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The Ottoman Empire in Early Modern Austrian
History: Assessment and Perspectives

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Abstract

This paper discusses the over-focalisation on the Mediterranean area of historians of the early modern Euro-Ottoman relationship and it offers a critical assessment of the numerous studies conducted by historians of the Habsburg Monarchy over thirty years. It shows that the histories of the Austrian monarchy and of the Ottoman Empire were interdependent and that war is a marginal element in their relationship. This paper emphasises the political use of the Ottoman history by Austrian scholars from Hammer-Purgstall's essential enterprise to the violent contestation of Samuel Huntington and his civilizational pattern. Cultural history, trade and diplomacy appear as the three ways of the Austrian historiographical shift, which nevertheless calls nowadays for a more pragmatic approach.

Keywords

Austria, Early Modern Europe, Historiography, Ottoman Empire, Trans-imperial History.

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Max Weber Fellow, 2013-2014

Introduction: a discrepancy

The relationship between Europe and the Ottoman Empire can no longer be restricted to the Mediterranean, regarding Central Europe as a peripheral issue, if only because, today, it is mostly ‘the Turk’ who shapes the official memory of the Austrian successor states. From the conquest of the Kingdom of Hungary in 1526 to the last Austro-Turkish War in 1791, the Ottoman Empire took part in the history, State building, economic development, social change and cultural trends of the Austrian commonwealth. While it has remained on the fringes of global history, over the past thirty years the study of Austro-Ottoman relationships has been the subject of a radical shift in the historiography.¹ This paper thus proposes to present the outcomes of this shift and to put a stress on the new perspectives regarding current approaches to ‘trans-imperial history’.²

Several reasons can explain the discrepancy between a prolific local history and the lack of attention paid to it by trans-imperial historians. On the one hand, Austro-Ottoman history developed in parallel with global history with almost no interaction between the two. If Austrian historians and their publishers targeted, above all, the German-speaking scholars and public of Central European markets, trans-imperial historians preferred to direct their topic beyond the German market, which was saturated by works on twentieth-century history. It was only in 2011 that Paula Sutter Fichtner offered the first assessment in English of the last three decades of historiography, although she is a specialist in religion.³ Nevertheless, global history remains largely an English-speaking discipline and German is not an exotic enough language to persuade historians to pay attention to this history. More broadly, this issue fits in with the lack of linguistic – and maybe intellectual – diversity in academia, which leads to a homogenization of the research and its issues. Hence, the geography of the early modern relationships between Europe and the Muslim world is still limited to that defined first by Fernand Braudel and then by Edward Saïd.⁴

On the other hand, regarding the exchanges between Europe and the Muslim world, the volume of sources produced by Mediterranean societies has led to an over concentration on a few cities, such as Venice, Livorno and Smyrna. Only a few historians, such as Traian Stoianovich, were able to keep their distance from this phenomenon and balance the relative weight of maritime and continental societies in Early Modern Ottoman history.⁵ Both better access to the Ottoman materials in Istanbul, and the earlier works of Ottomanists, confirm the necessity to reshape the historiographical approach and to read the Viennese documentation.⁶ The city of Trieste certainly offers the most relevant example of this. If Mediterranean historians read the archives recorded in the port city, they

¹ Thomas M. Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent : Vienna's Second Turkish Siege and its Historical Background* (Albany, 1967) ; *Österreich und die Osmanen : Prinz Eugen und seine Zeit*, ed. Karl Gutkas, Erich Zöllner (Vienna, 1988) ; (*Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789 : Klonflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heiss, Grete Klingenstein (Munich, 1983) ; *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen*, ed. Andreas Tietze (Vienna, 1985). Bertrand M. Buchmann, *Österreich und das Osmanische Reich : eine bilaterale Geschichte* (Vienna, 1999).

² Mostly Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople. Nation, Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore, 2006) ; Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers. The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, 2009); Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (Oxford, 2011), E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire. Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Cornell, 2011) and Sebouh Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean: the Global Trade Network of Armenian Merchants from New Julfa* (Berkeley, 2011).

³ Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration : The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1529-1850* (London, 2008).

⁴ Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949) and Edward Saïd, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

⁵ Traian Stoianovich, ‘The conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant’, *Journal of Economic History* 20 (1960), p. 234-313.

⁶ Karl Teply, *Türkische Sagen und Legenden um die Kaiserstadt Wien* (Vienna, 1980); Surayia Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World around It* (London 2006). Markus Koller, *Eine Gesellschaft im Wandel, Die Osmanische Herrschaft in Ungarn im 17. Jahrhundert, 1606-1683* (Stuttgart, 2010).

usually ignore the hundreds of boxes of its administrative records in the Austrian National Archives in Vienna.⁷

Last but not least, Western and Central Europe not only continue to be separated by an historiographical iron curtain, but are also deeply divided from within. Academic institutional divisions play an active role in this process. Within the University of Vienna the distribution of the fields of expertise and the lack of cooperation between the *Institut für Geschichte* (cultural and political history), the *Institut für Osteuropäische Forschung* (economic and social history) and the *Institut für Orientalistik* (Middle-East civilisations) does not really allow for a global approach on early modern Austro-Ottoman exchanges.⁸ The *Institut für Orientalistik* and the Austrian Academy of Sciences both try to offer a more integrated and comprehensive outlook on the topic, however there is little space for them to develop in the Austrian academic world, which is strongly dependent on the University of Vienna.⁹ However, the University of Graz, which claims Hammer-Purgstall's legacy, has initiated several very productive collaborations with South-western European scholars, and recent international conferences in Central Europe, like that in Alba Iulia in April 2013, show the necessity to integrate research coming from the main central universities.¹⁰

Foundation

The first stone in the classic Austrian history of the Ottoman Empire was laid at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Joseph Hammer-Purgstall, whose impressive works are the legacy of the Oriental Academy of Vienna, established in 1754.¹¹ According to him the rise of Austrian Ottoman history is contemporary to the development in relations between Vienna and Istanbul; this shapes them with an official narrative, developed and written within the political milieu of imperial diplomacy on the Bosphorus and useful to the management of Turkish affairs.

The conquest of Belgrade by Suleiman in 1521, and the death of the king of Hungary during the Battle of Mohács in 1526, sent Austria to war in order to protect the Holy Roman Empire against the Turks, as well as to defend Habsburg claims to the Hungarian Crown. In 1541, Hungary was divided into three parts, shared between the Sultan, the Emperor and the Prince of Transylvania. This imperfect compromise was continually renegotiated, militarily and diplomatically, until 1683.¹² For efficiency's sake, imperial diplomats needed to establish a specific knowledge of their enemy. According to the official narrative, developed within the imperial administration at the end of the

⁷ Oesterrichisches Staatsarchiv, Finanz und Hofkammerarchiv, Neue Hofkammer, Kommerz, Akten, Litorale, 685-1117. See also, *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest. Die Tagebücher des Gouverneurs Karl Graf Zinzendorf, 1776-1782*, ed. Grete Klingenstein, Eva Faber and Antonio Trampus (Vienna, 2009).

⁸ The most relevant is the absence of the Ottoman Merchants from the global assessment on the Austro-Ottoman history offered by the *JfG* in 2004: *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie in der Neuzeit*, ed. Marlene Kurz, Martin Scheutz, Karl Vocelka and Thomas Winkelbauer (Vienna, 2005). On the opposite see *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Faroqhi Suraiya and Veinstein Gilles (Paris, 2008), p. 97-131.

⁹ *Vienna, Porta Orientis*, ed. Dieter Hornig, Johanna Borek and Johannes Feichtinger (Rouen, 2013).

¹⁰ In particular *Die Griechen und Europa. Außenund Innensichten im Wandel der Zeit*, ed. Harald Heppner and Olga Katsiardi-Hering (Vienna, 1998) and *Economy and Society in Central and Eastern Europe. Territory, population, consumption*, ed. Daniel Dumitran and Valer Moga (Münster, 2013).

¹¹ Victor Weiß von Starkenfels, *Die kaiserlich-königliche Orientalische Akademie, zu Wien, ihre Gründung, Fortbildung und gegenwärtige Einrichtung* (Vienna, 1839); Ernst Dieter Petritsch, 'Die Wiener Turkologie vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert', in *Germano-Turcica. Zur Geschichte des Türkisches-Lernens in den deutschsprachigen Ländern*, ed. Klaus Kreiser (Bamberg, 1987), p. 25-40; Helga Tschugguel, *Österreichische Handelskompagnien im 18. Jahrhundert und die Gründung der Orientalischen Akademie als ein Betrag zur Belebung des Handels mit dem Orient* (thesis, University of Vienna, 1996); *250 Jahre: Von der Orientalischen zur Diplomatischen Akademie in Wien*, ed. Oliver Rathkolb (Innsbruck, 2004) and David Do Paço, 'Vienne, place politique orientale de l'Europe du XVIII^e siècle', *Austriaca, Cahiers universitaires d'information sur l'Autriche* 74 (2013), p. 59-78.

¹² Gabor Agoston, 'Ottoman Conquest and the Ottoman Military Frontier in Hungary', in *A Millennium of Hungarian Military History*, ed. Béla Király and László Veszprémy (New York, 2002), p. 85-110; Kemal Çiçek, 'Second Siege of Vienna and the Retreat from Central Europe (1682-1703)', in *The Turks*, vol. 3, ed. Hasan Celal Guzel, C.Cem Oguz, Osman Karatay (Ankara, 2002), p. 387-404.

eighteenth century, Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq was sent twice to the Sublime Porte to establish respect for the border defined in 1540 by Suleiman. During his mission, he collected Turkish, Arabic and Persian, as well as Greek, manuscripts and included the Ottoman world in the German Renaissance. An important group of these manuscripts was recorded in the Imperial Library of Vienna and added to the early printed books brought out from Hungary after the Battle of Mohács. Ghislain de Busbecq appears to have been the founding father of Austrian orientalism.¹³

After the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and the establishment of permanent embassies, imperial Turkish diplomacy institutionalized its scholarly duties. It was no longer the ambassador but the secretary of the legation who was in charge, more or less officially, of extending knowledge of the East for the benefit of the State. Yet, in 1674, still according to the administrative narrative, an Italian merchant in the East and imperial professor of Oriental languages, Gian Battista Podestà, went back to Pera with the Internuncio Peter Hoffmann von Ankerson. Familiar with Ottoman society, Podestà taught Turkish and Arabic at the University of Vienna and took part in the first Imperial Oriental company established, in 1665, and directed by another Italian, Leilo De Luca. Podestà's mission is the second foundational moment in Austrian orientalism.¹⁴ Just like Ghislain de Busbecq, or the French secretary Antoine Galland, Podestà continued to gather Ottoman documents and also contributed to the development of the basic *Lexicon Arabico-Persico-Turcicum* of François Mesgnien Meninski, first published in 1680.¹⁵

Hence, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the imperial embassy of Pera was the place to learn the languages of the Orient and to begin a career in the imperial administration. Jesuits managed an informal school, which began to receive students from Germany, and ensured the freedom of imperial diplomacy from the dragoman families of Pera, the usual interpreters of the European Christian states. The opening of the Oriental Academy of Vienna in 1754 was the last step in gaining this administrative independence. It came alongside the nomination of the count Wenzel Kaunitz as Chancellor of State in 1753 and the acceleration of State reforms undertaken in 1748. The Jesuit Father Joseph Franz was called to become the first director of the Academy and to provide the monarchy with administrators shaped to manage oriental affairs. Academicians were placed directly under the protection of Kaunitz, which guaranteed them upward mobility, while, at the same time, reinforcing his social patronage and his ministerial position. So, the scholarly duties of the Academy occupied a secondary position.¹⁶

Other careers, however, ended more quickly than expected. Joseph Hammer-Purgstall entered the Oriental Academy in 1789, but when his patron, Philipp Cobenzl, fell out of favour around 1792 his own journey to Istanbul was delayed. In Vienna, despite everything, he maintained a scholarly and academic position. His experience, his excellent orientalist knowledge, and the long period that he spent in organising the archives of the Chancellery of State, meant that he was able to give Austrian scholars the translation of many important oriental documents, as well as several extracts of both

¹³ Ignace Dallle, *Un européen chez les Turcs : Auger Ghislain de Busbecq* (Paris, 2008).

¹⁴ Victor Weiß, *Die kaiserlich-königliche Orientalische Akademie, zu Wien, ihre Gründung, Fortbildung und gegenwärtige Einrichtung* (Vienna, 1839), p. 3.

¹⁵ Franz Babinger, 'Die türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstall', *Die Welt der Islam* 7 (1919), p. 103-129. Weiß V., *Die kaiserlich-königliche Orientalische Akademie...*, p. 18-19; *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften ans Goldene Horn*, ed. Karl Teply (Stuttgart, 1968) and Dominique Bourel, 'Die deutsche Orientalistik im 18. Jahrhundert. Von der Mission zur Wissenschaft', in *Historische Kritik und biblischer Kanon in der deutschen Aufklärung*, ed. Henning Reventlow, Walter Sparn and John D. Woodbridge (Wiesbaden, 1988), p. 113-126; Fichtner P. S., *Terror and Toleration*, p.118-119.

¹⁶ Ernst Dieter Petritsch, 'Die Anfänge der Orientalischen Akademie', in Rathkolb O., *250 Jahre*, p. 47-64. Renate Zedinger, 'Vom Sprachknaben zum Internuntius Freiherr Heinrich Christoph von Penckler (1700–1774) im diplomatischen Dienst an der Hohen Pforte', in *Kuppeln – Korn – Kanonen. Unerkannte und unbekanntene Spuren in Südosteuropa von der Aufklärung bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. Ulrike Tischler-Hofer, Renate Zedinger (Innsbruck, 2010), p. 215-242 and *Linguarum orientalium, turcicae, arabicae, persicae institutiones, seu Grammatica turcica... cujus singulis capitibus praecepta linguarum arabicae et persicae subjiciuntur opera, typis et sumptibus Francisci a Mesgnien Meninski* (Vienna, 1780). See also Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford, 2009) and Katja Maria Knoll, *Neue Eliten im Staatsdienst : die Sprachknaben der Orientalischen Akademie von 1753/54 bis 1777* (Diplomarbeit from the University of Graz, 2009).

Evliya Çelebi and Ahmet Resmi Efendi's travelogues, some of them incorporated within the ten volumes of his *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, published between 1827 and 1835. Such a monument of Ottoman history is the main evidence of the excellence of the Austrian orientalist School, directly stemming from the Oriental Academy and the imperial administration. The large European audience for Hammer-Purgstall's works led to him becoming the head of the Academy of Sciences in 1847, where he was one of the founding fathers. He made Ottoman studies a classic feature of Austrian research and academics.¹⁷

Narrative

After Hammer-Purgstall's death, Ottoman history developed a more and more significant political use of history in the age of the nationalism. Following Adolf Beer or Heinrich von Srbik's examples, Ottoman history was included within the history of the Austrian monarchy.¹⁸ This provided the opportunity to glorify Habsburg policy in the East, especially during the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780), in order to justify Franz Joseph's political and economic ambitions in the Balkans. After the dismemberment of the Austrian Empire in 1918, and because it was supposed to evoke a kind of ideal of German greatness, Ottoman history was progressively turned to serve Nazi policy and its narrative.¹⁹ Srbik, who was an NSDAP member of the Parliament of Greater Germany, fits thoroughly into this development. Hence, a powerful revival of classic Austrian orientalism characterized the Nazi period. Following the lead of Srbik, in 1942, Herbert Hassinger wrote the inaugural study of the first Oriental company.²⁰ In 1940, Reinhardt Bachofen von Echt, a historian of hunting, offered the current classic edition of Hammer-Purgstall's memoirs, and the Nazi administration of the Austrian National Archives gathered the private and precious correspondence exchanged by Philipp Cobenzl and Peter Herbert, in Vienna and Istanbul in 1779 and 1802.²¹

The collapse of the Third Reich only partially set up a 'new deal' in historiography. First of all, the editions of Ottoman sources continued in the best tradition of Hammer-Purgstall. The new translation and edition of Evliya Celebi's journey to Vienna by Richard Kreutel, in 1953, is one of the main examples, showing that Austrian orientalists paid new and precise attention to Islam for its own sake.²² For Andreas Tietze, who left Austria for Istanbul in 1937, it was clearly a way to break with the Nazi legacy.²³ His transcriptions and translations from Osmanlı offered new and genuine materials

¹⁷ Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Grengänger zwischen Orient und Okzident*, ed. Hans D. Galter (Graz, 2008). Sybille Wentkler, 'Hammer-Purgstall als Homo Politicus im Spiegel seiner Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben' in *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. Kurz M., Scheutz M., Vocelka K. and Winkelbauer T., p. 515-523; *Des türkischen Gesandten Resmi Ahmet Efendi Gesandtschaftliche Berichte von seinen Gesandtschaften in Wien im Jahre 1757, und in Berlin im Jahre 1763. Aus dem türkischen Originale übersetzt mit erläuternden Anmerkungen*, ed. Joseph Hammer Purgstall (Berlin/Settin, 1809); *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the seventeenth century, by Evliya Efendi*, ed. Joseph Hammer Purgstall (London, 1834-1850); Gabor Agoston, 'Politics and Historiography: the Development of Turkish and Balkan Studies in Hungary and the Hungarian Research Institute in Istanbul', in *The Turks*, vol. 4, ed. Hasan Celal Guzel, C. Cem Oguz, Osman Karatay (Ankara, 2002), p. 708-713.

¹⁸ Adolf Beer, *Die orientalische Politik Österreichs seit 1774* (Prague, 1883); Heinrich von Srbik, *Der staatliche Exporthandel Österreichs von Leopold I. bis Maria Theresia* (Vienna, 1907). See also Josef Dullinger, 'Die Handelskompagnien Österreichs nach dem Orient und nach Ostindien in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirthschaftsgeschichte* 7 (1900), p. 44-83.

¹⁹ Ekkehard Ellinger, *Deutsche Orientalistik zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus 1933-1945* (Schwetzigen, 2006).

²⁰ Herbert Hassinger, 'Die erste Wiener orientalische Handelskompagnie 1667-1683', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 35 (1942), p. 1-53. See also, Arno Mehlan, 'Die Wirtschaftliche Aussenhandelsverflechtung Süd-osteuropas', *Osteuropa* 13 (1838), p. 524-40 and 'Die Handelsstrassen des Balkans während der Türkenzeit', *Südostdeutsche Forschungen* 4 (1939), p. 243-96.

²¹ Josef Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben, 1774-1852*, ed. Reinhardt Bachofen von Echt (Vienna/Leipzig, 1940) and OeStA, HHStA, Statenabteilungen, Türkei V, 18-19.

²² *Im Reiche des goldenen Apfels. Des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliya Çelebi denkwürdige Reise in das Giaurenland un in die Stadt und Festung Wien anno 1665*, ed. Richard F. Kreutel (Vienna, 1953).

²³ *Humanist and scholar: essays in honor of Andreas Tietze*, ed. Heath W. Lowry and Donald Quataert (Istanbul/Washington, 1993); Andreas Tietze, *The Koman riddles and Turkic folklore* (Berkeley, 1966); *Id.*, 'The poet as

to historians, free from the administrative focus of the previous works. He also moved the focus from politics to religious and cultural matters, and opened a window on interdisciplinary approaches. Karl Teply fits in very well with this. He confirmed the new interest in very early modern Austro-Ottoman relations, to the detriment of the eighteenth century, and in opening up a dialogue between history, ethnology and linguistics this, at last, demonstrated an increasing sensitivity for the ex-Ottoman minorities in Central Europe.²⁴ Indeed, his works on the Armenian community in Vienna, and Natan Gelber's earlier work on the Sephardic Jews in the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780), called for a history of the subjects of the Sultan in the Austrian monarchy, as well as matching the need to remember the ethnic and national minorities of the second half of the century.²⁵ In fact, the pair partially realised the early wish of Ferdinand Tremel to consider the social and economic history of Ottomans in the Habsburg monarchy.²⁶

At the beginning of the 1980s, the histories of the Ottoman Empire in Central Europe were of the classic school, dealing with the Austrian Turkology tradition of translating and publishing under the patronage of Hammer-Purgstall, as well as opening up to cultural fields, following the pattern of the interdisciplinary approaches of European historical science. None the less, the commemorative publications and scientific events for the 200th anniversary of the Turkish Siege of Vienna engaged for good the shift in the historiography, fitting in with the linguistic turn.

Türkenbild

Jan Paul Niederkorn evaluated this shift retrospectively as recently as 2004 and the first collective publications of the 1980s seem to be in tune with the contemporary book market. The shift has been addressed by only a few Turkologists, and largely by a new generation of historians of the Austrian monarchy, such as Gernot Heiss, Grete Klingenstein or Erich Zöllner. Although they seize the opportunity to take up a position in an attractive area, they also restore much respectability and legitimacy to Austro-Ottoman history.²⁷

Austrian *Türkenbild* studies are contemporary with Edward Saïd's essay on orientalism. Nevertheless, this connection was not made in the early 1980s and Saïd does not appear in the Austrian bibliography before the 1990s and the debate on the clash of civilisations. Maximilian Grothaus took an active part in the insertion of cultural issues into Austro-Ottoman history.²⁸ His works make the connection with classical Turkish studies and history and clearly evoke the global evolution of European cultural studies and the contribution of the linguistic turn. Turkey is a part of the culture of the Austrian nobility and its representations confirm the proximity of the two worlds. The patronage of Prince Eugene of Savoy is one of the most clear.²⁹ For both the Jansenists and the libertines, Islam and the Ottoman socio-political model are nothing but a set of subtle references to contest Catholicism and the conservative Austrian party. During the eighteenth century, the Ottoman

(Contd.)

critique of society. A 16th century Ottoman poem', *Turcica* 9/1 (1977), p. 120 – 160; *Id. Principles and practice of editing Ottoman texts in historical perspective* (Paris, 1988).

²⁴ Karl Teply, *Der Löwe von Temeschwar: Erinnerungen an Ca'fer Pascha den Älteren aufgezeichnet von seinem Siegelbewahrer' Ali*, ed. Richard F. Kreutel and Karl Teply (Graz, 1981) ; *Kara Mustafa vor Wien, 1683 aus der Sicht türkischer Quellen*, ed. Karl Teply (Graz, 1982).

²⁵ Karl Teply, 'Die erste armenische Kolonie in Wien', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 28 (1973), p. 105-118 and Natan M. Gelber, 'The Sephardic Community in Vienna', *Jewish Social Studies* 10/4 (1948), p. 359-396.

²⁶ Ferdinand Tremel, 'Die Griechenkolonie in Wien im Zeitalter Maria Theresias', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 51 (1964), p. 108-115. See also Josef Winkler, 'Wien und die Entwicklung des Donauhandels', *Mitteilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft Wien* 15 (1872), p. 72-92.

²⁷ As an assesment: ed., *Auf den Spuren der Osmanen in der österreichischen Geschichte*, ed. Inanc Feigl, Valeria Heuberger, Manfred Pittoni, Kerstin Tomenendal (Francfort-sur-le-Main, 2002).

²⁸ Maximilian Grothaus, *Der „Erbfeindt christlichen Namens“*. *Studien zum Türkenfeindbild in d. Kultur d. Habsburgermonarchie zwischen 16. u. 18. Jh.* (Graz, 1986).

²⁹ Cerutti Simona, 'Parcours karstiques. Gerolano Motta, Turc d'Anatolie à Turin au XVIII^e siècle', in *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe. Volume 1 : Une intégration invisible*, ed. Jocelyne Dakhlia and Bernard Vincent (Paris, 2011), p. 195-228.

Empire was adapted and transformed in accordance with the cultural patterns of the imperial aristocracy. In addition, as president of the Aulic Council, Prince Eugene gathered in his own hands both economic and political Turkish affairs at the same time that he integrated Islam into his ideal of man of the century, just as Ghislain de Busbecq had done before him.³⁰

The Orient is part of the social capital of the nobility, who strategically handled the *Turkenbild*. According to Jan Paul Niederkorn, from the beginning of the Ottoman wars, the Turk was an excuse for the Emperor to reinforce his authority over his vassals, the church, the Estates and the autonomous cities.³¹ In the sixteenth century, as a protector of the Holy Roman Empire, Ferdinand I re-established respect for the Empire in Germany, while the Turkish threat allowed the Habsburgs to create new taxes and to thwart the spread of the Reformation. War and its related taxation were steps in establishing the Austrian *absoluta potestas* in the Central European Renaissance. Leopold I handled the Ottoman Empire in a different way. After the Ottoman Siege of 1683, he gathered the aristocracy around him and shared both glory and conquests. Some German families, like the Liechtensteins or the Schwarzenbergs, took considerable advantage in the Turkish wars of 1683-1699 and 1713-1718, by fighting as part of the imperial troops and financing Leopold and his successors' ambitions. In 1719, the imperial 'immediacy' – *Reichsunmittelbarkeit* – rewarded the Liechtensteins and turned them into one of the most powerful families of the Austrian monarchy.³²

Nevertheless, such a political strategy became less and less efficient after the Treaty of Passarowitz of 1718, which entailed the standardization of Austro-Ottoman political relations. Familiar to the Austrian social elite, the Ottoman Orient remained an element of the social positioning of the imperial nobility.³³ Oriental literature, clothes or weapons were integrated into her material culture and reshaped the Viennese cosmology. Karl Teply's studies on the introduction of coffee into the imperial residence put a stress on an elaborate political and cultural narrative.³⁴ In 1683 an Armenian merchant found some coffee sacks at the deserted camp of Kara Mustafa and brought them with him to the city, where he eventually received, from Leopold, the privilege to trade, to sell and to cook Turkish coffee. Teply demonstrates that this legend was written by an Austrian Piarist one century later, when coffee had become fully integrated into urban Viennese gastronomy. In such a process of appropriation, coffee is a trophy and also a totem. It refers to the imperial victory of 1683 and it orientalizes Austria, now in possession of one of the elements that supposedly defined Ottoman identity, according to the Viennese cultural background. Vienna defeated and appropriated the Orient and allowed the Austrian monarchy to rule the East.³⁵

Trade

The cultural domestication of the Turks was fuelled by the development of Ottoman trade in Central Europe. The classic history of Austro-Ottoman trade is based on the point of view of a cameralist, and was still the main historiographical approach according to imperial and Nazi works. Little distance is maintained between political theory and reality, as if the world had an obligation to correspond to the way that it is thought about. According to Philipp Hönig's essay, *Österreich über alles, wenn es nur will*, published in 1684, just after the battle of Vienna, the Central European

³⁰ Ignace Dalle, *Un européen chez les Turcs : Auger Ghislain de Busbecq* (Paris, 2008).

³¹ Jan Paul Niederkorn, 'Argumentationsstrategien für Bündnisse gegen die Osmanen in Gesandtschaftsberichten', in *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie*, Kurz M., Scheutz M., Vocolka K., Winkelbauer T., p. 205-212.

³² Eric Hassler, *La cour de Vienne, 1680-1740. Service de l'Empereur et stratégies spatiales de l'élite nobiliaire dans la monarchie des Habsbourg* (Strasbourg, 2013). *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620 bis 1740. Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismusparadigmas*, ed. Petr Mat'á and Thomas Winkelbauer (Vienna, 2006) ; Jeroem Duindam, 'Nobert Elias und die frühneuzeitliche Hof. Versuch eine Kritik und Weiterführung', *Historische Anthropologie* 6 (1998), p. 370-387.

³³ Claudius Caravias, *Die Moschee an der Wien. 300 Jahre islamischer Einfluss in der Wiener Architektur*, (Vienna, 2008).

³⁴ Karl Teply, *Die Einführung des Kaffees in Wien : Georg Frank Koltschitzky, Johannes Diodato, Isaak de Luca* (Vienna, 1980) and *Id., Die Anfänge des Wiener Kaffeehauses - Fakten kontra Legenden. Von Wiens erster armenischer Kolonie* (Vienna, 1974).

³⁵ David Do Paço, 'Comment le café devint viennois. Métissage et cosmopolitisme urbain dans l'Europe du XVIII^e siècle', *Hypothèse* 16 (2012), p. 331-342.

collapse of the Ottoman Empire should give Austria the opportunity to extend its trade.³⁶ Eighteenth-century cameralists used to marginalize the role of Turkey in that process, promoting relations with Western Europe and presenting Hungary in an almost colonial perspective, a cul-de-sac of the Austrian economy, providing Vienna with wine, beef and corn. Robert-Tarik Fischer marks a certain distance from those classical approaches.³⁷ The publication of Karl Zinzendorf's *Journal* and some very local studies on Vienna, like that of David Do Paço, or on the eighteenth-century Hungarian-Ottoman border, like that of Benjamin Landais, put a stress on the involvement of the ministers in the Ottoman trade and the flow of this trade by sea, as well as all along the Danube.³⁸ Ottoman merchants even constituted a very lively community in several cities of the Austrian commonwealth and, first of all, in Vienna.³⁹

Nevertheless, any history of those merchants has been dismissed nowadays by the approaches surrounding ethnic and religious identity, at the fore in diaspora studies. Indeed, according to Moriz Csáky, this arises from the affirmation of the reinvention of the cultural diversity of Vienna and the Austrian monarchy, and each historian promotes the memory of a particular community, first described as a nation and then as a diaspora.⁴⁰ The current postmodernist ideology fully strengthens community approaches. According to the works of Karl Teply or Olga Katsiardi-Hering, singling out particular groups for their supposed ethnic, religious or national features has been relevant to understanding the role of the private trading companies and their go-between positions, between a local privileged bourgeoisie and the central power.⁴¹ But the issue is a methodological one, and lies in the choice of criteria, which determined the group. Actually, legal historians, like Willibald Plöchl, demonstrated that the distinction that the Austrian administration made between Muslim – so-called *Türken* – Jewish, Armenian and Greek Ottomans was nothing but a late process of confessionalisation, which the particular religious communities of the Holy Roman Empire have undergone since the fifteenth century, as was confirmed in eighteenth century Vienna.⁴² In that sense, the supposed

³⁶ Martina Bur, 'Das Raumergreifen balkanischer Kaufleute im Wirtschaftsleben der ostmitteleuropäischen Länder im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in *Bürgertum und bürgerliche Entwicklung in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, ed. Vera Bácskai (Budapest, 1986), p. 18-40 and Herman Freudenberger, *Lost Momentum : Austrian Economic Development 1750s-1830s* (Cologne, 2003).

³⁷ Robert-Tarek Fischer, *Österreich im Nahen Osten. Die Grossmachtspolitik der Habsburgermonarchie im Arabischen Orient, 1633-1918* (Vienna, 2006) against Karl A. Roider Jr., *Austria's Eastern Question 1700-1790* (Princeton, 1982).

³⁸ *Europäische Aufklärung zwischen Wien und Triest*, ed. Klingenstein G., Faber E. and Trampus A., by David Do Paço, 'Extranéité et lien social. Les marchands ottomans à Vienne au XVIII^e siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 61-1 (2014), p. 123-146 and Benjamin Landais, 'Village Politics and the Use of "Nation" in the Banat in the 18th Century', in *Die Habsburgermonarchie im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gunda Barth-Scalmani, Joachim Bürgschwentner, Matthias König, Christian Steppan, (Vienna, 2012), p. 195-208. See also Roberto Zaugg, *Stranieri di antico regime, Mercanti, giudici e consoli nella Napoli del Settecento* (Rome, 2011).

³⁹ Polychronos K. Enepekides, *Griechische handelsgesellschaften und kaufleute in Wien aus dem jahre 1766 : (ein konskriptionsbuch) Aus den Beständen des Wiener Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchivs* (Thessalonique, 1959), Olga Katsiardi-Hering, 'Greek Merchant Colonies in Central and South-Eastern Europe in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', in *Merchant Colonies*, ed. Zakharov V. N., Harlaftis G, Katsiardi-Hering O., p. 127-139. David Do Paço, 'Extranéité et lien social', p. 123-146.

⁴⁰ Moritz Csáky, *Das Gedächtnis der Städte. Kulturelle Verflechtungen - Wien und die urbanen Milieus in Zentraleuropa* (Vienna, 2010). See also *Homelands and Diasporas. Greeks, Jews and Their Migrations*, ed. Minna Rozen (London-New York, 2008) and Stéphane Dufoix, *La dispersion : une histoire des usages du mot diaspora* (Paris, 2011).

⁴¹ Karl Teply, 'Die erste armenische Kolonie in Wien', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 28 (1973), p. 105-118; Olga Katsiardi-Hering, 'The Allure of Red Cotton Yarn, and How it Came to Vienna : Associations of Greek Artisans and Merchants Operating between the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires', in *Merchants in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya F. et Veinstein G., p. 97-131.

⁴² Willibald Plöchl, *Die Wiener orthodoxen Griechen. Eine Studie zur Rechts- und Kulturgeschichte der Kirchengemeinden zum hl. Georg und zur hl. Dreifaltigkeit und zur Errichtung der Metropolis von Austria*, (Vienna, 1983) and 'Die Anerkennung der Armenisch-Apostolischen Kirche in Wien', *Sitzung d. Phil.-hist. Kl. am 5. Febr. 1975* (Vienna, 1975), p. 28-44. Gelber N., 'The Sephardic Community in Vienna', p. 359-396. David Do Paço, 'Identité politique et grand commerce des marchands ottomans à Vienne, 1739-1792', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Histoire Moderne*, <http://mefrim.revues.org/1258>. See also David Do Paço, 'Invisibles dans la banalité et le mépris, Les Musulmans à

religious identity used in the administrative materials, and therefore imposed by the administrator, on which is based all the research into Ottoman merchants in Central Europe, is not relevant to analysing the Ottoman merchant.⁴³

Hence, the only criterion usable is political identity. Ottoman merchants were allowed to trade in the Austrian commonwealth for the simple reason that they were subjects of the Sultan, and the Sultan had made a personal treaty with the German Emperor. Few historians have tried to develop this point, those that have, such as Virginia Paskaleva or Snežka Panova, were unable to resist the powerful flood of diaspora studies.⁴⁴ According to Olga Katsiardi-Hering, the diaspora approach guards historians against national perspectives and allows for the cancellation of the use of the contemporary national pattern in the study of the early modern Balkans.⁴⁵ It pays close attention to trans-imperial bonding, and to the very local social integration of the members of a diaspora. Vassiliki Seirinidou even highlighted the urban history of the Greek Ottomans in eighteenth-century Vienna.⁴⁶ However, the ethno-religious feature, on which diaspora studies are based, is another historiographical bias. It moves against the background of the political identity of the subjects of the Sultan and their community bonds are overestimated. Studying together the papers related to the Ottoman merchants in Vienna, whatever their religion or their supposed particular cultural features, allows us to stress how, together, they were able to invest in the city, supported by the local newcomers of the ruling class. They fitted in so well with the economic and social structures of the city that they were a contrasting medium, enhancing the arteries of the city and revealing its economic heart and its workings.⁴⁷ Hence, the social space that they invested in was not a Greek area that the diaspora outlook likes to highlight, nor an Ottoman, but only the cosmopolitan trading area of the city, bringing together both the German and Ottoman merchants.

Diplomacy

The political feature relating to the Ottoman merchants is that all of them, and this was important to them, could expect the support of Ottoman diplomacy in the Viennese court. Political history here remains almost totally separated from the economic history of Austro-Ottoman relations. Since the beginning of the 1980s, the ‘war and peace’ paradigm has been harshly challenged by Austrian political historians.⁴⁸ If a particular cultural history of the Turkish war, first promoted by Karl Teply, has undergone a revival with Paula Sutter Fichtner’s essay, the political history of Austro-Ottoman relations deals with an administrative history of the monarchy.⁴⁹ The history of the Oriental Academy profits by it, and it highlights the expert training of the imperial interpreters and diplomats. At some

(Contd.)

Vienne des années 1660 à la fin du XVIII^e siècle’, in Dakhliya J. and Vincent B., p. 56-80 against Friedrich Markus, ‘Turken im Alten Reich. Zur Aufnahme und Konversion von Muslimen im deutschen Sprachraum (16.-18. Jahrhundert)’, *Historische Zeitschrift* 294/2 (2012), p. 329-360.

⁴³ For a comparative approach : Adanır Fikret, ‘Religious Communities and Ethnic Groups under Imperial Sway. Ottoman and Habsburg Lands in Comparison’, in *The Historical Practice of Diversity : Transcultural Interactions from Early Modern Mediterranean to the Postcolonial World*, ed. Dirk Hoerder, Christiane Harzig and Andrian Shubert (New York, 2003), p. 54-86. See also Grenet Mathieu, ‘Entangled allegiances: Ottoman Greeks in Marseille and the shifting ethos of Greekness (c. 1790–c. 1820)’, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 36/1 (2012), p. 56–71.

⁴⁴ Virginia Paskaleva, ‘Die Wirtschaftspolitik Maria Theresias und die Balkanvölker’, in *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung. Kontinuität und Zäsur in Europa zur Zeit Maria Theresias un Josephs II*, ed. Richard G. Plaschka and Grete Klingenstein (Vienna, 1985), p. 153-166. Snežka Krumova Panova, ‘Zu Fragen über die Rolle Österreich-Ungarns im wirtschaftlichen Prozeß der Heranreifens der Balkanvölker (17.-18. Jahrhundert)’, in *Österreich im Europa der Aufklärung*, ed. Plaschka R. and Klingenstein G., p. 167-172.

⁴⁵ Olga Katsiardi-Hering, ‘Das Habsburgerreich : Anlaufpunkt für Griechen und andere Balkanvölker im 17.-19. Jahrhundert’, *Österreichische Osthefte* 38/2 (1996), p. 171-188.

⁴⁶ Vassiliki Seirinidou, ‘Griechen in Wien im 18. Jahrhundert. Soziale Identitäten im Alltag’, *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich. Jahrbuch der österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* 12 (1997), p. 7-18.

⁴⁷ David Do Paço, *L’Orient à Vienne. Cosmopolitisme et intégration dans l’Europe des Lumières* (Oxford, 2015).

⁴⁸ *Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie in der Neuzeit*, ed. Kurz M., Scheutz M., Vocelka K. and Winkelbauer T.

⁴⁹ Fichtner P. S., *Terror and Toleration*.

point, the standardization of the Austro-Ottoman political relationship might be the consequence of an enlightened virtuous internal policy, resulting from the reform of the State and the rise of Austrian enlightened absolutism. The history of Ottoman diplomacy follows the same way.⁵⁰ The circulation of men, ideas and reforms remains a by-product, except in the original studies undertaken by Stéphane Yérasimos.⁵¹

In fact, Vienna was the privileged place of eighteenth-century Ottoman diplomacy. The familiarity of the envoys of the Grand Seigneur with the imperial court entailed the production of very specific and voluminous materials. To the *seferâtname* produced by the Ottoman ambassadors have to be added the reports written by the secretaries and interpreters of the oriental languages, recorded in the Austrian National Archives.⁵² If they testify of a will to control as well as to protect the numerous Ottoman embassies in Vienna, they also reveal the personal relationships between the envoys of the Sultan, the imperial nobility, the municipal bourgeoisie and, of course, the Ottoman merchants set up in the city. These precious documents are the archival keystone to studying the Viennese oriental milieu, around which are articulated both the economic and socio-political histories of the Austro-Ottoman relationship.⁵³

Finally, the ceremonialist approach also highlights this familiarity of the two elites. The Holy Roman Empire has several examples of receptions of oriental diplomats and the socio-cultural engineering developed for these occasions by the two sides. According to Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger, a political ritual is a process of communication, fragile and not obvious.⁵⁴ To be well performed, practices, symbols and their related meaning are supposed to be shared, especially in a cross-cultural context. To reach that purpose, Ottoman ambassadors in Vienna organized an integrative sociability, bonding with the Austrian nobility and the imperial administrators through the receptions they organised or the visits they made. Theatre, riding and gastronomy were the most efficient levers of Austro-Ottoman sociability. In addition, during official audiences, the state rooms used to be converted to prevent, absorb and, most of the time, to allow the possible ceremonial infringements of Ottoman ministers.⁵⁵ However, even when they happened, the social bonding between Austrian ministers and Ottoman ambassadors was strong enough so that the running of negotiations was never questioned.

Postscript

All those works demonstrate the heuristic potential of the Austro-Ottoman materials. They call for an integrative history of economic, political and cultural approaches to Austro-Ottoman relations, in the early modern period, in order to comprehend the whole picture and to understand how extended, lively and interrelated are these exchanges. This disciplinary decompartmentalization supposes also a reconfiguration of European trans-imperial history to enlarge the focus to continental Europe and to abolish the scientific and academic frontiers between Mediterranean Studies and European history. The different geographic levels of the analysis even guarded against the usual temptation to essentialize cultural areas, since political, religious and cultural frontiers progressively appear as unconnected, or otherwise imperceptible. Moreover, against narrower community approaches, the

⁵⁰ Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman statesman in war and peace : Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700-1783* (Leyde, 1995).

⁵¹ Stéphane Yérasimos, 'Le Turc à Vienne ou le regard inversé' in *Kulturwissenschaft im Vielvölkerstaat. Zur Geschichte der Ethnologie und verwandter Gebiete in Österreich, ca. 1780-1918*, ed. Britta Rupp-Eisenreich and Justin Stagl (Vienne, 1995), p. 97-110.

⁵² Stéphane Yérasimos, 'Explorateurs de la modernité. Les ambassadeurs ottomans en Europe', *Genèses. Sciences sociales et histoire* 35 (1999), p. 65-82 ; Virginia Aksan, 'Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 25 (1993), p. 53-69 and Frédéric Hitzel, 'Seferâtname: comptes rendus des ambassadeurs ottomans en Europe', in *Turcs et turqueries, XVI^e – XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 2009), p. 97-110. Do Paço D., *L'Orient à Vienne*, Chapter 2.

⁵³ Do Paço D., *L'Orient à Vienne*.

⁵⁴ *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und im Mittleren Osten in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Jan Paul Niederkorn, Ralph Kauz and Giorgio Rota (Vienna, 2009). Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger, 'Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Begriffe – Forschungsperspektiven – Thesen', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 31 (2004), p. 489-527.

⁵⁵ David Do Paço, *L'Orient à Vienne*, Chapter 6.

main issue is certainly to insist on an intellectual restoration of the legitimacy of the Ottoman perspective, which may still be the victim of a *damnatio memoriae*. Indeed, in the Balkans and in Central Europe, both diaspora studies and some national approaches are sometimes nothing other than politically correct ways of not speaking about the Ottoman Empire and, instead, to continue to subtly deny the Ottoman legacy in Academia, in that part of the continent. In this sense, the Austrian point of view is a very efficient pragmatic tool to undermine this passive and deeply assimilated ‘ottomanophobia’, without falling into ‘Yugonostalgia’, which was typical of the revival of Ottoman studies in the Balkans during the 1990s.

