

ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH IN EARLY MODERN HISTORY

Practices of Diplomacy  
in the Early Modern  
World c. 1410–1800

Edited by

Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings



# Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410–1800

*Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World* offers a new contribution to the ongoing reassessment of early modern international relations and diplomatic history. Divided into three parts, it provides an examination of diplomatic culture from the Renaissance into the eighteenth century and presents the development of diplomatic practices as more complex, multifarious and globally interconnected than the traditional state-focussed, national paradigm allows.

The volume addresses three central and intertwined themes within early modern diplomacy: who and what could claim diplomatic agency and in what circumstances; the social and cultural contexts in which diplomacy was practised; and the role of material culture in diplomatic exchange. Together the chapters provide a broad geographical and chronological presentation of the development of diplomatic practices and, through a strong focus on the processes and significance of cultural exchanges between polities, demonstrate how it was possible for diplomats to negotiate the cultural codes of the courts to which they were sent.

This exciting collection brings together new and established scholars of diplomacy from different academic traditions. It will be essential reading for all students of diplomatic history.

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# List of abbreviations

## Archives/Repositories

BL	British Library
HHStA	Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna
TNA	The National Archives, UK

## Journals

CH	Court Historian
DA	Dubrovnik Annals
EHR	English Historical Review
EJIR	European Journal of International Relations
EM	Early Music
HJ	Historical Journal
IHR	International History Review
JEMH	Journal of Early Modern History
JMedH	The Journal of Medieval History
JMEMS	Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies
JMH	The Journal of Modern History
MHJ	The Medieval History Journal
PP	Past and Present
RHD	Revue d'histoire diplomatique
SEER	Slavonic and East European Review
ZHF	Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung

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# Introduction

## Practices of diplomacy<sup>1</sup>

*Jan Hennings and Tracey A. Sowerby*

In October 1604, the English ambassador and governor of the Muscovy Company, Sir Thomas Smythe, presented the Russian tsar, Boris Godunov, with a 'greate present' from James VI/I: a heterogeneous collection of objects including magnificent silver gilt plate, a crystal cup, expensive cloth, and a 'charyott'.<sup>2</sup> The coach was a material intervention in an ongoing Anglo–Russian dialogue about the nature and extent of the English amity with the Ottoman Turks.<sup>3</sup> The coach was designed to suggest and persuade, just as successive ambassadors to Russia (Smythe included) had been instructed to assure the tsar that Elizabeth would not aid the sultan against him.<sup>4</sup> Its lavish decoration emphasized Anglo-Russian amity by including English royal heraldic beasts bearing the English arms, the Russian arms, and several double-headed eagles which alluded to Russian imperial status. Other features of the coach's iconography implied mutual aims and values, for instance through a depiction of St George—who held an elevated status in both countries—killing the dragon. Two large scenes of Russian military victories over turbaned Crimean Tatars suggested shared anti-Ottoman sentiment, while in the carved front panel a tsar led a triumphal procession. Cumulatively, the coach's decoration intimated English goodwill towards Russia's anti-Ottoman sentiment.<sup>5</sup> As visual rhetoric designed to shape the course of inter-princely relations, the coach may have been too successful: it appears to have sufficiently raised the tsar's hopes that James would join him in an offensive league that the tsar prepared to send an embassy to England to discuss furthering the Anglo–Russian alliance.<sup>6</sup> Yet James had no intention of agreeing to a military coalition against the Ottomans, for he wished to continue lucrative trading relations with both the Russians and the Turks.

Such displays have not traditionally occupied a central place in the history of international relations. Encounters like this have typically served as anecdotal evidence of the peculiarities of former times, or as a prelude (or in contrast) to more general trends in the emergence of the great power system, the rise of modern diplomacy, or the foreign policy of individual states.<sup>7</sup> Diplomatic practices such as these also drop out of sight when considering the classic readings of International Relations, from Gentili and Grotius to Pufendorf and de Vattel, in which scholars have traced the early modern

origins of the concepts which framed the interactions of states—mainly European and rarely beyond the western world—in war and peace.<sup>8</sup> The notion of the territorially bounded, sovereign state and its theoretical foundations in the distinguished tradition of political thought have profoundly shaped our understanding of diplomacy. As readers move through the pivotal moments in diplomatic history—the emergence of the resident ambassador in Renaissance Italy, the equality of states in the Westphalian legal order, and the transformation of the states-system into the post-1815 Concert of Europe—early modern foreign relations are usually held up against the measuring sticks of state sovereignty, a clearly defined distinction between foreign and domestic, the presence (or absence) of international law, a professional diplomatic corps, and all the ingredients that today make the stuff of international politics.

The present volume contributes to the ongoing reassessment of diplomatic history by leaving the bird's eye perspective and zooming in on the complex, multifarious, and interconnected practices of diplomacy in the early modern period. It acknowledges the significance of diplomatic history's pivotal moments, but it builds on the premise that sociocultural practices constituted political relationships, that they were not the consequence of foreign policy, international law, and political thought but their basis, and that a study of these practices reveals more about the nature of early modern diplomacy than the assumptions that underlie the traditional state-focussed, Eurocentric paradigm. The term 'diplomacy' can only serve as a makeshift expedient for want of a clear definition. Exactly where diplomacy began and where it ended in the complex layers of political exchanges in this period is difficult to establish: not every person involved in diplomatic business was a diplomat, and not every diplomat's main concern was diplomatic negotiation. Agreed parameters and formalized procedures of diplomatic representation would lend themselves to the purpose of defining the spectrum. But the defining dynamic in the history of foreign relations was precisely the absence (or merely slow and gradual emergence) of formalized and agreed rules. To restrict the choice of practices to a modern definition of diplomacy would thus sidestep key aspects in the evolution of diplomacy. Even the use of the very concept 'diplomacy' results in a compromise: the term itself did not emerge until the very end of the period that is the focus of this volume, as Christian Windler elaborates in his discussion of periodization in the afterword. Therefore, the aim of the editors and the authors of this book is not to offer a new—early modern—definition of diplomacy but to problematize the term in light of the practices that are not fully captured by the term's modern implications.<sup>9</sup>

For the scholar of diplomatic practice and its transformations, the success of an embassy, the centrality of a geopolitical region, or the wider contemporary significance of political exchanges is not always the primary determinant of historical relevance. This is true for any polity, but particularly so for diplomacy in regions far removed from the theatres of war and politics

that have dominated previous scholarship. Any diplomatic encounter holds significance if the sources reveal the ways in which relations between different political communities were conducted. What matters are the actions, behaviour, and status of diplomatic agents and the responses they triggered rather than the influence they exerted upon the big turns and trends in the history of international relations. Ultimately, the efforts of James VI/I, the Muscovy Company, and Boris Godunov to facilitate diplomatic relations, each pursuing their own political and commercial aims, did not shape the course of events in world history, or even advance an Anglo–Russian alliance. Yet their ceremonial interactions, visual appeals to rank and prestige, and the material culture surrounding their exchanges point to some of the core features of early modern diplomatic practice and the complex means by which rulers interacted with one another. This is not to suggest that in the process of re-focussing diplomatic history one should privilege the cultural, social, or symbolic over real-world outcomes in the realm of politics. On the contrary, the one is not understandable without the other, as many contributions to this volume demonstrate. As with any historiographical approach, our focus on diplomatic practice explores the ‘Who?’, ‘When?’, ‘Where?’, and ‘What?’, but it privileges the ‘How?’.

The so-called New Diplomatic History has opened up important new perspectives on who influenced diplomatic relations.<sup>10</sup> By taking an actor-centred approach, scholars have elucidated individual diplomats’ agency, tensions between their personal interests and those of their principal, and the personal and clientage networks upon which they depended.<sup>11</sup> Monarchs, courts, and ambassadors remain important, but they are no longer the diplomatic historian’s sole preserve: scholars are increasingly examining the range of intermediaries and ‘non-state’ actors, such as translators, merchants, missionaries, and generals, who facilitated diplomatic relations.<sup>12</sup> Paralleling this insight has been a growing appreciation that groups such as *Hofdamen* (female courtiers) wielded considerably more political influence than previously thought and were integral to diplomatic information networks.<sup>13</sup> Traditionally, the rise of resident ambassadors in Renaissance Italy and the dominance of Louisquatorzian diplomatic culture in the age of baroque were the two poles around which much early modern diplomatic history revolved. Recent scholarship has been less concerned with strict periodization and has instead prioritised the continuities and adaptations of processes and practices across early modernity, a discussion that Christian Windler continues in the afterword to this volume. Similarly, while intra-European diplomacy still attracts much attention, increasing emphasis is being placed on European diplomacy with non-European powers and relations in Asian and African contexts.<sup>14</sup> Aiding this development is the recognition that studying diplomatic culture can elucidate inter- and intra-imperial dynamics.<sup>15</sup> Scholarship addressing early modern diplomacy has paid much attention to the written records that diplomats produced and the information networks they cultivated, revealing their lexical, rhetorical,

and archival techniques and the connectedness of diplomatic actors within transnational networks.<sup>16</sup> Another emerging concern is the ways in which religion complicated diplomatic relations. Moving beyond Heinz Schilling's notion of a post-Reformation confessionalization of inter-princely relations,<sup>17</sup> recent studies have explored the role of religion in forging links across territorial boundaries in common diplomatic endeavours and the complications of cross-confessional divides (and attempts to bridge them).<sup>18</sup> On the whole, recent diplomatic studies have experienced a cultural turn. In particular, this has involved acknowledging the importance of different modes of symbolic communication within diplomatic encounters: the ceremonies with which ambassadors were greeted, where in the palace they were met, and by whom, the gestures they used and witnessed in audiences, and the gifts their monarchs gave and received, were all important means by which political relations were mediated at court or in emerging formats of encounters such as peace congresses.<sup>19</sup> As well as the procedural implications of such practices, the material and visual qualities of the palatial environment or the presents given conveyed further layers of meaning.<sup>20</sup>

By examining many of these recent strands in diplomatic history and addressing other aspects of diplomatic culture across diverse geopolitical relationships, our volume addresses three key interlocking themes in early modern diplomatic history. Each of the volume's three parts brings one of these key themes to the fore, although all three concerns are closely inter-related and run throughout the articles across the entire book. Part I privileges discussions of who and what could claim diplomatic agency and status and in what circumstances. In Part II, the emphasis shifts from political structures and their representation to the level of individual actors, examining the embeddedness of social and cultural factors in diplomatic practices. Building on the insights into the uses of material culture in earlier chapters, Part III explores the role of material culture in diplomatic negotiations by focussing on the items and creatures which princes sent to other potentates. What follows here is an introduction to these themes to weave them into a dialogue between the individual contributions to this volume.

Today states are legally independent and equal. The question of who was sovereign in the early modern period elicits a less straightforward answer.<sup>21</sup> In fact, a response that takes account of early modern forms of statehood and diplomatic relations requires a slightly reformulated question: who could claim recognition as a sovereign and to what extent did sovereign status form both the prerequisite for, and limit to, political interaction? The boundaries of sovereignty are as fickle as the historiographical divisions drawn between (and within) empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, republics, city states, or even trading companies. Abraham de Wicquefort, author of an influential late seventeenth-century diplomatic manual, gives an important indication: 'There is not a more illustrious Mark of Sovereignty than the Right of sending and receiving Embassadors'.<sup>22</sup> However,

who exactly enjoyed the *ius legationis* in the highly fragmented and hierarchical world of princes remained a moot point for much of the early modern period.<sup>23</sup> This right, and with it, the participation in high-level diplomacy, was bound up with the social status of the senders and the performance of their honour in elaborate ceremonial receptions.<sup>24</sup> To claim sovereign dignity through the assertion of the *honores regii* (honours reserved for crowned heads), and the entitlement to diplomatic agency, was not a unilateral act of publicly displaying one's status, however: it depended as much on one's recognition by others, for instance through the treatment of one's ambassadors.<sup>25</sup> Even the rank of ambassador, who, unlike envoys or lower-ranking diplomats, directly represented his master's honour, was not a given, formalized category and acquired its meaning only through a set of mutual recognition practices.<sup>26</sup> These customs, which in the European context evolved through a long process of interaction and found a pronounced expression during the peace negotiations in Münster and Osnabrück in the 1640s, included the privilege of being addressed with the title 'excellency', the first visit by other representatives upon the arrival at a foreign court, and the right hand, or place of honour, during direct encounters.<sup>27</sup> The treaties that ended the Thirty Years' War did not formulate the principle of sovereignty despite the common belief that the Peace of Westphalia witnessed its formal inception.<sup>28</sup> The practices of direct interaction, however, allowed emerging polities to assert their independence through the acceptance of their ambassadors at the peace negotiations and helped to standardize and align the norms of diplomacy through peace congresses and more frequent exchanges between princely courts.

While such status relations formed the prerequisite for princes to send and receive diplomats who would negotiate treaties and assert their place in the international hierarchy, sovereign dignity and its associated practices did not mark the limits of diplomatic agency and latitude, especially in imperial contexts. Sovereignty did not simply emanate from the centre of empire to spread uniformly to every corner of the realm. Rather, the 'layered quality of imperial rule' was marked by 'delegated authority' and 'territorial variations'.<sup>29</sup> A range of political bodies sought and received trans-regional recognition in the early modern period: only fitfully and through continued interaction did a more defined diplomatic process gradually emerge. In complex polities such as the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire—the one steeped in residual political interdependencies, the other marked by the evolution of imperial expansion—the line between internal supplication and foreign relations is difficult, if impossible, to draw.

Duncan Hardy and Gábor Kármán evaluate the international status and practices of subordinate polities within these empires. Through an interrogation of fifteenth-century political culture in the south-west Holy Roman Empire, Hardy proposes a new model for understanding interactions between its 'state-like' members. His analysis of the careers of three political actors, and their overlapping networks, divorces diplomacy from the modern

notion of statehood and territorial *Herrschaft*. He sees diplomatic interaction as part of an ‘associative political culture’, a process of co-existing and intersecting political exchanges and alliances at regional, trans-regional, and transnational levels which defy the conventional categories of domestic politics and foreign relations. The distinction between internal and external affairs was similarly blurred in later fifteenth-century Spain following the marriage of Ferdinand II and Isabella I, which brought about a convergence of Castilian and Aragonese customs, as Germán Gamero Igea’s examination of the Catholic Monarchs’ gift-giving strategies reveals.

Status ambiguities and resulting strategies of self-representation are also at the heart of Gábor Kármán’s study that concentrates on central Europe and the Ottoman empire in the seventeenth century. He demonstrates that rulers of Ottoman territories, such as the prince of Transylvania, a vassal to the sultan who ruled over his own land, or the beylerbey of Buda, who was a governor of an Ottoman province, used diplomatic ceremonial in order to claim relative independence and to negotiate between their conflicting roles as sovereign actors in international relations, on the one hand, and tributaries to the sultan, on the other. Given the rigidity associated with diplomatic rituals and the hierarchies they constitute, it is striking that the prince of Transylvania, as a subordinate ruler within the intra-imperial administration of the Ottoman empire, could reap a ceremonial distinction that would rank him among sovereign powers in inter-imperial relations. What may appear as a paradox in the strict legal understanding of statehood is in fact a central feature of early modern diplomacy: the ability of ceremonial practices to communicate and suspend the contradictions and ambiguities that emerged from complex, transnational political systems. Kármán’s case studies of diplomatic protocol are an important reminder that intra-imperial dependencies did not exclude relatively independent political action and that a narrow focus on ‘state sovereignty’ as a precondition to diplomacy fails to recognize the complexity of early modern foreign relations.

For some political entities, such as the Ragusan Republic, ambiguity was also a source of diplomatic prowess. Diplomacy shaped identity and status in subtly different ways, as Lovro Kunčević shows in his study of the small city-state of Dubrovnik. Sandwiched between the Ottomans, Venice, and the Spanish Habsburgs with concurring and shifting loyalties to Muslim and Christian powers in the Mediterranean, it compensated for its military weakness not only by economic means. It also invested in literary productions, garnering prestige by re-envisioning Ragusa’s position as both Ottoman tribute-payer and underdog to demonstrate their diplomatic dexterity and depict their precarious international position as a basis of their strength and to buttress Ragusan claims to sovereignty through literary discourse. Jaketa Palmotić’s literary writings were intrinsically linked to Ragusa’s status as an independent but lesser power caught between the Venetian Republic and Ottoman Empire. Diplomat-writers such as Palmotić created epics centred on shrewd diplomats. Their ambassadorial protagonists negotiated

momentous struggles between Christianity and Islam, God and the Devil. The Ragusan Republic emerged triumphant as the defender of Christendom while the ambassadors emerged as heroes blessed with superior diplomatic skill. Literary texts became a means through which Ragusa could simultaneously foster internal confidence, reinforce the domestic status of its patrician elites, and enhance its international reputation as a diplomatic player. Epic was a particularly useful vehicle for these efforts, as accounts of real embassies could be moulded into an epic framework with relative ease, while this genre resonated with the chivalric ethos of courtly culture and lent a degree of monumentality to the semi-fictionalized events it described. When contemplating the literary activities of diplomats in the 1580s, the civil lawyer and diplomatic theorist Alberico Gentili had hoped that ambassadors would channel their literary endeavours towards serving the state.<sup>30</sup> Kunčević's Ragusan authors did just that: the circumstances in which they turned to diplomatic tropes were politically contingent and their literary practices were intended to have domestic, as well as diplomatic, utility.

Representations of status were not only a source of recognition for whole political communities, monarchs, or those who represented them in their role of ambassadors. Individual actors left almost no opportunity unused to exploit their raised positions as foreign representatives and negotiators in order to collect prestige and shrewdly pursue their own social advantage. Niels May examines the ceremonial practices observed at the Westphalian peace congress from a new angle. He demonstrates in an actor-centred perspective that diplomats were as much concerned with buttressing and increasing their own social standing as with representing their master, even if this conflicted with their ambassadorial duties. While the negotiations that led to the Peace of 1648 helped to establish which political entities were considered to possess sovereignty and therefore the right to practise diplomacy, they simultaneously presented opportunities for European nobles to enhance their own positions at both domestic and international levels. The cases of Francis William of Wartenberg (bishop, ambassador, nobleman, and deputy of the prince-electors), Henri II d'Orléans (French ambassador and prince of the blood), and Fabio Chigi (mediator and nuncio) are a testament to the role variety in early modern diplomatic practice. Diplomats of the *type ancien*, as Hillard von Thiessen terms them, were not employed as professional government representatives with limited, formal loyalties to their master.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, they were not bound to the exclusive representation of a single sovereign but also followed their own status claims within the hierarchical order of the *société des princes*.<sup>32</sup> The discussion of the role of individual actors raises important questions about where the boundaries lay between personal and monarchical, internal and external, and how these tensions interacted with diplomatic processes. They suggest that our analyses of ceremonial need to be revised to reflect the multiple levels on which claims to social status were being made beyond the narrow focus on the representation of sovereignty.

An emphasis on individual actors and their shifting roles permits a reconsideration of the development of diplomacy practised between European courts in various normative systems, but it also offers important insights into the ways in which diplomatic representatives realised political agency and established relations in other cultural contexts by suspending ceremonial rules, posing as domestic actors, or blending into local forms of sociability. Highlighting the permeability of diplomatic activity, it becomes clear that, while the limits of diplomatic agency were marked by ceremonial accommodations, shrewd role-switching, familiarity with domestic political structures, and continued participation in local social interaction enhanced diplomats' ability to facilitate ongoing diplomatic relations beyond ritual expressions of sovereignty and the *éclat* of aristocratic representation. Turning away from the old juxtaposition of incompatible European and non-European diplomacies has never meant explaining away cultural difference or introducing the idea of a unified diplomatic sphere across profoundly different political structures. Cultural boundaries existed even if they were rarely fixed by the political borders that separated societies. The experience of cultural difference, often mixed with western political discourse, shaped diplomats' assumptions about their foreign hosts and provided the leitmotifs of alterity and exoticism that abound in the large corpus of early modern travel literature.<sup>33</sup> Diplomatic practices, however, were not necessarily separated by and contained within such boundaries.<sup>34</sup> As Christian Windler demonstrates in the afterword to this volume, diplomatic actors needed to show great flexibility in negotiating diverging norms across cultural borders in order to enable successful communication, as much as they needed to act as representatives of their own social values.<sup>35</sup>

This overlap of normative systems was a hallmark of diplomacy in the world that applied equally to the diplomatic activities of cultural brokers, non-state actors, and accredited diplomats and their social environments and networks, whether within Europe or without. Indeed we should not necessarily see 'European' in contradistinction to 'global'. Different parts of the pre-modern world were linked by interlocking and overlapping networks, which do not easily correlate with modern notions of nation states or even continents or sub-continents.<sup>36</sup> Diplomatic networks were no different. Although a volume such as this cannot claim to be geographically exhaustive, it can nonetheless contribute to broader debates about the early modern world. The perspective of the chapters in this volume, that is, the source materials they present, is predominantly European. But the chapters move beyond Eurocentric interpretations in that they offer the opportunity to compare and challenge received notions of progress, professionalism, state-building, great powers, modernization, and so on associated with the Eurocentric paradigm. By probing the boundaries between 'European' and 'non-European', which global approaches sometimes risk taking for granted, this volume shows that cultural encounter and the negotiation of norms rightly lie at the heart of diplomatic history, regardless of its geographic focus, rather than

being one of its subfields. In this sense, European diplomatic history, too, needs to question its Eurocentric heritage.

Recent studies of empire and trade have emphasized that Europe was less dominant in its relationship with non-European powers than previous generations of scholars had believed.<sup>37</sup> Cumulatively, the chapters in this volume illustrate that in diplomatic encounters the representatives of a given state had to adapt to the diplomatic culture of the host court to some degree: European powers and their diplomatic traditions did not dominate diplomatic relations *per se*. Rather, who was dominant within a relationship was determined in the process of verbal and symbolic negotiations and this was as true within Europe as without.

Guido van Meersbergen's study of the symbolic incorporation of a Dutch merchant-diplomat into Mughal India, and its practical benefits, is a case in point: it addresses two major issues that new approaches to diplomatic history are bringing to the forefront: cultural commensurability and the role of 'non-state' actors. By shifting the attention to the court of Aurangzeb in the 1660s van Meersbergen explores the roles that mercantile diplomats played in the relations between the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the Mughal Empire. Unencumbered by royal dignity, the envoy of the VOC, Dircq van Adrichem, had greater diplomatic latitude than royal ambassadors such as Sir Thomas Roe whose missions were mired in ritual complications and disputes about honour. As a representative of a trading company, Van Adrichem was ranked lower by the Mughal emperor than fully accredited diplomats from European monarchies. However, the relative lack of diplomatic recognition worked to the Dutch representative's advantage, as he felt no status pressure to place himself in the hierarchy of princely sovereigns. The resulting flexibility he could exercise in adopting local socio-political conventions and submitting to the symbols of imperial authority allowed the envoy to integrate himself into local patronage networks and establish continued diplomatic communications from within domestic political structures, and helped to maintain the VOC's position as a political power in south Asia with more diplomatic leeway than its European monarchical competitors.

The familiarity with the sociocultural codes of one's interlocutor, which was acquired through sustained exchanges (that were not directly associated with political negotiation), formed another important prerequisite for successful diplomacy. Nonetheless, despite an increasing stress on ambassadorial networks, important elements of diplomats' sociability remain poorly understood. David Do Paço's chapter contributes to discussions of cultural commensurability by demonstrating that a long and intermittent series of diplomatic contacts could result in much deeper sociability and entanglement between the diplomat and his host court than the narrow focus on political negotiation allows. Focussing on Ottoman delegations in eighteenth-century Vienna, Do Paço reveals how diplomats mastered the conventions of their hosts and became integrated into the social life of the

court and its urban surroundings rather than merely depending on intermediaries to bridge Austrian–Ottoman cultural differences. The Ottoman ‘*micropolis*’ in the Imperial city established strong ties with its locality through creating patronage networks, drawing on the court’s provisions for the day-to-day running of the embassy, or savouring official ceremonial occasions through informal but important business exchanges over coffee, chocolate, fruits, and jam. The political environment in which Ottoman and Austrian representatives interacted was only the ‘tip of the iceberg’: underneath, Do Paço reveals the bedrock of sociability practised between the Imperial court and Ottoman diplomats with their ties to trans-regional aristocratic elites, regional clienteles of administrators, merchants, as well as Austrian and Ottoman scholars. Do Paço’s insights into the Ottomans’ embeddedness in the social world of Vienna takes the discussion of cultural commensurability one step further: Ottoman ambassadors did not develop strategies of ‘cross-cultural’ diplomacy, that is, they did not interact across two separate, impermeable Christian and Muslim cultures, but acted out the social dynamics of their environment abroad.

Other groups come into sharper relief when focussing on the ways in which diplomats manipulated their roles or delegated diplomatic business to others when the representative burdens of their roles prevented them from action or access to political actors and information. As such, women were instrumental to many diplomatic relationships. Of course, elite women such as Catherine of Burgundy acted as political figures in their own right. But as Hardy shows, Catherine also facilitated Burgundian diplomacy in the Upper Rhine region, assisting Burgundian diplomats in the region and acting as an intermediary with various political entities for her brother and nephew, the dukes of Burgundy. She was as firmly entrenched in the ‘associative political culture’ of the Holy Roman Empire as the men. Catherine was not unique: female regents and queen mothers oversaw peace negotiations, royal consorts in interdynastic marriages informally represented their foreign relatives’ interests, and royal women at all levels made their opinions on international affairs known by bestowing gifts or favours.<sup>38</sup> Certainly, senior female members of many European, Asian, and African royal households were perceived to have diplomatic influence, so much so that many were incorporated into international epistolary and gifting relationships and received splendid welcomes when visiting foreign territories.<sup>39</sup> Particular political circumstances could enhance the importance of *Hofdamen*; for instance they acquired greater diplomatic agency during the rule of a queen regnant or when access to male courtiers was restricted by royal edict.<sup>40</sup>

As permanent diplomacy spread and a growing number of diplomats were accompanied by their wives, the ambassadress emerged as a political actor of some note. Florian Kühnel’s examination of the diplomatic careers of lady Montagu and lady Trumbull reveals that ambassadresses could be important assets to their husband’s embassies. He proposes that as part of a ‘working couple’ these women actively cooperated with their spouses

in order to further the goals of the embassy. Ambassadors helped with household affairs, from financial administration to the choice of house for the embassy; they hosted courtiers and other ambassadors (and their wives); and their behaviour could help to maintain the honour and dignity of the ambassador and by extension his prince. Their sex gave them access to female information and patronage networks that were difficult, sometimes impossible, for their husbands to infiltrate. In Constantinople, an ambassador could visit the sultana and gain access to the networks of the harem, an important part of the Ottoman government, that were inaccessible to her husband. More generally, ambassadors' practical contributions to the embassies reveal the importance of diplomatic sociability beyond the diplomat; they could elicit information from the *Hofdamen* that might not be circulating as widely among the men. But they could also take on more direct political roles, acting as mediators when their husbands fell out with other diplomats and furthering relations through conversations with the queen, king, or foreign ambassadors.

Truly appreciating the role of gender in diplomacy involves also acknowledging that the performance of femininity and masculinity was intertwined with princely competition for status and honour. Kings asserted their masculinity through their performance on the battlefield or at the tilts<sup>41</sup> and through the diplomatic gifts they gave. In particular, beasts and objects linked to militaristic activities or the hunt could reflect a king's masculine credentials every bit as much as the condition of his own calf muscles (which indicated his prowess at horsemanship). Equally, the fact that the ambassador extraordinary, who had been sent to Rome to announce the birth of the Dauphin, sponsored an opera to proclaim the virility of Louis XIII of France should be viewed as part of an ambassador's duty to represent and defend the king's person, including his masculinity, as Katharina Piechocki shows.

Gender also complicated and expedited diplomatic ceremonial. Ambassadors ardently defended their position within the political hierarchy of courtly women, as did the courtiers with whom they socialised. Yet this concern to adhere strictly to precedence abated on occasions when the sexes intermingled when, as Kühnel demonstrates, an ambassador might temporarily receive more elevated treatment, as male courtiers deferred to her in respect of her sex. As she did not possess 'representational character', an ambassador could be accorded honours with no danger of any resultant impact on the hierarchy of princes. That gender could enable greater ceremonial flexibility than might otherwise be possible can also be seen in other ritual contexts such as palatial etiquette.<sup>42</sup>

In the early modern period, diplomatic representations were often staged as part of lavish entertainments, which did not merely serve to entertain diplomats after long and exhausting negotiations but provided both the space and the medium for political exchange. Various art forms were employed in the service of diplomacy. Timothy Hampton has argued that there was a

‘diplomatic moment’ during which the new diplomatic practices emerging in Renaissance Europe greatly influenced the structure and themes of European literature. While for many authors the impetus was aesthetic and grew out of their humanist concerns,<sup>43</sup> Kunčević’s analysis of diplomacy in Ragusan epics demonstrates that a wide range of factors led authors to adopt diplomatic tropes, including the desire to use literary creations to achieve tangible diplomatic goals.

The ‘diplomatic moment’ that Hampton espied was not confined to literature: nascent art forms such as opera experienced one too. From Florence to the Forbidden City, sonorous expression suffused all manner of diplomatic interactions, so much so that George Macartney consulted an expert on Chinese music in 1792 in preparation for his infamous embassy.<sup>44</sup> More generally, musical ensembles accompanied a broader panoply of diplomatic events, as music was used to express status through its genre, the type of musicians and their number, as well as to entertain.<sup>45</sup> Opera was an intrinsically international art, as Katharina Piechocki’s discussion of Ottaviano Castelli’s *La Sincerità trionfante* (1639) illustrates.<sup>46</sup> The first ‘French’ opera was forged for the French embassy in Rome as a period of French dynastic crisis came to an end with the birth of the Dauphin. Operatic performances operated as diplomatic interventions because they were embedded in the social aspects of diplomacy. Ambassadors were expected to conduct themselves like courtiers and offer impressive spectacles to mark significant occasions. Princely magnificence could be conveyed through the novelty or skill of the musicians or even unusual staging, such as the concealed music to which visitors to the Rosenberg Castle were treated in Christian IV’s reign.<sup>47</sup> Its relative novelty made opera more remarkable than other musical options and thus a suitable reflection of the French monarch’s magnificence. Opera’s combination of text, performance, and music provided a means of making political points outside of the direct interactions of princes and diplomats. This made it a suitable medium for exploring sensitive subjects, such as the former fertility problems of the French royal couple. Opera, like literature, could be used to forge identity, even reshape reputations: ‘operatic poetics’ could confront worries about the sterility of the king in ways that diplomats might not, and could move culpability for the lack of an heir to the throne from the king to his consort, thereby affirming the king’s masculinity and answering international questions about the French succession.

As Giulia Galastro demonstrates in her study of diplomatic hospitality in Genoa, providing a soundscape was merely part of the broader sensory tactics at play in early modern diplomatic hospitality. Because the Republic could only engage in resident diplomacy with Spain, opportunities to welcome elite visitors to the city were particularly significant. Genoa exploited its geographic position to provide impressive vistas and complemented these with other visual extravaganzas. But practices of diplomatic hospitality comprised far more than joyous entries. The textiles that were so central to the republic’s economy were pivotal to the sensuous visual displays that

Genoa produced using a ‘cloth-clothing continuum’—covering important surfaces, furniture, and even people in coordinated fabrics. Genoa exploited the language of luxury and comfort that suffused dynastic court culture. Silks, satins, precious metals, jewels, and even beasts were high-status objects whose meaning was often translatable into other, even far distant, court cultures. Genoa utilized this material language as a persuasive mechanism to win the good favour of their guests and perhaps also to advertise their most important exports to individuals with important purchasing power. Their luxurious tactile and visual material hospitality was accompanied by olfactory delights that were intended to further enhance the sensory impact of diplomatic visits.

Ritual and notions of status and protocol were at play on many different levels in diplomatic sociability. Even the seating plans for dinner in an ambassador’s residence had to take account of precedence, while social embeddedness involved adhering to and even developing local customs, from offering the traditional parting delicacies in Mughal India to the ritual of coffee in Austro–Ottoman relations. Textiles articulated status too: the type, colour, and plush of fabric could reflect where Genoa placed an important visitor in the international hierarchy. Similarly, the style and colour of the Doge’s biretta or his robes announced the status that the republic accorded its visitors, as clearly as did ceremonial considerations such as the considered use of space or gesture. Galastro proposes that we should pay more attention to the language of things in early modern diplomacy. Her focus on textile and sensory ‘things’ adds to the growing scholarship addressing the political significance of non-verbal communication in diplomatic practice.<sup>48</sup> As this volume shows, while much diplomatic negotiation was achieved verbally, the ceremonial, visual, and material cultures of early modern courts were utilized to constitute, denote, and debate political relationships, and to complement and complicate the oral and written negotiations they surrounded. It can be useful to think about these as ‘languages’ within diplomacy that gave shape and meaning to the interactions between representatives of different rulers.

Isabella Lazzarini has proposed that diplomatic interactions in Renaissance Italy can be broadly conceptualised as falling into two broad discursive strategies: argument and emotion. ‘Argument’ can be understood as the rational discourse of a particular issue and its component parts, whether through personal or textual interactions. ‘Emotion’—understood as the full range of ‘affective reactions’—complicated and nuanced argumentative discourses, and could be as strategically motivated and performed as humanist oratory.<sup>49</sup> While this is a useful way of conceptualizing a specific form of diplomatic communication, there was a wider range of discrete and cross-fertilizing diplomatic languages at play than Lazzarini’s ‘rational’ and ‘emotional’ ones. Space, ceremony, and material culture represented important modes of political interaction at early modern courts, albeit ones that interacted in complex ways. These were used to acknowledge status

and express favour, but also to make claims about a specific polity's position within the international hierarchy. Diplomatic gifts, in particular, illustrate the complex ways in which different modes of non-verbal communication might interact within early modern diplomatic practice. In the case of the 'Moscow coach', the very fact that it was a coach was a statement: its material form conveyed further information about the specific nature of the Anglo-Russian relationship, while the ceremonial circumstances in which it was given and received also contributed to the messages that were communicated between the English king and Russian tsar. All of which lent further meaning to the verbal and textual negotiations between the rulers and between Boris Godunov and Smythe.

In early modern diplomacy, not only humans carried agency. Objects and animals did too. Through the exchange of diplomatic gifts sovereigns recognized each other's legitimacy and claimed political status. Although they were only exchanged intermittently, gifts were an essential feature of early modern diplomacy across the globe, creating bonds of obligation and constructing notions of reciprocity and friendship even between far distant princes.<sup>50</sup> The Mamluks, Mughals, and Safavids, for instance, sent gifts to and received them from polities across Africa, Asia, and Europe.<sup>51</sup> In an age where princes rarely met, gifts could substitute for personal encounters between rulers.<sup>52</sup> The development of resident diplomacy in Renaissance Europe nuanced medieval gifting practices while the expansion of diplomatic contact experienced by most polities meant that gifts became even more important to their diplomatic relationships. Indeed, as Germán Gamero Igea discusses, gifting practices can offer us insights into the formative stages of resident diplomacy, as monarchs combined existing practices with new techniques. Ferdinand and Isabella, like their Iberian predecessors, became an effective 'working couple', sharing responsibilities and cooperating over foreign policy.<sup>53</sup> They divided diplomatic gift-giving between them into defined, if overlapping, spheres of responsibility based on two main factors: familial relationships and the pre-existing experience and resources that their countries possessed. The gifts they gave and received, and with whom they exchanged gifts, helped to distinguish between the two monarchies at the same time as it helped them forge a common framework for their diplomatic practice.

Diplomatic gifts were important tools of self-representation.<sup>54</sup> Ferdinand the Catholic sent European rulers items that were symbolic of his claims to Nasrid territory and war trophies that trumpeted his military victories over the Moors and enabled him to present himself as a champion of Christianity. Spoils of war were common diplomatic gifts in the Muslim world too, where they were used as a reminder, even a threat, of military might,<sup>55</sup> just as the VOC's gifts of miniature ships and palanquins symbolized their maritime power and delegated sovereignty. Felicity Heal's contribution focusses on a status symbol and expression of sovereign identity *par excellence*: noble beasts associated with military exploits and blood sports.<sup>56</sup> Rarely given

in isolation, animals and birds were an essential component of many gift packages from English monarchs, indeed their bodies were props for ostentatious metal and textile work. Exotic animals and rare birds both asserted royal magnificence and showcased the geographic range of a ruler's (or trading company's) diplomatic networks, even if their care could be as much a curse as a blessing. But as Heal demonstrates, the mechanisms of gifting were as important as the items given in constructing the relationship between sovereigns. The appropriate presentation of gifts and their proper receipt were important mediators of honour and friendship. Consequently, the public presentation of a gift was important to both donor and recipient. Indeed, as Frank Birkenholz's study of VOC gifts to Shah Abbas II and Aurangzeb also highlights, many rulers coincided the audience at which a gift was given with an important moment in the domestic ritual calendar. This enhanced the prestige of the gift while simultaneously garnering greater domestic and international benefits from its public display.

The function of diplomatic gifts is brought into sharp relief by Jan Hennings's analysis of what happened when diplomats deviated from established routine and gifting went awry. His analysis of Anglo–Russian relations in the early 1660s reveals that refusing a gift could be used as a strategy to parry ceremonial affronts. The earl of Carlisle rejected Tsar Aleksei's presents to his sovereign because he believed that the Russian court's conduct of his reception had dishonoured his master. His refusal functioned as a mechanism to restore Charles's status relative to the tsar's precisely because honour was conferred through the action of receiving as well as through giving. Using gifts to mediate the broader framework of honour was far from unique to Anglo–Russian relations: Charles de Ferriol, the French ambassador in Constantinople, withdrew his sovereign's presents over a perceived ceremonial slight during his welcome audience in 1700.<sup>57</sup> In certain circumstances the malleability of objects' meanings could be used to create mutually acceptable, but differing interpretations of the relationship.<sup>58</sup>

Hennings's chapter also explores the functions of gift-giving beyond the presentation of luxurious items of prestige, comparing the informal gift with more formalized exchanges of objects in trade and commerce. The tsar offered a carefully calculated quantity of hemp—an item that was more usually a trade commodity—as a gift to demonstrate his credit worthiness for a loan he was requesting at the time, while the English king pressured him with a reminder of the lucrative trade to be had with Russia through gifts of Cornish tin and pots of lead. Commerce and gifting, while often seen as distinct spheres of activity, were also intimately linked in the VOC's missions to Persia and India. The range of items given to Shah Abbas and Aurangzeb went beyond the usual 'scattergun' approach discussed by Heal. Birkenholz's detailed analysis of the items presented reveals the VOC's concern to showcase that their trading network extended across three continents.

Just as diplomats' participation in local ceremonies reveals how cultural assumptions met and mingled, so too can diplomatic gifting practices.

Hennings's study of Anglo-Russian ceremonies and gift exchange demonstrates that ceremonial disputes occurred not through cultural clashes, but because of a mutual understanding of how status was expressed. On the other hand, the Dutch merchant-diplomats discussed by Birkenholz adapted their gifting practices equally well to the demands of the courts of two tributary empires: their delegated sovereignty gave them the necessary flexibility to conform to the Mughal and Safavid emperors' interpretation of their gifts. The common elite language of beastly gifts that Healspies in Europe (and to a lesser degree, beyond) was surely understood in non-European societies too, as horses, animals associated with blood sports, and exotic beasts enjoyed particular currency in the Mediterranean and Eurasian spheres.<sup>59</sup> Even the tropes surrounding the reception of the animals were similar, if marked by local nuances. When the Moghul Emperor Jahangir received a mastiff from James VI/I, he showed his appreciation for the beast by praising its courage and having a leopard brought out to fight it, just as a European monarch would have produced a bear.<sup>60</sup> Although many beasts and objects had meanings that translated across cultural boundaries, the same item could have different meanings in different contexts. While the gift of a robe of honour denoted vassalage in a Mamluk context, in some tributary empires such as the Safavid or Mughal it also bestowed patronage, while in some Ottoman contexts, as Kármán shows, it conferred protection.<sup>61</sup>

Ferdinand and Isabella at least drew no clear distinctions between European Christian rulers and Muslim African ones in their gifting strategies. The lines were still blurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when as Christina Brauner has argued, the crown and other gifts that European trading companies gave to the king of Allada indicated that they considered some African polities neither fully outside the European society of princes nor quite within it.<sup>62</sup> The upshot is that such ambiguities, and the ability of political agents to mediate norms and communicate across cultural boundaries, made diplomatic cultures more compatible than the apparent fundamental differences of their political and social systems, and attendant national historiographies, suggest. The long absence of one international diplomatic system supported by a clear concept of sovereignty and a unified understanding of diplomacy was not an obstacle in the evolution of international relations; it was one of its constitutive elements. By opening up a broad panorama of diplomatic practices in early modernity, this volume invites readers to draw comparisons across the individual chapters in order to probe the notion that European diplomacy worked in different ways from what happened in other parts of the world rather than discussing international politics through anachronistic cultural hierarchies or juxtaposing 'European' and 'global'. Of course, the emerging practices remained pluralistic, disparate, and specific to regions, but a comparative perspective on our collective efforts suggests that regional compartmentalization reflected in the academic division of the world into regions, and their inherent

periodizations, is likely to be more obstructive to a better understanding of early modern diplomatic practices and their commensurability. If Renaissance Italy or seventeenth-century Westphalia were to remain the linchpins in our conception of international relations—and those who did not participate in resident diplomacy or the peace congress were to be labelled as different or ‘without diplomacy’—then the powerful tool of periodicity misses an important point: namely that resident ambassadors and the representatives in Münster and Osnabrück observed practices that are in principle commensurable with those employed elsewhere in the early modern world. It is by bringing together a range of approaches which are not ordinarily discussed together that a comparison of the differences, similarities, and entanglements between and within different regions speaks to what remains one of the core aims of the New Diplomatic History: to question the Eurocentric heritage. Therefore, this volume presents the state of the art of the discipline across different historiographical traditions as well as language boundaries. The New Diplomatic History is a burgeoning field in which different national historiographies have developed their own separate niches despite many obvious overlaps. Bringing these different national academic traditions together, as this volume does, highlights the benefits of sustained dialogue not only between disciplines but also between different trajectories of diplomatic history in different academies.

## Notes

- 1 This volume is related to events organized under the AHRC international networking grant ‘Textual ambassadors: cultures of diplomacy and literary writing in the early modern world’ (AH/K001930/1).
- 2 A. Maskell, *Russian art and art objects in Russia* (London, 1884), p. 231; *Sir Thomas Smithes voyage and entertainment in Russia* (London, 1605), E3r-4v. For a detailed description of the coach see J. Munby, ‘The Moscow coach: “a rich chariot, one portion of the great present”’, in O. Dmitrieva and T. Murdoch (eds.), *Treasures of the royal courts: Tudors, Stuarts and the Russian tsars* (London, 2013), pp. 163–5.
- 3 Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, 80/4.
- 4 TNA SP 91/1, fos. 134v, 196r-v.
- 5 *Sir Thomas Smithes voyage*, E3r-4v.
- 6 TNA SP 91/1, fos. 196r-8r, 207v-9r.
- 7 For a critical assessment of the classic approaches to diplomatic history, see H. M. Scott, ‘Diplomatic culture in old regime Europe’, in H. M. Scott and B. Simms (eds.), *Cultures of power in Europe during the long eighteenth century: essays in honour of T. C. W. Blanning* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 58–60.
- 8 For a useful introduction and critical appraisal, see E. Keene, *International political thought: a historical introduction* (Cambridge, 2005). See also D. Armitage, *Foundations of modern international thought* (Cambridge, 2013) and J. Bartelson, *A genealogy of sovereignty* (Cambridge, 1995). For an insightful critique of the tradition of international legal thought, see M. Koskenniemi, ‘International law and raison d’etat: rethinking the prehistory of international law’, in *The Roman foundations of the law of nations: Alberico Gentili on the justice of empire*, ed. B. Kingsbury and B. Straumann (Oxford, 2010), pp. 297–339.

- 9 For an enlightening discussion of the equally problematic term ‘transnational’, see B. Yun-Casalilla, ‘Transnational history: what lies behind the label. Some reflections from an early modernist’s point of view’, *Culture & History*, 3.2 (2014).
- 10 For a fuller discussion of the historiography see T. A. Sowerby, ‘Early modern diplomatic history’, *History Compass*, 14.9 (2016), 441–56. Earlier introductions include J. Watkins, ‘Toward a new diplomatic history of medieval and early modern Europe’, *JMEMS*, 38 (2008), 1–14; H. Kugeler, C. Sepp, and G. Wolf (eds.), *Internationale Beziehungen in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ansätze und Perspektiven* (Hamburg, 2006), pp. 9–35.
- 11 See for example H. von Thiesen and C. Windler (eds.), *Akteure der Aussenbeziehungen: Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel* (Cologne, 2010); J. DeSilva, and C. Fletcher (eds.), *Italian ambassadorial networks in early modern Europe*, a special issue of *JEMH*, 14.6 (2010), 505–611.
- 12 See for example C. Windler, ‘La curie romaine et la cour safavide au XVIIe siècle: projets missionnaires et diplomatie’, in M. A. Visceglia (ed.), *Papato e politica internazionalenella prima età moderna* (Rome, 2013), pp. 505–23; K. Boterbloem, *Moderniser of Russia: Andrei Vinius, 1641–1716* (Basingstoke, 2013); M. van Gelder and T. Krstić (eds.), *Cross-confessional diplomacy and diplomatic intermediaries in the early modern Mediterranean*, a special issue of *JEMH*, 19.2–3 (2015), 93–259; E. Rothschild, *The inner life of empires: an eighteenth-century history* (Oxford, 2011).
- 13 See for example A. Walthall (ed.), *Servants of the dynasty: palace women in world history* (London, 2008); J. Duindam, *Dynasties: a global history of power, 1300–1800* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 87–155.
- 14 For example C. Y. Muslu, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: imperial diplomacy and warfare in the Islamic world* (London, 2014); C. Brauner, *Kompanien, Könige und caboceers: interkulturelle Diplomatie an Gold- und Sklavenküste im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 2015); T. Osborne and J. P. Rubies (eds.), *Diplomacy and cultural translation in the early modern world*, a special issue of *JEMH*, 20.5 (2016), 313–428; C. Garnier and C. Vogel (eds.), *Interkulturelle Ritualpraxis in der Vormoderne: diplomatische Interaktion an den östlichen Grenzen der Fürstengesellschaft*, *ZHF Beiheft*, 52 (2016). See also references in next note.
- 15 S. Subrahmanyam, *Courtly encounters: translating courtliness and violence in early modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2012); N. Rothman, *Brokering empire: trans-imperial subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca, NY, 2012); G. Barth-Scalmani, H. Rudolph, and C. Steppan (eds.), *Politische Kommunikation zwischen imperien: der diplomatische Aktionsraum Südost- und Osteuropa* (Innsbruck, 2013).
- 16 For example J.-P. A. Ghobrial, *The whispers of cities: information flows in Istanbul, London and Paris in the age of William Trumbull* (Oxford, 2014); I. Lazzarini, *Communication and conflict: Italian diplomacy in the early Renaissance, 1350–1520* (Oxford, 2015); P. M. Dover (ed.), *Secretaries and statecraft in the early modern world* (Edinburgh, 2016).
- 17 H. Schilling, *Konfessionalisierung und Staatsinteressen: internationale Beziehungen 1559–1660* (Paderborn, 2007).
- 18 M. Rohrschneider and A. Strohmeier (eds.), *Wahrnehmungen des Fremden: Differenzenerfahrungen von Diplomaten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 2007); D. Riches, *Protestant cosmopolitanism and diplomatic culture: Brandenburg-Swedish relations in the seventeenth century* (Leiden, 2013).
- 19 For example R. Kauz, J.-P. Niederkorn, and G. Rota (eds.), *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und dem Mittleren Osten in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Vienna, 2009); M. Köhler, *Strategie und Symbolik: Verhandeln auf dem Kongress von Nimwegen* (Cologne, 2011); P. Burschel and C. Vogel (eds.), *Die Audienz: ritualisierter*

- Kulturkontakt in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2014); N. F. May, *Zwischen fürstlicher Repräsentation und adliger Statuspolitik: das Kongresszeremoniell bei den westfälischen Friedensverhandlungen* (Ostfildern, 2016).
- 20 M. Häberlein and C. Jeggle (eds.), *Materielle Grundlagen der Diplomatie: Schenken, Sammeln und Verhandeln in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Konstanz, 2013); T. A. Sowerby, "'A memorial and a pledge of faith": portraiture and early modern diplomatic culture', *EHR*, 129 (2014), 296–331; N. Ulm and L. R. Clark (eds.), 'The art of embassy: objects and images of early modern diplomacy', *JEMH*, 20.3 (2016), 3–139.
  - 21 This is not to suggest that it would be easy today, see R. H. Steinberg, 'Who is sovereign?', *Stanford Journal of International Law*, 40 (2004), 329–49.
  - 22 A. Wicquefort, *The ambassador and his functions*, trans. Mr Digby (Leicester 1997), p. 6. See A. Krischer, 'Souveränität als sozialer Status: zur Funktion des diplomatischen Zeremoniells in der Frühen Neuzeit', in Kauz, Niederkorn, and Rota (eds.), *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell*, pp. 1–32, for a discussion.
  - 23 H. Kugeler, "'Le parfait ambassadeur": the theory and practice of diplomacy in the century following the Peace of Westphalia', D.Phil. thesis University of Oxford (2006), pp. 131–3.
  - 24 Krischer, 'Souveränität als sozialer Status'.
  - 25 B. Stollberg-Rilinger, 'Honores Regii: die Königswürde im zeremoniellen Zeichensystem der Frühen Neuzeit', in J. Kunisch (ed.), *Dreihundert Jahre preussische Königskrönung: eine Tagungsdokumentation* (Berlin, 2002), pp. 1–26.
  - 26 A. Krischer, 'Das Gesandtschaftswesen und das vormoderne Völkerrecht', in M. Jucker and M. Kintzinger (eds.), *Rechtsformen Internationaler Politik: Theorie, Norm und Praxis vom 12. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 197–240.
  - 27 B. Stollberg-Rilinger, 'Völkerrechtlicher Status und zeremonielle Praxis auf dem Westfälischen Friedenskongreß', in Jucker and Kintzinger (eds.), *Rechtsformen*, pp. 147–64.
  - 28 D. Croxton, 'The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the origins of sovereignty', *IHR*, 21 (1999), 569–91.
  - 29 L. Benton, *A search for sovereignty: law and geography in European empires, 1400–1900* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 3. For an insightful discussion of 'composite sovereignty' see M. P. Romaniello, *The elusive empire: Kazan and the creation of Russia 1552–1671* (Madison, WI, 2012), esp. pp. 8–18.
  - 30 A. Gentili, *De legationibus libri tres*, 2 vols. (New York, 1924), ii.161.
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