscripts and antiquities in order to describe the city, its manners, customs and religion as well as the Turk's political and spiritual affairs […].[57]

[53] Reckwitz, "Affective Spaces", 248–49, 251.

[54] Suraiya Faroqhi, *A Cultural History of the Ottomans: The Imperial Elite and its Artefacts* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2016).

[55] Gerlach, *Tage=Buch*, 7–20.

[56] Reinhold Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, ed. Wilhelm Sahm, 3 vols. (Frankfurt a. M.: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1995 [1914/1930]).

[57] Ibid., vol. 2, 66–69, here 67: *Vors andere, so habe ich eine gutte Zeit zubracht mit Abreissung der Stadt. Vors dritte bin ich herumb gangen, alte Schriften und Antiquiteten zu suchen und der Stadt Gelegenheit, Sitten Gebreuch Religion und der Turcken politisch und geistliche Sachen zu beschreiben […].*

Such activities seem to have been rather common among Habsburg ambassadorial residents in Istanbul given that quite a number of albums and sketches depicting Ottoman antiquities got commissioned in this milieu in the 1570s and 1580s. Some of these sketches even circulated in the Habsburg and German lands—in Vienna, Prague, Dresden, Heidelberg and Zurich.[58] Also Lambert de Vos—who was born in Mechelen and served Ungnad's predecessor in office, Karel Rijm (1533–84, ambassador 1570–73), as an artist in Istanbul—made an album of drawings of Ottoman customs in 1574. According to a diary entry by Gerlach, the newly arrived ambassador Ungnad commissioned De Vos to draw a prayer book for the ambassador's wife in February 1574. Among many other illustrations, De Vos also inserted sketches of Istanbul's columns into this prayer book.[59] Given that Crusius had been enthusiastic about the embassy's close proximity to the antiquities of Istanbul, it is not surprising that a great number of Habsburg visitors also went to see and study the famous ancient columns.[60]

Many residents at the Habsburg embassy experienced Istanbul on a very material level. Lubenau also purchased, produced and perceived objects just like the manuscripts or antiquities that made up his knowledge about the city. For buying "many beautiful materials and things" he got in contact with "Arabs, Jews and Turks" living in Istanbul.[61] Gerlach profited from similar channels of information and exchange. He had contacts in the centre of the Ottoman court, such as to Murad b. Abdullah, a Hungarian interpreter to the sultan.[62] Even years after his return, the duke of Württemberg approached Gerlach to provide him with a bezoar from Istanbul.[63] Just like Gerlach, Lubenau also attempted to learn some Ottoman to ensure that his access to Istanbul's material world would be as profitable and fruitful as possible. He not only relied on intermediaries and

[58] This will be discussed in more detail in my study on The Freshfield Album (work in progress).

[59] Rudolf H. W. Stichel, "Das Bremer Album und seine Stellung innerhalb der orientalischen Trachtenbücher", in *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert des Vos: Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Ms. or. 9 aus dem Besitz der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen: Kommentarband*, ed. Hans-Albrecht Koch (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1991), 36; Gerlach, *Tage=Buch*, 47.

[60] UBT, Mh466, vol. 1, fol. 723; Wild, *Reysbeschreibung*, 332–33.

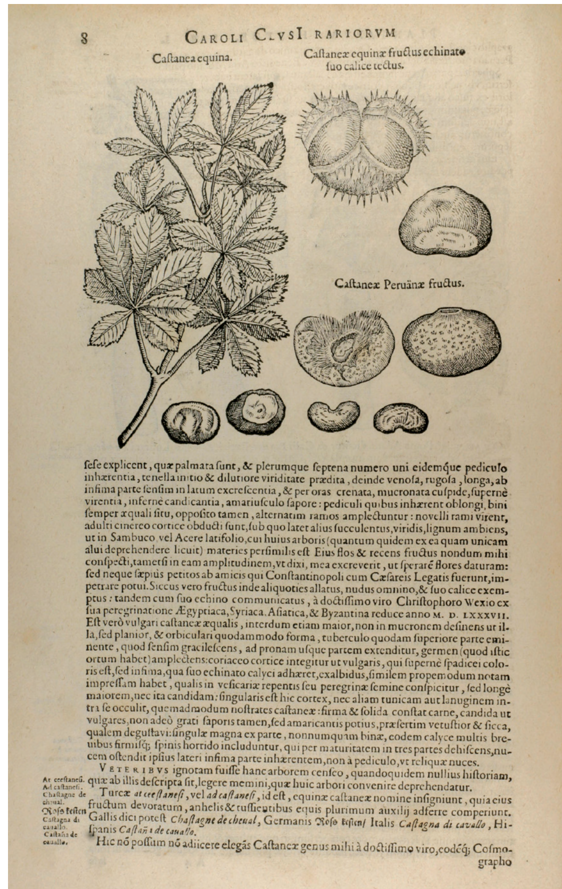
[61] Lubenau, *Beschreibung*, vol. 2, 67: *viler schoner Materialien und Sachen*; *Arabern, Juden und Turken*.

[62] Tijana Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 98–120.

[63] FB Gotha, Chart. A 407, fol. 317r, Duke Louis III of Württemberg to Stephan Gerlach, Stuttgart, 18 July 1587.

his linguistic skills but also on his own tacit knowledge when dealing with the material culture of Ottoman Istanbul:

> I therefore often had to wander and search their shops until I found what I was in need of […]. I thus mingled with the Arabs and noblest Jews and Turks. Whenever I was idle I went into their stores and searched everything they had. I made myself a special book and described all materials alphabetically in Arabic and Latin, in order to get well acquainted with them.[64]



8 CAROLI CLVSI RARIORVM

ſeſe explicent, quæ palmata ſunt, & plerumque ſeptena numero uni eidemque pediculo inhærentia, tenella initio & dilutiore viriditate prædita, deinde venoſa, rugoſa, longa, ab infima parte ſenſim in latum excreſcentia, & per oras crenata, mucronata cuſpide, ſupernè virentia, infernè candicantia, amariuſculo ſapore: pediculi quibus inhærent oblongi, bini ſemper æquali ſitu, oppoſito tamen, alternatim ramos amplectuntur: novelli rami virent, adulti cinereo cortice obducti ſunt, ſub quo latet alius ſucculentus, viridis, lignum ambiens, ut in Sambuco vel Acere latifolio, cui huius arboris (quantum quidem ex ea quam unicam alui deprehendere licuit) materies perſimilis eſt. Eius flos & recens fructus nondum mihi conſpecti, tametſi in eam amplitudinem, vt dixi, mea excreverit, ut ſperarē flores daturam: ſed neque ſæpiùs petitos ab amicis qui Conſtantinopoli cum Cæſareis Legatis fuerunt, impetrare potui. Siccus vero fructus inde aliquoties allatus, nudus omnino, & ſuo calice exemptus: tandem cum ſuo echino communicatus, à doctiſſimo viro Chriſtophoro Wexio ex ſua peregrinatione Ægyptiaca, Syriaca, Aſiatica, & Byzantina reduce anno M. D. LXXXVII. Eſt verò vulgari caſtaneæ æqualis, interdum etiam maior, non in mucronem deſinens ut illa, ſed planior, & orbiculari quodammodo forma, tuberculo quodam ſuperiore parte eminente, quod ſenſim graciléſcens, ad pronam uſque partem extenditur, germen (quod iſtic ortum habet) amplectens: coriaceo cortice integitur ut vulgaris, qui ſupernè ſpadicei coloris eſt, ſed infima, qua ſuo echinato calyci adhæret, exalbidus, ſimilem propemodum notam impreſſam habet, qualis in veſicariæ repentis ſeu peregrinæ ſemine conſpicitur, ſed longè maiorem, nec ita candidam: ſingularis eſt hic cortex, nec aliam tunicam aut lanuginem intra ſe occulit, quemadmodum noſtrates caſtaneæ: firma & ſolida conſtat carne, candida ut vulgares, non adeò grati ſaporis tamen, ſed amaricantis potius, præſertim vetuſtior & ſicca, qualem deguſtavi: ſingulæ magna ex parte, nonnumquam binæ, eodem calyce multis breuibus firmiſq; ſpinis horrido includuntur, qui per maturitatem in tres partes dehiſcens, nucem oſtendit ipſius lateri infima parte inhærentem, non à pediculo, vt reliquæ nuces.

VETERIBVS ignotam fuiſſe hanc arborem cenſeo, quandoquidem nullius hiſtoriam, quæ ab illis deſcripta ſit, legere memini, quæ huic arbori convenire deprehendatur.

Turcæ *at ceeſtaneſi*, vel *ad caſtaneſi*, id eſt, equinæ caſtaneæ nomine inſigniunt, quia eius fructum devoratum, anhelis & tuſſientibus equis plurimum auxilij adferre comperiunt. Gallis dici poteſt *Chaſtagne de cheual*, Germanis Roſs keſten/ Italis *Caſtagna di cavallo*, Hiſpanis *Caſtañ i de cauallo*.

Hic nō poſſum nō adiicere elegās Caſtaneæ genus mihi à doctiſſimo viro, eodēq; Coſmographo

At ceeſtaneſi. Ad caſtaneſi. Chaſtagne de cheual. Roſs keſten Caſtagna di cauallo. Caſtaña de cauallo.

Fig. XI.6: Clusius's illustration and description of the horse chestnut that Ungnad had sent from Istanbul. Carolus Clusius, *Rariorvm plantarvm historia (…)* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1601), 8. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, 2 Med 54#(Beibd.), S. 8, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11199942-9.

[64] Lubenau, *Beschreibung*, vol. 2, 67: *muste derwegen oft herumb lauffen und ihre Laden durchsuchen, bis ich dasselbe fandt, so mihr nohtigk wahr […]. Machte mich derwegen an die Araber und vornembsten Juden und Turcken; wan ich nichts zu thuen hatte, gingk in ihre Laden und durchsuchte alles, was sie hatten, machte mihr ein besonder Buch nach dem ABC, beschrieb alle Materialien in arabischer und lateinischer Sprachen, das ich derselben gahr kundigk wardt.*

Such statements document the general appreciation of Ottoman material culture by those living in the Habsburg imperial embassy's residence. In the late sixteenth century, European humanists and physicians had discovered the medicinal properties of the horse chestnut (*aesculus hippocastanum*) and Ungnad himself collected the plant and its fruit in Istanbul. The ambassador sent a tree to the Dutch botanist Charles de l'Écluse, better known as Carolus Clusius (1526–1609), court botanist to Emperor Maximilian II. He successfully planted the tree in Vienna and finally, having received further horse chestnuts from Istanbul, dispatched them to Brussels via the famous Antwerp printer Christophe Plantin (1520–89). Plantin also published the botanist's *Rariorvm plantarvm historia* that contained the illustration and description of the plant sent by Ungnad from Istanbul (fig. XI.6).[65] As a result, courtiers and citizens clamoured to receive and cultivate the plant in Austrian, Dutch, German and Italian gardens.

This and similar stories of material exchanges span the continental realm of the Habsburg territory and place the Habsburg imperial embassy in Istanbul at the very core of networks of exchange. Just like Ungnad or Lubenau, many members of the embassy became immersed in the material culture of Istanbul and the wider Mediterranean. Gerlach attentively observed Ottoman approaches to images and interpreted such pictorial behaviour in reference to Protestant debates about iconoclasm.[66] He also detailed the material splendour of Ottoman textiles, a vocabulary that Habsburg residents were required to understand for ceremonial purposes.[67] The amount of money spent on textiles presented to Ottoman officials and Habsburg residents in the 1580s illustrate the degree to which Habsburg ambassadors were active agents in textile trade.[68] They not only brought with them objects from the Habsburg and German lands, but also fed the material expectations of the Ottomans and thereby enacted the Habsburg Mediterranean's power of imagination and actual communication. In this diplomatic setting objects sent to and from the Habsburg and German lands met in Istanbul. Gerlach also noted the "beautiful tapestries" which hung at the gate of the ambassadorial residence on the occasion of the procession of the sultan in

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[65] Hönisch, "David von Ungnad", 172; Florike Egmond, *The World of Carolus Clusius: Natural History in the Making, 1550–1610* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 29, 67–68, 75; Carolus Clusius, *Rariorvm plantarvm historia (...)* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1601), 7–9.

[66] Gerlach, *Tage=Buch*, 56, 89, 201, 204, 259, 283, 406, 451, 462, 468, 473, 509–10, 516, 521, 524, 532.

[67] Gerlach, *Tage=Buch*, 151, 401; Peter Burschel, "Der Sultan und das Hündchen: Zur politischen Ökonomie des Schenkens in interkultureller Perspektive", *Historische Anthropologie* 15 (2007): 408–21.

[68] Graf, *Preis der Diplomatie*, 54, 65, 67–69 (see Index for *Kleidung* and *Textilien*).

January 1575.[69] Other visitors like the physician Johannes Schwarz made costume drawings whilst staying at the residence in Istanbul in 1576. He shared his sketches of the garments of the Catholic and Orthodox communities in Istanbul with noblemen and scholars upon his return. Soon, such images circulated widely and were reprinted in costume books.[70]

The Nuremberg Lutheran Stephan III Praun (1544–91), imperial secretary in Istanbul from 1562 until 1576, also made a collection of various items whilst in Istanbul. For an audience with the sultan, Praun had been given a kaftan made of cloth shot with gold and a cloth made of white damask and red, blue and green velvet. In his diary, Praun expressed his admiration for these "golden pieces" as well as Ottoman silverware and flowers.[71] Returning to Nuremberg he brought with him a bow and arrows, a leather quiver and a pair of leather shoes that were kept by his family after his death (fig. XI.7). Praun even commissioned a drawing for the family album depicting him wearing Ottoman clothes, amongst them the pair of shoes that he had purchased in Istanbul.[72] Still some years later the Nuremberg soldier Johannes Wild (born c. 1585), himself a resident at the imperial embassy, praised the *bedistan* (bazaar) of Istanbul as an "impressive store […] wherein delightful goods were sold: the works of goldsmiths and silversmiths, golden cloths beautifully enwrought with floral patterns, also velvet, silk, atlas, damask, gemstones, pearls, precious jewels as well as weapons like sabres, bows, arrows and also maids and servants who were taken captive. In sum, all you need and all you want can be bought there".[73]

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69 Gerlach, *Tage=Buch*, 77: *scho[e]nen Tapecereyen*.

70 Stichel, "Bremer Album", 40, 53; Hans Weigel, *Habitus præcipvorvm popvlorum (…)* (Nuremberg: Weigel, 1577), no. CLXXXV.

71 Friedrich von Praun, "'Was sich auf meiner Reise zugetragen, da ich, Stephan Praun von Nürnbergkh, den 20. Jenner bis 31. May, A° 1569 mit Kaysers Maximillian Pottschafft, dem Herrn Kaspar von Minckwitz von Wien zu Landt nach Constantinopel mit dem Tribut gezogen': Mitgeteilt nach den Manuskripten und Tagebüchern im Archive des Praun'schen Gesamtgeschlechts", *Mitteilungen aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* s.n. (1916), 45–62, here 62; s.n. (1917), 49–58.

72 GNM, T555; GNM, W1217; Michael Diefenbacher, "Praun (Braun, Brun)", in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 20 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2001), 677–78; Praun, "'Was sich auf meiner Reise zugetragen'".

73 Wild, *Reysbeschreibung*, 331.

Fig. XI.7: A pair of Ottoman shoes that was purchased in Istanbul and brought to Nuremberg by the imperial embassy's secretary, Stephan III Praun. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, T555, Leihgabe von Praun'sche Familienstiftung, photograph: G. Janssen.

Thus, many residents of the Habsburg embassy perceived the new environment of Istanbul with their particular interest in the city's material world that was closely connected with the broader Mediterranean; and they also contributed to the wider circulation of such Ottoman and Mediterranean objects. Lubenau, for instance, not only drew sketches of views and sites of the city, but also managed their further distribution amongst those living in the Habsburg residence. He tried to profit from his knowledge of and access to material culture as well as from his artistic skills. Lubenau observed many visiting Habsburg noblemen who did not even leave the residence for a short walk through Istanbul, but who nonetheless were keen to purchase specific items. He therefore resold many of his objects purchased in the bazaar. Lubenau also copied some of his travel writings and sketches of Istanbul which he then sold, for instance, to pilgrims. He was not the first to do so, Dionisius Knotzer, "had earned a lot of money" through similar activities during his ten years of service as the residence's major domo (*Hofmeister*).[74]

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[74] Lubenau, *Beschreibung*, vol. 2, 68–69.

Shared Aesthetics: Materializing Tastes, Styles and Experiences in the Habsburg Mediterranean

We know a number of details about objects sent by the Habsburgs to the Ottoman Empire, diplomatic gifts and the so-called *Türkenuhren,* clocks made for the Ottoman court, in particular,[75] but historians have largely neglected the early modern evidence of the everyday aspects of the cross-cultural appreciation of material and ornamental aesthetics in the Habsburg-Ottoman realms. Such shared styles were evidence of a shared taste, a phrase in tune with Anna Contadini's seminal chapter on Italian-Ottoman relationships.[76] The Habsburg Mediterranean was a space where cultures met and aesthetics merged.

This chapter shows that the imperial embassy in Istanbul was a place in which the Habsburg Mediterranean took on its material guise. This very special physical setting—in the vicinity of bazaars, mosques, palaces, residencies and shops—prompted contacts across traditional religious affiliations and across the social strata. Its atmosphere stirred ambassadorial residents to use their knowledge of and contacts in and around the city to obtain coveted items like textiles, carpets, calligraphically embellished documents, botanical seeds, albums and much more. The imperial ambassadorial residence was obviously at the very heart of a market for purchasing, producing and selling Ottoman materials and artefacts associated with Istanbul. Given the general appreciation of Ottoman material culture shared by many of the Habsburg residents, such items were in high demand. They were brought back by travellers; in the Habsburg and German lands, Ottoman objects mesmerised Habsburg subjects and inspired them to spend considerable sums of money to either purchase such items or to commission objects in Oriental styles. "Trading Eurasia", in that sense, became a practice which expressed and modulated emotions, social status and erudition through desires and luxury.[77] 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.

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75 Most recently, see Barbara Karl, "Objects of Prestige and Spoils of War: Ottoman Objects in the Habsburg Networks of Gift-Giving in the Sixteenth Century", in *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*, eds. Giorgio Riello, Anne Gerritson and Zoltán Biedermann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 119–49.

76 Contadini, "Sharing a Taste?".

77 Bevilacqua and Pfeifer, "Turquerie", 85; John-Paul A. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Maxine Berg et al., eds., *Goods from the East, 1600–1800: Trading Eurasia* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

In that shared material world, Habsburg residents in Istanbul contributed to the circulation of objects and thereby shaped the crafting of cross-cultural styles, which can hardly be described as mere 'Oriental styles'. On the contrary, we need to look at the shared aesthetic experiences that were linked with such consumerism; experiences that constituted the Habsburg Mediterranean as an affective space. What were the joys of desiring and seeing and touching such artefacts? How were they perceived, talked about, sought out and purchased?[78] What did it actually mean to embrace the capacities of these luxury and foreign goods, as well as everyday commodities, to prompt imaginations? This approach leads us away from more traditional approaches to *Stilfragen* and the related quest for origins,[79] and makes us look for the presence of shared styles and related aesthetic experience(s). In his seminal publications, Ernst H. Gombrich has shown that styles do not only result from habits of how to articulate experience, but they also shape people's habits and their experiences.[80] This is how flows of objects evolved and led to movements, networks and patterns of practices that shaped the Habsburg Mediterranean as an affective space. Shared aesthetic styles, practices and experiences bred familiarity; and the imperial embassy in Istanbul, as a microcosm of the Habsburg Mediterranean, fuelled such wider connections.

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78 Evelyn S. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy, 1400–1600* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005).

79 Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* (Berlin: Siemens, 1893).

80 Ernst H. Gombrich, "The Force of Habit", in *The Essential Gombrich: Selected Writings on Art and Culture*, ed. Richard Woodfield (London: Phaidon, 1996), 223–56; Ernst H. Gombrich, "The Psychology of Styles", in ibid., 257–93.