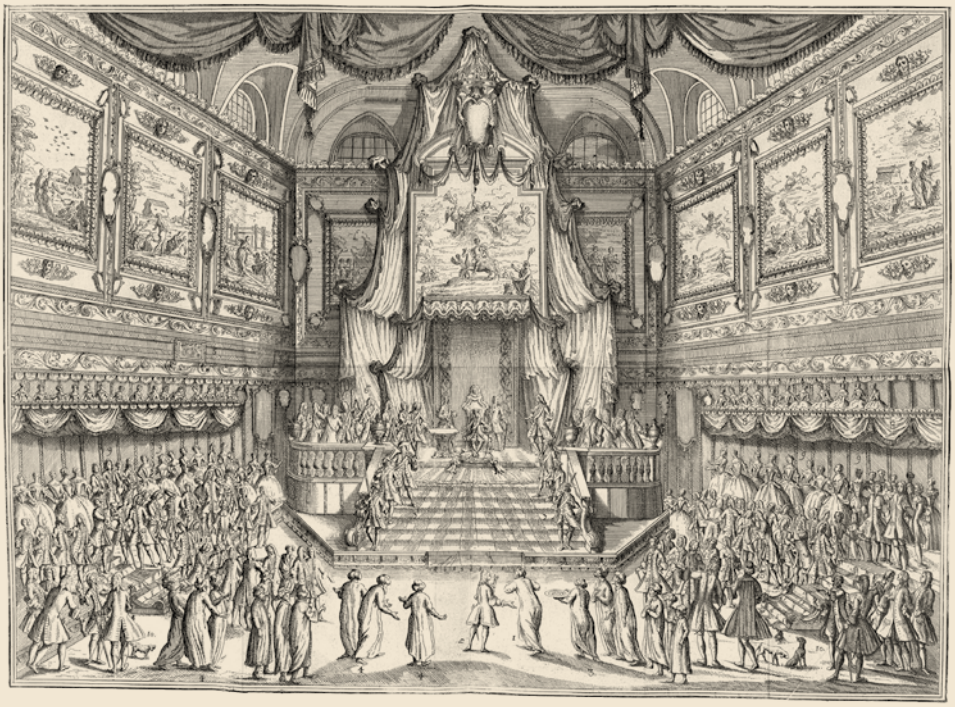
PERFORMING DIPLOMACY

IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



Edited by

Roberta Anderson · Reinhard Eisendle · Suna Suner

HOLLITZER


DIPLOMATICA

DON JUAN ARCHIV WIEN

DIPLOMATICA 3

Series Editors

Reinhard Eisendle · Suna Suner

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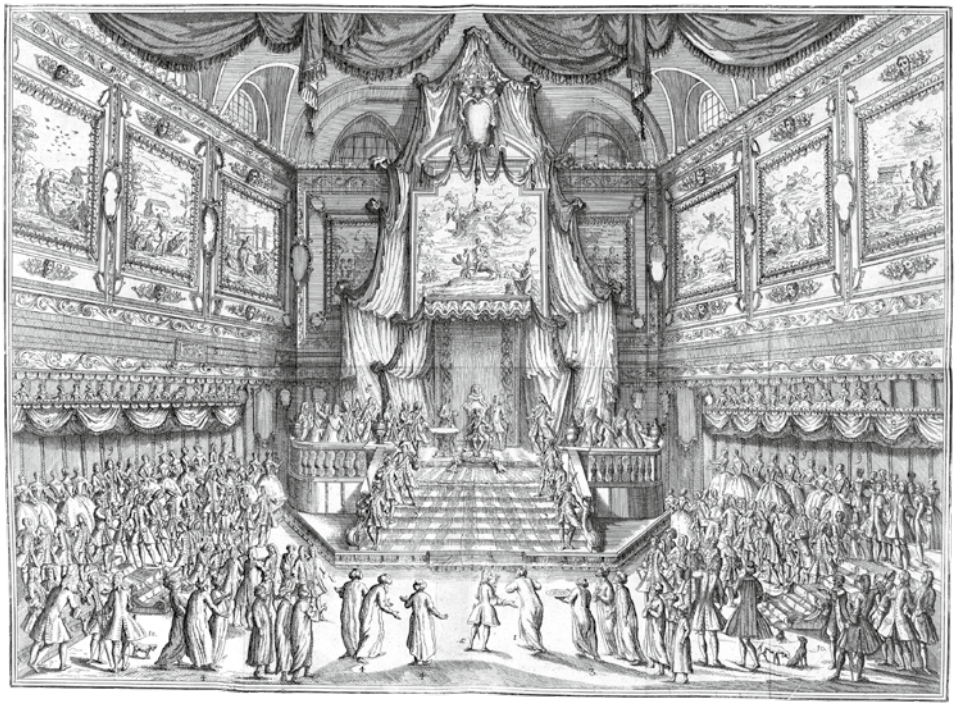

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Performing Diplomacy in the Early Modern World
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(= Diplomatica 3)

Cover-image
Francesco Sesoni: *Relazione della venuta di Hagi Hussein effendi inviato straordinario della Porta Ottomana, e della pubblica udienza, che ha avuto dal re nostro signore il giorno 18. settembre 1741. In Napoli M. DCC. XLI. Per Francesco Ricciardo impressore del real palazzo.*
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INTRODUCTION

Roberta Anderson – Reinhard Eisendle – Suna Suner

> Diplomacy is a performance. The stage is set on the streets and palaces that centre upon the spaces of political power. The audience is made up of the prince and the court, the pope and the curia, the emperor and the diet, the doge and the senate, the sultan and his viziers. The cast is composed of diplomats seeking attention and each vying to outdo the other. They follow a plot formed of ceremony and etiquette that defines their spheres of interaction and elevates the tiniest issues in precedence and protocol to the status of grave insults and greater rivalries. As this volume explores, diplomacy as 'spectacle' is no mere metaphor for political interaction, but an elevation of how it was practiced as performance. No other activity in the early modern world yielded to such an intensive flow of cultural exchange, artistic endeavour to be patronised, or expense to be lavished on the aggrandisement of events, entertainments, and festivities. Indeed, these efforts were orchestrated: the ambassadors were both impresarios and lead actors. Ceremonial entries, banquets, masquerade balls, commissions of music or dramatic pieces, naumachiae, and festivities of all kinds provided diplomats with the means to display their merit, influence others, and obtain prestige and standing to succeed in their negotiations and missions. Understanding the ambassador as a cultural mediator is more than just conceiving of the diplomatic agent as a conduit of exchange: it is instead the recognition of the power of diplomatic activity to transform culture through the process of mediation, and more, the appreciation of the sphere of diplomatic mediation as a most fertile ground for cultural invention and innovation, the legacies of which are still felt today.

This was the text of the opening section of the call for papers of "Performance of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World", a conference organised in May 2017 in Vienna by the Don Juan Archiv Wien in cooperation with the University of Granada and Stvdivm fæsvlanvm. Scholars were invited to this conference to present papers on the following topics:

— The role of the ambassador as an actor and an impresario: the power of theatre to frame and influence foreign policy;
— cultural origins of ceremonial settings;
— theatrical works as a means of political/diplomatic communication;
— theatres as diplomatic spaces;

— the interaction between court ceremonies and theatrical performances: political power as a performative act;
— diplomacy as a public event: festive entries, carnival, public festivities;
— stage performers as diplomatic agents, spies, and informants;
— narrative elements of embassy reports and other diplomatic writing (including the use/symbolism of faked documents in diplomacy);
— diplomatic and theatrical performances as a conduit of cultural exchange, innovation, and transformation.

This book features the papers presented at the conference by scholars from Austria, Chile, the Czech Republic, France, Hungary, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. It is divided into eight chapters:

I. Theatres of Diplomacy
II. The Roman Stage
III. Venice – Florence – Genoa
IV. The Imperial Court
V. Imperial Embassies to the Ottoman Empire
VI. Spanish Diplomatic Strategies
VII. Parisian Diplomatic Stages
VIII. Music and Diplomacy: Rome – Vienna – Dresden – Munich – Prague

Furthermore, it is supplemented by contributions from scholars who for various reasons were unable to attend the conference in May 2017, and who wrote contributions specifically for this edition.

THEATRES OF DIPLOMACY

The opening contribution by Nathalie Rivere de Carles leads to the diplomatic stages of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century: "The Drama of Tapestries: A Theatrical History of Early Modern Diplomacy". Rivere de Carles focuses on the use of tapestries as central objects of an ostentatious political magnificence which actively participated in the performance of diplomacy: being integrated into multiple social and political activities, tapestries are distinguished objects for analysing diplomacy explicitly within a theatrical framework: "Theatre is a theoretical as well as concrete framework for the performance of diplomacy. It constitutes its form, a part of its content, a tactic as well as a strategy. It participates in the education and the daily performance of the ambassador. Theatre is not a convenient

analogy; it is inherent to diplomacy."[1] Therefore the link between tapestry, diplomacy and theatre may be seen as an "investigative prism" for developing a theatrical history of diplomacy.

The use of tapestries is analysed in many sequences of diplomatic activities: the tapestry as stage direction helping to control the diplomatic action and functioning as time-markers and time-setters; the tapestry can serve as "prime mover of, or even be, the diplomatic plot"[2] (which could also function as a play in the play); and the tapestry as "diplomatic after-play" or "after-history"[3] considering a diplomatic play as a play with an open ending: "a matter of perpetual readjustments of what were provisional conclusions".[4] The chapter concludes on the nature and the benefits of a theatrical history of diplomacy: "Not only does theatre help us to understand Renaissance diplomacy theoretically, but the dramatic reading of diplomatic sequences and the diplomatic reading of Renaissance plays enables us to reconcile the theoretical and practical performance of diplomacy and to reconsider the tactical and strategic sides of a diplomatic sequence."[5]

The contribution by Clemens Peck is also centred around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: "Blackboxing Diplomacy: On Mimesis, Ghosts, and the Extraterritoriality of Sovereignty in Early Modern Drama". It analyses "the fictionality and mediality of international politics on the one hand and the political and diplomatic practice of literature on the other".[6] Following studies of "diplomatic poetics" by Timothy Hampton, among others, it examines English and German early modern drama, and especially the topic of the representation of sovereignty, the representation of the absent sovereign, and the act of delegation: "Literary texts provide a unique and privileged terrain for studying the languages of diplomacy, and in turn, diplomatic culture plays a dynamic role in literary history, in the invention of new literary forms."[7]

Peck's contribution focuses on three dramatic texts: *The Life and Death of King John* (1596) by William Shakespeare (1564–1616), *Catharina von Georgien Oder Bewehrete Beständigkeit* (1657) by Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664), and *Die Sterbende Unschuld Oder die Durchlauchtigste Catharina Königin in Engelland* (1684) by Johann

1 Nathalie Rivere de Carles: "The Drama of Tapestries: A Theatrical History of Early Modern Diplomacy", in this publication, pp. 3–61, here pp. 5–6.
2 Ibidem, p. 8.
3 Ibidem.
4 Ibidem, p. 39.
5 Ibidem, p. 59.
6 Clemens Peck: "Blackboxing Diplomacy: On Mimesis, Ghosts and the Extraterritoriality of Sovereignty in Early Modern Drama", in this publication, pp. 63–80, here p. 63.
7 Timothy Hampton: *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2009, pp. 2–3.

Christian Hallmann (1647–1716). Furthermore, Peck analyses two highly important treatises on diplomacy from the sixteenth and seventeenth century: *De Legationibus, libri tres* (1585) by Alberico Gentili (1552–1608) and *L'ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (1682) by Abraham de Wicquefort (1606–1682); both works contain a "comparison between the diplomat conveying sovereignty and the actor of true mimetic art".[8]

For the historical reconstruction of diplomatic practices, Peck refers to Bruno Latour's theoretical concept of *blackboxing*[9] "to describe a theoretical concept that allows for the the blending of medial procedures and the symbolic systems involved in routine actions. […] I argue that theatre and drama function like a black box in this regard: the figure of the diplomat performs the automatisation of diplomatic representation."[10]

The next paper, by John Plemmenos, is also dedicated to the connection of early treatises on diplomacy and the world of theatre in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: "The Sage on the Stage: The Image of the *Perfect Ambassador* in Diplomatic Manuals and Opera Libretti in Early-Modern Europe". Plemmenos analyses the perception of the ancient world and its diplomatic activities in the literature of the early modern period: the manuals of instruction for diplomats also included anecdotes about Greek and Roman ambassadors. "This chapter attempts to put the practical manuals and the artistic works side by side in a dialogic form, albeit in a representative fashion, by choosing the most indicative and popular works of each genre."[11]

Among the manuals the author discusses are *The perfect ambassadour* by Francis Thynne (*c.*1544–1608, written in 1578 but printed in 1652). Thynne focused on three of the many prerequisites of a perfect ambassador: learning, eloquence, and social status. Thynne highlights diplomats like Cineas, the ambassador of King Pyrrhus of Epirus (r.297–272BC), who claimed to have won more cities by his ambassador's eloquence than by his arms. Peck underlines the accentuation on the performative aspects of diplomacy in Thynne's work, which contains accounts from ancient times to the Renaissance: "Here, the ambassadors' spiritual gifts were supplemented by episodes showing their physical involvement, including gestures, movements, and grimaces. These stories have a strong theatrical aspect showing the power of the so-called embodiment of an idea."[12] Plemmenos also refers to

8 Ibidem, p. 68.

9 Bruno Latour: *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 181–183 and pp. 191–193.

10 Clemens Peck: "Blackboxing Diplomacy", in this publication, p. 64.

11 John Plemmenos: "The Sage on the Stage: The Image of the *Perfect Ambassador* in Diplomatic Manuals and Opera Libretti in Early-Modern Europe", in this publication, pp. 81–99, here p. 82.

12 Ibidem, p. 86.

Antonio de Vera's *El Enbaxador* (1620), whose original Spanish version was translated into French and Italian already within the first half of the seventeenth century; among the admirers of this book was the playwright Lope de Vega (1562–1635). Vera's treatise also contains the story of Xenocrates, an ambassador of Athens to the court of Philip II of Macedon; about one decade after the third Italian edition (1674), this ancient ambassador was chosen as a main character for an Italian opera: *Zenocrate, ambasciatore a' macedoni* premiered in Venice, in 1686, with music by Pietro Porfiri (1640–*c.*1714) and text by Marc'Antonio Gasparini. The libretto was dedicated to Alvise Morelli (1627–1708), "a kind of commercial and cultural ambassador of Venice to England".[13]

The last contribution to the first chapter by Vera Grund takes the reader again to the Venetian stage, but about a hundred years later, into the 1770s; it analyses cultural interventions by an Imperial ambassador, and it is not clear how this cultural performance can be assessed in diplomatic terms: "Fandom or Cultural Diplomacy? Giacomo Durazzo's Theatre Mission in Venice". Giacomo Durazzo (1717–1794) is well known in the context of the Viennese history of theatre: he had been general director of the Viennese Imperial court theatres from 1754 to 1764, a time when French plays and operas were staged at the Burgtheater – also an expression of the "renversement des alliances". The "Théâtre français près de la Cour" was mainly a place for French-speaking aristocracy – popular entertainment in the German language was presented at the Kärntnerthortheater. Durazzo's name is linked with the Viennese project of opera and ballet reform – linked with the names of the composer Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–1787), the poet Raniero Calzabigi (1714–1795), and the choreographer Gasparo Angiolini (1731–1803). Before his theatrical engagement he had been a diplomat from Genova to Vienna (1749–1752); after 1764 he returned to the diplomatic field as Imperial ambassador in Venice for the next three decades.

In 1772 Durazzo was engaged again in theatrical affairs, evidently based on his regular contact with the states chancellor Graf Wenzel Anton Kaunitz (1711–1794) – now as Imperial ambassador –, by interceding for the engagement of a French troupe at the Teatro San Samuele, a project that was officially supported by three Venetian *procuratori*. This was just the French troupe that had been engaged in Vienna since 1770, and which had had to leave Vienna because of a decreasing interest in French theatre performances. The guest performance of the French troupe provoked a discourse on theatre in Venice, especially in reports by the poet Carlo Gozzi (1720–1806), who also referred to the situation of the Viennese theatre. Grund reconstructs the stay of the troupe in the Serenissima in the year 1772 and

13 Ibidem, p. 95.

tries to detect Durazzo's and Kaunitz's motives, to insist tenaciously on their plan to transfer French culture into Venice as part of their cultural diplomacy.

THE ROMAN STAGE

The second chapter analyses the performance of diplomatic events in Rome from the fifteenth up to the eighteenth century. "[…] Rome is not only governed by an ecclesiastical cultural policy aimed at an allegorical encomiastic-celebratory production, but is animated by multiple initiatives linked to a strategic presence of the European monarchies and their diplomatic representatives. The city is like a display cabinet in which the progressive loss of political influence at a European level by the papacy, following the wars of succession, is partly compensated by an intense cultural activity dominated by ideological and political dynamics."[14] Rome may be regarded as an arena of diplomatic power-politics – cultural practices in Rome were not controlled by a single court: "Each ambassador to the Holy See was a kind of monarch of his own 'micro entourage', which, along with the Roman Curia, princes and cardinals, made up the aristocratic environment of the Eternal City. Consequently, the scenario in Rome was international, and life was punctuated by events and musical performances associated with foreign nations."[15]

There was also a remarkable tradition of private theatres in Rome, "inside the palaces of princes, cardinals and ambassadors, largely due to the intermittent restrictions on performances in public theatres issued by the Papacy. Some were more permanent and elaborate, like that of cardinal Pietro Ottoboni in the Palazzo della Cancelleria, others, ephemeral. The result was a 'teatro a metà strada fra spettacolo pubblico, spettacolo di corte e rappresentazione privata';[16] a solution that remained typical of Rome for almost the entire eighteenth century and which included both spectacles promoted by cardinal-nephews familiar with the court culture, or more

14 "Roma infatti non solo è retta da una politica culturale ecclesiastica volta a una produzione allegorica encomiastico-celebrativa, ma è animata da molteplici iniziative legate a una strategica presenza delle monarchie europee e delle loro rappresentanze diplomatiche. La città e come una vetrina in cui la perdita progressiva di influenza politica a livello europeo da parte del papato, in seguito alle guerre di successione, è in parte compensata da un'intensa attività culturale dominata da dinamiche ideologiche e politiche." In: Silvia Tatti: *Microcorti straniere a Roma tra Sei e Settecento: serenate, cantate, genetliaci*. Lecture held at the Colóquio Internacional "A Serenata e a Festa Teatral nas Cortes europeias do séc. XVIII" (Palácio Nacional de Queluz, 26–28 June 2015).

15 Cristina Fernandes: "The Power of Music and the Performance of Portuguese Diplomacy in Early Eighteenth-Century Rome: Festivities in Honour of *Infante* Alexandre's Birth (1724) under the Patronage of André de Melo e Castro", in this publication, pp. 609–637, here p. 611.

16 Saverio Franchi: *Drammaturgia romana II (1701–1750)*. Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1997, p. XXV.

or less private performances in the palaces of prominent aristocratic families (such as the Barberini, Orsini, Colonna, Chigi, Rospigliosi, Caetani, Ruspoli, Borghese, and Albani, among others), in the ambassadors' residences or in college theaters (like the Seminario Romano, the Collegio Romano, the Collegio Clementino, or the Collegio Nazareno)."[17] As a means of diplomacy many festivities were given in Rome, feasts that involved music in different forms (*drammi*, *odi latine*, *commedie* and *mascherate*) – especially promoted by the Imperial, French, Spanish and Portuguese ambassadors. Famous poets and composers were involved in the activities of diplomacy: poets like Giulio Rospigliosi (the later Pope Clemente IX, b.1600, r.1667–1669), Silvio Stampiglia (1663–1725), Paolo Antonio Rolli (1687–1765), and composers like Stefano Landi (1587–1639), Virgilio Mazzocchi (1597–1646), Francesco Gasparini (1661–1727), Antonio Caldara (1670–1736), Giovanni Bononcini (1670–1747), Pietro Paolo Bencini (1670–1755), Benedetto Micheli (1699–1784), Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757), Nicola Porpora (1686–1768), and Leonardo Leo (1694–1744).

The first contribution by Tiago Viúla de Faria is dedicated to events in the mid-fifteenth century, which attracted great attention from contemporaries as well as historians: "Staging the Marriage and Coronation of Emperor Frederick III Habsburg and Eleonora of Avis (Rome, 1452): A Survey of the Portuguese Sources" – events, as the author underlines, that "served to bring distinct political and cultural realities together within the same setting".[18] This setting involved on the one hand the coronation of the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, a position and title with great political symbolic significance, representing "the highest secular authority in the whole of Christendom".[19] On the other hand, it was the first connection between the Casa d'Austria and the Kingdom of Portugal, a marriage with a member of the now reigning House of Avis. This had been established by Eleonora's grandfather, João I (b.1357, r.1385–1433) and was "still in search of recognition beyond borders in the mid-fifteenth century".[20]

The focus of Viula de Faria's contribution is on Eleonora's travel from Lisbon to Rome: the proxy wedding took place in the Portuguese capital on 9 August 1451; the bride arrived in Italy (Livorno) on 2 February 1452, meeting her husband for the first time in Siena twenty days later. The wedding took place in Rome on 16 March 1452, followed by the coronation on 19 March. The key source for this study is a set of letters sent to the Portuguese King Alphonso V (b.1432, r.1438–1481) by some

17 Cristina Fernandes: "The Power of Music and the Performance of Portuguese Diplomacy in Early Eighteenth Century Rome", in this publication, p. 611.

18 Tiago Viúla de Faria: "Staging the Marriage and Coronation of Emperor Frederick III Habsburg and Eleonora of Avis (Rome, 1452): A Survey of the Portuguese Sources", in this publication, pp. 115–128, here p. 115.

19 Ibidem. This was the last coronation by the Pope in Rome.

20 Ibidem, p. 116.

of his courtiers in Eleonora's train, written during their journey from Lisbon to Rome between February and May 1452. "Long known to Portuguese scholars as *cartas d'Itália*, they have been mined mainly for their picturesque style and attention to detail. Much has been made of their quasi-anthropological observations and comparisons of cultural traits. Nevertheless, their value for studies of diplomacy, perhaps especially the performative diplomacy of the period, far exceeds this line of approach in that the letters are full of assessments of the ritual and ceremonial aspect of political-social encounters."[21]

The contribution by Matylda Urjasz-Raczko takes the reader to the first half of the seventeenth century: "The Display of Otherness: Two Polish-Lithuanian Diplomats on Their Missions to the Mediterranean World (1627–1647)". At the end of the sixteenth century, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was characterised by a governmental form distinctive from those of other European monarchies: "It was seen not only in the adoption of republican ideals and the free election of kings, but was also visible in literature, artistic taste, fashion – a whole different way of life, set of values and way of thinking about statehood. The set of these specifically Polish-Lithuanian characteristics is called 'sarmatism,' as the nobility claimed that their roots traced back to the ancient Sarmatians."[22] As Urjasz-Raczko underlines, this proclaimed 'otherness' with roots to a "mythical, half-Asian tradition"[23] was also explicitly set on the political stage; the treatise analyses how the image of Polish and Lithuanian 'otherness' was transmitted by diplomatic performances in Rome. The study focuses on two distinct diplomatic missions to the Mediterranean World: the first was a mission sent to Pope Urban VIII (b.1568, r.1623–1644) in 1633 led by Jerzy Ossoliński (1595–1650), a Crown Court Treasurer at that time. The second one refers to the diplomatic activities of Stanislaw Mąkowski (*c.*1601–1658) in Madrid and Naples (1634–1647).

Ossoliński's diplomatic stay in Rome included two traditional and ostentatious events: the solemn entry (on 27 November 1633) and the papal audience (on 6 December 1633). "It was a deliberately and carefully planned display of wealth, their system of government, and oriental splendour, the so called *pompae Sarmaticae*."[24] The Polish delegation consisted of around three hundred persons, all wearing richly decorated Sarmatian clothes, distinctive from the European fashion. All in all, this performance impressed the Roman audience, finding fame and distribution by

21 Ibidem, p, 120.

22 Matylda Urjasz-Raczko: "The Display of Otherness: Two Polish-Lithuanian Diplomats on Their Missions to the Mediterranean World (1627–1647)", in this publication, pp. 129–148, here p. 129

23 Ibidem.

24 Ibidem, p. 134.

reports in Rome, Venice, Florence and Paris – reports meant to underline "that the Sarmatian nation was great, powerful, free in its diversity, chivalry, victorious, and very different from their Latin counterparts".[25]

But this glorious Roman performance of the Polish aristocracy was only one side of Polish diplomatic representation. The king's diplomatic performance lacked such splendour as the author analyses in regard to the mission of Makowski to Spain. Makowski was sent as a Polish ambassador to Madrid and as an agent to Naples engaged in the king's effort to regain the old Neapolitan heritage of the Jagiellons, an intention that was not supported by the Polish aristocracy. Makowski's mission lacked financial support and any sign of splendour. How was the split image of a poor king and a rich, powerful, and oriental nobility perceived in monarchies like Spain? "Was *Rzeczpospolita* already then perceived by the Spanish elites as the 'Other', a different, Eastern, civilization? […] this article forms a part of the debate on the problem of when *Rzeczpospolita* became the East to the rest of the Europe."[26]

The following contribution by Cristina Agüero Carnerero is dedicated to a Spanish embassy to Rome in 1646 – thirteen years after the Polish mission to Urban VIII discussed in the previous article: "The Admiral of Castile's Embassy of Obedience to Innocent X and the Two Cavalcades performed in Rome". The study analyses an embassy sent by King Philip IV (b.1605, r.1621–1665) to the Holy See after the election of Pope Innocent X (b.1574, r.1644–1655). For Spanish diplomacy the election of Giovanni Battista Pamphilj was of special concern due to the expectation that the francophile bias of his predecessor, Urban VIII, would find an end. To pay homage to the new pope the Spanish king sent Juan Alfonso Enríquez de Cabrera y Colonna, 5th Duke of Medina de Riosecoand 9th Admiral of Castile (1599–1647).

Agüero Carnerero focuses on the two cavalcades that took place in Rome on the occasion of the entry and the reception at the Apostolic palace that was seen as a "perfect stage for showing support for the Spanish faction in a Roman panorama marked by the rivalry between the Hispanophile and the Francophile factions".[27] Juan Alfonso spent a lot of his money as an investment in this embassy – the great splendour of the planned diplomatic performances would also "mask the indebtedness of the estate of the admiral, as well as the difficulties that the Spanish monarchy suffered due to its conflicts with Portugal and Catalonia".[28] The Admiral of

25 Ibidem, p. 138.

26 Ibidem, p. 144.

27 Cristina Agüero Carnerero: "The Admiral of Castile's Embassy of Obedience to Innocent X and the Two Cavalcades performed in Rome", in this publication, pp. 149–176, here p. 151.

28 Ibidem, p. 156.

Castile also used these public performances to demonstrate to the papal court his close connections to the prominent Colonna family – for this purpose, the Colonna palace was integrated into the diplomatic spectacle and decorated with a number of ephemeral installations. "This ephemeral structure of colossal dimensions […] represented a monument to the ties that had been established through the marriages of Enríquez de Cabrera with the Colonna and the Sandoval, two of the most powerful houses of the Italian and Iberian Peninsulas"[29] – performances which aroused extraordinary attraction among the inhabitants of Rome.

The paper by Lars-Dieter Leisner is centred around the first decade of the eighteenth century: "The Queen's Carpet. Religious Performance and the Fight for Diplomatic Precedence in Early Eighteenth Century Rome". In 1698 Maria Kazimiera Sobieska (1641–1716), the consort of the Polish King John III Sobieski (b.1629, r.1674–1696), praised as *Salvator Christianitatis*, relocated to Rome after the death of her husband, trying to find there a stage as the dowager Queen. She took residence in the same palace where the exiled Swedish Queen, Cristina (1626–1689, r.1632–1654) had lived. With initial support from the Pope Maria Kazimiera Sobieska began to fight against the custom that during masses the wives of ambassadors (representing the royal authorities of their countries) were honoured by a red carpet, which she thought should be the privilege of a "real" queen alone. One of the main opponents of Maria Kazimiera's ambitions was the Imperial ambassadorial couple, Leopold Joseph Count Lamberg (1654–1706, appointed as the head of the Roman embassy in 1699) and his wife, who were sent to Rome by Emperor Leopold I. This opposition was also reinforced by the political struggle for European hegemony between the Austrian Habsburgs and France.

According to Leisner, the resulting conflicts are of interest in at least two ways: "On the one hand, the performance of religion was turned into a kind of battleground for ceremonial precedence, involving even the Pope himself and gaining wide attention in the Roman society. […] On the other hand, this example sheds light on the performance of diplomacy in the early modern period in a broader sense. Since Maria Kazimiera explicitly attacked the ambassadors' wives in their role as official representatives of their sovereign, she attacked the embassy as a whole."[30]

The final contribution of the second chapter by Pilar Diez del Corral Corredoira analyses Portuguese diplomatic activities in early eighteenth-century Rome – during the era of King John V (b.1689, r.1706–1750): "'Una basilica

29 Ibidem, p. 165.

30 Lars-Dieter Leisner: "The Queen's Carpet: Religious Performance and the Fight for Diplomatic Precedence in Early Eighteenth Century Rome", in this publication, pp. 177–192, here pp. 177–178.

diventata teatro': Santa Maria in Aracoeli and the Political Ambitions of José Maria de Fonseca of Évora in Eighteenth Century Rome". The starting-point of this treatise is an anonymous drawing "which illustrated the defence of a theological conclusion in the Basilica of Santa Maria in Aracoeli"[31] – an event which took place in the early 1720s. According to descriptions of the drawing, this event was directed by the Portuguese clergyman José Maria da Fonseca e Évora (1690–1752), later bishop of Porto, and sponsored by the Portuguese ambassador (the well-known Andrea de Melo e Castro, 1668–1753) and dedicated to the Portuguese king. The contribution analyses the importance of this drawing "as one of the first visual indications of a political strategy orchestrated by José Maria da Fonseca e Évora to promote the Portuguese monarchy in Rome, and thereby positioning himself as a candidate for minister of the King of Portugal".[32]

Among others, Diez del Corral Corredoira refers to the manuscript-journal of the Jesuit priest Manuel de Campos (1681–1758) which contains a description of this defence – he was sent to Rome as an attendant to Cardinal José Pereira de Lacerda (1662–1738) at the papal conclave following the death of Clement XI in 1721. The above-mentioned drawing is centred around an empty throne which evokes the image of the absent king – in this case King John V. Whereas conclusions were normally dedicated to cardinals or to the pope, Évora dedicated this one to the Portuguese king. "In the first place, independently of the academic aspect and his impact within the order, Fonseca e Évora deliberately made the celebration an event filled with political connotations by involving the Portuguese ambassador."[33]

Two further papers on diplomatic performances in Rome are featured in the last chapter of this book: "Music and Diplomacy: Rome – Vienna – Dresden – Munich – Prague". One focuses on the Roman festivity of an Imperial ambassador in 1714, and the other is dedicated, again, to Portuguese diplomatic activities in Rome during the reign of King John V.

VENICE – FLORENCE – GENOA

The third chapter is dedicated to three case studies from Italian capitals north of Rome – all three being important diplomatic centres: "Venice – Florence – Genoa". The first contribution by Attila Györkös focuses on the role of ancient

31 Pilar Diez del Corral Corredoira "Una basilica diventata teatro": Santa Maria in Aracoeli and the Political Ambitions of José Maria de Fonseca of Évora in Eighteenth Century Rome", in this publication, pp. 193–210, here p. 193.

32 Ibidem.

33 Ibidem, p. 202.

myths as an attempt to find a common identity among different political powers and systems: "Spectacles to Forging Common Identity: The Myth of Troy and the Franco-Venetian-Hungarian Alliance (1502)". In the year 1502, the Countess Anne de Foix (1484–1506), a distant cousin of Anne de Bretagne (1477–1514, at this time married to the French King Louis XII, b.1462, r.1498–1515), passed through Venice towards Buda as the bride of the Jagiellon Władisłas II (b.1456, r.1471/90–1516), King of Bohemia and Hungary. This marriage was concluded in the context of a Venetian-French-Jagiellonian alliance, aimed against the Ottomans, and especially from the French side as a means to create an anti-Habsburg counter-balance in South and Central Europe.

Anne de Foix's bridal journey in the summer of 1502 included receptions in Crema, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, and Padua – in each case with entry performances, as they were common in the Renaissance period, dedicated to the importance of the arriving political personality and also serving as a medium of self-representation of the receiving urban communities. In Venice a naval reception took place: the French and Hungarian envoys entered by ship, being awaited by the Venetian fleet – in a celebration not only of the bride but also of the future tripartite alliance. "All these representations had the same purpose: to emphasise the importance of the anti-Ottoman alliance concluded between the three European powers."[34]

The Venetian Signoria gave a political banquet which also included theatrical plays staging the Trojan myth from the rape of Helena to the siege of Troy. "The choice of the theme was by no means accidental. The idea of Trojan roots was part of the Frankish, and later the French, identity from Gregory of Tours in the sixth century to Benoît de Sainte-Maure (1154–1173, ca. 1165, *Le Roman de Troie*). […] Apparently, in Venice, a parallel Trojan myth was born sometime in the thirteenth century, which reached its peak in the era of the Renaissance."[35] According to Györkös, the emphasis on common origins could be regarded also as a kind of symbolic reconciliation between earlier enemies. There was also a mythic correspondence in Hungary: one French chronicler of the bridal journey identified a suburb of Buda as the legendary Trojan city of Sicambria.

The next contribution by Maria Alberti leads the reader to the Medici court of the early seventeenth century: "Middle Eastern Guests in Florence during the Age of Grand Duke Cosimo II (r.1609–1620)". Alberti points out that ceremonial and etiquette at the Medici court have been the subject of many studies in recent decades, like those by Sergio Bertelli, Giuliano Crifò, and Marcello Fantoni: "Ceremonial is a code in which everything has a specific meaning, every act does not

34 Attila Györkös: "Spectacles to Forging Common Identity: The Myth of Troy and the Franco-Venetian-Hungarian Alliance (1502)", in this publication, pp. 213–224, here p. 217.

35 Ibidem, pp. 218–219.

merely 'transmit' a reality, but 'is' reality itself. Thus, the spaces of the whole court assume the function of a stage, where the prince, the dignitaries, the personnel in service and the visitors play as themselves, building their own identities and making their roles distinguishable."[36] Following David Cannadine, Alberti accentuates: "Politics and ceremonial are not separate subjects, the one serious, the other superficial. Ritual is not the mask of force, but is itself a type of power."[37] An elaborate etiquette came to the Florentine court with Grand Duke Ferdinand I (b.1549, r.1587–1609), introducing written records relating to ceremonial and etiquette: the so-called "Diari di etichetta". Such ceremonial books were on the one hand a daily chronicle recording the ceremonial activities regarding different guests visiting the Grand Duke, and also were meant "to provide a point of reference for similar situations which might occur in the future, since each act of respect corresponds to an acknowledgment and establishes a precedent".[38] Alberti analyses the ceremonials at the time of Ferdinand's son, Cosimo II (b.1590, r.1609–1621), especially examining how the "codified behaviours declined under certain extraordinary circumstances, such as visitors coming from non-Christian and often hostile states."[39]

According to the reports written by the Grand Duke's chamber attendant, the first guest from the Middle East was an alleged elder brother "of the reigning Grand Turk", identified as Alexander, Count of Montenegro (1585–1649) – an adventurer and self-proclaimed pretender to the Ottoman throne claiming to be the son of Sultan Murad III (b.1546, r.1574–1595) and elder brother of Sultan Ahmed I (b.1590, r.1603–1617) – who arrived in June 1609. Shortly after, the Englishman Robert Shirley (*c.*1581–1628) came to the Medici court leading a diplomatic mission sent by the King of Persia. In 1613 the most famous of the Oriental guests arrived in the Tuscan capital: the Druze Emir Fakhr ad-Din (1572?–1635), a former ally and trading partner of the father of Grand Duke Cosimo II. "He had left his country (Sidon Eyalet, today in Lebanon) to take refuge in Tuscany, escaping Ottoman retaliation against his ambition of autonomy."[40] The emir stayed in Tuscany for almost two years, then was the guest of the Spanish viceroy in Naples before returning to his homeland in 1618. Alberti examines the specific and differentiated ways in which these guests from the Middle East were welcomed in Florence, and examines the extent to which diplomatic ceremonies were modified according to the supposed cultural otherness of the oriental guests.

36 Maria Alberti: "Middle Eastern Guests in Florence during the Age of Grand Duke Cosimo II (r.1609–1620)", in this publication, pp. 225–239, here p. 225.
37 Ibidem.
38 Ibidem, p. 227.
39 Ibidem, pp. 228–229.
40 Ibidem, p. 232.

The last contribution by Armando Fabio Ivaldi leads to the Serenissima Reppublica di Genova and to the second half of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century: "L'Effimero barocco: da metafora del potere a sperimentazione dell'artista. Alcuni esempi genovesi di fine Seicento". The ephemeral baroque objects concern the architectural constructions, from cenotaphs to swimming temples, which played a role in diplomatic activities: projects in which renowned Genoese painters and sculptors were involved. These ephemeral objects can still be analysed today insofar as they are recorded by drawings, paintings, or at least by precise descriptions. In the mid-seventeenth century Roman culture had a great impact on Genoese life, also increasing the number of matrimonial connections between the Roman and Genoese aristocracy.

The first analysed object concerns a catafalque in effigy on the occasion of the death of the Spanish King Philip IV (1605–1665, r.1621–1665), which is recorded in an engraving by the Genoese painter Domenico Piola (1627–1703): an apparatus with pomp which may also be seen as a political-diplomatic spectacle of the Genoese Republic with the hope that Spain would pay its outstanding financial debts as soon as possible. According to Ivaldi, this catafalque falls within the Roman scheme of the canopy, but in a more decorative way, and also closer to local Genoese taste and traditions.

The next two examples are also dedicated to the memory of deceased persons, but the identification of the objects is ambiguous, and it is a challenge for the author to identify the potential persons, the political context, and the iconological programme. "As can be seen, however, all the hypotheses constitute a more or less direct reference to the historical and geo-political need to glorify the victory of Christianity-Catholicism […] over the Turkish threat towards Europe"[41].

The following examples from the early eighteenth century concern festivities organised in honour of living persons: the "macchina per fuochi d'allegrezza" designed by Domenico Parodi (1672–1742) in April 1716 on the occasion of the birth of the son of the Emperor Charles VI (Leopold Johann, who died in September of the same year) using the sujet of the fall of the Giants represented in the Turcs. It is followed by a second example of the same year 1716: the construction of a swimming temple: a "Tempio di Nettuno", again by Domenico Parodi, on the occasion of the visit of the son of the Bavarian Elector Maximilian II Emanuel: Charles Albert, later Bavarian elector, King of Bohemia (1741–1743) and the Emperor Charles VII (1742–1745). "The political importance of the secular or sacred ephemeral devices […] often became a source for recycling models as well as their parts (as happens in

41 "Come si può constatare, comunque, tutte le ipotesi costituiscono un riferimento più o meno diretto all'esigenza storica e geo-politica di glorificare la vittoria del cristianesimo-cattolicesimo […] sulla minaccia turca nei confronti dell'Europa." Ibidem, p. 260.

contemporary theater with the equipment) and a way of experimenting with new iconographies and assembly work for artists."[42]

THE IMPERIAL COURT

Chapter IV focuses on the Holy Roman Empire in the seventeenth century, with very special insights, from the beginning of the Thirty Years War to the reign of Emperor Leopold I. The first contribution by Camille Desenclos is dedicated to a French embassy tour in 1620 and 1621: "Ceremonial Entries as Political Performance: The Duke of Angoulême's Embassy to the Holy Roman Empire". In October 1619, Emperor Ferdinand II (b.1578, r.1619–1637) sent an extraordinary ambassador to Louis XIII (b.1601, r.1610–1643), asking for military assistance to defeat the Protestant rebels. With ambivalence the French king promised assistance in the Lower Palatinate – not in military terms, but by sending an embassy to convince "Protestants that appeasement in the Empire was in their interest, and Catholics that the Roman religion was in danger."[43] This extraordinary embassy, with a high level of personnel and ceremonial efforts, started in May 1620 and involved Charles de Valois, Duke of Angoulême (1574–1650, an illegitimate son of King Charles IX), Philippe de Béthune, Count of Selles (1565–1649) and Charles de l'Aubéspine, Marquis of Châteauneuf and Abbot of Préaux (1580–1653) following vague instructions, like establishing a ceasefire and organising a conference – an embassy with three ambassadors and thereby an increased number of accompanying men.

From the very beginning, this embassy was classified as a waste of time and an unnecessary expense. Anyway, it was an embassy which "devoted special attention to ceremonial matters. The diplomatic entry, being the first official contact between the embassy and a foreign ruler, was the opening act of the negotiations to follow, and as such a key part of the ceremonial, introducing the main stakeholders, their relations, and their actual or claimed role within the negotiation and more broadly within the European hierarchy."[44] This was an entry designed to impose the French role as mediator. Desenclos is analyses the tour of this extraordinary embassy with its emphasis on ceremonial performances leading, among other places, to Nancy, Vienna, and Pressburg. "For lack of being able to impose a mediation out of sheer political will, royal authorities fell back on prestige to attempt to

42 Extract from the Abstract of the lecture of Armando Ivaldi presented at the Conference "Performance of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World" at the Don Juan Archiv Wien on 18 March 2017.

43 Camille Desinclos: "Ceremonial Entries as Political Performance: The Duke of Angoulême's Embassy to the Holy Roman Empire", in this publication, pp. 279–297, here p. 280.

44 Ibidem, p. 281.

remain heard and secure the Empire's attention, as is attested by the dazzling, large party that travelled with the embassy: 288 men and 235 horses, in a procession that stretched over hundreds of meters."[45]

Both of the following contributions focus on "diplomatic performers", on the careers of two men in diplomatic service with different social backgrounds, and also with different conditions for a diplomatic career as well as for the performance of diplomacy. The first contribution by Luis Tercero Casado and Miguel Conde Pazos is dedicated to a clerical agent: "From the Shores of Ragusa to the Eastern Crossroads of the Habsburgs: The Paradigm of The Cleric-Agent Allegretto Allegretti". Throughout his entire life Allegretto Allegretti (d.1658) was engaged for the two branches of the Habsburgs: the Spanish king and the Holy Roman Emperor. Allegretti is of special interest because of his political and cultural background: the Dalmatian City-State of Ragusa (1358–1808), also known as the Republic of Saint Blaise, was characterised by a "dichotomy between a theoretical status of vassalage to the Sublime Porte and an almost complete political independence in practice".[46] According to the authors, Allegretti was characterised by an exceptional polyglot ability, which he could prove in many missions to the eastern areas of the European continent. "His complex simultaneous status as a vassal of the Sublime Porte and a Catholic priest provided the Habsburgs with an undeniable utility as a diplomat for the sake of a wide cultural background and cosmopolitan connections, who mediated not only between the Christian West and the Islamic East, but also with the extensive eastern Slavic periphery. Such a dichotomy was a key factor in the intercultural adaptability displayed by those Catholic clerics – mainly friars – used to frequently crossing antagonistic worlds."[47]

Allegretti lived and worked in Madrid and in Vienna, having been in the entourage of two future queens: Mary Ann (1606–1646), the daughter of the Spanish King Phillip III (b.1578, r.1598–1621) who came to Vienna in 1631 for her marriage with the future Emperor Ferdinand III (b.1608, r.1637–1657), and in 1649 for Ferdinand III's daughter Mariana, who married the Spanish king Philip IV (b.1605, r.1621–1665). The lack of an illustrious noble ancestry interfered with his diplomatic career, inasmuch as such an ancestry was considered an indispensable requirement as a source of authority before foreign courts. "The character of Allegretti was generally highlighted by a discretion in matters of negotiations. But [...] despite having recognised diplomatic skills endorsed by extensive experience,

45 Ibidem, p. 283.

46 Luis Tercero Casado and Miguel Conde Pazos: "From the Shores of Ragusa to the Eastern Crossroads of the Habsburgs: The Paradigm of The Cleric-Agent Allegretto Allegretti", in this publication, pp. 299–330, here p. 301.

47 Ibidem, p. 300.

the clergyman was not infrequently lacking the necessary official support, either from the Spanish ministers and diplomats, as well as from those of the Imperial service."[48] His activities included missions to Poland, to the Ottoman Empire, and to Regensburg and Frankfurt. In spite of his polyglot skills he did not reach the status of an ambassador, yet he remained active in diplomatic fields up to the end of his life.

The next contribution by Rostislav Smíšek is dedicated to the time of Emperor Leopold I and provides a special insight into the diplomatic world of the Viennese court: "Foreign Diplomats at the Imperial Court during the Reign of Leopold I (r.1658–1705) through the Eyes of the Highest Court Dignitaries". The treatise is based on the personal correspondence and the diaries of two managers of the Imperial household: Prince Ferdinand Joseph of Dietrichstein (1636–1698), who was *Obersthofmeister* (Chief Steward) of the Empresses Margaret Theresa of Spain (1651–1673), Claudia Felicitas of Austria (1653–1676) and Eleonor Magdalene of Neuburg (1655–1720) and became the *Obersthofmeister* of Leopold I in 1683; and Prince Ferdinand William of Schwarzenberg (1652–1703), who first obtained the position of the Emperor's *Obersthofmarschall* (Supreme Court Marshal) and later *Obersthofmeister* at the court of Eleonor Magdalene of Neuburg. Both of them had regular contacts with the ambassadors of various European powers.

Their records give an extraordinary insight into the daily practices of the Imperial stage and the many conflicts which arose on that stage, described as "a kind of battlefield where the real or alleged expectations the ambassadors were building in accordance with the position of power of their rulers clashed with the norms acknowledged and accepted at the Viennese court".[49] We get an insight into how diplomats were treated differently with regard to title and dignity and into its subtle dramaturgy and choreography. "The aim of this research is to outline the image of foreign diplomats and their actions as seen by high-ranking court officials against the background of various activities such as solemn entries and audiences, feasts and church services, drama, music and opera performances, along with other sorts of entertainment and everyday life at the court of Emperor Leopold I […] in general."[50]

The last contribution to this chapter by Lenka Švandová Maršálková is dedicated to the diplomatic career of a member of the aristocracy: "An Imperial Diplomat at the Beginning of his Career: Dominik Andreas, Count of Kaunitz during

48 Ibidem, p. 318.

49 Rostislav Smíšek: "Foreign Diplomats at the Imperial Court during the Reign of Leopold I (r.1658–1705) through the Eyes of the Highest Court Dignitaries", in this publication, pp. 331–365, here p. 332.

50 Ibidem.

the 1680s and the Early 1690s".[51] Unlike the clergyman Allegro Allegretti, Dominik Andreas Count Kaunitz (1654–1705) had reached, from the very beginning, the status of an (extraordinary) ambassador, mainly engaged in the politics within the Holy Roman Empire, especially mediating allies for Emperor Leopold I. His first diplomatic journey led him to Munich with the aim of winning the young Elector Maximilian II Emanuel (1662–1726) as an ally of Emperor Leopold I. This alliance was deepened by the marriage of the Bavarian Elector with the Emperor's daughter Maria Antonia (1669–1692), which took place in Vienna in 1685. In 1687, Kaunitz returned to Munich to discuss the steps necessary for electing a new Cologne coadjutor.

The author analyses Kaunitz' political career up to the end of the seventeenth century. One mission led him also to the court of the English King James II (b. 1633, r.1685–1688) with the aim of gaining England as an ally against the Turks and France; but these negotiations in London in 1687 were not successful. "Attention will be focused not only on what Kaunitz discussed during his journeys, but especially on how he acted and what strategies he chose. […] With whom, where, and in what manner did he act and what strategies did he use? With whom did he cooperate, and what were the grounds of this cooperation? And finally, what was his motivation, and what consequences did the missions have for him?"[52]

IMPERIAL EMBASSIES TO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The two following contributions of chapter V analyse diplomatic activities under the reign of Emperor Leopold I. The first one by Özgür Kolçak focuses on a diplomatic mission: "Ambassador Walter Leslie's Embassy to Adrianople and Constantinople (1665–1666)". This was after the treaty of Vasvár (10 August 1664) which officially ended the Ottoman-Habsburg War of 1663–1664. Due to contractual agreements, the Sublime Porte and the court in Vienna needed to exchange ambassadors to re-establish peace. For this reason, Emperor Leopold I sent Walter Leslie (1607–1667) as Imperial ambassador to the Ottoman Empire accompanied by a large diplomatic corps which included Jesuits as well as some adventurers

51 A different version of Maršálková's research featured here has already been published with the title "Dominik Andreas von Kaunitz During the 80s and the Early 90s of the 17th Century. The Early Career of the Imperial Diplomat" within a research project conducted the University of Pardubice (Czech Republic) prior to the publishing of this edition; a point which she also remarks in the initial footnote at the beginning of her article in this book.

52 Lenka Švandová Maršálková: "An Imperial Diplomat at the Beginning of His Career: Dominik Andreas, Count of Kaunitz during the 1680s and the Early 1690s", in this publication, pp. 367–400, here p. 367.

from the nobility. As a central ceremonial performance, an exchange took place on the border with the representative of Sultan Mehmed IV (1642–1693, r.1648–1687), Kara Mehmed Paşa (d.1684), and his entourage. Walter Leslie spent nearly ten months in the Ottoman Empire, where he was granted two royal receptions by the sultan, one in Adrianople and another in Constantinople. The ambassador wrote two reports about his mission which also refer to the ceremonial settings provided to the Austrian embassy at the Ottoman court.

Kolçak's contribubution analyses the specific performative structure of this diplomatic visit. "This study does not aim to present a descriptive picture of Walter Leslie's embassy; but rather it attempts to trace the diplomatic ways and means the Imperial ambassador encountered in the Ottoman lands as a hallmark of the refinement and sophistication in seventeenth century Ottoman-Habsburg diplomacy."[53] The author tries to answer the question what was so peculiar about Walter Leslie's embassy.

According to Kolçak, a "refinement in Ottoman diplomacy making"[54] had taken place for this embassy to Istanbul. This is, among other things, exemplified by means of a central ceremony: the exchange of the ambassadors at the border, which took place at Szöny on 30 March 1665, setting a concept of parity on the diplomatic stage. "In order to transmit the notion of parity to the observers in the ceremonial space, both envoys should be of equal rank, should arrive at the borderline at the same time, should dismount from horseback simultaneously, and should enter the territory of their hosts with symmetrical steps. In the seventeenth century, maintaining diplomatic parity was of prime importance for the envoys partaking in the exchange ceremony along the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier."[55]

The second contribution by Yasir Yilmaz analyses diplomatic events in the 1680s: "The Last Habsburg Peace Attempt in Istanbul before the Second Ottoman Siege of Vienna (1683)". It concerns the mission of Count Alberto Caprara (1627–1691), who was sent to Istanbul as an extraordinary envoy to prolong the Peace of Vasvár. Yilmaz's treatise, based among other things on the travelogue of Caprara's secretary, Johanne Benaglia, describes with great precision the extended procedure of the failure of this diplomatic mission: the arrival in Istanbul in May 1682, the first audience with Kara Mustafa on 12 May, and with Sultan Mehmed IV (1642–1693, r.1648–1687) on 9 June 1682. Yilmaz analyses the three "peace conferences" in summer and autumn 1782 (the last one taking place in Adrianople) – a process characterised by a number of intended retardations and

53 Özgür Kolçak: "Ambassador Walter Leslie's Embassy to Adrianople and Constantinople (1665–1666)", in this publication, pp. 403–421, here p. 404.

54 Ibidem, p. 412.

55 Ibidem, p. 413.

impediments: e.g., the Caprara delegation did not get permission to send a second courier to Vienna. "There were mainly three matters of contention the parties had disagreed on, yet without a doubt, the Hofburg was the party willing to renew the peace at the cost of offering concessions and making gift payments to the Ottoman statesmen on the condition that they facilitate the renewal of peace."[56] According to Yilmaz, Kara Mustafa Paşa together with Telhisizade Mustafa Efendi (the chief of scribes) had been the crucial forces behind the prevention of the renewal of the peace treaty. "Kara Mustafa's approach to diplomacy as an instrument to force Austria to cede territory, relinquish claims, and even pay tribute was a residuum of the Ottoman-Habsburg diplomatic encounters of the sixteenth century when the Ottomans could singlehandedly dictate the peace conditions."[57]

SPANISH DIPLOMATIC STRATEGIES

The following chapter is focused mainly on seventeenth-century events. The first contribution by Maria Sol García González analyses the specific role of "scripts" for diplomatic activities: "The Performance of Diplomacy through the Contemporary Texts: The Extraordinary Embassy of the Duke of Feria to Paris in 1610". The third Duke of Feria, Gómez Suárez IV de Figueroa y Córdoba (1587–1634), was sent by Phillip III of Spain (b.1578, r.1598–1621) to Paris for two official reasons: condolences upon the death of King Henri IV (b.1553, r.1589–1610) and congratulations to his successor, King Louis XIII (b.1601, r.1610–1643), at that time nine years old. For this embassy the Duke of Feria held an official instruction and a secret one. The main purpose of this embassy was the arrangement of a double marriage between the Spanish and the French crown: between the new French king and the Spanish king's daughter Anna (1601–1666), as well as a marriage between the Spanish heir to the throne, the later King Philip IV (b.1605, r.1621–1665) with the French king's sister Elisabeth (1602–1644). "Textual production was a fundamental component within the practices of diplomacy in Early Modern Europe. From the very first moment when instructions were drawn up for an embassy until the conclusion of the mission as the envoy sent his reports to the court, writings were essential artefacts of the ambassador's performance. […] Within this context, the purpose of this brief contribution will be to show how all these contemporary documents contributed to the performance of diplomacy, paying attention to their

56 Yasir Yilmaz: "The Last Habsburg Peace Attempt in Istanbul Before the Second Ottoman Siege of Vienna (1683)", in this publication, pp. 423–448, here p. 436.

57 Ibidem, p. 444.