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| **ABSTRACTS** |

**Kutse ALTIN [Szeged]**

**The Reception of John Sigismund Szapolyai in Hungarian and Ottoman Chronicles**

In 1566, when the Ottoman army, leaded by Kanuni Sultan Süleyman himself for the last time, towards to Hungary to intervene the long-standing turmoil between the Habsburg Emperor  Maximilian II and the Hungarian King Janos Sigismund, a ceremonial reception was realized at Zemun on behalf of the King of Hungary. When army reached the Belgrad first a noble order (*name-i şerif*) sent to Janos Sigismund who referred as ‘the son of the King’ in the Ottoman sources and was summoned to the imperial tent. However before he met with the old but still illustrious Sultan, the sergeants were sent to him for giving some instructions about the customs of the Ottoman Court and how to behave while he was performing his visit. Ottomans employed every ceremonial and symbolic means by providing glamorous greatness and prosperity for the reception of the King Janos. And the King exhibited what he learned from the sergeants so fairly and properly, all the janissaries greeted him with enthuse and shouts and later he submitted his presents in order to express his gratitude to the Sultan. Following the receptions, Sigismund summoned to the warfare tent and here he had chance to express his current circumstances with the Habsburgs, in the presence of the veziers and Sultan himself and moreover he was gratified with the honour of kissing the hand of Süleyman who called him ‘my son’.

The last campaign of Sultan Süleyman, is broadly discussed in both academic and public sphere in terms of political and military aspects and also by virtue of its heroic narratives. What I plan to proceed in this research is to evaluate the symbols of political discourse and diplomacy by examining the campaign from a different perspective. There are quite amount of detailed information about the reception of the Janos Sigismund in both Ottoman and Hungarian chronicles. This paper aims to reconstruct the dynamics of Ottoman and Hungarian diplomacy by exploring those contemporary narrative sources.

**Beatriz ÁLVAREZ GARCÍA [Complutense]**

**Peace-Making Ceremonies and Ambassadorial Representation: The Treaty of Madrid (1630)**

This paper deals with the ceremonies and public representation of the ambassadors who negotiated the Anglo-Spanish Treaty of Madrid in 1630. The aim of this paper is to analyse how peace-making ceremonies should be performed according to diplomatic treaties and how they were performed in the case of the Treaty of Madrid. The initial negotiations for the treaty were carried out by informal agents, provided that there was no formal diplomatic representation during the war (1625-1630). In 1629 Sir Francis Cottington was sent as the British envoy to the Spanish court, where he held the post of extraordinary ambassador. At the same time, Carlos Coloma acted as the Spanish extraordinary ambassador in London. As formal ambassadors, both of them had to observe a strict code regarding representativeness and ceremonials.

Representativeness was a crucial concept in the making of foreign policy. Even a small diplomatic incident could disrupt the ongoing political negotiations, as it might be regarded as a loss of reputation in the international sphere.

The arrangements for the treaty included not only the political negotiations about topics such as trading, religion and military intervention in Flanders, but also ceremonial and representative aspects. The latter will be the topics discussed in this paper. Of utmost significance for this paper are questions such as the diplomatic ceremonies in which the English and Spanish ambassadors took part, whether they were performed in public or not and the public festivities prepared for the occasion (which, contrary to tradition, were scarce in this case). In order to consider this, I will deal with private and official correspondence, as well as with diplomatic treatises and ceremonial codes. The publicity of diplomatic festivities meant that political communication went beyond court scenarios to influence local population. It was an occasion for foreign diplomats to engage with their potential audiences in order to maintain their reputation and the reputation of those whom they represented.

**Daniele ARGENIO [EHESS]**  
**The policy of gift in the diplomatic mission of Antonio Rincon**

In this paper we would like to discuss the case of Antonio Rincon, ambassador of the Kingdom of France to the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent between 1538 and 1541. Rincon had come to Constantinople with the task of maintaining good relations with the Istanbul court, in the political context of the Franco-Ottoman alliance against Charles V. But already in June 1538, King Francis I of France signed a truce with the Habsburg Emperor in Nice. The problem for Rincon was: how to reconcile this new direction of French foreign policy with the need to maintain good relations with the Sultan? The ambassador immediately understood the unfortunate effects that news from Western Europe would have had in the Ottoman court and the risks to his person if he had fallen into disgrace at Suleiman. Rincon tried to limit the political damage that these events could produce by addressing a series of letters to the sultan and his viziers in which he informed them of the facts, describing the incident as a tactical manoeuvre by the king of France, and stating that the French sovereign would continue to support the idea of collaboration with the Ottomans against Charles V. But Rincon did not limit himself to this, knowing the functioning of the mechanisms of the Ottoman court he committed himself to please the most important viziers with gifts and promises to keep their good disposition to him. The diplomat alternates talks and letters with generous gifts of valuables, all scrupulously reported in a document entitled *Comptes de l’ambassade de Rincon en Turquie.* In this text Rincon not only lists the gifts but also provides a political justification for each one, like in this example:«A Rostan, gendre du Grant Seigneur et son dernier pascha, donné aussi pour luy mieulxfaire croire les excuses dudict passaige de l'Empereur par France, en robes, jusques à la somme de cent cinquante escuz»

The purpose of this paper is to present the role played by the ‘gift policy’ in Rincon's mission, as an example of the diplomatic practice of gift, as Rincon himself intended it in the context of the Ottoman court, that is like a means to conquer and maintain good relations with the ministers of Solimano, even at a time when relations between the two sovereigns were not positive and the ambassador's own security was at risk. Considering the particularity of Rincon's mission, with reference to the different political and cultural context of the Ottoman court.

**Palakyem AZIWA, [l’Université Dalhousie, Nova Scotia, Canada]**

**Cérémonies d’entrées d’ambassadeurs à la Renaissance: paramètres stylistiques et portée**

Les entrées solennelles ont bénéficié d’un crédit intellectuel assez important dans les études consacrées à l’Ancien Régime. Mais si les entrées royales sont amplement étudiées, le champ des entrées d’ambassadeurs est à peine entamé. Le vide est encore plus grand lorsqu’on glisse sur le terrain formel. Pourtant des études révèlent qu’à mesure que la figure du diplomate prenait de l’importance dans les relations internationales, se cristallisait consciemment ou non un code particulier, inhérent à ses fonctions. Ce « langage diplomatique » n’est pas seulement verbal mais aussi physique et gestuel. Les cérémonies d’accueil et de réception étant un moment crucial dans la diplomatie, l’analyse de quelques occasionnels permettra d’apprécier à la fois le déroulement de ce rituel et sa représentation ritualisée selon le pays et la circonstance. Autrement dit, les cérémonies d’entrées se déroulent-elles suivant un rituel analogue et hiératique? Quels éléments sont particulièrement mis en évidence dans les récits et selon quelle rhétorique? Quelle place occupe le corps de l’ambassadeur dans les récits et pourquoi? Comme postulats, nous avançons que les livres d’entrées d’ambassadeurs, tout en présentant des récits de rituels analogues, se révèlent eux-mêmes comme des rites. En outre, ils présentent des lieux communs formels qu’il importe d’étudier en profondeur. Enfin, la description de l’ambassadeur et de sa suite serait au service d’une idéologie. Une étude, à la fois analytique et comparée de dix occasionnels, à l’instar de l’entrée solennelle de l’ambassadeur du roi de Perse à Constantinople en 1580 et l’entrée de l'ambassadeur du Roi du Japon à Rome en 1615, tentera de confirmer ou d’infirmer ces postulats.

**Amélie BALAYRE [Université d'Artois]**

**‘J'eusse esté fort empesché en cet affaire pour n'avoir esté nourry a tel exercice’: L'apprentissage de la représentation diplomatique en Angleterre par le marquis d'Effiat (1624-1625).**

Envoyé en juillet 1624 à Londres pour négocier le mariage de la sœur de Louis XIII, Henriette de France, avec le Prince de Galles, futur Charles Ier d'Angleterre, Antoine Coëffier de Ruzé, marquis d'Effiat effectue à cette occasion sa première mission diplomatique au service du roi de France. L'une de ses premières rencontres avec le roi Jacques Ier à lieu lors d'une chasse au cerf. Lors de cet événement, son hôte lui accorde l'honneur d'achever la bête traquée. L'angoisse saisi alors le marquis d'Effiat, alors âgé de 43 ans. Jamais l'ambassadeur n'a mis à mort une bête, ni tirer à l'arbalète.

Cette première expérience plonge le marquis au cœur du métier d'ambassadeur dans lequel il fait ses premiers pas. Elle met aussi en lumière la nécessité du paraître et l'importance du bon geste qui doit rendre l'ambassadeur digne de sa fonction et conforme à l'image de son maître, Louis XIII. Aussi cette expérience s'inscrit-elle pleinement dans une concurrence farouche, loin d'être inédite, entre les ambassadeurs français et espagnol, tous deux catholiques, dans un royaume considéré comme hérétique mais sur lequel les souverains continentaux portent une attention particulière. En effet, le mariage de l'héritier du trône avec une princesse catholique revêt un enjeu notable. C'est dans ce contexte que le marquis d'Effiat, endosse le rôle de diplomate. L'intérêt de cette ambassade, outre son enjeu politico-religieux, est qu'elle permet d'observer à travers la correspondance du marquis ses angoisses de commettre une faute et ses atermoiements. Le diplomate expérimente, reçoit des conseils venus de France, découvre et apprend le métier. Cette ambassade, par la richesse et le volume du matériel conservé et retranscrit au XVIIe siècle nous permet d'appréhender l'apprentissage d'une fonction, de ses codes et de ses exigences par un homme d'âge mur.

Ainsi cette communication se propose d'étudier, à travers la correspondance du marquis d'Effiat, l'initiation de ce dernier aux *habitus* diplomatiques à la cour d'Angleterre tout autant que l'acquisition d'un savoir-faire qui s'exprime notamment lors de réceptions et d'entrevues et par là même ses réflexions sur la prépondérance du paraître lors des missions diplomatiques.

**François BAROUCH [Université Paris 10 Nanterre]**

**Louis XIV, Mamamouchi: une désagréable expérience diplomatique**Le 4 août 1669, Soliman Aga débarque à Toulon, escorté de vingt personnes de sa suite. Sa mission : remettre un message diplomatique en main propre à Louis XIV, « l’Empereur de France ». A Versailles, il est attendu de pied ferme : on a redécoré tout l’intérieur du château dans un style supposé turc, on a confectionné un costume de sultan pour le roi et un cérémonial est prévu pour imposer à l’envoyé de la Sublime Porte le faste et la puissance françaises. Mais rien de ce qui était prévu n’arriva : à la suite d’une série de manqués, le séjour de Soliman Aga se soldera par un échec retentissant et certains courtisans y verront même une humiliation pour le Roi Soleil. Echec complet ? Loin s’en faut, car ce court épisode digne de comédie sera à l’origine de la commande du *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, pour lequel Molière est invité à travailler avec le Chevalier d’Arvieux, interprète français lors de la visite de l’émissaire. Ils doivent reproduire avec exactitude les coutumes orientales pour concocter la mascarade turque que nous apprécions encore aujourd’hui. Nous nous proposons de revenir sur le déroulé de ce cérémonial diplomatique pour analyser sa mise en scène, et sa mise en jeu des corps français et étrangers, dans une logique démonstrative et exagérée. La règle diplomatique consistant à assimiler respectueusement la coutume étrangère est ici transgressée par excès de zèle. En voulant se faire plus turc que le sultan, Louis XIV s’est enfermé dans un personnage de Mamamouchi, ne maîtrisant pas les codes mais souhaitant les intégrer de manière superficielle pour mieux briller aux yeux de tous. La pièce de Molière, qui était pensée comme une revanche prise sur l’ennemi, confirme en réalité l’idée que les plus ridicules de cet épisode demeurent les Français. N’est-ce pas pour cette raison que le roi se montra mécontent lors de la première représentation du *Bourgeois gentilhomme* en 1670?

**Diana BARRETO ÁVILA** **[Università Roma Tre]**

**Presence and absence of artistic representations of indigenous royal women: The cases of Isabel Moctezuma and Beatriz Coya.**

This paper focuses on the significance of marriage alliances of the Spanish conquerors with indigenous royal women through their presences and absences in art representations during the colonial period.

Two case studies are taken to make a comparative study between the Aztec princess *Isabel Moctezuma Tecuixpo Ixtlaxóchitl* during the Viceroyalty of New Spain and the *Inca* princess *Beatriz Clara Coya* in the Viceroyalty of Peru, throughout the colonising processes in America.

The marriage of both indigenous princesses was the center of complex political negotiations between the conquerors rising powers, the indigenous ruling royal families and the Hispanic Monarchy.

This comparative study shows the similarities and differences between the two generations of noble indigenous women who were part of the diplomatic strategies made by the conquerors who wanted to legitimize their power through marriage alliances. From the first generation we study the case of *Isabel Moctezuma Tecuixpo Ixtlaxóchitl*  ( 1509-1551)  who was the first born child of *Moctezuma II*, the last Aztec *Tlatuani* ( ruler) in power when Hernan Cortes first arrived in *Tenochtitlán*  in 1521. From the second generation we deal with *Beatriz Clara Coya* (1556-1600), daughter of the Inca King *Sayri Tupac* who accepted the authority of the Spanish crown in 1558.

*Isabel Moctezuma Tecuixpo Ixtlaxóchitl* was married five times. Her first two husbands were *Cuitláhuac* and then *Cuauhtémoc*, who were the last two Aztec emperors from *Tenochtitlán*. The next three marriages were with major Spanish conquerors: *Don Alonso Grado, Don Pedro Gallejo de Andada* and *Don Juan Cano,* from whom the royal line of the Counts of *Moctezuma* was originated.

The portrait of Isabel Moctezuma was included, along with her father the emperor Moctezuma II, in the Codex Cozcatzin in 1572 by the *tlacuilo Juan Luis Cozcatzin.* Afterwards, there is a remarkable absence of any art representation of her image.

On the other hand, the wedding of the *Inca* princess, *Beatriz Clara Coya*, was first portrayed during the seventeenth century in a great painting displayed in the church of *Compañía de Jesús* (*Cuzco)*. At the end of the eighteenth century a tradition of various artistic interpretations of the marriage alliance took place, including the praise *La Conquista del Perú* (1748) by the playwright *Fray Francisco del Castillo.* *Beatriz* *Clara* *Coya* was sent to the convent of *Santa Clara* in *Cuzco* as a child after being subject of diverse marriage schemes. Finally, at sixteen years old, in 1572, she was married to *Martín García Óñez of Loyola*, governor of Chile and great nephew of *San Ignacio* of *Loyola.*

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**Martine BOITEUX (EHESS)  
Cérémonial et fêtes des ambassadeurs dans la Rome pontificale: performances et images**

La fête est une obligation à Rome où tout est représentation (Wiquefort). Elle est un support pour la communication de l’ambassadeur qui montre ainsi l’exercice du service su roi. La diplomatie culturelle utilise le langage cérémoniel et artistique sur la scène romaine, lieu cosmopolite où l’Europe se rencontre et dialogue, « théâtre du monde » et *caput mundi*. Le protocole de l’ambassadeur s’ajoute à celui de la cour de Rome. Les lieux d’expression sont intérieurs et « privés », la résidence de l’ambassadeur, ou la place publique pour un temps appropriée.

L’exposé, à partir des sources écrites et figurées, propose un parcours en images des initiatives et de la participation personnelle des ambassadeurs, depuis leur Entrée officielle, les célébrations dynastiques (célébrations des naissance, mariage, mort), avec des spectacles théâtraux, musicaux et pyrotechniques, pour illustrer le thème de la diplomatie culturelle, stimulée par la concurrence et l’émulation artistiques et politiques. Les artistes utilisent les modèles romains actualisés et agrémentés des signes identitaires des nations. Les décors, architectures éphémères et scénographies des fêtes officielles et des rituels romains anticipent et expérimentent. Entre la norme et la pratique, les formes symboliques, performance et représentation, sont des instruments pour la diffusion qui est intimement liée à la production

cérémonielle et festive. Ces manifestations de l’ambassadeur sont des dons, matériels et symboliques dont il attend, en retour, un contre-don pour servir une diplomatie culturelle efficace.

**Thalia BRERO [l’Université de Genève]**

**La politesse des rois. Salutations et gestes d’accueil lors des rencontres entre princes (1400-1550)**

Ma proposition d’intervention porte, pour reprendre le titre de ce colloque en le prolongeant, sur les gestes de la diplomatie directe. Je m’intéresse en effet à ces occasions, relativement nombreuses dans l’Europe occidentale des années 1400-1550, lors desquelles les souverains se rencontrent face à face, sans la médiation (apparente, du moins) d’ambassadeurs. Le moment le plus fort de ces rencontres au sommet est sans conteste celui où les deux princes sont mis en présence et se saluent. Du point de vue de la diplomatie, peu de gestes sont aussi lourds de sens, de symboles et de conséquences que ceux qui sont échangés au cours de ces quelques dizaines de secondes.

La disposition spatiale de l’entrevue, soigneusement planifiée, donne déjà le ton : les deux protagonistes viennent-ils à la rencontre l’un de l’autre ou l’un des deux attend-il son visiteur ? Dans ce cas, le fait de rester assis, de se lever ou de faire quelques pas en direction de l’arrivant s’avère déterminant, tout comme des mouvements tels que se découvrir puis se recouvrir (ou non), écarter ses bras en signe de bienvenue, ponctuer l’approche de révérences. Puis vient le moment de l’impact, l’instant suspendu où les princes se touchent. Le salut peut alors prendre des formes très protocolaires (baisemain, génuflexion) ou plus chaleureuses (baisers sur le visage, accolades).

La gestuelle des princes continue d’être observée tout au long de l’entrevue : ils peuvent marcher bras dessus bras dessous, faire assaut de politesses (« – Passez. – Non feray! » se moquait Eustache Deschamps), échanger des cadeaux, porter des vêtements identiques… Ces signes de familiarité et de bonne entente sont les plus fréquents, mais il arrive qu’une distance glaciale soit de mise. Certains gestes – ou leur absence – peuvent avoir valeur de soufflets invisibles et s’avérer terriblement humiliants. D’autres encore peuvent être mal compris: ainsi les baisers, courants dans l’espace francophone, qui choquent souvent les cours ibériques.

En puisant dans le corpus des entrevues princières du XVe siècle et de la première moitié du XVIe siècle, et en particulier celui des rencontres des rois de France, ducs de Bourgogne et ducs de Savoie avec les souverains d’autres puissances (Angleterre, Empire germanique, cours italiennes et ibériques), je me propose d’analyser la manière dont la gestuelle des princes était codifiée lors de ces rencontres au sommet. Quelle était la part fixe de protocole régissant ces occasions, face à toutes les spécificités impliquées par le contexte particulier de chacune d’elles? Il s’agit en effet d’une équation complexe qui dépend du rang, des liens familiaux, de l’âge et du genre des protagonistes, sans compter bien sûr la situation internationale et d’éventuels atomes crochus.

Les gestes échangés au moment de la rencontre peuvent dire la réconciliation, la subordination, la supériorité hiérarchique, le rejet. Ils sont d’autant plus importants que ces entrevues entre souverains deviennent de plus en plus publiques à l’époque des guerres d’Italie: les faits et gestes des princes sont scrutés, relatés par toutes sortes de textes, qui leur donnent une dimension que l’on qualifierait presque de « médiatique ». Le corps des princes met alors véritablement en scène leurs rapports politiques et diplomatiques.

**Bradley CAVALLO [Marian University, USA]**  
**The Medici–Mamlūk Connection**

501 years ago the Ottoman Turks extinguished the political authority of their rivals the Mamlūk Sultanate after it had reigned in Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz region of Arabia with its holy cities of Medina and Mecca since 1260. The emergence of Ottoman hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean and their well-documented relationship with the Venetians has consequently long overshadowed the strong diplomatic connections that the Mamlūks had formed with Christian Europeans, including the Medici family in Florence during the fifteenth century and the importance of that link for the Medici as part of the visualization of their political legitimacy during the sixteenth century.

‘The Medici–Mamlūk Connection’ will redress this scholarly situation by examining the Medici-Mamlūk diplomatic relationship as lived reality under the auspices of Lorenzo ‘Il Magnifico’ de’Medici, and then as mythologized during the reign of Cosimo I de’Medici. Central to this investigation will be artworks created for the Palazzo Vecchio by Giorgio Vasari and Cristofano di Papi dell’Altissimo: Vasari’s Lorenzo the Magnificent Receives the Tribute of the Ambassadors (ca. 1556–1558) in the Room of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and Altissimo’s series of portraits of Islamic rulers that formed part of an originally intended cycle of uomini illustri for installation in Cosimo I’s Guardaroba nuova.

In both cases, the imagined acts of gift-receiving a giraffe by Lorenzo and portraits by Cosimo I implied a continuity of international diplomacy in which gifting had long demonstrated unequivocal signs of mutual respect and equality between rulers. Vasari’s painting explicitly envisions, and Altissimo’s imply, that acknowledgement by Muslim sultans of the Medici family as the sovereigns of Florence. For regardless of the origins of Altissimo portraits in Paolo Giovio’s Musaeum, in combination with Vasari’s painting, they collectively commemorated the maintenance of Medici power over multiple generations by generating a genealogy of Muslim potentates who had treated Cosimo I and his progenitor as politically powerful peers.

Art historians have begun to consider the practice of gift-giving—distinct from patronage/clientelismo studies—as a vital component in comprehending early-modern, Italo- Islamic interactions. Leah R. Clark and Nancy Um (2016, 4) have argued that ‘visual and material approaches should be located at the center of the study of early modern ambassadorial exchange [because it] was always undergirded by the transfer of objects and often represented (or imagined) in pictorial form.’ Conversely, integrating a ‘diplomatic’ approach with work on cultural materiality and Marcel Mauss’ anthropological methodology, will help to reveal the meaning of artworks overtly or implicitly gifted between Italian and Islamic rulers.

To this end, ‘The Medici–Mamlūk Connection’ will examine Altissimo’s portrait series vis-à-vis the geo-political significance for Cosimo I of the relationships established by his Medici predecessors with their Muslim, political counterparts—especially the Mamlūk Sultanate—and as a reification of that prestigious lineage of international diplomacy.

**Maëlig CHAUVIN [Université de Paris I]**

**Le cadeau diplomatique : l’objet matériel au cœur de la stratégie pontificale en Europe (1605-1721)**

En Europe, au XVIIème siècle, l’échange de cadeaux diplomatiques entre ambassadeurs devient une pratique sociale implicite et attendue, évoquée dans les traités de diplomatie à l’intention des ambassadeurs.

Cependant, les cadeaux offerts par la Papauté constituent une spécificité à part. En effet, le souverain-pontife, fier de son autorité politique et religieuse, utilise les nonces, ses ambassadeurs, comme porteurs de présents de grande ampleur. Si l’on pourrait s’attendre à que ces présents soient principalement des reliquaires, des bénitiers et autres objets à connotation religieuse, il est plus surprenant de découvrir des tableaux à sujet profane, des statues antiques et des «bagatelles», menus objets destinés à satisfaire le goût personnel du destinataire, qui ne semblent pas au premier abord contribuer à la Réforme catholique, être envoyés de la part du pape au souverain étranger. Dès lors, comment l’objet profane, à priori sans rapport avec la religion et les valeurs prônées par le Saint-Siège, peut-il servir les intérêts pontificaux? Peut-on même parler de « sacralité » des objets? Comment étaient présentés les présents pontificaux: lors de grandes cérémonies, comme à la cour de Madrid, ou, au contraire, distribués secrètement aux alliés de la Papauté, comme ce fut le cas pour les souverains anglais?

L’objet sera mis en valeur comme porteur d’un message. Ne constitue-il pas un élément indispensable du soft power prôné par la Papauté, qui cherche à persuader en douceur? Ce concept d’objets migrants, en circulation, est aussi à mettre en lien avec la circulation des idées, d’un certain goût artistique. La remise du cadeau ne devient-elle pas un enjeu artistique et politique, où magnificence et persuasion cherchent à faire basculer la politique européenne en faveur du Saint-Siège?

Il s’agira principalement d’approfondir un aspect de mon sujet de thèse afin de montrer comment le cadeau diplomatique, objet matériel par excellence, devient un instrument de pouvoir, un enjeu stratégique dans la politique européenne et un témoignage

**John CONDREN [University of Limerick]**

**Receiving Louis XIV’s ambassadors at Italian princely courts: some examples from the years 1659 – 1701**

In 1659, the Peace of the Pyrenees between France and Spain was signed on the Ile des Faisans, in the Bidassoa River. This treaty inaugurated a period whereby the French monarchy and government sought to subtly enhance its diplomatic presence in northern Italy, in keeping with Cardinal Jules Mazarin’s policy of attracting the *principi padani* as French allies against Habsburg Spain during the 1640s and 1650s. From 1661 (the year of Mazarin’s death), French envoys were dispatched to the smaller Italian courts – Parma, Modena, Mantua, and Florence – for important reasons: the negotiation of marriages, the agreeing of treaties of alliance, and the professing of friendship and protection. This paper analyses the reception of these envoys in light of continued French discontent at perceived inferiority to the diplomats of the Holy Roman Emperor – the feudal overlord of the states of northern Italy. In particular, several small incidents in Parma and Mantua in the 1680s underlined Louis XIV’s sensitivity to his standing as the foremost monarch of Christendom. The paper discusses these incidents in light of their importance to our understanding of symbolism in seventeenth-century diplomacy, and our awareness of diplomatic culture more generally, in the so-called ‘age of Louis XIV’. There is a further interesting dimension in that the Duke of Berwick (the exiled James II’s illegitimate son) visited the court of Parma in 1699 while on his way to Rome, yet was not granted the reception he might have wished, despite also being

a general in the French army. Berwick was the son of an anointed monarch who nonetheless lacked a throne, and his ambiguous status was reflected in the confusion his presence in

Parma engendered.

**Zsuzsa CZIRÁKI [Szeged]**

**The Silent Language of Robes: The Semiotics of Clothing**

**in the Seventeenth-century Habsburg Diplomatic Missions at the Sublime Porte**

The clothes make the man – posits the old saying, which is supposed to have been even more relevant in early modern diplomatic encounters when the actors were expected to represent not only one person but a whole state and a more or less elaborate political intention according to a strictly regulated ceremonial routine, where also the ambassador’s dress had a connotation. It has already been proven that these special communicative situations relied upon an utmost complex symbolic framework which became even more complicated when the negotiating partners had extremely different socio-cultural backgrounds and political traditions. Regarding the intense Habsburg-Ottoman relations stretching over centuries, it is by far not surprising that a characteristic symbolic language took gradual shape between the two empires which had to facilitate the negotiations through representatives of the rival realms even behind the tediously translated words of the emissaries.

This strong connotative level appears to have reflected sometimes quite different components of the own diplomatic traditions which were based preferably on symbolic contents made visual. Not surprisingly, the seventeenth-century Habsburg diplomacy in Constantinople operated also with a handful of coded visual messages which were expected to have been understood in the Ottoman context as well. Among these intercultural, metacommunicative junctions emerges above all the clothing which the Habsburg ambassadors were wearing at Diwan-audiences in Constantinople. The appearance of the envoys is reported by contemporaries to have been meticulously designed and embedded into a carefully structured flow of masked information going back to old Central-European traditions which, however, seem to have been accessible for dignitaries at the Sublime Porte as well. Considering that this thought-provoking issue has not reached much scholarly interest so far, my paper focuses on the origin and evolution of the semiotics of seventeenth-century ambassadorial dress as an important part of early modern Habsburg diplomatic performance in the settings of Constantinople**.**

**Paola DE SANTO [University of Georgia Athens, USA]**  
**«Nonostante il mio abito»?: Clothing the Ambassador's Body in Renaissance Venetian *Viaggi***

The body of the Renaissance ambassador was an entity both protected and vulnerable, and his dress was tantamount to a political act. The ambassador’s clothing, often lavish and always highly symbolic, was the site of a double encounter: of his person and office, as well as of his land and that of the foreign sovereign. The ritualized encounter between ambassador and foreign sovereign are central to Renaissance diplomatic *viaggi*, whose most intricate passages detail sumptuously the clothing of the Venetian dignitaries and their hosts, including weave, weight and material of the fabrics. The clothed ambassador is rendered in a manner indistinguishable from the extravagant gifts, often sartorial, brought with the diplomatic entourage. Ambassador and diplomacy are reduced to the visual impression made by their impeccably Venetian apparel. I will look at the political implications of the clothed ambassadorial body in *viaggi* by or about Renaissance Venetian ambassadors in the east, particularly the *Viaggio di Ambrosio Contarini, ambasciatore veneziano* (1487) and Zaccaria Pagani’s *Viaggio di Domenico Trevisan: ambasciatore veneto al gran sultano del Cairo nell’anno 1512,* and situate them within European diplomatic and sartorial traditions.

In this paper, I intend to demonstrate how in essentially opposite ways, both are texts that demonstrate the vacillation between distinction and likeness that defines the ambassador’s privilege and predicament: he inhabits a world in which the need for disguise and ceremony shifts rapidly and, in both cases, the ambassador is a foreigner to his own self. As an insider to his state, he must sacrifice his own identity and don that of his sovereign, and submit every action to political interpretation. As a surrogate of his state to a foreign sovereign, he could theoretically be considered an insider or, sometimes even a prisoner. The cloth that adorns the ambassador, while often luxurious, also distances him from his personal identity, imprisoning his body natural within the body politic.

**Sheila FFOLLIOTT [George Mason University]**

***Ambassador, Ambassadress, Portraits, and Precedence: on the Move at a Soirée chez Catherine de’ Medici*.**

Accounts of an evening party at Catherine de’ Medici’s Parisian dower house in February 1580 provide revealing examples of the ways that portraits functioned in diplomacy.  Letters by the English Ambassador, Sir Henry (Brooke) Cobham and, somewhat unusually, another by his wife, Anne (née Sutton), describe the event.  Hosted by the Queen Mother, the soirée was specifically, while disingenuously, presented as being offered simply for her son, Henri III, but not the King. This distinction, plus it’s not being held at the Louvre, suggests an attempt to downplay official etiquette.

As Ambassador Cobham and his wife followed different paths once inside the hôtel, their descriptions of the evening differ and are therefore also revealing about expected behaviours based upon gender.  The evening involved their being welcomed, then climbing stairs, being presented to important members of the royal family, eating a meal, being escorted through diverse rooms, dancing, and finally watching a masque.  In their accounts, Sir Henry prioritized his concern for precedence, while Lady Cobham, significantly, focused on the role played by a miniature portrait of her Queen, Elizabeth I, that she carried on her person.

Many scholars have shown how portraits circulated among early modern courts, often to promote marriages.  The arrival and display of an artwork at court, moreover, created an event and diplomats recorded monarchs’ and courtiers’ giving, receiving, examining, and discussing them.  Writers inform us that in their absence, portraits are objects of speculation, desire, and negotiation; in their presence, they evoke comment, often the result of guided movement to view particular aspects.

This paper focuses on those passages in Lady Cobham’s letter describing how this portrait stands at the nexus of lengthy physical and verbal exchanges between the Ambassadress, who carries it, and the King, who wants to see it.  But Lady Cobham claims that she had strict instructions to show the portrait only to Queen Catherine. What was this theatrical set piece that ensued intended to achieve?  The context here, of course, concerns the ongoing discussions of Elizabeth’s potential marriage to the King’s younger brother, the Duke of Alençon. Does this negotiation circumscribed to occur between women signal a difference in potential commitment than if Sir Henry held the portrait or if his wife had been instructed to present it to the King? How do the respective movements and language of Lady Cobham and the King, as they extemporise, resonate with others present?

**Damien Fontvieille** **[Sorbonne Université]**

**À travers les yeux de l’ambassadeur**. **Les gestes curiaux, témoins des relations entre deux États : l’exemple de l’ambassade de Michel de Castelnau en Angleterre (1575-1585)**

Michel de Castelnau est envoyé résider longuement en Angleterre comme ambassadeur, entre 1575 et 1585. C’est une ambassade aux multiples enjeux : après la Saint-Barthélemy, il s’agit de restaurer la confiance anglaise, et, s’il est possible, de bâtir une alliance entre les deux royaumes, tout en prévenant la reine d’Angleterre d’apporter son aide aux Protestants français, et en s’efforçant de prêter attention aux affaires d’Ecosse dans l’intérêt de la France. L’ambassade, en outre, est marquée par la négociation du mariage entre le duc François d’Anjou et la reine Elizabeth Ire qui donne lieu à une intense activité à la cour.

Cette ambassade a souvent été scrutée, notamment pour les négociations matrimoniales qui ont donné lieu à de nombreuses études sur la politique de la reine, et les sources, du côté français, sont abondantes grâce à l’importante correspondance de Michel de Castelnau. Ce dernier y rapporte, comme c’est le devoir d’un ambassadeur, les moindres informations qui lui parviennent, mais il se montre aussi un observateur très minutieux. C’est cet aspect d’observateur que cette communication propose d’interroger, car, pour juger de l’issue d’une négociation, ou de l’état des relations d’un pays, il s’appuie très fréquemment sur les manifestations d’amitié, ou d’inimitié, de la reine et de ses conseillers. Il s’agit ainsi d’interroger la lecture d’un ambassadeur du langage non-verbal d’une cour qui sert de baromètre des relations entre deux royaumes.

Cet aspect peut être examiné notamment en proposant un répertoire des gestes que l’ambassadeur observe, des émotions aux visites de courtoisie, mais aussi leur interprétation, leur usage par les deux partis. À travers ce rôle d’observateur de l’ambassadeur, l’on peut également interroger la culture de ce personnage, sa vision du monde, et l’influence du contact avec une cour étrangère, reprenant ainsi la définition de l’identité du diplomate.

**Charles GIRY-DELOISON [Artois]**

**'Saluted me wth a kisse and boad me welconne'. Lady Anne Cobham’s recollections of her first reception at the court of France, 14th February 1580**

On Shrove Monday 1580, Lady Cobham (Anne Sutton), wife of the then English resident ambassador in France Sir Henry Cobham, was invited by the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medicis, to attend a great feast at her palace. Anne gave a report of the event, which is now preserved in the National Archives (TNA, SP 78 4A). It is a short three folio-document, most likely not in Anne’s own hand, and endorsed by a secretary under the title ‘The French courtesy of the Lady Embassadour’. The document offers a fascinating insight into some of the ceremonial in place at the French court in late sixteenth century, into gift-giving and into court conversation.

After describing the political context of the reception, the purpose of the paper is to analyse what the document tells us of how the wife of an ambassador was received at the French court and what aspects of her role it reveals. It is also to compare it with other descriptions of receptions of English ambassadors at the court of France and of French ambassadors at the court of England in the sixteenth century, in order to understand the nature of court culture in an international context, and the role of cultural go-between ambassadors - and, in some occasions, wives of ambassadors - sometimes played, or were asked to play.

**Daniella GUTIERREZ FLORES [University of Chicago]**

**‘Nos podrían dejar morir de hambre’: Food, Diplomacy and the Narratives of Conquest in Hernán Cortés’s Segunda Carta de Relación**

Hernán Cortés’s Segunda carta de relación, addressed to King Charles V in 1520, has long been read as a testimony of the masterful diplomatic abilities, political skills and military genius that led him to conquer the great city of Tenochtitlán.

Such a reading, however, reinforces the image Cortés fashions for himself in the text, and thus, offers a one-sided view of the conflicts he narrates to the King. In this paper, I offer a reading of the Segunda carta that highlights the frailty of Cortés’s enterprise as well as the active participation of natives in the events that resulted in the fall of Tenochtitlán. By focusing on the role of food and hunger in the narrative, I argue that food offerings and shared meals not only represent a diplomatic gesture for the forging of political alliances, but quite crucially provided the material sustenance needed for Cortés’s men to carry out their military enterprise. I approach food as a diplomatic vehicle, both symbolic and material, through which Cortés is able to assess his allies or identify his enemies, as well as secure the survival of his men. Furthermore, because of the Spaniards’ reliance on the goods supplied by natives, food also constitutes a vital element in trying to understand Moctezuma’s diplomatic strategy. Through his diplomatic emissaries, who do not bear food gifts (rather, gold) and describe Tenochtitlán as a place barren of food, Moctezuma establishes an ambiguous political relation to Cortés, which neither produces explicit conflict neither signals submission. Finally, by analysing the role of hunger, particularly with regards to the physical fragility of the conquistadors, I emphasise the contingency of the Imperial project and the heavy dependence on native political allies. Through this paper, I intend to contribute to our understanding of the narratives of the Conquest of the Americas by aiming our attention at its material dimensions and their effects on the European body, emphasising the overall importance of food in the consolidation of Early Modern colonial projects.

**Mohieddine HADHRI [Université de Tunis]**

**Diplomates Tunisiens dans les cours Européennes du XVIIIe siècle: Perceptions et regards croisés entre Européens et Musulmans en Méditerranée.**

Au cours de ces dernières  années de nombreuses recherches historiques ont permis  d’élucider les rapports consulaires et diplomatiques entre  la France, l’Europe et les capitales barbaresques Tunis, Alger, Tanger  au cours de l’époque moderne En effet, tout au long du XVII-XVIII siècles, de nombreuses missions consulaires, ambassades, voyages officiels ont été  échanges entre les Etats européens et la Régence de Tunis. Cependant, très peu de travaux ont porté le regard sur les aspects protocolaire, tables  et cadeaux prévalant au niveau de ces rapports politiques officiels des Etats européens et maghrébins.

Trois missions diplomatiques  au moins méritent d’être relevées ici  en tant qu’épisodes diplomatiques significatifs à savoir:

1. Le séjour  de l’Ambassadeur  tunisien,Yusuf Khuja, auprès du prince Eugene d’Autriche, à Vienne  en 1732.
2. La visite officielle effectuée par le souverain tunisien, Ahmad Bey, à Paris en 1846  au cours du règne du Roi de France Louis Philippe.
3. La visite du Premier Ministre tunisien, Khayreddine  Pacha, rendue au Roi de Prusse, Fréderic II, à Berlin en Avril-Mai 1863.

. Compte tenu  de l’intérêt de ces trois visites diplomatiques  de dignitaires tunisiens dans des cours européennes  du XIX siècle ,cet article se propose précisément de relater ces épisodes non pas dans leurs aspects  de rapports historiques mais plutôt dans leurs aspects diplomatiques et protocolaires. En effet, ces derniers  dignitaires tunisiens et européens nous ont laisse toute une série de documents d’archives, lettres et correspondances, mémoires et chroniques en langue arabe décrivant avec  minutie et détails les cérémonies d’accueil, les costumes et les palais qu’ils ont vus et admires mais aussi les diners et les banquets auxquels ils étaient conviés à Paris, à Berlin et à Vienne.

En un mot, il s’agit d’apporter sur la base  des lectures et des investigations des rapports d’archives  notamment à partir des Correspondance des Beys de Tunis et des Consuls de France (1579-1830)  ainsi que des témoignages contemporains, des éclairages sur l’importance des codes gestuels et cérémoniaux  dans les rapports diplomatiques entre des nations si différentes mais aussi sur les perceptions et les regards  croisés entre Européens et Musulmans vivant des deux côtes de la Méditerranée.

**Mahmut HALEF CEVRIOĞLU [Izmir Katip Celebi University]**

**Meeting the Second Man at the Ottoman Court: Grand Viziers’ Reception of European Ambassadors in the First Half of the XVII Century**

In light of a large compendium of diplomatic reports and a growing literature on the imperial reception of foreign embassies, audiences given by the Ottoman sultans to diplomatic representatives in Istanbul have become a relatively well-known phenomenon. As for the audiences held at the presence of the grand viziers, however, it would be difficult to make a similar observation. This lack of focus proves all the more puzzling given the fact that early modern foreign representatives at the Ottoman court were, almost without exception, supposed to meet the grand vizier before taking audience with the sultan. The present study, therefore, aims at highlighting the underplayed procedure of grand vizierial audiences through selected cases from the first half of the seventeenth century. In this respect, dispatches and final reports of certain representatives of major European monarchs in Istanbul will be brought to light along with complementary data from Ottoman fiscal records of the time. The reception of the diplomats by the grand vizier -which presents its own intricacies and follows its own set of rules- is hence laid under scrutiny to understand how a physical language of diplomacy was created. Accordingly, welcoming receptions by the grand viziers will be studied instead of focusing on the negotiation audiences between the grand viziers and the incoming embassies. Comparisons with the imperial audiences will also be useful both in underlining the differentiation of this physical language from the one employed in the audiences with the sultan and also in evaluating the diplomatic function of the grand vizier within the framework of Ottoman foreign relations.

**Laurent HÉRY** **[Université de Bretagne occidentale]**

**La figure de l’ambassadeur dans le *Discours des cérémonies du sacre et mariage d’Anne de Foix* (1502) du héraut « Bretagne » : dits et non-dits**

François Tournemine, seigneur de La Guerche, ambassadeur d’Anne de Bretagne et de Louis XII, prend en mai 1502 le chemin de la Hongrie : il accompagne la jeune cousine de la reine de France, Anne de Foix, qui va rejoindre son époux, Vladislas II Jagellon, conformément au contrat de mariage signé à Blois le 23 mars 1502. Pierre Choque, héraut d’Anne de Bretagne, qui prend part à cette mission, a laissé un récit du voyage et des cérémonies du mariage et du couronnement. Ce texte, qui décrit avec minutie les entrées d’Anne de Foix et de sa suite dans les villes de Vénétie, ainsi que sa réception en Hongrie, nous livre de précieuses informations sur le langage diplomatique non-verbal à l’œuvre au cours des différentes étapes de ce périple.

Pierre Choque, du fait de sa fonction, accorde en effet une attention particulière aux questions de rang et de protocole, au rôle que jouent les ambassadeurs et aux gestes qu’ils font, à la mobilité des corps. Il précise, à chaque fois, la place que François Tournemine occupe auprès d’Anne de Foix et souligne sa préséance sur les autres envoyés. Il décrit la présentation des lettres au doge de Venise et raconte comment l’ambassadeur le voit venir à lui et le prendre par la main pour l’installer à sa droite. Il décrit l’accueil que le souverain hongrois lui réserve et met en évidence son rôle lors des cérémonies du sacre, sa participation aux gestes du rituel. Attentif à l’ordonnancement des cortèges et à la place de chacun lors des banquets ou des cérémonies, ainsi qu’aux querelles de préséance, le héraut nous fait percevoir à travers ce récit d’un mariage princier la théâtralité de la diplomatie.

L’intérêt de ce texte, dont nous préparons une nouvelle édition, réside aussi dans ce qu’il ne dit pas: Pierre Choque évoque les harangues prononcées par François de La Guerche, sans jamais en livrer un seul mot. Il ne dit rien des cadeaux offerts à l’ambassadeur et ne s’étend guère sur la manière dont il est logé. D’autres sources permettent cependant de compléter la relation du héraut « Bretagne »: elles détaillent les solennités en l’honneur d’Anne de Foix, renseignent sur le voyage de retour du seigneur de La Guerche et apportent quelques précisions sur les autres ambassadeurs ayant participé aux négociations ou assisté aux cérémonies. Ce mariage princier permet d’embrasser, à travers le récit de Pierre Choque et de quelques-uns de ses contemporains, divers aspects du langage diplomatique non-verbal: c’est ce que nous souhaiterions mettre en évidence lors de notre communication.

Il s’agira, après avoir rappelé le contexte diplomatique dans lequel s’inscrit ce mariage et retracé la carrière de François de La Guerche, de cerner - au fil de la relation du héraut - le rôle joué par l’ambassadeur au cours des cérémonies, sa place et ses gestes. Nous montrerons également, à la lumière d’autres sources, que ce récit de voyage est également riche de ses silences.

**Anna HUEMER [Salzburg]  
Defining Masculinities beyond Cultures.** **Expressions and Perceptions of diverse Models of Masculinities in Selected Sources of Habsburg-Ottoman Envoys (17thcentury)**

Despite the rise of a ‘new approach’ in the history of Habsburg-Ottoman diplomatic relations in the 17th century, there still is a desideratum for research especially in terms of gender. Even though, historians have studied the history and ever changing roles of women, the various images and the self-perceptions of femininity, the ‘gendered man’ only recently became the subject of historical research in general.

To close this gap, my paper will examine the expressions and perceptions of various ‘models of masculinities’ in the diaries and final reports of the Habsburg envoys Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein (1582–1656) and his contemporary Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn (1590–1667). Kuefstein was sent to the Sublime Porte as grand ambassador in order to negotiate the prolongation of the peace of Zsitvatorok in 1628/29. Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn left Vienna in 1649 to confirm the enthronization of sultan Mehmed IV. Both diplomats left extensive literally works.

My paper follows up on the question, which hierarchic, competing (or even dysfunctional) ‘concepts of masculinities’ can be asserted and with which other main social categories they can be linked (like ethnicity, social status, religion and so on ). This question is particularly interesting, as social order in Europe in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era was substantially founded on the concept of ‘belonging’. Within this concept, social hierarchies were defined, power was wielded and loss of power rationalised or defied. The factor ‘gender’ – and in that ‘masculinities’ – have always played a substantially important part in this equation. Especially in the context of intercultural diplomatic relations regarding the reading/misreading of signs, the deconstruction of different models of masculinities is a pivotal aspect.

In order to distill the diplomat’s expressions and perceptions of diverse masculinities, language, meaning as well as actions (e.g. gift giving) and processes behind them need to be categorized and analyzed. In relation to this, the diaries and the final reports of Kuefstein’s and Schwarzenhorn’s mission to the Sublime Porte are a historical treasure, because in it, the ‘familiar’ very distinctively emerges from the ‘unfamiliar’.

**Magdalena JAKUBOWSKA [University of Warsaw]   
What kind of objects make an Early Modern Diplomat? Three Polish-Lithuanian embassies to Bakhchysarai in the years 1601-1602.**

In my talk I would like to focus on material diplomacy, not only in the context of the gifts exchange but also as a circuit of goods and objects during Early Modern diplomatic mission.

Inspirations for this kind of thought brings me the Actor Network Theory. Not only am I trying to describe social but also material context of diplomatic activity. Methodological inspiration provides me to the afterthought about the role of object, but not only in the popular conception ‘object as a social agent’. Bruno Latour’s thought about things agents or a socio-material constructs is more effective in the historical research, forasmuch it does not place non-human objects in the background. In this way, we may describe the past without stripping out of the everyday life. I am wondering what kind of objects they used and need to identify themselves as diplomats and servants of Rzeczpospolita. I would like to present how documents, gifts, clothes, furniture, houses, and other items were playing a significant role during missions as a human material hybrid. I am analysing three Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth diplomatic missions sent to the Tatars in April 1601, as well as in March and October 1602. The main source is the edition of documents concerning embassies to the Khan that were led by Ławryn (Warwrzyniec) Piaseczyński, the chamberlain of Braclav (edited by Kazimierz Pułaski1). I would like to show this special kind of diplomatic everyday life. I hope to show some examples of the relation between documents and diplomats, use and meaning of everyday items, importance the clothes and the look and finally the significance of the gift exchange.

**Emmanuel LEMÉE [Sorbonne Université]**

**Le langage de l’incognito dans la diplomatie de la fin du XVIIème siècle**

La pratique de l’incognito diplomatique à l’époque moderne a été amplement étudiée comme un artifice diplomatique visant à obtenir, à travers une suspension du cérémonial de cour, une acceleration et une simplification de la négociation. Cette pratique n’est cependant pas qu’une manière élaborée d’arrondir les angles et d’atténuer les frictions entre plusieurs acteurs. Elle crée une veritable parenthèse cérémonielle, un moment hors du temps normal de la négociation qui en modifie les règles et le fonctionnement.

Parce que l’envoyé incognito est virtuellement absent tout en étant réellement présent, cette pratique entraîne l’usage d’un langage particulier. Il s’agit d’abord d’un langage verbal, qui se trouve libéré des conventions sociales et des nécessités de la rhétorique, permettant à l’envoyé d’aller droit au but voire de dire des choses déplaisantes que son interlocuteur aurait pu refuser d’entendre dans une situation de négociation normale en s’abritant derrière le protocole. L’incognito introduit également une forme de langage non-verbal fondé sur la présence au sein d’une cour d’un corps qui pèse sur les décisions mais qui reste invisible. Bien souvent l’envoyé incognito n’a en réalité pas besoin de s’exprimer par des paroles: sa simple présence à telle ou telle occasion, en compagnie de telle ou telle personne, suffisent à faire passer le message dont il est chargé. C’est d’abord ce langage particulier, fondé sur un jeu subtil entre la présence et l’absence, que cette communication se propose d’aborder.

Elle serait également l’occasion d’aborder l’incognito comme un dialogue entre d’une part l’envoyé qui le pratique et son maître, et de l’autre la cour qui le reçoit et ses interlocuteurs sur place. Tous les incognitos ne sont pas reçus de la même manière : si certains sont scrupuleusement respectés, d’autres sont détournés, par exemple par l’octroi d’honneurs ou par le fait d’être reconnu en public par un tiers prétendument ignorant de la situation. Cette réception n’est jamais gratuite et permet à la cour d’accueil de ne pas se contenter de subir l’incognito, mais de lui répondre en utilisant le même langage non-verbal fait de gestes et de mise en scène.

Enfin, il serait intéressant d’étudier l’incognito de manière plus générale comme une forme particulière de langage de la soumission. En acceptant de renoncer ponctuellement à ses pretentions officielles, le négociateur qui utilise l’incognito se soumet en effet à une nécessité conjoncturelle tout en continuant à affirmer la légitimité de ses prétentions une fois le masque tombé. Ainsi l’emploi de l’incognito est également une manière de ne se soumettre qu’en apparence et en manifestant que cette soumission n’est que de bon plaisir ou temporaire, permettant de déployer un langage du pouvoir et des relations entre pouvoirs.

La communication s’appuierait sur des exemples issus de la diplomatie européenne des trois dernières décennies du XVIIème siècle, essentiellement en France et en Angleterre, notamment autour de la négociation en Italie du second mariage du duc Jacques d’York en 1673.

**Özgür KOLÇAK [Istanbul University]**

**A Ceremony in the Making: The Exchange of Ottoman-Habsburg Envoys along the Border in the 17th century**

It has long been asserted that the treaty of Zsitvatorok in 1606 established a diplomatic parity between the Ottoman and Habsburg courts which drew the Ottoman apparatus of diplomacy making closer to western models. Yet, one has to admit that, for several reasons, an actual parity between two powers could only be achieved in the course of the 17th century. The Ottoman authorities in the first half of the century were mostly not prepared to concede practical supremacy in diplomatic affairs towards their erstwhile tribute-paying rival. Despite all their unwillingness, however, the rising frequency of diplomatic engagements, now mostly taking place along the frontier between two empires, compelled the Porte (as well as the Hofburg) to officially exchange envoys and delegations for diplomatic purposes. After the treaty of Zsitvatorok, the flatland near the small village of Szőny between Esztergom and Komárom became a formal exchange point for the Ottoman and Habsburg emissaries.

According to Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn, the imperial resident to Constantinople in 1629–1643, in order to attain diplomatic parity with the Ottomans, the Hofburg had to assure an acknowledged and respectable status for the visiting Habsburg envoys vis-à-vis their Ottoman counterparts at Szőny. Johann Schmid even had a description in his mind: in order to convey the desired message to the observers in the ceremonial space, both envoys should be of equal rank, should reach the borderline at the same time, should dismount from horseback simultaneously, and should finally step into the territory of the hosting empire with precisely proportional movements. In the first half of the 17th century, however, there were certain misunderstandings when it actually came to perform the exchange ceremony. In 1628, for example, the imperial ambassador Hans Ludwig von Kuefstein noticed that Recep Paşa with whom he was playing the game of diplomacy attempted to outwit him with lagging steps. A similar intricacy was repeated six years later, in 1634, when the imperial internuntius Johann Rudolf Puchheim was exchanged with Rıdvan Ağa at Szőny. This, of course, could not be tolerated. Within the semiotics of early modern (Ottoman-Habsburg) symbolic language, an envoy being earlier than his counterpart implied pleading for peace from a superior power.

In 1665, on the other hand, the dexterous agency of minor officers furnished the ceremonial space with three wooden piles driven into the ground at equal intervals. Thus, Walter Leslie and Kara Mehmed, escorted by a retinue of equal numbers, would walk towards each other with calculated steps to finally meet at the pile in the middle. They would then touch the pile with their last steps at exactly the same time and exchange words of courtesy with shaking hands. In 1699, at a time when the Ottoman-Habsburg borders were redrawn after the Long War that began in 1683, Wolfgang Oettingen-Wallerstein and İbrahim Paşa also adjusted their acts to the regulating piles they had found in the ceremonial space.

**Jiří KUBEŠ [University of Pardubice]**

**Development of the Reception of Imperial envoys at the English/British royal court (1660-1750)**

In this paper I will attempt to analyse the development of the first audiences of imperial envoys at the St Jamesʹ court between 1660 and 1750. I will use the sample of approximately twenty diplomats of the Austrian Habsburgs that reached the shores of England during this period. Only two of them gained during their stay the title of ambassador (Count Starhemberg 1722, Count Kinsky, 1732). There are several reasons why Habsburg emperors sent to England their envoys only (tradition, ceremonial, economic aspects).

My research is based on the instructions and reports that are preserved in the *Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv* in Vienna and on English daily press as well. I will focus on the style of audiences (public/private), their venue (residences in England, the Netherlands or in the Electorate of Brunswick-Lüneburg) and mainly on used ceremonial rules and the role of the Master of Ceremonies. I would like to show and explain the ceremonial differences among the English/British monarchs from the Stuart and Hanoverian dynasty and analyse mainly the crucial changes that were introduced by James II in 1680s. This English king declined to respect the privileged position of Holy Roman Emperor in the European royal society and attempted to unify ceremonial rules for reception of all envoys. I will analyse the reactions of imperial envoys that faced this innovation.

**Gábor KÁRMÁN [Hungarian Academy of Sciences]**

**Writing when the prince would not write: Alternative correspondents in Transylvanian foreign policy during the Thirty Years War**

The primary means of maintaining contacts between early modern princely courts was to write letters to each other. In various cases, however, princes faced situations when to send letters in their own name would have been unsafe or detrimental to their reputation. In such cases the place of rulers in maintaining correspondence was often taken over by alternative correspondents, members of their court, or foreign intermediaries visiting them, who did not have to face similar risks. In my paper I plan to present three cases from the Thirty Years War, when the flow of communication between Transylvanian princes and their correspondents (Friedrich of the Palatinate in one case, and the representatives of Sweden and France in the other) was stalled, but the flow of information and even political planning was continued through other persons. By an in-depth analysis of the cases of Heinrich Matthias von Thurn, Johann Georg, Duke of Jägerndorf, and Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld I aim to present the logic behind turning towards the use of such alternative correspondents, the benefits to be expected and risks to be avoided.

**Adele LEE [Emerson College, USA]**

**'Dumb-shows of Discourtesy’: Early Modern Encounters with the Far East.**

Focusing on the role of English merchants-as-ambassadors in the context of 17th-century China and Japan, this paper examines the non-verbal, highly symbolic nature of encounters that frequently turned into ‘dumb shewes of Curtesie (the one party not understanding the other)’ (Peter Mundy, 1637).  ‘[M]aking their impressions’ though the use of ‘boards or planks with the figures they will print,’ Far Eastern officials baffled the Renaissance English who struggled to decipher ‘how they could signifie their conceptions by figures, which approached neere or resemble the thing they would represent?’ (*Ibid*.) Likened by Mundy to a ‘dumb shewe,’ the Chinese and Japanese gestures of diplomacy were seen as laughably archaic and, moreover, as reliant on non-verbal signs vulnerable to misinterpretation.

Thus these encounters became characterized by rupture and slippage and demanded the English ‘work vigorously to interpret gestures’ as well as ‘put the act of interpretation into a kind of suspense, waiting for later action, accompanied by words, to help [them] sort out meanings.’  Yet it was also a mode of expression that, despite creating problems of comprehension, was effective at conveying a sense of power and authority: royal pageants and Lord Mayor Shows in Renaissance England, after all, consisted of non-verbal tableaux and allegorical figures. Therefore, as much as the Far Eastern ‘shewes’ may have been considered the ‘bigge’ vessel upon which they were performed and the loud, militaryesque beating of drums and brass pans must have constituted an intimidating display of pomp and ceremony.

Above all, however, the complex theatrical devices deployed by both the Chinese and Japanese contributed to feelings of alienation and bewilderment, putting on hold any act of interpretation. As William E. Engel states, ‘[d]umb shows open up, and to some extent are, windows onto another space—that materially and mimetically remains contained within, but which metaphysically and allegorically reaches beyond, the contours of the main spectacle.’  Dumb shows, in other words,

simultaneously relate to what is happening more widely (i.e., in the main play/real world) and exist in a realm that ‘reaches beyond’ or evades completely representational containment. This, I argue, is a fitting metaphor for the Far East itself which appeared familiar and relatable at times, and strange and indecipherable at others, thereby constituting an on-going struggle to interpret, or devise appropriate representational strategies with which to deal.

**Loek LUITEN [University of Oxford]**

**‘With Voice Aquiver and Eyes Full of Tears’: The Culture of Penance and the Politics of Clemency at the Renaissance Papal Court**

Tears flowed richly at the Renaissance papal court. Popes, cardinals, and courtiers can be found weeping, sometimes solitary, at times communally. Tears of happiness, tears of pain, tears of mourning; few eyes remained dry during the adulation of saints or during the disasters that struck the Eternal City. Indeed, tears lie at the intersection of a variety of emotions and their bodily expression. Tears as liminal phenomena transcend the boundary between body and outer world, involuntarily making external those inner stirrings of the soul. Precisely therefore tears raise questions concerning issues such as authenticity and empathy. A growing body of scholarship has now acknowledged the new inroads made possible by the history of emotions as well as the history of gesture. Tears as a combination of both have been analysed in literature and as a cultural phenomenon, or even a cultural script. In the Renaissance, furthermore, tears would be explained through Galenic medicine and play a prominent role in Christian symbolism. In fact, it is through their Christian connotations that tears struck a particularly sensitive chord in papal Rome. As such, tears could have implications that had an effect in the political realm.

In this paper I will address a specific type of gesture that through their public nature during diplomatic settings had a profound political impact at the papal court: penitential tears. The Middle Ages witnessed a development in penitential culture from one that placed emphasis on public acts of penance that would heal community and allow the penitent to be readmitted, to a more inward self-disciplining of emotions and intentions. Therefore, the balance shifted from penitential deeds towards upright contrition as a prerequisite for forgiveness, both divine and human. Tears were considered true signs of being contrite. As outward symbols visible to all, tears were subject to clerical and wider social scrutiny, even discipline. Tears thus also became encrypted into cultural expectations when begging for forgiveness. At the papal court such occasions allowed popes to shower clemency on those deserving, or more importantly, even on those undeserving but too powerful to punish. The attribution of tearful requests of clemency in the papal context, then, fulfilled a dual function. In political circles close to the pope, tears as sincere signifiers of contrition signified the awareness of having sinned. By attributing tears to rebellious barons, resistance against papal rule could be decried as inherently sinful. Simultaneously, tears allowed popes to exhibit clemency as part of a political repertoire especially powerful when at the disposal of a prince who was also a cleric. As such it provided the opening required for the forgiveness and reintegration of opponents too powerful to persecute vehemently, while maintaining papal authority vis-à-vis the wider polity.

**Sherrod Brandon MARSHALL [Lycée Français de New York]**

**The Ambassador's Two Bodies: Tracing the Republic of Venice's Symbolic Rebuke of Louis XIV and French International Relations During the Embassy of Michel-Antoine, Sieur d'Amelot.**

In May 1682 Louis XIV sent Michel-Antoine, le Sieur d‘Amelot, to the Republic of Venice as his ordinary ambassador. Amelot remained in Venice until February 1685 and the years of his service as the representative of the King of France became remarkable for the levelof vitriol that the republic‘s government vented at him and those in Venice who supplied him with intelligence. In fact, of the eleven ambassadors that Louis XIV posted in Venice during his personal rule (1661-1715), Amelot‘s embassy stands out because of the violence and heated rhetoric aimed at the French ambassador‘s person and entourage. This paper examines the extraordinary events surrounding Amelot resulting in no less than two murders and the discovery of a contraband ring run out of the French embassy in Venice that Amelot sanctioned to pay informants. Using original documents, among them the ambassador‘s own correspondence, dispatches from Louis XIV and his minister of foreign affairs, and secret memos from the Venetian State Inquisitors and their spies, the essay will recount how, at a moment when European states were ranging themselves against the international policies of Louis XIV, such as the cruel French bombardment of the Republic of Genoa in 1684, Venetians‘ harsh treatment of his emissary symbolised the extent to which a sovereign state could unleash its disapproval for another sovereign through its postures toward his emissary. The reactions of the Venetian senate to Amelot during his tenure as ambassador underscored the ways in which the physical person, words, character, and actions of a diplomat could be expertly used as vehicles through which symbolically to punish and repulse the dynastic pretensions and policies of Louis XIV himself in a highly-charged and closely-watched diplomatic post. The paper then is meant to highlight how a secondary European state like Venice could not counter the French monarch‘s forces on the battlefield or on the seas, but it could display its censure of Louis and his policies by making an international example of his unruly ambassador even to the point ultimately of forbidding public audience to Amelot, and thus to his master, for the remainder of his residency as the envoy of the Sun King.

**Vincent MASSE [Dalhousie University]**   
**Cérémonies diplomatiques et rituels d’énumération: Pratiques de la liste dans les récits imprimés d’ambassades (1550-1650)**

Le format de l’imprimé occasionnel, dès ses débuts – dès son premier *boom*, qui accompagne la descente de Charles VIII en Italie (1494-1495) – expérimente avec diverses pratiques de l’énumération, ou plus précisément de la liste, en une ou deux colonnes, qu’elle soit descriptive (liste des gens d’armes ayant accompagné le Roi) ou prescriptive (liste des gens d’armes *devant* accompagner le Roi), militaire ou cérémonielle. Ces listes accompagnent, enrichissent la diffusion des actualités imprimées aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: inventaires militaires (troupes engagées, troupes perdues, nobles tués ou capturés, pièces d’artillerie saisies, etc.); listes d’exécutions, de martyrs; listes de prodiges atmosphériques, de signes précurseurs; inventaires de butins (capturés à l’ennemi, saisis en mer, etc.); listes festives (énumérations de cortèges, d’habits, de richesses exhibées, etc.).

De même, tout au long des XVIe et XVIIe siècles, les récits de fêtes ou de cérémonies politiques, et tout particulièrement les rituels d’entrées – depuis les entrées de rois ou d’autres monarques, en France ou à l’étranger, jusqu’aux entrées ambassadoriales de toute sorte – empruntent diverses ornières stylistiques de mieux en mieux tracées: narrations minimales, énumérations d’étapes, de participants, d’habits, de gestes, de discours, de dons échangés, etc.

En considérant un large corpus de nouvelles d’ambassades – en particulier les récits d’entrées et les inventaires de cadeaux diplomatiques – et en les replaçant dans le contexte éditorial bien particulier des « bulletins de nouvelles » d’avant les premières *Gazettes* du XVIIe siècle, je m’intéresserai à la conjonction de rituels diplomatiques et d’un rituel que l’on dira médiatique : la liste imprimée. Rituel médiatique et énumératif qui prime parfois sur le récit: les sept feuillets des *Ceremonies de l’entrée faicte par le grand Seigneur Soltam Amet* [à Istamboul en 1613] *à cause de la venuë de l’Ambassadeur de Perse* (1613), par exemple, ne contiennent aucune narration, mais uniquement des listes d’acteurs, de richesses, d’ostentation. Rituel qui domine encore plus les cérémonies de dons : la *Copie de la lettre envoiée par Selim Empereur des Turqz, au Seigneur Domp Jouan d’Austrie* (1572), par exemple, s’accompagne d’un inventaire plus long que ladite lettre, sans nulle mention de l’ambassadeur ou du courrier. Rituel, enfin, qui prime parfois sur la réalité même : *Les presens inestimables envoyez par le grand Turc au Roy d’Espagne* (1626) sont par exemple un inventaire de dons fictifs, et un bel exemple de « fausse nouvelles ».

Comment se rejoignent, voire se confondent les rituels diplomatiques et éditoriaux? Comment se complètent – se remplacent? – les formats de l’occasionnel ou de la liste d’une part, et les cérémonies de l’entrée ou du don de l’autre? Je chercherai également à situer cette *pulsion inventaire* – ou passion pour les listes imprimées – dans son contexte éditorial plus distant: les relations de solennités politiques s’inscrivent dans une *histoire du livre*. Les entrées cérémonielles et les échanges de dons ne trouvent-elles pas leur écho, leur prolongement, dans la culture de l’imprimé qui leur est contemporaine? Pages de titres à arcs triomphaux, prolégomènes sur- élaborés (*dedicaces*, *epistres*, *odes*, *prefaces*, *proemes*, etc.), inventaires des «matières » (*index*, *tables*, etc.) qui s’étendent sur des dizaines, voire des centaines de pages...

Bref, ma contribution au colloque sera de jeter sur son thème le regard d’un historien du livre – tout particulièrement de l’imprimé éphémère.

**Francesca MAVILLA [Independent Scholar]**

**Promoting artists as an integral part of Diplomatic Networking. Chiappino Vitelli and Federico Zuccari at the court of Elisabeth I**

Gian Luigi Vitelli, known as Chiappino (1520-1575),is an example of the interest in Italian art developed by Spanish and English court in the second half of 16th century.As a commander for Cosimo I and Master of the General Field of the Spanish armies in Flanders from 1567, Vitelli was among the protagonists of the War in Flanders. Above all, his role became that of a diplomat engaged in keeping firm the relations between Tuscany, the Spanish and the English monarchies.

From his letters we know that he was a sort of promoter of arts: he brought to Florence several medals, a portrait made by Sofonisba Anguissola; and at the same time he sent to Madrid portraits of the Medici family. Taking advantage of his role, Vitelli then took care to encourage the entry of some Italian artists in the European courts as in the case of the painter Federico Zuccari. Specifically, Vitelli used his knowledge of Zuccari to reconnect with Elizabeth Ist of England, after being involved in the Ridolfi plot a few years earlier. Zuccari reached Flanders in 1574 and was welcomed in Antwerp by Vitelli. The acquaintance between Zuccari and Vitelli could have happened around 1565 in Florence, or maybe through Cardinal di Guisa. Shortly after his arrival in Antwerp, Zuccari reached the English court with a letter of presentation by Chiappino in his favour addressed to Sir Robert Dudley, among the favourites of Elizabeth. During his stay, Zuccari made two full-length portraits of which only two drawings remain at the British Museum. New documents show that Vitelli reached Dudley thanks to Thomas Wilson,ambassador to Flanders on behalf of the English crown, to whom the leader had repeatedly written that he wanted to serve Elisabeth as best he could. Probably Chiappino, in an attempt to leave Flanders, sought the support of the English crown. In 1569, Vitelli had made a first trip to England.During the journey,described by the poet Francisco de Aldana and some biographers, it seems that the leader met both the Queen and Leicester, with whom he had a  conversation about art.Towards the end of his stay,when he was about to return to the Netherlands, Chiappino was suspected of supporting the Northern Rebels and was invited to leave the country.Two years later it seems that Vitelli participated in the failed Ridolfi plot that foresaw the invasion of England by an army led by the Duke of Alba.The sending of Federico Zuccari to London must be read in the light of an attempt to re-enter the graces of the English queen. Later the painter asked Vitelli for two letters to present to the court of Francesco I in view of the completion of the dome of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence.In the meantime Elisabeth sent a letter to Chiappino in which she thanked him for having paid homage to his ambassador, Thomas Wilson, and the Count of Pembroke. Chiappino Vitelli is to be acknowledged not only for his military merits but also for his interesting role as diplomat between the Habsburg and English crowns.

**F. Özden MERCAN**

**Diplomacy Woven With Textiles: Florentine Gifts to the Ottoman Court in the second half of the 16th century**

The diplomatic relations between the Italian states and the Ottoman court dated back to the fourteenth century; however, it was after the second half of the fifteenth century that the diplomatic negotiations with the Ottoman administration took a different shape. As the diplomatic contacts and missions between the Ottoman and Italian courts increased, the tradition of gift-giving, an important component of early modern diplomacy, became more and more ritualized and diplomatic gifts became emblems of luxury and magnificence. Particularly in the sixteenth century, in addition to money gifts, various sorts of luxury textiles were presented by the Italian states to the Ottoman authorities as exquisite examples of their craftsmanship and production. In both east and west the wearing and display of luxury textiles was indicator of authority and rank. Besides their symbolic meaning, these diplomatic gifts also played an important role in creating a wider demand and functioned to promote material and commercial exchanges between the two disparate polities. During the sixteenth century, luxurious textiles/robes as diplomatic gifts resulted in an increase in the consumption of huge quantities of Venetian silks and velvets at the Ottoman court. To such an extent that, it was not an unusual practice for Ottoman officials to send to Venice orders of textiles manufactured according to specific drawings and descriptions. For that reason, in the second half of the 16th century the Grand Duchy of Tuscany wanted to restore its diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire in order to participate in the Levant trade and export its luxury textiles to the Ottoman market. This paper will specifically focus on the Ottoman-Florentine diplomatic negotiations in 1578 and analyze how the Florentine textiles were used as strategic tools to establish diplomatic contacts with the Sublime Porte. In relation to that, it will discuss the way these gifts were presented and received at the Ottoman court. Despite valuable textile gifts, the Florentine ambassador’s inexperience with Ottoman manners and his diplomatic faults led to the failure of negotiations. The fact that the Florentine diplomatic attempt failed is important in order to understand the significant role played by the ambassadors in the diplomatic relations between disparate politico-cultural entities during the early modern period.

**Nela MICHALICOVA [University of Pardubice]**

**Ceremonial as a Welcome Theatre. Ceremonial Entries**

**and First Public Audience of Imperial Ambassadors at the**

**Court of the Polish King in the first half of the 18th century**

My research deals with imperial diplomacy in a very specific environment of the Polish court in the second half of reign of Augustus II. The Polish court was one of those destinations where the Emperor managed to maintain his leading position among European sovereigns even against his constant degradation. In addition, the Polish court was a unique among the then European countries. The political dependence of the Polish king on the Republic did not allow him to be considered an absolute monarch. Yet for the courtiers he represented the central point of representation, which consisted particularly in the ceremony. The more the real power of the Polish king was limited, the more the court clinged to the theater with the absolute monarch at the head. Therefore the representation of the royal majesty through the splendour of the court was demonstrated by the same principles of visualisation as in the courts of the absolutist rulers. The ceremony at the Polish court, besides the symbolic communication itself, also represented the unrealistic fact of the sovereign's central position. This also reflected the desire of Augustus II himself, who, through the greatest splendor of his court, according to the example of the King of France, actually tried to legitimize his own claims to the absolutist government. Prestige to the royal majesty was given, in particular, by the presence of court dignitaries during special ceremonial occasions such as ceremonial entries and public audience of foreign ambassadors. And in particular, I will focus on these welcoming ceremonies of imperial ambassadors in my contribution.

According to recent research during the reign of Augustus II there occurred just two ceremonial entries and subsequent public audience of imperial ambassadors. They took place in 1720 and 1729. The Emperor, as well as the overwhelming majority of European sovereigns, sent his diplomats to Poland primarily at the time of the Sejm (the bicameral parliament of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth), respectively before its opening. The Sejm took place in Warsaw and, since the 1670s, every third session was held in Lithuanian Grodno. The above-mentioned entries are very interesting because each represents one equivalent of the ceremonial entry, i.e. to Warsaw in 1720 and to Grodno in 1729. The place of the Sejm session had a significant influence on the final form of the ceremonial entry and the subsequent public audience. Based on the uniquely preserved descriptions of these two ceremonial entries and audiences of Imperial ambassadors I will show, how the welcome ceremony took place, what role the regional differences played and to what extent the ambassador himself influenced his final form. These results can then be compared with the last documented entry ceremony of the imperial ambassador from the reign of the Polish King John III Sobieski in Warsaw in 1695.

**Béla Vilmos MIHALIK [Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest]  
‘Ministry of Silly Walks’. A Scandalous Corpus Christi Procession in Rome (1696-1697)**

On 21st June 1696, there took place the first Corpus Christi procession where Count Georg Adam von Martinitz participated as the new imperial ambassador to Rome. In the former months a heated discussion was in course in the Roman Curia due to the claims of the ambassador against the Governor of Rome over the order of the precedency. Although finally the Governor did not participate on the procession, the Decane Cardinals wanted to leave a place empty in the march. The ambassador therefore tried to walk as slow as he could fill that space which overturned the ceremony. In my paper I would like to examine how the ambassador’s literally bad movements caused a diplomatic conflict between the Viennese Court and the Holy See

**Dustin M. NEIGHBORS [Historic Royal Palaces]**

**‘My desire to serve her’: The Pursuit of Hunting and European Diplomacy through Elizabethan Royal Progresses**

In 1578, John (Johann) Casimir, Count Palatine and the younger son of Fredrick III of the Rhine, wrote to Thomas Wilson (a principal secretary to Elizabeth I) remarking that ‘I thank you for the greyhounds you have sent me, which are very acceptable, although just now to show the Queen my desire to serve her, I have undertaken to hunt other game than deer or hares.’ While Casimir was not an official ambassador at the court of Elizabeth I, he maintained special diplomatic relations with Elizabeth I and her courtiers. An active huntress, Elizabeth I spent much of the time on her royal progresses engaged in the pursuit. Therefore, hunting was a subject that ambassadors and courtiers would have used to foster diplomatic discussions, like Casimir. Alternatively, the activity of hunting provided barriers in addressing political issues. In October 1581, Bernardino de Mendoza, the ambassador to Philip II of Spain, wrote to his master that he was unable to meet with the Queen because she was hunting at Nonsuch and ‘it was difficult for me to attend to your Majesty’s interest here under such circumstances as these.’ Mendoza’s letter suggests that he was not accustomed to hunting and unable to gain access to Elizabeth. This episode also demonstrates the way that the Queen used hunting as a means of granting or denying access to her.

The language used and references to hunting in the letters of Casimir and Mendoza encourages us to consider how hunting was employed in diplomatic relations and to what extent ambassadors engaged in the pursuit. Using eye-witness accounts of Elizabeth I’s royal progresses, along with references in diplomatic and personal letters, this paper will argue that hunting was a courtly and transcultural activity that not only required diplomats to have knowledge of the sport, but also present themselves as hunters to forge diplomatic dialogues. Therefore, the nature of diplomacy can be reassessed through examining, along with royal progresses, the language, material objects, and physical performance of hunting. Ultimately, this paper highlights the way that ambassadors had to navigate physical gestures of diplomacy that utilised informal instruments, like hunting, to successfully achieve diplomatic and political aims.

**Pierre NEVEJANS [Laboratoire UMR] & Delphine CHIOCCI [Université Grenoble-Alpes]**

**Des mots pour des gestes et des gestes pour des mots.   
Politesse et cordialité dans la correspondance politique de Bernardo de’ Medici, ambassadeur florentin à la cour de France (1544-1545)**

« Et, n'ayant rien d'autre à dire avec cette lettre, je baise humblement les mains de Votre Excellence, priant Dieu qu'il la garde saine et heureuse ». Ces mots terminent une lettre de Bernardo de' Medici, ambassadeur florentin en France, au duc Cosimo I, en janvier 1545. La formule lui permet de se mettre en scène, de respecter la gestuelle à laquelle il serait astreint s’il était en audience auprès du duc, et ce malgré la distance : le baiser de main, forme de communication non-verbale, devient par la force des choses un élément de communication écrite. Ces formules semblaient interchangeables et négligeables, si bien que les éditeurs de lettres ont longtemps eu tendance à les couper. En accroche et en clôture des dépêches, elles sont pourtant des passages obligés de l’écriture diplomatique épistolaire, révélatrices des relations interpersonnelles - en l'espèce au sein de la nation florentine à la cour de France - et des hiérarchies sociales et politiques au sein d'une même chancellerie. Détournée - par exemple un florentin qui refuse de se découvrir au passage de l'ambassadeur, ou bien lorsque Piero Strozzi s'enquiert soudainement de la bonne santé du duc de Florence - la politesse issue des codes médiévaux révèle les mécanismes de rivalité, témoigne de l'affection ou de l'inimitié au sein d'une même communauté sociale et politique.

 À ce titre, l'étude systématique – quantitative et qualitative – de la politesse dans la correspondance politique de l’ambassade de Bernardo de’ Medici en France, entre décembre 1544 et juillet 1545, met particulièrement en lumière les enjeux socio-politiques au sein des cours du début de l'époque moderne. Première résidence florentine en France depuis la restauration médicéenne de 1530, elle laisse l’ambassadeur dans un milieu largement défavorable, entre les partisans de la guerre contre l'Empereur - protecteur du duc de Florence - et les *fuorusciti* florentins, dont leur chef, Piero Strozzi. Dans ce contexte politique déplaisant, l'histoire de la diplomatie devient le prisme de relations internes à la nation florentine, dans lesquels l'attention à la cordialité, verbale ou non, permet à l'ambassadeur de ne pas perdre la face autant que d'analyser les rapports de force en présence. Les gestes et les postures symboliquement décrits dans les formules de politesse témoignent, qu'elles respectent ou non le code en vigueur, d'une intention politique de la part de leur auteur.

La cordialité est vécue par l’ambassadeur comme une réalité orale et écrite, mais aussi comme une communication non-verbale, révélée par les gestes, l’attitude, le ton de ses interlocuteurs, les détournements des codes de politesse ne pouvant s’interpréter qu’à l’aune de ces éléments. Échapper ou contrevenir à ces codes révèle une volonté de rompre un ordre social et politique établi. Étudier la politesse, ses variations et ses conflits, c’est étudier finement cet ordre établi et son fonctionnement. Ce sont ces formes de communication que l'on se propose d'étudier.

**Pierre-Olivier OUELLET [Université du Québec à Montréal]**

**Entre pouvoirs temporels et spirituels : la diplomatie coloniale associée au tableau intitulé *La France apportant la foi aux Hurons de la Nouvelle-France***

Aujourd’hui conservé dans les collections des Ursulines de Québec (Canada), le tableau de facture française intitulé *La France apportant la foi aux Hurons de la Nouvelle-France* (fig. 1), peint vers 1666, constitue une œuvre incontournable de l’histoire de l’art au Canada au cours de la période coloniale. En effet, maintes fois reproduite, elle constitue une allégorie de la France, sous les traits d’Anne d’Autriche (1601-1666). Dans un important geste diplomatique, elle offre un tableau à un Huron, lequel le reçoit à genoux, couvert d’un manteau au motif de fleurdelisé (GAGNON 1983; TRUDEL 1984; LACROIX 2012). Dans une visée historique, la peinture se veut le reflet des pratiques missionnaires des Jésuites auprès des populations du Nouveau-Monde, selon l’idée de rendre visible (par l’art) l’invisible (les réalités spirituelles). De fait, comme l’indique un passage du *Journal des Jésuites* daté du 20 juin 1666, il s’agissait de faire « tableau qui marque (comment les Hurons) ont embrassé la foy » (cité dans GAGNON 1983). Toute la composition de l’œuvre et sa mécanique tentent ainsi de synthétiser les conceptions de la conversion par l’image pratiquée par les religieux au cours des premiers contacts avec les autochtones (GAGNON 1975).

L’œuvre, commandée par les Jésuites, se trouve alors à être emblématique des pratiques des missionnaires en Nouvelle-France. Mais, plus encore, la peinture permet aussi de mettre en relief l’importance des demandes et des gestes diplomatiques à une époque marquée par les changements des situations politique et religieuse dans la colonie, au moment de la reprise en main de la Nouvelle-France par le roi Louis XIV. En effet, les Jésuites qui étaient parvenus dans les premiers temps de la colonie à imposer leurs idéaux spirituels, mais également à contrôler en partie un nombre considérable d’aspects plus temporels, manifestent par l’art leur implication au Canada et participent ainsi à la mise en image de leur histoire. Par la commande d’un tableau représentant la régente, ils tentent alors de rappeler la posture de la Couronne française aux premiers temps de la Nouvelle-France. En contradiction avec Louis XVI qui se montre inquiet la situation coloniale en 1665, et qui n’hésite pas à charger son représentant, l’intendant Jean Talon (1626-1694), de vérifier l’emprise des Jésuites en Nouvelle-France, les « soldats de dieu » répondent par la mise en valeur de la régente et de son exemple (GAGNON 1976). Davantage reconnue pour sa piété de son zèle manifesté pour le salut des infidèles, Anne d’Autriche est ainsi comprise telle la personnification d’une France prête à répandre la foi catholique auprès des peuples d’Amérique du Nord. Elle devient ainsi, au détriment de son fils, le point d’ancrage d’une politique coloniale que tentent de valoriser les religieux. Il s’agira ainsi de comprendre comment les différentes dynamiques religieuses et politiques de la Nouvelle-France, qui se rattachent à l’œuvre se trouvent polarisés à travers deux exemples monarchiques distincts, d’ailleurs emblématiques d’un XVIIe siècle qui sera à la fois considéré comme le siècle des saints et le siècle du Roi-Soleil.

**Radu G. PĂUN [CNRS-EHESS, Paris]**

***Acquistar le anime*. Venetian gift giving strategies at the Ottoman court in the 16th century**

As the first European power that ever established a permanent diplomatic mission in Constantinople and as the most important commercial partner of the Porte, Venice deserves to be regarded as the great expert in Ottoman affairs. The long experience of negotiation with the Ottomans provided Venetian diplomats with enough knowledge of the Ottoman customs to understand that *il donare* was a structural part of the *arte di negoziare* in the imperial capital and they constantly tried to consider this matter in all details. This concern became even greater since the Serenissima lost ground in respect to the Porte, in the second half of the 16th century. In this new context, the *baili* had to reconsider carefully what, to whom and on what occasion gift giving had to be employed in political affairs, for this engaged both their own honor as gentlemen and the prestige of the Republic. Was the gift giving the crux of the peace? What were the borders between gift giving and bribery/cupidity? How far one might go in presenting the Ottoman grandees without jeopardising the Republic’s honour (*dignità*)?

The aim of this paper is to explore the Venetian diplomats’ gift giving vocabulary and practices and to shed light on their meaning in the context of the Venetian-Ottoman relations. The main sources to be employed are the *relazioni*, namely the accounts the *bailo* had to present in front of the Senate at the end of his mission.

**David QUILES ALBERO [IULCE-UAM]  
Spanish Ambassadors in Venice during the 17th century: Election, Instructions & Arrival**

The relations between the Spanish Monarchy and the Republic of Venice changed remarkably along the 17th century. During the first half of the century, the closeness of the Venetians to the French complicated their good rapports with the Spaniards.

Nevertheless, everything changed after the initiation of the War of Candia (1645-1669). At that moment, the venetian patriciate pondered that the Catholic King was the best candidate to assist them against the Turks. No support could be expected from France, whose king wished to maintain his good correspondence with the Sultan.

In the middle of this volatile situation, Spanish ambassadors in Venice raised as main executors of the political strategy drawn by the court in Madrid.

In this paper, we will analyse the role of the diplomats as representatives of the Catholic King from the beginning of their missions in the Venetian lagoon. The process they became elected will be the first stop of our investigation. Who was suitable to be chosen by the monarch and which merits were taken into account to determinate the election of a determinate nobleman are important questions we must analyse above all.

After that, we will focus on the instructions they received before departing. Not just those general recommendations transmitted to all ambassadors, but also the secret muniments elaborated to update the new representatives into the strategy they had to follow throughout their missions, preserved in the Spanish *Archivo Historico Nacional*.

Finally, the ceremonial that wrapped their arrival to Venice can be also an interesting field if we consider the theatrical nature of diplomacy. Without announcement, these individuals would reach Venice to arrange all related to their future residence there. A few days later, they would inform the Senate of their arrival, starting a strict ceremonial, followed by all the Spanish legates, whose procedure is also conserved in the national archives.

**Chloé RIVIERE [Université d’Orléans]**

**Parures et joyaux : dire la puissance du prince par les présents diplomatiques au XVIIe siècle - France, Angleterre, Espagne**

Les présents sont de tradition dans les relations diplomatiques, à l’occasion de rencontres entre souverains ou d’ambassades. Ils sont mentionnés dans des sources variées, des relations diplomatiques aux Mémoires, en passant par les comptes royaux, à l’image du fond dédié aux Mémoires et Documents des Archives Diplomatiques, des papiers du Grand Maître des cérémonies aux Archives Nationales et des œuvres de gens de cour et de diplomates telles que les Mémoires de Madame de Motteville ou du Maréchal de Bassompierre. Ce corpus, mêlant écrits officiels et écrits du for privé, révèle la variété de ces présents: animaux, vaisselles, mets recherchés, meubles, textiles soyeux, bijoux, auxquels s’ajoutent des pierreries ou de précieuses boîtes à portrait, en usage dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle. Ainsi, à l’occasion de son ambassade en Espagne en 1612, Monsieur de Sillery apporte à Anne d’Autriche, de la part du roi, un bracelet de diamants et de pierres fines, quand le Maréchal de Grammont reçoit en 1659, de la part du roi d’Espagne, des pastilles de senteur, du chocolat et des vases d’or. De fait, parmi ces présents figurent fréquemment des objets qui relèvent de l’entretien et de la parure du corps.

L’importance du vêtement et des parures dans les représentations de l’époque moderne, tout comme leur capacité à signifier le rang et les identités, sont connues. Pourtant, l’étude de ces objets dans le domaine de la diplomatie et des relations internationales n’a pas encore donné lieu à des réflexions approfondies. Ainsi, nous nous proposons d’étudier les parures et les joyaux comme présents diplomatiques, en particulier entre 1610 et 1715, à l’occasion des rencontres entre les cours de France, d’Angleterre et d’Espagne, dans une perspective comparatiste. Pour n'être pas apposés sur le corps lorsqu’ils sont offerts, ces objets ne perdent pas pour autant leur pouvoir signifiant dans la mesure où ils sont visibles par la société curiale au cours des cérémonies. La qualité, la valeur, l’origine des présents sont alors scrutées par tous les contemporains. Dans ce langage de cour, parures et joyaux apparaissent comme des témoins politiques et culturels de la puissance du prince dans les cours étrangères du XVIIe siècle.

Plusieurs niveaux d’étude, relevant notamment des histoires politique, culturelle et du corps, peuvent être envisagés. Il s’agira d’abord d’étudier la qualité variable des parures et joyaux offerts aux souverains, octroyés aux ambassadeurs ou bien encore celle des cadeaux consentis à leur entourage respectif. Cette approche permettra aussi d’appréhender la nature de ces présents, en lien avec les modalités cérémonielles de leur remise et d’analyser attitudes et gestes du corps au moment de leur réception.

**Beatrice SALETTI (Independent Scholar)**

**The Gifts of Borso D’este to 'Uthman, the Caliph of Tunis.**

On 20 December 1464, Borso d’Este, the Marquis of Ferrara, received an ambassador of the king ofTunis, who presented him with exotic gifts (Arabian horses, greyhounds, fabrics, two civets). The visit of ambassadors from Tunis represented a diplomatic milestone for Borso, because it showed the consideration given to the Marquis far beyond the boundaries of his reign. During the previous spring the Marquis had sent two of his servants to Tunis in order to purchase prized horses, giving precise instructions to present his tributes to the court and offer gifts from him. The letter that, in April 1464, the Marquis entrusted to his two servants, is a mine of information, because Borso leaves nothing to chance. The marquis has a very detailed project, which covers every aspect of the embassy: when to show the gifts, how and in what order to show them, the speech to be pronounced. Renaissance diplomacy has long been at the centre of renewed interest, but nevertheless much remains to be

studied. For example, we lack an overview of the characteristics of the embassies of the Renaissance Italian states, including their different composition depending on the political weight of the recipient, the sums of money allocated and their durations. Many of the instructions that the governments gave to the ambassadors are yet to be investigated: how much room to manoeuvre did they have to achieve the objectives of the mission? In the case of the Marquis of Ferrara, these questions are not valid, because the purpose of the mission was merely ‘public relations’. The importance of the document is to be found elsewhere: Borso intends to exhibit his kingship through the staging of the procession of his gifts, and through the posture, the gestures and words of his representatives. In the light of the declarations by the Marquis himself, the analysis of the letter can offer an interpretative key for examining the apparitions and public celebrations organized by Borso during his rule, that took place in an age of great experimentations.

**Darren SMITH [University of Sydney]**

**Learning performance and ceremony: French diplomats at the Ottoman court, 1570-1630**

In 1559, French diplomat Jean Yversen joined a mission to Constantinople as special envoy accompanying Jean Cavenac de la Vigne, then ambassador for Henri II to the Sublime Porte. Among other things, the mission sought to reassure Suleiman I of the king’s continued accord with the Ottomans in the wake of the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis earlier that year between France and Spain.

Fifteen years later, back home in Gaillac, Yversen commissioned a large, carved boiserie to sit above a chimney. The boiserie depicts scenes from the diplomat’s time in the Ottoman capital, including his presentation before Suleiman, the sultan’s procession to Friday prayer, and lunch with the chief of the janissaries. These superbly detailed, wood-carved scenes surround a portrait of the young diplomat foregrounding a Venetian backdrop.

The moment of a diplomat’s presentation before the sultan, particularly the diplomat’s body being led to the sultan to perform *baisemain*, resonates through several other French diplomatic reports in the early modern period. The ritual, performance, and dress of the diplomat’s body, as well as broader ceremonial surrounding the diplomatic encounter, occupy a central element in these accounts.

This paper proposes to examine several accounts of French diplomatic encounters at the Ottoman court from 1570 to 1630. The accounts relate to the following ambassadors: François de Noailles, Jean Yversen, Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, François Savary de Brèves, Jean-François de Gontaut-Biron, and Achille de Harlay de Sancy. I propose that this period represents a crucial second stage in France’s still new diplomatic relationship with the Ottomans, a transition from the alliance between François I and Suleiman I to the formalisation of capitulations and establishment of ambassadorial residency. While some of these reports have been used by scholars (such as Gülru Necipoğlu) as sources for Ottoman court practices or European accounts of Ottoman life, this paper considers the reports (including the boiserie) to help understand the transition in France’s relationship with the Ottomans and what this meant from the perspective of diplomatic practice. These are accounts where performance, gesture, dress, movement, and ceremonial all figure quite strongly. Can we consider these reports as part of a practice of learning the ‘language’ of the Ottoman court encoded in these very observed practices (just as much as some were learning Ottoman Turkish)? Further, what do these representations of ‘courtly encounters’ reflect about the way these diplomats fashioned themselves?

**Juliette SOUPERBIE [Toulouse]**

**Le portrait royal: un simulacre au cœur des pratiques diplomatiques**

À partir de la Renaissance, le portrait de souverain devint un objet politique, situé au cœur de certaines pratiques diplomatiques, sous la forme de peintures, de gravures, de médailles et parfois même de sculptures. Mis en scène au cours de cérémonies particulières, il pouvait être utilisé comme substitut du roi face à ses alliés ou à ses ennemis invités à symboliquement lui faire allégeance. Le portrait pouvait également être l’un de ces cadeaux diplomatiques utilisés comme objets de « négociation continue, comme un compliment, une soumission, un hommage, une excuse, une délicatesse ». Les portraits royaux ou princiers furent sujets à de

nombreux échanges, que ce soit comme récompense ou comme émissaire symbolique, pour émettre des propositions de mariage, susciter des accords ou prouver et concrétiser une alliance.

Cette utilisation stratégique avait une vertu médiatrice et aidait à établir une harmonie politique. Il pouvait néanmoins aussi s’agir de provocations ou du moins de tentatives de subordination. Un portrait pouvait en effet servir à impressionner le destinataire en exprimant un idéal et une forme de supériorité, ainsi que le pratiqua Louis XIV avec ces portraits sertis de diamants. Favorisant les relations politiques, il s’inscrivait ainsi entre séduction, courtoisie, intérêts économiques, affirmation d’une légitimité, diffusion d’une renommée ou assujettissement.

Ces images, quelques soient les voies par lesquelles elles étaient transférées, étaient fondamentales pour valoriser ou exhiber le visage et le pouvoir d’un dirigeant à l’étranger. La circulation de ces œuvres à travers l’Europe offrait une visibilité importante et abolissait les distances. Qu’elles se veuilles séductrices ou imposantes, elles renforçaient la confiance et le respect au sein de négociations. De nombreux exemples témoignent du développement et de l’importance de ces échanges aux XVIe

et XVIIe siècles, notamment à la cour de France, des Valois aux Bourbons, à la cour d’Angleterre avec la dynastie des Tudor et du côté des Habsbourg. Il était également possible de commander un portrait du souverain pour le lui offrir. Ces envois constituaient alors des gages de fidélité et permettaient parfois des réconciliations. Dans l’art de la paix, le portrait fut ainsi un singulier agent diplomatique, représentant en simulacre une présence en absence.

**János SZABADOS [Szeged]**

**Flow of Information between Vienna and Constantinople in the mid-17th Century – Routes and Tendencies**

In this paper I investigate the official and unofficial routes of the communication between the Habsburg Court in Vienna and the resident ambassador in Constantinople in the 1650s (1650–1657). This topic has been only partially investigated so far and mostly related to the Great Turkish War (1683–1699), but this research can shed light on new aspects, because both the personal factor and the political situation in the Habsburg–Ottoman frontiers influenced the communication system in that period. As for the channels, there were the (1) couriers as official persons who delivered some of the letters, but besides them, there was also the so-called (2) Secret Correspondence, which consisted of Ragusan merchants in certain cities (Buda, Belgrade and Sofia) who were ready to deliver some letters in secret, of course for regular payment from Vienna. The third alternative for the correspondence was (3) the use of Ottoman couriers, but this seemed to be the perilous. Last but not least, there was (4) the rout via Transylvania which was enabled thanks to the good relationship between Prince George Rákóczi II and the Hungarian Palatine, Paul Pálffy.

What is more, these routes existed in parallel in the 1650s, but sometimes problems arose which could impact on the whole flow of information between the two capitals. I investigate four cases: (1) death of a courier; (2) problems of finding replacement in the Secret Correspondence; (3) political hardships on the Habsburg–ottoman frontiers; (4) personal implications, e.g. the attitude of the Veziers’ of Buda and the Prince of Transylvania. These cases are examined in order to demonstrate the importance of all the above-mentioned routes as well as the flexible mechanism of solving problems of the Court. On the basis of these cases, it can be argued that the infrastructure of the correspondence between Vienna and Constantinople depended on certain factors. The most important one seems to be the regular payment because without money the Secret Correspondence did not function. The personal factor was also significant which is shown by the death of the Palatine Pálffy and the strictness of Sari Kenan Pasha. Also, the political situation played an important role which resulted in the death of Dietz. Despite these crises, both the Court in Vienna and the resident ambassador effectively coped with their duties.

**Flavia TUDINI [Universitàdi Trento]**

**‘Vogliamo che presentiate voi di nostra commessione et lo studiolo et il quadro ne’ modi detti, scusando la piccolezza del dono’.1 The gift-diplomacy in the relations between Spain, Holy See and the Italian States*.***

In early modern Europe, the diplomacy of art was a widespread practiceand could take on different meanings, not only based on the rank and purpose of the giver but also of who would receive it. The gifts were forms of courtesy, used to express the will to maintain good diplomatic relations and, in some cases, also to illustrate the beauty and the arts of the countries from which they were from. They could be of different nature: from precious handcrafts to exotic animals or other types of merchandise (such as food from distant lands). They also had their own practices and gestures in the Court ceremonial.

This proposal will analyse the circulation of material and artistic goods, through diplomatic channels between the Spanish courts and the Italian ones, with a specific attention to the Papal court, during the 16th and 17thcenturies. Both the Spanish ambassadors and the Papal nuncios frequently used paintings and objects of artistic craftsmanship as a tribute to the sovereigns with whom they were to carry out their duties.

The gifts exchanged between two friendly nations could have different political meanings, in relation to the subjects. On the one hand, there were gifts exchanged between two allied sovereigns, perhaps even with mutual family ties. On the other hand, this kind of gifts could be expressly requested by one of the two nations (generally the less powerful one), as a testimony of the support of which it was the beneficiary. This was, for example, the case of the Gran Duke of Tuscany who begged a present for his wife, on the occasion of the Baptism of their son, from the Spanish Crown (1592). As this and other examples illustrate, during the 16th and 17th centuries, diplomatic purposes could be achieved even through an intricate web of relations and contacts based on the exchange of presents and artworks.

In conclusion, it can be observed that not only did the gift diplomacy become the mirror of international politics among European Courts between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it also became a means of circulation of artistic objects, fashions and style among European courts and elites, highlighting the key role of ambassadors, nuncios, secretaries, diplomatic agents.

**Ellen R WELCH [University of North Carolina]**  
**In the French Style: Fashion, Sociability, and Femininity in the Letters of the Marquise de Villars, *Ambassadrice* in Madrid**

Well-known yet strangely under-studied, the letters of Marie Gigault de Bellefonds, marquise de Villars, during her husband’s embassy in Madrid between 1679 and 1681 offer a unique perspective into the life and work of the *ambassadrice*. While much recent work on early modern ambassadors’ wives has (importantly and correctly) conceived of the diplomatic couple as a professional unit, Villars’s correspondence, addressed to her friend Marie-Angélique de Coulanges, emphasizes the importance of female networks to her activity in the Spanish court. Many letters, for example, detail the ceremonies and gestures that structure her interaction with other *ambassadrices* and with Spanish noblewomen. Above all, Villars highlights the presence of other Frenchwomen in Spain, notably Marie Mancini, connétable Colonne, and, most especially, Carlos II’s young queen, Marie-Louise d’Orléans. Embodying beauty and grace against the backdrop of a (stereotypically) austere and restrictive court, all these Frenchwomen, in Villars’ account, act as ambassadors for their country. In her frequent discussions of dress, for example, Villars discusses how Frenchwomen convince their Spanish counterparts of the superiority of comfortable, colourful French outfits over their dark, restrictive Spanish clothes. Even when they dress themselves ‘à l’Espagnole’, the Frenchwomen bring something of their own national style—a splash of colour, a little undone-ness—to that uniform. In her discussions of sociable gatherings, as well, Frenchwomen serve as models for a pleasurable mode of interaction seemingly foreign to the court culture of Madrid. Beyond rehearsing French stereotypes of Spain, Villars suggests that the daily gestures and modes of embodiment—particularly as practiced by women—can function as a technique of cultural exchange and negotiation, as well as a practice of soft power. Finally, her letters to Coulanges, destined to be shared within networks of sociability in France, themselves perform a diplomatic function, advertising the efficacy of this subtle, feminine diplomacy to a French public at a time when political relations between the crowns were strained. Echoes of Villars’ accounts in other documents of the period, including in the *Mercure Galant,* point to the key role of the a*mbassadrice* in helping to craft a positive self-image of French diplomatic relations for the French public. In all, what can the case of Villars tell us about the importance of feminine gestures in the construction of the image of a French style of diplomacy in the early modern era?

**Christoph WÜRFLINGER [Salzburg]**  
**Symbolic Communication in Habsburg-Ottoman Relations – The Reports of Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn, Imperial Grand Ambassador to Constantinople 1650/51**

Research on the relations between Habsburgs and Ottomans has been dominated by the wars between the two empires. In the last 20 years, however, the focus shifted to other questions. In the context of New Diplomatic History questions of information transfer, perceptions of the other, symbolic communication, diplomatic economics, and the intercultural nature of diplomacy are at the centre of attention. From a modern perspective the effort that early modern diplomats put into rituals and ceremonies seems exaggerated. In historical research this has been called ‘baroque vanity’ or ‘blatantly out of proportion to the result’. Historian Bertold Spuler argues that this was due to the ‘diplomats’ pomposity’. This seems especially true for imperial grand ambassadors, whose mission it was to deliver ratified peace treaties and gifts to the Sublime Porte.

Early modern ceremonial was, however, a ‘medium of symbolic creation and display of political and social order’ directed at a courtly public. It was a symbolic language in which social and political rank could be claimed, acknowledged, or rejected. In the Habsburg-Ottoman context this means that from 1606 on the emperors who were previously seen as vassals by the Turks continually had to fight in order to preserve their status as equals to the sultan.

In my paper I will focus on the grand embassy of Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn who travelled to Constantinople in 1650 and was one of the most experienced imperial diplomats at the time. The most important stations regarding symbolic communication were the border crossing ceremony, the entry in Constantinople, and the audience with the sultan. At every opportunity the Ottomans challenged the status of the emperor. I will examine the various difficulties Schmid had to face during his mission and the way he reported them to the emperor.

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Bobby and Anna look forward to seeing you at Splendid Encounters IX in 2020

