



Diplomacy as Performative Politics in Early Modern Courts: A Global Approach

**Mary Beth Allen, Ashley Brown,
Alana Mailes, Glenn Richardson,
Valerie Schutte, Tania Sheikhan,
Grace Waye-Harris,
Kristen Vitale Engel**



Diplomacy as Performative Politics in Early Modern Courts: A Global Approach

Mary Beth Allen, Ashley Brown, Alana Mailles, Glenn Richardson, Valerie Schutte, Tania Sheikhan, Grace Waye-Harris, Kristen Vitale Engel

Abstract: Through an analysis of diplomacy as performative politics, this cluster explores how varied concepts of power were performed during such political interactions in early modern courts. This study brings together seven groundbreaking pieces that examine the dynamics between diplomatic acts and interactions, their actors, and corresponding ceremonies. Doing so reveals how diplomatic agents used cultural constructs to communicate political messages. In adding to the field of Royal Studies, this work illustrates a deepened understanding of how diplomacy functioned as a theater for performances of power between a royal court and its opposing diplomatic realm in the early modern world.

Key Words: Early modern diplomacy; performative politics; royal court culture; performances of political and royal power

Introductory Notes¹

Kristen Vitale Engel

SOUTHERN NEW HAMPSHIRE UNIVERSITY, GLOBAL

This cluster explores how varied concepts of power were performed during diplomacy in early modern courts. The study brings together seven groundbreaking pieces that examine diplomacy as performative politics, which acts as a conceptual framework to analyze how actions, rituals, and performances were strategically used during these interactions to construct political identities, shape public perceptions, and reinforce (or challenge) power dynamics.² In

¹ I would like to thank Ellie Woodacre and the rest of the *Royal Studies Journal* team for their assistance, support, and guidance in creating this cluster.

² This concept draws upon the theories of "performative" and "performativity," which affirms that actions, practices, gestures, and language create and shape the categories which they describe through repeated

building on this schema, these scholars show the ways in which political actors, in this case, monarchs or diplomats, constructed and performed power during diplomacy and accompanying spectacles.³ The three part relationship between diplomatic acts and interactions, their actors, and corresponding ceremonies or "ceremonial" fashioned a theater for such performances.⁴ This work illustrates how early modern polities entered into a performative exchange during diplomacy, whereby "ceremony and ritual [were used together] to negotiate international hierarchies" through "symbolic communication" performed by diplomats and other royal actors.⁵ In adding to the field of Royal Studies, this cluster demonstrates how presentations of power were fashioned through a performative mode, which underscored the political interactions between a royal court and its opposing diplomatic realm in the early modern world.⁶

This work takes a global and comparative approach. Bringing together a study of international arenas through the lens of early modern diplomacy illuminates the differing ways and forms in which the act communicated varied forms of power. Questions that drive this approach include: how were diplomacy and diplomatic roles performed in varying global spaces? Who was considered a diplomat and was thus able to enact such messages in differing foreign and domestic arenas? How were performances of power (broadly speaking) conveyed, and what did the cultural norms and constructs that projected these communications look like in differing regions? Analyzing the interactions between these global arenas brings into focus how political communications were presented through varying cultural forms, while also addressing elements of audience reception (or, perhaps, non-reception) of such messages in these royal spheres.

Recently, scholars have argued for the importance of studying early modern diplomacy as a distinct field. Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings have, specifically, emphasized the significance of this chronological focus, affirming that diplomacy in the "early modern" was more than "anecdotal evidence of the peculiarities of former times, or as a prelude (or in contrast) to more general trends in the emergence of the great power

performance. See Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution"; Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns*, ch. 2; Diehl and Seward, *Bodies, Spaces, Claims*.

³ A similar use of the term "performative politics" can be found in Vitale Engel, "Henrician Spectacle," 16.

⁴ Diplomatic ceremonial refers to "the procedures, traditions, rights, and hopes which governed the behavior of diplomats and rulers when they were performing official acts with one another." Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," 452.

⁵ Sowerby, "Early Modern Diplomatic History," 441.

⁶ Watkins, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," 1.

system, the rise of modern diplomacy, or the foreign policy of individual states," but rather held distinctive practices, policies, and forms that crafted a diplomacy that was unique to its time.⁷ In engaging with the historiographical cultural turn of diplomatic studies, Sowerby and Hennings affirm that this period—which spans from the emergence of Renaissance resident ambassadors to the post-1815 European state transformations—is subject to an "ongoing reassessment of diplomatic history" by focusing on how "sociocultural practices constituted political relationships," which "reveals more about the nature of early modern diplomacy than the assumptions that underlie the traditional state-focussed, Eurocentric paradigm."⁸ Moreover, the historiographical field of New Diplomatic History has greatly enhanced the study of early modern diplomacy through a socio-cultural lens.⁹ An emphasis on the relationship between the "actions, behavior, and status of diplomat[s]" alongside the "ceremonial interactions, visual appeals [...] and the material culture surrounding their exchanges" reveals that performative techniques, symbols, and constructs were at the core of diplomatic policy-making.¹⁰ An International Symposium held in 2017 by Don Juan Archiv Wien, University of Granada, and Stvdivm Faesvlnvm titled "The Performance of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World" furthered this concept.¹¹ The conference highlighted "diplomacy as a spectacle, a performance, an artistic endeavour, orchestrated events and festivities, in which the foreign ambassador played the main role, while the rulers and members of his host court were members of the audience."¹² Emphasis was placed on the ambassador as a "cultural mediator," able "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."¹³

This cluster engages with the chronological parameters set forth by these scholars and advances the hitherto developed studies on early modern diplomacy by

⁷ Hennings and Sowerby, "Introduction: Practices of Diplomacy," 1.

⁸ Hennings and Sowerby, "Introduction: Practices of Diplomacy," 2.

⁹ For further foundational works on early modern New Diplomatic History, see Goetze and Oetze, *Early Modern European Diplomacy*; Tremml-Werner and Goetze, "A Multitude of Actors in Early Modern Diplomacy," 407–422.

¹⁰ Hennings and Sowerby, "Introduction: Practices of Diplomacy," 2–3.

¹¹ Jaworska and Bielecki, "Performance of Diplomacy," 170.

¹² Jaworska and Bielecki, "Performance of Diplomacy," 170.

¹³ "The Performance of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World," *Diacronie: Studi di Storia Contemporanea*, accessed 5 February 2025, <https://www.studistorici.com/2016/11/09/the-performance-of-diplomacy-in-the-early-modern-world/>.

reconceptualizing it as a form of performative politics, shedding light on how socio-cultural constructs were performed to present concepts of power during these intense discourses and interactions. This work uses a multidimensional approach to carry out this endeavor by exploring (1) how diplomats embodied and performed specific cultural forms to enact political communications, (2) the varying concepts of power that were being communicated, and (3) why specific diplomatic events were the theater for such performances. These articles use the above thought processes in distinct ways to arrive at a similar intellectual destination: early modern diplomacy was a space for the projection and performance of royal political power, concerning concepts such as authority, superiority, socio-gendered hierarchies, and more.

The study is split into two thematic frameworks. The first takes a micro approach, emphasizing how the performative representations of power were presented through individualized personifications. The second framework takes a macro approach, exploring projections of power through panoramic views of specific diplomatic spectacles, their ceremonies, pageantry, and broader performative modes. Splitting the scholarly foci provides a well-rounded account of early modern diplomacy and sheds light on how these acts projected power from varying lenses and angles.

The pieces are organized chronologically within their respective frameworks. Grace Waye-Harris examines dress during diplomacy in King Henry VIII's court. Focusing on the role of the king and ambassadors, this article explores how these actors utilized dress as a tool of performative politics during diplomatic practices. Waye-Harris analyzes the interrelations between clothing, color, and textiles worn by the agents in these political acts, seeing them as a mode of politico-cultural expression. Through an examination of events between 1517–1534, the piece illuminates how dress functioned in displaying monarchical power dynamics by symbolically communicating projections of English authority while setting a tone of international amity during this time.

Valerie Schutte analyzes the role of courtly translators to show that they were diplomats in practice. This study compares the political exchanges between English and German translators in the mid-1500s, with a particular focus on the roles of Thomas Paynell and Herman Cruser. Using these actors and their translations as case studies, Schutte illustrates how the diplomatic role itself enacted power. The piece shows that the translations were personalized gifts that aided in solidifying the translator's role in court, demonstrating their conciliar skills, and strengthening their relationship with the

sovereign at hand, which hinged upon the diplomat's performative acknowledgment of the ruler's hierarchical authority.

Taking a socio-gendered approach, Ashley Brown focuses on performances of masculinity in Scotland during King James VI's rule and analyzes the actions and interactions during a complex moment of diplomacy in 1587 between King James VI; Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, a Huguenot poet and courtier of Henry of Navarre; Andrew Meville, theologian and principal master of St Mary's College; and Patrick Adamson, the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Brown examines the discourses and performances between these men to show how they engaged in varying masculine behaviors, constructs, and expressions, aimed at exerting disparate socio-cultural notions of masculine power on a royal, political, and personal level.

The second section begins with Glenn Richardson's examination of the original plans for the 1520 Field of the Cloth of Gold, a spectacle which celebrated and secured alliance negotiations between England and France. The article comparatively analyzes the event's extant 1519 memorandum alongside the later extravagant plans drawn up in 1520. These papers and coinciding ambassadorial correspondences illuminate how and why this moment of diplomacy grew from a modest event into an immense show of performative politics. By focusing specifically on the event's tournaments, Richardson argues that the 1520 spectacle was deliberately altered from its previous 1519 version to better perform and construct political messages about Tudor monarchical power.

Alana Mailes explores diplomatic ceremonials and festivities concerning the War of the Montferrat Succession in 1613–1617. Examining the correspondences of English embassy agent, Isaac Wake, concerning his time in Turin during Savoy's battle for Montferrat, Mailes reveals intricate details of several overlooked courtly entertainments during these diplomatic encounters. The article shows the significant part that performance played in shaping the overall production of political parleys, highlights how these events communicated perceptions of power and peace on a global stage, and, more broadly, brings to light the significance of political reception of such messaging during foreign policy in the early modern world.

Tania Sheikhan examines cultural interaction and exchange in diplomatic ceremonials between France and Persia in the seventeenth century. Focusing on relations between Louis XIV's court and the Safavid Empire of Persia, the work analyzes how sensory experiences played a critical role in presentations of monarchical self-fashioning and royal power during diplomatic moments. Drawing from the travel accounts of Jean-Baptiste

Tavernier, a 17th-century French traveler and gem merchant, Sheikhan illustrates how these differing sensory-rich environments constructed politico-cultural perceptions of authority, superiority, and even national identities between these realms.

Mary Beth Allen also explores the performative dynamics during diplomacy in Louis XIV's court, with a comparative focus on France's relations with Morocco. The article analyzes the function of spectacle during Louis XIV's reception of the Moroccan envoy, Hadj Mohammed Temim, in the early 1680s. Allen explores the various cultural symbolisms, artistic expressions, and literature present in and fashioned through this moment of diplomacy. The piece illustrates how these cultural constructs created a rather transactional performance between the diplomatic host and foreign dignitaries, where concepts such as honor, grandeur, gratitude, and power were exchanged in these political arenas.

Collectively, this scholarship contributes to the field of Royal Studies by shedding light on the intricate performative dynamics of power in disparate royal courts in the early modern world, while drawing attention to the "exercise, extent, and limitations of royal power" through these varying performance modes.¹⁴ Of course, these communications were not uniform in approach or presentation. As these scholars demonstrate, such performances were deployed by myriad political and royal actors who used differing cultural forms in various ways, which illustrates how diplomacy served as an arena for politico-cultural interaction and exchange. Through all of these innovative approaches, findings, and methodologies, this cluster demonstrates a deepened understanding of how diplomacy functioned as a theater for performances of power between and among royal courts on the global stage that was the early modern world.

¹⁴ Woodacre and Sarti, "What is Royal Studies?" 18.

Section 1:

Dress and the Performance of Diplomacy at Henry VIII’s Court

Grace Waye-Harris

UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

Dress was a fundamental part of court life in sixteenth-century England. Clothing proclaimed gender, status, and was fundamental to the construction of courtly personas.¹⁵ Recent interest in the semiotics and application of dress in early modern society has resulted in work that explores its interaction with, and functions within, politics, religion, and, courtly ritual and performance.¹⁶ Seminal scholars such as Maria Hayward, Catherine Richardson, Timothy McCall, Elizabeth Currie, and Erin Griffey have posited the wide-ranging significances of clothing and fashion.¹⁷ McCall, for example, has firmly established the connection between elite male dress, material display, and political power.¹⁸ Hayward’s extensive work on Henry VIII has demonstrated how the king harnessed the power of fashion in public display and political behaviour to his advantage.¹⁹ Their work illustrates how dress was an effective form of communication and expression because its collective resonances were widely understood. From this template, the nuances and complexities of court dress can be extended and applied to the performance of early modern diplomacy. Fashion performed extensive and multi-faceted functions within diplomacy. It crossed cultural boundaries, involved an array of diplomatic actors and performed key roles within diplomatic practices. Through an examination of ambassadorial correspondence and chronicle accounts from Henry VIII’s reign, this paper demonstrates how dress was used to

¹⁵ McCall, “Materials for Renaissance Fashion,” 1449. For historiography and approaches to fashion studies, see McNeill, *Fashion*; Richardson, “Introduction,” 3; Lynn, *Tudor Fashion*, 11; Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 1–2.

¹⁶ Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence*; Cevizli, “Portraits, Turbans and Cuirasses”; Richardson, “Status”; Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*.

¹⁷ Griffey, “Introduction,” 17.

¹⁸ McCall, “Male Dress,” 376–389; McCall, “Brilliant Bodies,” 447; McCall, *Brilliant Bodies*, 1–15; McCall, “Fashioning Diplomacy,” 147–161.

¹⁹ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 1–12; Hayward, “Luxury or Magnificence?” 37–46; Hayward, “Crimson, Scarlet, Murrey and Carnation,” 135–150; Hayward, “Symbols of Majesty,” 1–11; Hayward, “Fashion Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII,” 176.

silently interpose on political matters while safeguarding the performance and tone of peacekeeping. Early modern diplomacy comprised a range of diplomatic actors who performed distinctive roles. This paper focuses specifically on the king and his ambassadors. This focus allows for a thematic assessment of elite male wardrobe choices, their diplomatic significance, and any social, ceremonial, gendered, and/or religious inflections. In situating dress within the performance of diplomacy at Henry VIII's court, this paper contributes to a growing body of scholarship which recognises fashion as a vital mechanism in the political milieu of sixteenth-century Europe.

The King

In June 1520, Henry VIII met with the French king, Francis I, to celebrate an alliance. This meeting, known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold, was a lavish sixteen-day fête of peace that is recognised as Henry's most magnificent event. Throughout the summit, Henry and Francis adhered to strict choreography and convention to ensure equality and princely sociability. Yet, the English king silently asserted his royal authority and political ambition through dress.

The most striking use of fashion during the Field of the Cloth of Gold manifested during the tournament. On the first day of the joust, Henry entered the arena wearing "clothe of golde" with "cutte in waues of water woorke, and euery waue rawe wrought and frised with Damaske golde." Court chronicler, Edward Hall, explained the waves "signified the Lordeshippe of the narowe sea."²⁰ The depiction represented Henry's authority over the narrow sea, including Calais. Calais was an important port for the English and one of its last continental possessions. At the time of the Cloth of Gold, it was noted there were "mutterings" that Calais should be returned to the French King as a sign of good will.²¹ With Francis I holding the territories surrounding Calais, the political messaging behind Henry's dress was clear. Calais had been ruled by English monarchs since Edward III's 1346 victory in the Battle of Crécy. Henry's sartorial display reminded (or even warned) Francis of England's longstanding rights to this continental port city.

A similar message was chronicled on the final day of jousting. Hall noted Henry dressed in cloth of silver and gold embroidered with "litle mountaines & springyng braunches of Basile." Written on the borders of this illustration was the phrase, "Breake

²⁰ Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle, 1547* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1809), 612.

²¹ Hall, *Chronicle*, 620; Unwin, *The Narrow Sea*, 1–10.

not these swete herbes of the richemounte, doute for damage."²² Glenn Richardson observes this depiction was a well-known allegory that referred to the Earldom of Richmond. This earldom had historical ties to the Duchy of Brittany through Henry's Plantagenet predecessors.²³ Significantly, this allegory featured in the entertainments immediately before Henry's invasion of France in 1513. There is, however, no evidence to suggest the French were offended by Henry's explicit proclamations. On the day Henry asserted his rights over Calais, Marino Sanuto noted he and Francis "kept open house like perfect friends, giving hope of good-will and union between these two nations."²⁴ Richardson also notes Henry's costumes failed to draw comment from French onlookers.²⁵ Henry's dress appears to be a strong political message which asserted his rights over France. Yet, this display failed to offend the French party or disrupt the environment of peacekeeping.

There was a gendered significance to Henry's apparel which explains why Anglo-French sociability was not disrupted. For Renaissance kings, the performance of masculine virtue declared dominance within a male social hierarchy. Katherine Lewis contends this performance confirmed, "where they [men] stood on a spectrum of established masculine qualities occupied by other men, both above and below them."²⁶ For kings, this performance extended to the international hierarchy. Henry's territorial declarations during the Field of the Cloth of Gold reflected his engagement in a dialogue between kingship and the princely homosocial hierarchy. The symbolic meaning behind Henry's clothing visually established his martial greatness and legitimacy through historical moments of English dominance. This display allowed Francis to visually establish Henry's position on the spectrum of elite kingship. This display is also consistent with Glenn Richardson's notion of elite male bonding. While seemingly aggressive, shows of one-upmanship reflected norms of aggressive masculine competition. This gendered performance endorsed the merits of having one another as friends and served as a warning against aggressive acts.²⁷ Kingly competition was therefore an important part of male bonding and the effective

²² Hall, *Chronicle*, 617.

²³ Richardson, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*, 137.

²⁴ Calendar of State Papers Venice, no. 69, 7–24 June 1520, henceforth CSP Venice.

²⁵ Richardson, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*, 137.

²⁶ Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity*, 7; Lu, "King Arthur: Leadership Masculinity and Homosocial Manhood," 85–101; Phillips, "Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws," 24.

²⁷ Richardson, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*, 8–9.

performance of monarchical relations. The symbolic meaning of Henry's dress endorsed, to Francis, the merits of having England as a friend and served as a warning against acts of belligerency. Engagement with these values and ideas through dress drew Henry and Francis together because it acknowledged their collective belonging to the European princely community. Dress was therefore part of a dialogue of gendered behaviour and action that guided kingly interactions.

Seven years later, Henry used his dress again to assert his sovereign authority. In October 1527, the King of France, Francis I, sent an emissary of ambassadors to England to ratify and celebrate Henry VIII's allegiance during the War of the League of Cognac (1526–1530). This conflict was part of the Italian Wars (1494–1559) and was waged by Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, against the League of Cognac. The League comprised of France, the Papal States, the Duchy of Milan and the Republic of Venice, all of whom wished to eliminate Imperial dominion from the Italian peninsula. From the outset of the war in 1526, Henry VIII and England had been pressed "to take his oath" and join the League. Henry thwarted these requests before yielding and allying himself to Francis in April 1527 as part of the Treaty of Westminster.²⁸ When receiving the French ambassadors in 1527, the symbolic nature of Henry's dress subtly communicated his kingly virtues and positively shaped this alliance.

According to Venetian Ambassador Marco Antonio Venier, Henry received the French ambassadors in an official ceremony "in a hall very richly furnished with tapestry, he himself being magnificently arrayed." Henry was seated on a "raised throne" and was dressed in "black velvet, lined with sables; the apertures of the sleeves had, for jewelled studs, certain diamonds with three pearls in a triangle, in lieu of buttons as generally worn, and they were about 20 in all; a very costly device." The French ambassadors presented themselves to Henry who greeted them "very lovingly." Speeches were made by both parties whom each proclaimed "perpetual peace" before Henry evinced "all love and honour" towards the French participants.²⁹

Choreographed ceremonies were essential to successful diplomatic relations. Active participation in ceremony through prescribed action and behaviour reassured participants of each other's sincerity and demonstrated a genuine investment in the success of the

²⁸ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, No. 2135, 1 May 1526 (henceforth *L&P*); CSP Venice, no. 1265, 1 May 1526; Guicciardini, *The History of Italy*, 369; see also Mallett and Shaw, *The Italian Wars*.

²⁹ CSP Venice, no. 192, 23 October 1527.

treaty and alliance.³⁰ Clothing was an integral component of this process. By observing ceremonial dress protocols, diplomatic actors demonstrated their compliance and readiness toward effective relations. Clothing also performed an important hierarchical function within the ceremonial space allowing participants to immediately identify and distinguish rank, circumventing any social faux pas.³¹

While his position on a raised throne left no doubt as to who he was, Henry VIII's rich velvet, expensive fur and copious amounts of jewellery underscored his ultimate sovereign position within this ceremonial space. Henry's magnificent wardrobe also reflected his inclination towards Anglo-French amity. Lavishly decorated ceremonial spaces signalled respect and good intention toward one's guest. This in turn reflected on the host's own royal honour.³² Bernard André, tutor to Prince Arthur Tudor and later chronicler noted how Henry VII received his foreign ambassadors, "so humanely, so wisely, so magnificently," that he brought honour to his guests and himself.³³ Hosting foreign emissaries was not only an important practice of peacekeeping, but could be used to enhance a monarch's own claim to European greatness.³⁴ Accordingly, Henry's sartorial display during the 1527 receipt of the French emissary contributed to an environment of extravagance expected of Renaissance monarchs. Henry's dress recognised and paid reverence to Francis and his ambassadors whilst also serving his own quest of foreign aggrandisement. The grand receipt of the French ambassadors, with Henry's magnificent image at the centre, set a positive tone to the event, and to the alliance.

Henry's use of the colour black reveals how he saw himself within this European conflict. Black was the most frequently ordered colour in the king's wardrobe and regularly appears in chronicle accounts of courtly entertainments.³⁵ In sixteenth-century Europe, black was a diverse colour which was "heavily laden with meaning." The symbolic resonance of black varied depending on "age, status, profession, or political affiliations."³⁶ Katherine of Aragon for example regularly wore black dress due to its association with

³⁰ Roosen, "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial," 469; Hennings, *Russia and Courtly Europe*, 135.

³¹ Niccoli, "Official Dress and Courtly Fashion in Genoese Entries," 269; Galastro, "Wondrous Welcome," 105; Hennings and Sowerby, "Introduction," 13; Richardson, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold*, 91.

³² Currin, "Pro Expensis Ambassatorum," 591; Arel, "Hospitality in the Hands of the Muscovite Tsar," 23–43; Beer, "Between Kings and Emperors," 43.

³³ Quoted and translated in Currin, "Pro Expensis Ambassatorum," 591.

³⁴ Richardson, "Entertainments for the French Ambassadors," 404.

³⁵ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 121; Hall, *Chronicle*, 591.

³⁶ Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, 93.

Spain.³⁷ For the king, however, the political significance of black was associated with moral authority. Black was the most difficult colour to achieve when dyeing fabric and was therefore very expensive.³⁸ Once dyed, black fabric was unchangeable and therefore exemplified "single-mindedness."³⁹ According to sixteenth-century Italian scholar, Lodovico Dolce, black, "*dimostra parimente fermezza*," or showed firmness.⁴⁰ Black was luxurious but unchangeable and restrained and therefore epitomised temperance and intelligence.

During the 1527 ceremony, Henry's black dress communicated these kingly virtues. Black enhanced this moral, political, and ceremonial position through its resonances of intelligence, temperance, and political authority. The full context of Henry's black image is expounded when considered in combination with diplomatic circumstances of the French visit. While Henry initially refused to join the League of Cognac, since the War began in 1526, he had agreed to act as its protector.⁴¹ While the French ambassadors' visit in 1527 was intended to secure the peace between Henry and Francis, Henry's black dress signified his historical position as overseer of this diplomatic crisis. He was the superior male exercising reason and temperance over the squabbling Charles and Francis, whose decisions were guided by passion and pride. Henry's black garments visually reflected this persona and depicted him as a symbol of masculine justice, measure and restraint. Dress was therefore essential to this ceremonial performance which communicated Henry's presumed position as the arbiter of European politics.

Ambassadors

Sartorial messaging was not just a preserve of the king. Ambassadors at Henry VIII's court also used their clothing to send political messages. In 1517, the Imperial ambassadors who were resident in England needed to circumvent a difficult diplomatic issue. Amidst the turmoil of the Italian Wars, another conflict—the War of the League of Cambrai (1508–1516)—resulted in a series of territory losses, which included the Holy Roman Empire

³⁷ Cox-Rearick, "Power-Dressing at the Courts of Cosimo De' Medici and François I," 39–69; Hayward, "Spanish Princess or Queen of England?" 11–36.

³⁸ Lynn, *Tudor Fashion*, 35; Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 98.

³⁹ Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, 100.

⁴⁰ Dolce, *Dialogo dei Colori*, 41.

⁴¹ Mallett and Shaw, *The Italian Wars*, 155; see also Pettegree, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*.

relinquishing the town of Verona to the Venetians.⁴² In surrendering Verona, the Emperor Maximilian I acted against the will of Henry, who had recently paid 40,000 crowns for its protection.⁴³ Imperial ambassador in London, Count Bartholomew Tationo, voiced his dismay towards the "rascally venetians" whom he believed were "worse than the turks." Venetian resident Sebastian Giustinian described how the "ambassadors [Imperial], since receiving the news of Verona, had put on cloth of frieze, most mean apparel."⁴⁴ Cloth of frieze, an inexpensive and coarse woollen textile, was associated with emotions such as shame and humility. While a sophisticated ambassadorial wardrobe was not always financially viable, there is no evidence to suggest even the neediest ambassadors ever wore cloth of frieze.

Charles Brandon, the Duke of Suffolk had also relied on frieze after his marriage to Henry's sister Mary had not been well received.⁴⁵ Upon being invited back to court after a period of exile, Brandon purportedly publicised a poem during a tournament.

Cloth of gold, do not despise
Though thou be matched with cloth of frieze
Cloth of frieze, be not too bold
Though thou be matched with cloth of gold.⁴⁶

By comparing cloth of gold, a luxurious textile representative of Mary Tudor, with cloth of frieze, a common cloth representative of himself, Brandon was able to make an open display of humility to the court positioning himself as inferior to his wife and her family.⁴⁷ Inexpensive textiles such as frieze also carried explicit religious connotations. The

⁴² The emperor had to relinquish Verona because he did not have the resources to withstand the Franco-Venetian advances. These events are recorded in a series of diplomatic letters to and from Henry VIII's court. For more see, *L&P*, no. 2387, *September 1516*; *L&P*, no. 2442, *12 October 1516*; *L&P*, no. 2416, *3 October 1516*. Also see, *L&P*, April 1517; Mallett and Shaw, *The Italian Wars*.

⁴³ *L&P*, no. 3106, *7 April 1517*.

⁴⁴ CSP Venice, no. 840, 11 February 1517.

⁴⁵ *State Papers Online*, vol II, part I, 1/10 fol. 84.

⁴⁶ Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 191. This rhyme can be seen on the bottom wooden panel of Mary and Charles Brandon's wedding portrait from c. 1516, attributed to Jan Gossaert (1478–1532). This portrait is currently in the collection of the Earl of Yarborough, Brocklesby Park, Lincolnshire.

⁴⁷ Fisher, "The Queen and the Artichoke," 24–25.

monastic habit, for example, also made of cheap cloth, was symbolic of poverty, humility, and penitence.⁴⁸

The Imperial ambassadors' use of frieze in 1517 was a visual reflection of their, and the Emperor's, shame and humility over the loss of Verona. Ambassador Giustinian similarly suspected this display was "probably to show that its [Verona] surrender took place contrary to the emperor's will, and to his great shame."⁴⁹ The Emperor's abandonment of Verona put his ambassadors to England in a difficult position. As Imperial subjects, they could not publicly speak against the Emperor. Likewise, as participants of Henry VIII's court, they could not disrespect him nor risk losing his favour. Wearing cloth of frieze was a means for the ambassadors to satisfy both Henry and the Emperor. In their official capacity, the ambassadors remained loyal to Maximilian I. However, as private individuals they used dress to express they shared Henry's dismay. The Imperial residents therefore used their clothing to face problematic affairs while maintaining standing at the English court.

Short term envoys visiting Henry VIII's court also used sartorial symbolism to facilitate effective relations with England. During the early years of the Reformation in 1534, Henry received envoys from the German principalities of Lübeck and Hamburg. This visit was prompted by several reasons, least of all England's split from the Catholic Church which left him largely isolated from other major European powers.⁵⁰ Needing allies, Henry sought the support of these Lutheran states. In return, Henry promised to support Lübeck's preferred contender to the Danish throne in a conflict called the Count's Feud (1534–1536). The Count's Feud, sometimes known as the Count's War, was a war of succession between Catholic and Protestant claimants. The conflict had serious religious and trade implications for the states which formed the Hanseatic League, including Lübeck and Hamburg.⁵¹ The contentious nature of this conflict, and England's involvement in it, is reflected in a letter

⁴⁸ Evangelisti, "Monastic Poverty and Material Culture in Early Modern Italian Convents," 1–6; More, "Institutionalising Penitential Life," 318–319; Krawiec, "Garments of Salvation," 127–132.

⁴⁹ CSP Venice, no. 840, 11 February 1517.

⁵⁰ 1534 was the year Henry officially broke from Rome, making himself "supreme heed of the Church of Englande"; Public Act, 26 Henry VIII c. 1, 1534. Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/PU/1/1534/26H8n1; Statutes of the Realm: Printed by the Command of His Majesty King George III, Volume 3 (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, reprinted 1963), 492; Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe*, 164–173.

⁵¹ Rupp, *Studies in the Making of English Protestant Tradition*, 41. While this book is old, it is useful in understanding the political climate of Europe 1533–1534. See more recently Thomas, *The A to Z of Denmark*, 110.

sent by the Imperial ambassador at the English court, Eustace Chapuys, to the Emperor Charles V.

The cause of their coming is still hidden. I have been given to understand that the King entreated them to come, assuring them of great profit; and it is thought that among other things he will treat of commercial intercourse in case his subjects be forbidden to resort to your dominions, of which he is a good deal in doubt. Perhaps also he invited them to excite the jealousy of the Flemings and a fear that they would lose their trade. I expect those of Lubeck will treat somewhat of the affairs of Denmark.⁵²

Chapuys was clearly concerned at the intentions behind the Hanseatic States' envoy to England. It is difficult to decipher whether his concern was wholly economic or religious, or both. Flanders was an Imperial territory in 1534. Chapuys' note about losing trade indicates the Emperor was worried about the commercial implications of this diplomatic visit. There was also religious tension between Charles V and the Lutheran Hanseatic states with sanctions placed on Catholic clerics and traders to limit their mercantile activities.⁵³ Chapuys' letter therefore reflected a complex set of diplomatic, religious and economic circumstances facing Europe in 1534. These circumstances were reflected in the Hanseatic envoys' apparel.

On 15 June 1534, Chapuys described the Lübeckians as "bravely dressed in red with bands of yellow and white satin and with these words on the sleeve: *Si Deus pro, nobis, quis contra nos?*"⁵⁴ Red, yellow, and white were the national colours of Lübeck. Like the English ambassadors with their furs and livery collars, these colours reflected a sense of national identity. Colour reflected their elite social position within their home country which emphasised their individual and collective status while in England. Simultaneously, the Latin motto on their sleeves sent a defiant religious message. Roughly translated to "if God is for us, who can be against us," this statement implied God was in support of the Lübeckians and Henry VIII in matters of religion, trade, and politics. Chapuys also noted the apparel of those from Hamburg; "Those of Hamburg were more simply dressed in black with the motto, *Da pacem, Domine in diebus nostris.*"⁵⁵ This motto derives from the Lutheran hymn, *Verleih uns Frieden*, or in English, "give peace, Lord, in our time."⁵⁶ The Lutheran

⁵² L&P, no. 871, 23 June 1534.

⁵³ Hansen, "The Trading Networks of the High North," 143–144.

⁵⁴ L&P, no. 871, 23 June 1534.

⁵⁵ L&P, no. 871, 23 June 1534.

⁵⁶ Heri, *Worship Wars and Early Lutheranism*, 60; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 202.

phrase indicated their support for Protestantism in England and Europe. Moreover, when combined, the Lübeckian and Hamburg dress served as a reminder of the commercial and religious threat the Hanseatic States posed, a manoeuvre no doubt intended to agitate and intimidate Charles V. Knowing Henry VIII was to be their Protestant ally no doubt intensified Charles' concerns.

Perhaps more importantly, this bold sartorial declaration bolstered the alliance with England. Their dress visually exemplified Lübeck and Hamburg's desire and readiness to be aligned with Henry VIII. This display evidently succeeded in gaining Henry's affection. In a letter from nobleman, John Tayler, to the Lübeckians and Hamburgers days after their arrival Tayler described how he has been asked "to express to them how much pleased the King is to hear of their arrival."⁵⁷ By publicly declaring their support for Henry, the Lübeck and Hamburg ambassadors used clothing to positively influence Anglo-Hanseatic relations and achieve their diplomatic goals.

Conclusion

In sixteenth-century Europe, effective political relations centred on the performance of diplomacy. Within this performance, dress and its symbolic meaning was dynamic, complex, and multifunctional political tool which actors deployed to tactfully communicate political messages whilst preserving a tone of peacekeeping. Colour was deployed by Henry VIII and ambassadors visiting his court to declare moral virtue and religious superiority. The colour black allowed Henry to fashion a persona of ultimate control and sobriety amidst the Italian Wars. Textiles also played a multifaceted role in promoting effective relations. Magnificent velvets, furs, and jewellery safeguarded an atmosphere of peace during the 1527 Anglo-French alliance celebrations. Inexpensive frieze conveyed the humility and shame of the Imperial ambassadors in 1517 to circumvent a moment of diplomatic tension. More explicit forms of political expression manifested through allegorical apparel. Hanseatic ambassadors used declarations of religious support to progress their alliance with Henry VIII amidst the English Reformation. Henry VIII emphasised territorial and hereditary supremacy over Francis I when they met in 1520. Prima facie, this display threatened Anglo-French sociability. Yet, Henry's apparel reflected normal behaviour in the performance of elite masculinity and sovereignty. His bold declarations conveyed the merits of having England as an ally and asserted his position

⁵⁷ *L&P*, no. 873, 23 June 1534.

within the European princely hierarchy. In the theatre of diplomacy, dress was a silent dialogue with a range of political, social, ceremonial, gendered, and religious inflections which were recognised and understood by a range of diplomatic actors.

Translators as Diplomats

Valerie Schutte

INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

In 1564, Herman Cruser dedicated his translation of Plutarch's *Vitae comparatae* to King Philip II of Spain, writing that "the splendor of the remarkable virtues both of you and of your ancestors," meant that "there is no need for the descendants of your Majesty to seek the lights of virtue abroad, but to seek them at home."⁵⁸ Cruser praised the Spanish King in the same way he had praised the King's late wife in 1555 in a different translation of Plutarch. The translator extolled Queen Mary I of England's grandmother, Isabella of Spain, as "decorated with the insignia of virtue";⁵⁹ Mary's mother, Catherine of Aragon, as a model of virtue and fortitude; and, "your cousin Queen Mary of Hungary is from the same family," all powerful women and princes who were equal to kings and emperors.⁶⁰ Yet, when he heaped this tribute on the Spanish and English monarchs, Cruser was actually working as a diplomat, not just as a translator seeking patronage.

Herman Cruser was a prolific translator of Plutarch's works in the mid-to-late sixteenth century, and he dedicated his translations to a wide range of monarchs, bishops, dukes, and chancellors.⁶¹ However, Cruser also served as a diplomat for Duke William of Cleves, brother to Anne of Cleves, fourth wife of King Henry VIII of England.⁶² The Cleveland diplomat was sent to England no less than six times after the death of Henry VIII regarding Anne's financial struggles, served in a diplomatic capacity at Philip's court twice, and took a brief leave of his duties at William's court so that he could work on his Plutarchan

⁵⁸ Plutarch, *Vitae comparatae illustrium Virorum, Graecorum & Romanorum, ita digestae ut temporum ordo series que constet*, trans. Herman Cruser, fol. a3v. "inuitauit eo me splendor uirtutum insignium tum tuarum... non opus sit, posteris Maiestatis tuae foris ut quaerant lumina uirtutum, sed petere queante domo."

⁵⁹ British Library, Royal MS 15 B XIII, fol. 4a. "insignibus decorata virtutibus."

⁶⁰ British Library, Royal MS 15 B XIII, fol. 4b. "Ex eadem stirpe Regina Hungariae Maria est consobrian tua."

⁶¹ For more on Cruser's translations, see Jensen, "After Peter Burke," 561–595; Jensen, *Reading the Roman Republic in Early Modern England*; Schurink, *Plutarch in English, 1528–1603*.

⁶² Cruser is not specifically listed as escorting Anne on her progress from Cleves to England in 1539. However, the extant lists of Anne's attendants only name the most important members of Anne's train and quantify the rest as various gentlemen, gentlewomen, and servants. Cruser could have been one such gentleman.

translations.⁶³ Cruser's final known visit to England occurred in May 1555, and it must have been then that he gave Queen Mary his Latin manuscript of Plutarch's *The Virtues of Women*, based on the date of the dedication.⁶⁴ In the dedication, Cruser not only praised Mary and her female ancestors, but he also commended the queen for fulfilling her dynastic duties, referring to her current pregnancy. Cruser meant for his translation to be a monument for the English queen's honor, telling her, "I commend your virtues to eternal memory by this writing."⁶⁵ Thus, Cruser's dedicated manuscript given to Mary served a performative role during his diplomatic embassy.

I suggest that Cruser's dedicated translations served as part of his performance of diplomacy, or a "great theatricality often mediated by luxurious props and detailed written narratives."⁶⁶ Similarly, Sir Thomas Wyatt ably deployed "all his own skills and experience as both a poet and diplomat in ways that gave him a distinct advantage" in his career.⁶⁷ Unlike gifts Cruser may have proffered to rulers from Duke William of Cleves, his own dedicated translations were more than expressions of "the possibilities of cross cultural communication as much as the primary political ambitions of the rulers involved."⁶⁸ They were gifts he gave personally that demonstrated not only his diplomatic skills but also his literary ones. These dedicated texts are especially useful to understand how Cruser engaged in diplomacy, as so few records of his embassies exist. Typically, Cruser's arrival and business in England were only mentioned in a single sentence within a piece of correspondence. For example, before he arrived in England in October 1553, Duchess Maria of Cleves, William's wife, wrote to Queen Mary to both congratulate her on her accession and recommend Cruser to her as "orator of the said lord and our husband" being sent to Anne.⁶⁹

Cruser is a useful example of a translator who served in a diplomatic capacity. As Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings astutely point out, "not every person involved in

⁶³ Plutarch, *Vitae comparatae*, fol. a3r, 190. For more on Cruser's time in England, see Schutte, "A 1555 German Gift Book for Queen Mary I."

⁶⁴ The National Archives (TNA hereafter), SP 69/6, fol. 77. Turnbull, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Queen Mary 1553–1558*, entry 349. Letter from William Duke of Cleves to Queen Mary, dated 28 April 1555.

⁶⁵ British Library, Royal MS 15 B XIII, fol. 6b. "*ego virtutes laudes que tuas eternae memorie hoc scripto commendem.*"

⁶⁶ Biederman, Gerritsen, and Riello, "Introduction," 13.

⁶⁷ Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny*, 371.

⁶⁸ Biederman, Gerritsen, and Riello, "Introduction," 25.

⁶⁹ TNA, SP 69/1, fol. 81. Turnbull, *Calendar of State Papers*, entry 39. Letter from Maria, Duchess of Cleves to Queen Mary, dated 19 September 1553. "*Oratori dicti domini et mariti nostri.*"

diplomatic business was a diplomat, and not every diplomat's main concern was diplomatic negotiation."⁷⁰ Cruser's allusions to Mary's pregnancy, coupled with the fact that he gave his translation to her in manuscript form, while his text to Philip was printed, supports Martha Driver's suggestion that by the mid-sixteenth century manuscripts "were increasingly intended for a limited, exclusive readership."⁷¹ With this in mind, I argue that Cruser meant for his translations to be performative gifts to the rulers in whose courts he served. For Philip, Cruser likely offered his translation as a form of council, with patronage as a hopeful by-product.⁷² Similarly, Richard Morison dedicated his translation of Sextus Julius Frontinus's *Strategems, sleighths and policies of warre* to Henry VIII in 1539, meaning for it to aid in England's preparations for war with France and the Empire.⁷³ Likewise, Thomas Paynell's translations were "a form of political action" that were meant to "benefit the political and moral life of their compatriots."⁷⁴ For Mary, Cruser's dedicated manuscript was a more personal gift meant to earn favour and trust from a monarch whose court he visited regularly. Cruser's translations were a performative act of diplomacy meant to demonstrate his skills and potential as a councillor, while at the same time ingratiating himself with important members of court, both foreign and at home.

There is no shortage of historiography on gift-giving in the early modern period.⁷⁵ The study of diplomatic gifts, specifically, has benefited from the rise of New Diplomatic History that privileges diplomatic context, forms, social and cultural interactions, ceremonial, and trade.⁷⁶ Scholars such as Timothy Hampton have examined "writing by and about diplomats," especially highlighting ambassadors who produced their own literature about diplomacy.⁷⁷ Likewise, Elizabeth R. Williamson explores ambassadors as writers and authors, not strictly of letters. She notes:

⁷⁰ Hennings and Sowerby, "Introduction," 2.

⁷¹ Driver, "There and Back Again," 184.

⁷² See Schurink, "Print, Patronage, and Occasion," 86–101.

⁷³ Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England*, 107.

⁷⁴ Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England*, 107.

⁷⁵ A few examples include: Heal, *The Power of Gifts*; Hayward, "Gift Giving at the court of Henry VIII"; Levin, "Queen Elizabeth and the Power and Language of the Gift"; Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*; Schutte, *Princesses Mary and Elizabeth Tudor and the Gift Book Exchange*.

⁷⁶ Adams and Cox, *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, 7; Biederman, Gerritsen, and Riello, "Introduction," 8. See also Hardiman, *Courtly Gifts and Cultural Diplomacy*.

⁷⁷ Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy*, 6. See also Osborne and Rubiés, "Introduction"; Craigwood and Sowerby, "English Diplomatic Relations and Literary Culture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

As well as pieces written during a posting, many diplomats also authored discourses beyond the time or subject of their appointment. Thus the very process of undertaking assignments abroad could confer on the ambitious individual a sense of authority that enabled them to promote themselves as political expert or adviser. Although Elizabethan diplomacy was not a professionalised institution, favour-seeking crown servants were keen to demonstrate a particular set of skills that were associated, not with a clearly defined profession, but with entry to a world of political information that held the promise of patronage, pay, and potentially further salaried positions.⁷⁸

The same could be said for earlier diplomats as well, such as Cruser and even English humanist-diplomats, such as Sir Thomas Elyot and Thomas Paynell.⁷⁹

However, this New Diplomatic History, which is now two decades old, has tended to focus on gifts given among rulers, with diplomats serving as their intermediaries. Jan Hennings and Tracey A. Sowerby note that “Diplomatic gifts, in particular, illustrate the complex ways in which different modes of non-verbal communication might interact within early modern diplomatic practice.”⁸⁰ These diplomatic gifts proclaimed the legitimacy and political status of the giving ruler, created bonds of obligation and reciprocity, confirmed friendships, and offered self-representations of military might.⁸¹ Zoltán Biederman, Anne Gerritsen, and Giorgio Riello assert that gifts “were an indispensable ingredient of global diplomacy and were central to the establishment and development of global connections”; gifts and letters were at the heart of the ceremonies and receptions of ambassadors.⁸² Mark Häberlein contends that diplomatic gifts carried significance, conveyed messages, and even represented a ruler and his/her values on cementing a relationship or negotiation.⁸³ According to Felicity Heal,

Personal monarchy always required personal expressions of identity and honour and the sovereign gift remained an ideal way in which they could be marked. The diplomatic gift between monarchs or states continued to provide a multiplicity of signals, opening dialogue to

⁷⁸ Williamson, *Elizabethan Diplomacy and Epistolary Culture*, 24. For more on diplomats and patronage, see Stuber and Tischer, “Clientele and Patronage in Early Modern Diplomacy”; Paraque, *Elizabeth I of England Through Valois Eyes*.

⁷⁹ For more on Elyot’s career, see Walker, *Writing Under Tyranny*. For more on Paynell and gift translations, see Moore, “Gathering Fruit.”

⁸⁰ Hennings and Sowerby, “Introduction: Practices of Diplomacy,” 14.

⁸¹ Hennings and Sowerby, “Introduction: Practices of Diplomacy,” 14.

⁸² Biederman, Gerritsen, and Riello, “Introduction,” 1–2.

⁸³ Häberlein, “Material Exchanges,” 676.

seek political alliance or to initiate marriage negotiations, looking for trading advantage or simply enhancing the prestige of the giver. It represented the person of the monarch and, in a culture that had not fully separated the sign from the signifier, it could actually embody the nature and qualities of the ruler.⁸⁴

Diplomatic gifts had to be given with care because they "bound the recipient to a return in a more immediate and focused way than mere diplomatic communication."⁸⁵ Rulers might have even been bound to give rewards to the diplomats who presented these gifts, such as Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain who were known to give rewards of clothing, mules, and money to foreign ambassadors.⁸⁶

Therefore, diplomatic gift-giving, as in a diplomat serving as a conduit between rulers, is a well-established facet within the historiography of diplomacy. But what of a personal gift given by a diplomat to a ruler? How did these aid diplomacy? Were they even meant to? This brief essay seeks to point out the practice and problematize how diplomatic gifts are understood when they do not come from a ruler, but from the diplomat himself.

It is not surprising that translators, especially those with a humanist background, were selected for diplomatic service. Though in an Italian humanist context, Douglas Biow envisions humanist ambassadors and their writing as a type of Renaissance self-fashioning, and perhaps their translations functioned in the same way.⁸⁷ The humanist translator-ambassador, able to draw from antique texts to inform politics, while at the same time promoting his language skills to a ruler, approached his embassy with a literary point of view, "standing outside and above a host of other institutionalized professional activities."⁸⁸

From a mid-Tudor English perspective, Tracey A. Sowerby has extensively explored the careers of Richard Morrison and Roger Ascham.⁸⁹ According to Sowerby, Morrison engaged a variety of encryption techniques, including "English transliteration into Greek ... a system that would have been easy for an avid Grecian such as Ascham to deploy, just as it would have been easy for William Cecil, the junior principal secretary at the English

⁸⁴ Heal, "Gifts of Animals in Tudor and Stuart Diplomacy," 188.

⁸⁵ Heal, "Gifts of Animals in Tudor and Stuart Diplomacy," 188.

⁸⁶ Igea, "Gift Exchanges, Self-representation, and the Political Use of Objects," 209.

⁸⁷ Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries*, 23.

⁸⁸ Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries*, 26.

⁸⁹ Sowerby, *Renaissance and Reform*; Sowerby, "Early Modern Diplomatic History"; Sowerby, "Francis Thynne's *Perfect ambassadour* and the Construction of Diplomatic Thought in Elizabethan England."

court, to decode.”⁹⁰ In Ascham’s role as diplomatic secretary to Morrison in the early 1550s (contemporary to Cruser), his duties included copying Morrison’s letters and reports, learning contemporary affairs, and perfecting his own writing techniques—especially how to digest and pass along diplomatic messages.⁹¹ Similarly, William Weldon and William Swerder engaged in a variety of roles, from scholar to tutor to procurer of items for patrons.⁹² Diplomats, then, performed a wide variety of tasks, thereby necessitating a broad range of abilities, demonstrating the fluidity of diplomatic performance.⁹³

So, it makes sense why translators would have been chosen to be diplomats. Their language skills were not needed for negotiation per se but for the passing on of intelligence.⁹⁴ Then, likely in their spare time, they could engage in their own translation work, as Cruser himself mentioned.⁹⁵ This work, if passed on as a gift, could bolster or reinforce a diplomatic negotiation. Cruser’s gift translations became performative of his commitment to preserving relationships, serving Duke William, and making a humanist text with a moral or message available to a wider audience.

Through the example of Herman Cruser, the topic of diplomatic gift-giving can be expanded to include gifts given directly from a diplomat to a ruler. In turn, these personal gifts serve as evidence of the importance of relationships between diplomats and rulers, relationships that were no doubt based on performances of power and authority. By looking at the translating and diplomatic careers of humanists such as Cruser, Paynell, Elyot, Ascham, and others, the performative roles of a diplomat can be extended to include personal gifts. All of this points to the necessity to further explore early modern humanist translators who served in a diplomatic capacity and gave translations as gifts. Every diplomat had a part, or perhaps multiple parts, to play.

⁹⁰ Sowerby, “Roger Ascham’s Diplomatic Training and Mid-Tudor Diplomatic Careers,” 126.

⁹¹ Sowerby, “Roger Ascham’s Diplomatic Training and Mid-Tudor Diplomatic Careers,” 126.

⁹² Powell, “Scholars, Servants, Spies,” 31.

⁹³ Williamson, *Elizabethan Diplomacy*, 19; Externbrink and Ferber, “Diplomatic Actors,” 532.

⁹⁴ For the multilingualism of diplomacy, see Holm, “Language and Diplomatic Culture in the Early Modern Period”; and Roland, *Interpreters as Diplomats*.

⁹⁵ Externbrink and Ferber, “Diplomatic Actors,” 532.

Caught in the Middle: A Clash of Masculinities in 1587 Scotland

Ashley Brown

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

In 1587, King James VI brought Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas—famed Huguenot poet and courtier of Henry of Navarre—to the University of St Andrews during Du Bartas’ diplomatic visit to Scotland. This event is recorded in Presbyterian accounts of the time and after, specifically James Melville’s *Autobiography and Diary*, which is analysed in this essay. James Melville was the nephew of famed theologian Andrew Melville and a former master at the University of St Andrews; his *Autobiography* is one of the few such sources from this period, containing a detailed account of the affairs of the university and the Scottish kirk towards the end of the sixteenth century. In Melville’s account, as well as those of others, the 1587 visit takes up only a few paragraphs (if that). The small space accorded to this episode is, however, misleading. In this study, a gender studies lens—which places masculinities at the centre of analysis—will be applied to Du Bartas’ visit and, more significantly, the reactions to his visit. This analysis exposes a complex pattern of masculine gender dynamics which demonstrate how different reformed Scottish masculinities were performed, particularly in a political space.

The event (as described in Melville’s *Autobiography*) unfolded as follows.⁹⁶ James VI arrived at the university, with Du Bartas in tow. He requested that Andrew Melville—then principal master of St Mary’s College—give a special lecture for himself and Du Bartas. Melville refused, stating that he had already lectured that day. After being persuaded (cajoled, pushed, or commanded could also work here) by the king, Melville acquiesced and gave a lecture later that day. What followed was an intense diatribe against the monarch’s attempts to wield influence over the kirk, which was delivered in front of the whole university. To say James was not happy would be an understatement.

The next day, Andrew Melville went along with the king and the diplomat to listen to the Archbishop of St Andrews (Patrick Adamson, a long-time enemy of Melville’s) give a lecture on the relationship between the monarch and the kirk. His attendance at the Archbishop’s lecture is noted as rare—Melville usually avoided Adamson’s lessons.⁹⁷ Melville listened to Adamson and then summoned everyone to an impromptu lecture later

⁹⁶ Melville, *Autobiography*, 255–257.

⁹⁷ Melville, *Autobiography*, 256.

that day, where he rebutted the Archbishop's argument, using the copious amount of notes that he had taken whilst Adamson had been speaking. After some debating, the king left with Du Bartas, asking him what he had thought of the two men (Melville and Adamson). The diplomat commended the Archbishop's preparedness but settled on Melville as the better intellectual, due to the "grait reddie store of all kynd of lerning within him" and his greater "spreit and courage."⁹⁸

This moment of early modern diplomacy is striking because the focus is not really on the diplomat. Instead, the focus centred on the reactions of James, Melville, and Adamson, alongside Du Bartas's observations of the complex dynamics and exchanges between them. Du Bartas' presence provoked a struggle between the three men, who each attempted to use the visit as an opportunity to demonstrate the supposed superiority of their beliefs. This resulted in a clash of masculinities (that is, systems of behaviour demonstrated by men), as James, Melville, and Adamson vied to control Du Bartas' perception of themselves and of each other. In attempting to control the narrative of the diplomat's visit, each man performed their masculinity in a specific way, aware of the public setting of the event and the potential implications of triumphing or failing to promote their agenda in front of each other. Beginning with King James, this paper will discuss the performative politics of each man in turn—their motivations, behaviours, and attitudes—demonstrating the tangled nature of their masculine gender practices.

King James VI

Much attention has been paid to James' fascination with scholarly pursuits, most notably his interest in writing. Jane Rickard has written on James' extensive corpus, dubbing him a "Writer-King" due to the large volume of material which he produced whilst ruling, the level of which was "unprecedented among early modern monarchs."⁹⁹ Having been tutored by the famously unscrupulous George Buchanan, the king became "an unparalleled royal intellectual," capable of debating with academics like Andrew Melville.¹⁰⁰ James was also more involved than his predecessors in the running of the Scottish universities, particularly St Andrews. This can be seen in the increase in visitations to St Andrews (essentially inspections of the university) carried out under the king's authority.¹⁰¹ This

⁹⁸ Melville, *Autobiography*, 257.

⁹⁹ Rickard, "The Writings of King James VI and I," 658, 655.

¹⁰⁰ Reid, *The early life of James VI*, 23–24.

¹⁰¹ Balcarres Papers, fol. 22v., fos. 23–34, fo. 33, fos. 43–49, fo. 55; UYUY 152/2–181.

interest in intellectual work, both as an individual producing work and as a king attempting to cultivate robust learning environments, can be seen as a key motive in James bringing Du Bartas to the university. By showing the diplomat the institution—which was the oldest and largest Scottish university—and asking Melville to lecture, James was proving his own scholarly interests, whilst displaying the power that he could exercise over the ancient institution and the people who worked and lived there. This demonstration of authority—as well as of his interests—was a reflection of his masculine behaviours which, as we will see, centred around asserting dominance and proving his ability to engage in intellectual matters, whilst showcasing the loyalty of those around him.

Although there were many academics working at the university, including James Martine who was particularly loyal to the king, James specifically asked for Melville.¹⁰² This is despite Melville and the king's differing views on the role of the monarch in the kirk and the legitimacy of bishops, which created huge tensions between them.¹⁰³ As James asked Melville to deliver the lecture in front of a diplomat, he must have believed that the academic would express his intellectual prowess in a way which would be supportive of the monarchy, or at least, not directly critical of it. This was a risk, banking on the goodwill of Melville, whose opinions in this moment were being given an endorsed platform by the king. It did initially prove a mistake, with Melville criticising James and his approach to the kirk in a particularly humiliating manner. However, James had taken this risk because Melville was the most well-known academic at St Andrews, having studied and worked in Geneva and Paris, with a large number of scholarly connections across different German states, France, England, and Scotland.¹⁰⁴ In putting Melville centre-stage, James could essentially show him off to Du Bartas; Melville was, as Ernest R. Holloway writes, "an obvious choice if the King wished to impress the Huguenot bard."¹⁰⁵ James' insistence that Melville was to lecture also reinforced his power (and masculinity) over Melville and, more broadly, the university, which will have been a charged political moment in front of Du

¹⁰² Balcarres Papers, fol.147r.

¹⁰³ Eventually these tensions resulted in Melville's imprisonment in the Tower of London in 1606 and subsequent exile in 1611: Kirk, "Melville, Andrew."

¹⁰⁴ Many of Melville's letters survive, as well as some written to him, evidencing connections with famed theologians like Theodore Beza, as well as various academics working across western Europe. See: Andrew Melville to Theodore Beza, 1 October 1578, Wodrow MSS fol. 152, no. 3 Copy; Isaac Casaubon to Andrew Melville, Paris, 13 September 1601, *Isaac Casauboni Epistolae*, 129; Andrew Melville to Alexander Arbuthnot, 4 September 1579, NLS Wodrow MSS fol. 42, No. 3. Copy.

¹⁰⁵ Holloway, *Andrew Melville and Humanism*, 221.

Bartas. The king and Du Bartas’ visit came at a critical moment for James’ relationship with Melville. In 1583–84, the king had asserted his authority in the aftermath of the Ruthven Raid by instituting the “Black Acts,” which established Episcopacy more firmly within the kirk and forced ministers, masters, and teachers to swear an episcopalian oath (which was heavily directed towards Presbyterians like Melville and his nephew, James Melville).¹⁰⁶ Andrew Melville was identified as a threat to James’ plans for the kirk and after being put on trial, it was determined that he would be warded (imprisoned) in Edinburgh Castle.¹⁰⁷ Instead, Melville fled to England, where he was joined by his nephew and other Presbyterian allies, before returning to Scotland in 1586. After a rocky start back (James had him briefly warded), he carried on teaching at St Mary’s College at St Andrews. Less than a year later, James and Du Bartas came to St Andrews for their visit. The king’s estimation of Melville as a scholar had clearly not suffered as a result of the tensions in their relationship, given that he was insistent that he and the diplomat would “haiff a Lessone” from Melville specifically.¹⁰⁸ However, Melville’s unrepentant attitude—despite James’ clear warnings that his views would not be tolerated—must have been an unwelcome reminder of the tensions between them in 1583–1584.

James’ approach to Du Bartas’ visit—as with much of his reign—was about presentation and control. This was an opportunity to show Du Bartas—and by extension, Henry of Navarre—what James was like as a person, as a scholar, and as a king in charge of prestigious, ancient universities (at least, that was the case for St Andrews; less so for Glasgow and Aberdeen). This moment then, was not just an “internal” one where James, Adamson and Melville vied to establish or reshape boundaries between them, but an “external” one too, where James’ measure as a monarch would be reported to other heads of state on the Continent. In his *Basilicon Doron*, which he began in the 1590s, James wrote about how kings were held “in the sight of all the people” and of the heavy responsibility which they had to portray themselves appropriately.¹⁰⁹ He was well-aware of the significance which moments like Du Bartas’ visit could have and attempted to use them to his advantage as best he could. As such, his behaviours during this event revolved around being a commanding yet affable leader, as well as a listener. This can be seen through his referring to Melville’s lecture as a “Lessone”: implying that he was willing to learn

¹⁰⁶ Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland*, 195.

¹⁰⁷ Melville, *Autobiography*, 143.

¹⁰⁸ Melville, *Autobiography*, 255.

¹⁰⁹ King James VI, “*Basilicon Doron*,” 202.

something.¹¹⁰ Even though Melville greatly frustrated James—both during his lecture and his rebuttal to Adamson—the king still had a meal in the College and “drink with Mr Andro,” performing the role of a magnanimous authority figure.¹¹¹ James was willing to engage with those who disagreed with him, but ultimately his masculine behaviours centred on dominance and the maintaining of his position as head of state; with all of the prestige, loyalty and respect that this entailed. James’ masculinity—at least from his and his supporters’ view—was a dominant one, which other men should respect and support. At all times, despite his friendly actions towards Melville, he tried to show himself as in control. His commanding the academic to lecture for him and Du Bartas, despite Melville’s protestations, as well as ordering Melville to behave himself before Adamson’s lecture, demonstrate who held the official power in their relationship. James’ respect for Melville was clear—he would not have maintained such personal connections with him otherwise—but so was his desire to make Melville conform to his standards.

Patrick Adamson, Archbishop of St Andrews

The controversial Archbishop of St Andrews was appointed to the role in 1575, having served as the minister of Paisley and working closely with Melville when he was rector at the University of Glasgow.¹¹² Before that, like Melville, he had travelled in Europe and was talented enough for George Buchanan to recommend him to the post of principal of St Leonard’s College (he was unable to take up the role, ending up as minister of Paisley). James Melville reflected that initially Adamson was “Mr Androws grait frind and companion” but that by taking up the archbishopric, Melville and his Presbyterian beliefs were betrayed by Adamson.¹¹³ This, however, according to Alan MacDonald, did not prevent them from being friendly with each other when Melville initially took up teaching at St Andrews, as Adamson welcomed the Melvilles upon their move, and Melville helped Adamson with some of his archepiscopal duties, such as preaching on Sundays.¹¹⁴ However, their relationship deteriorated rapidly, with Adamson greatly benefitting from the ‘Black

¹¹⁰ Although, as this is taken from James Melville’s account which is highly favourable towards his uncle, this must be read with a degree of scepticism.

¹¹¹ Melville, *Autobiography*, 256.

¹¹² Kirk, “Adamson [Constantine], Patrick.”

¹¹³ Melville, *Autobiography*, 53.

¹¹⁴ MacDonald claims that ‘traces remain of the friendship’ between Melville and Adamson, despite James Melville’s redrafting of his *Autobiography* to reflect the Melvilles’ worsening feelings towards the archbishop. See: MacDonald, “Best of Enemies,” 260, 267, 269.

Acts’ and becoming further entrenched in Episcopacy.¹¹⁵ He made matters worse when, with Melville in exile, he took over teaching at St Mary’s College and changed the curriculum, negating Melville’s work to reform the college.¹¹⁶ Adamson’s flagrant disregard for the decisions of the St Andrews Presbytery enraged the stridently Presbyterian Melville, and Adamson’s desire to exert episcopal power at the expense of his personal relationships damaged the relationship considerably.¹¹⁷ Both men became entrenched in a bitter struggle, trying to undermine each other through writing slanderous tracts and poetry, whilst attempting to sway the king’s opinion.

Du Bartas’ visit with the king represented several things for Adamson. Firstly, this was an opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty and support for the king, enacting what R.W. Connell calls “complicit masculinity”: displaying behaviours and attitudes which uphold the dominant masculinity (in this case, the behaviours and attitudes of the king).¹¹⁸ This, as we will see, greatly contrasted Melville’s masculine behaviours. The visit was also a chance for Adamson to solidify his archepiscopal gains from the ‘Black Acts’ by demonstrating his ability in the role, as well as to defend his episcopal stance during his lecture. The opportunity for Adamson to do well here was greatly increased by Melville’s initial attack on the king, as the archbishop could set himself up as the opposite of the irate and out-spoken academic, who had humiliated the king in front of the university and on the international political stage, through Du Bartas’ presence. Finally, Adamson could display his own skills as a writer and orator, potentially impressing the king and Du Bartas with his intellectual prowess, which was not unnoticed by his contemporaries.¹¹⁹

Adamson’s masculinity, then, was bound up in presenting himself as a loyal servant of the king, and in advancing his career opportunities. This is something his detractors picked up on, with Melville writing exceedingly scornful poetry about Adamson’s ambitions. In a scathingly titled poem called “Victory-Song of Archbishop Patrick Adamson” (likely written in the late 1580s), Melville wrote that Adamson was “a bishop, a

¹¹⁵ Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, 130.

¹¹⁶ Melville, *Autobiography*, 244–245.

¹¹⁷ Graham, *The Uses of Reform*, 191.

¹¹⁸ Connell, *Masculinities*, 79.

¹¹⁹ A man called David Anderson wrote a letter to an unknown recipient two years before Adamson died, extolling his virtues whilst providing an account of his life. He describes Adamson as having “great skill in the knowledge” of law, as well as being able to write “learned workes” of poetry. See: “Letter from David Anderson concerning Patrick Adamson,” 20 November 1590, University of St Andrews Special Collections, msBX4705.A4A6.

blockhead, a court attendant, and also a triple governor, a triple monarch, Archbishop of the Bishops."¹²⁰ Not only was Adamson a bishop—a position which Melville refused to acknowledge—but he was the bishop of bishops: a greedy, ambitious man whose priority was "sacrilegious gold," in an indefensible role.¹²¹ To make matters worse, Adamson often shirked his ministerial duties, greatly frustrating the St Andrews Presbytery.¹²² This emboldened his enemies' claims that he only cared about the prestige and resources that came with being archbishop, which will have likely further cemented his association with complicit behaviours.

Du Bartas' judgment that Adamson was greatly prepared for his lecture—and the visit overall—indicates that Adamson had intended to use this moment of diplomacy as an opportunity to show his learning and ability to perform well in the role that James had given him. However, unfortunately for the archbishop, for all of Melville's provocative behaviour, it was he who ultimately gave a more favourable impression. Although Adamson's loyalty to the king was not questioned, the archbishop and his complicit masculine behaviours failed in his ambitions to be ranked more highly than Melville or, indeed, to create such a favourable impression with James that his position—which was becoming more untenable—was secured.¹²³

Andrew Melville

Andrew Melville felt passionately about the state of the kirk and believed, as a doctor of Theology, that he had a right—and the responsibility—to shape doctrinal matters.¹²⁴ Although he attempted (with mixed success) to implement educational reform in the universities of Scotland, he was more passionate about the state of the kirk and ensuring that it stayed free from corrupting influences.¹²⁵ One of these potentially corrupting influences was the monarch: James had already made clear that he wanted to use bishops to extend his influence over the kirk and that he was willing to imprison or exile those who

¹²⁰ Reid, "Anti-Episcopal Poetry," 141.

¹²¹ Reid, "Anti-Episcopal Poetry," 141.

¹²² Smith, "The Presbytery of St Andrews 1586-1605," 11-12.

¹²³ Kirk, "Adamson [Constantine], Patrick."

¹²⁴ This was a shared feeling amongst the academic reformers of the period, such as Jean Calvin, Theodore Beza, and Philip Melancthon. See Austin, "Academic Exchanges," 40.

¹²⁵ This is demonstrated through Melville taking time away from running St Mary's College (and the University of St Andrews as a whole when he was rector) to attend General Assemblies and campaign for Presbyterianism over Episcopalianism. See Cameron, "St Mary's College 1547-1574," 69.

did not agree with his supposed monarchical spiritual authority.¹²⁶ This was unacceptable to the Presbyterians on two fronts: they were vehemently against bishops having authority over ministers, arguing that the ceremony and ritualised hierarchical nature of the role of bishop was dangerously close to Catholicism, and they did not believe that the king should interfere in church government, being subject to God's will like everyone else.¹²⁷ In Melville's eyes, only ministers and doctors of theology had the right to shape the kirk. Adamson's "betrayal" of that view—having been "stinged with the poyson and venome of avarice and ambitioun"—incensed Melville and explains his dogged determination to gain the advantage over Adamson during Du Bartas' visit.¹²⁸ To make matters worse, in 1583 Adamson had written that "Doctors have no power to preache, but by the appointment of bishops; nather have they anie further power in governing the kirk,"¹²⁹ which likely further motivated Melville. Du Bartas' visit, therefore, was an opportunity for Melville to prove his worth as a doctor of Theology and to try and expose Adamson's (supposedly) indefensible position as archbishop.

Melville's attitude towards James was also complicated. Unlike George Buchanan, who radically challenged the idea of the monarch's supreme power, Melville firmly felt that he was bound to "obey the lawful magistrate," and was generally positive about the monarchy, as can be seen in his poem *The Stephaniskion*, which was commissioned by James in 1590 for the arrival of Anna of Denmark to Scotland.¹³⁰ However, never one to miss an opportunity, Melville used the poem to remind James of his views around the monarch's responsibilities and his need to be governed by the kirk, as much as everyone else.¹³¹ In Melville's eyes, the king was the highest civil power and therefore commanded loyalty and respect, but in God's eyes—and therefore the kirk's eyes—the king was another Scotsman, bound by the same laws. As such, he should not have power over the kirk or over other men in spiritual matters. James obviously felt differently, writing in his "The Trew Law of Free Monarchies" that the head (i.e., the king) was the most important part of the body (the state) and that "it may very well fall out that the head will be forced to garre cut off some

¹²⁶ As seen in the "Black Acts" and his attempts to ward Melville.

¹²⁷ Calderwood, *History of the Kirk*, 5:120.

¹²⁸ Calderwood, *History of the Kirk*, 4:495.

¹²⁹ Calderwood, *History of the Kirk*, 4:54.

¹³⁰ Reid, "Andrew Melville and the Law of Kingship," 54–61.

¹³¹ Reid, "Law of Kingship," 61.

rotten member...to keepe the rest of the body in integritie.”¹³² Melville found himself walking a narrow and unstable tightrope, trying to balance his genuine belief in the monarchy’s secular legitimacy with his absolutist stance on the kirk’s spiritual independence. In true Presbyterian fashion, he seemed unable to leave the matter alone, likely out of a responsibility he felt for the salvation of others and himself; his masculinity centred on his desire to stay true to his principles and fight against the attacks on the Presbyterian kirk. As a result, James and Melville had a very tumultuous relationship, further damaged by Melville’s infamous tirade towards James in 1596, where he grabbed the king’s sleeve and shouted that he was “God’s sillie vassal.”¹³³ Melville’s deprivation from the position of rector followed in 1597, and then in 1606 the academic was committed to the Tower of London. Finally, in 1611, he was exiled, never to return to Scotland.

Before the deterioration of James and Melville’s relationship, Du Bartas’ visit represented not only an opportunity for Melville to gain the upper hand over Adamson, but also the chance for Melville to persuade the king that his intended power over the kirk was not supported by Scripture. Melville’s initial refusal to lecture for the king and diplomat indicates that Melville wanted to demonstrate his autonomy to the king, but his quick acquiescence proves his secular obedience to James, who—given his direct oversight of the universities—was essentially his employer. This streak of loyalty and respect for the hierarchies in place is clearly visible in Melville’s behaviours, with him heeding the king’s order to not cause a scene at Adamson’s lecture. However, his insistent commitment to his views around the kirk and his desire to sway the king’s views on church governance jeopardised their relationship. This, alongside his attempts to outshine Adamson, indicates that Melville prioritised being intellectually superior and correct over his personal relationships. This can be seen throughout his career, and his frequent demands that others adopt his interpretation of academic texts and arguments.¹³⁴ Melville’s masculine behaviours revolved around being correct and convincing others that was the case, getting them to conform to the standards that he set for himself. His skills as an orator and writer were used to further his arguments and persuade others of his intellectual prowess. His

¹³² King James VI, “The Trew Law of Free Monarchies,” 273.

¹³³ Wormald, “The Headaches of Monarchy,” 377.

¹³⁴ When Melville started teaching at St Andrews, regents in St Leonard’s college disagreed with how he interpreted Aristotle’s works. James Melville writes that “be his delling [dealing] in publict and privat with everie an of tham” the regents came around and agreed that Melville was correct. See Melville, *Autobiography*, 124.

lectures during Du Bartas' visit—both the one requested by the king and the one where he refuted Adamson's arguments—show that Melville was concerned with presenting his ideas to a large, educated audience, with the intention of appearing knowledgeable and exact in the face of the king and archbishop's mistaken views. This seemed to make Melville quite unpleasant in his demeanour, something his allies tried to excuse.¹³⁵ Much emphasis was placed on Melville's brilliance, trying to highlight his passion and ability for the good of the kirk, rather than focussing on difficult situations he landed himself in. Perhaps Melville's colleagues were aware that his masculine behaviours and attitudes were likely to clash with others (particularly in political spaces) resulting in conflicts like those with the king, and attempted to portray him in a way which would smooth the impact of his work.

Conclusion

Du Bartas' visit to the University of St Andrews in 1587 represented an opportunity for James VI, Patrick Adamson, and Andrew Melville to display their own superiority and scholarly prowess. In this way, each man's masculine behaviours did overlap. However, due to their different motivations and the complicated enmeshing of their relationships, their masculinities were nuanced, involving different behaviours and attitudes which clashed with each other when performed, as each man vied to use the visit to their advantage. Ultimately, James VI managed to reinforce some of the control that he could exercise over Melville, but—with Du Bartas' endorsement of the academic at the end of the episode—it was really Melville who managed to display his intellectual skills and refute the efforts of Adamson and, to a certain extent, the king. The relationship dynamics as witnessed here would greatly change in the following decade. However, as an isolated moment, what this moment of diplomacy shows us is how different men could enact various masculine behaviours in pursuit of their goals, resulting in overlaps or clashes. This indicates that there was a definite performative element to their masculinity, as each man jostled to give Du Bartas a particular impression of themselves and each other. By analysing these behaviours, a new depth is discovered to each man's motivations, character and relationships, particularly helping us to better understand how men could enact behaviours to achieve specific goals, whilst still being conditioned and shaped by the society around them. This depth helps to reframe masculinity studies, helping us to better

¹³⁵ Melville, *Autobiography*, 67.

understand how different men behave in specific situations and how they use various tools at their disposal.

Section 2:

'Best laid plans of mice and men': Performative Politics in Planning the Field of Cloth of Gold

Glenn Richardson

ST MARY'S UNIVERSITY, LONDON

The Field of Cloth of Gold was the name given to the famous meeting in 1520 between Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France. Recently it has been studied as a piece of Renaissance self-fashioning and its scale and cost have been interpreted as an example of royal "magnificence" at work in a diplomatic context.¹³⁶ Diplomacy is, and always was, self-consciously performative. This article argues that, in 1520, the English court very deliberately altered the nature and scale of its initial plans, made in 1519, for the proposed meeting with Francis, in order to use this diplomatic occasion to construct political messages about Henry's claims to international legitimacy, authority and power. This was done, in the context of intense competition with his two principal international rivals, through one time-honoured, quasi-military, diplomatic form; a tournament, exceptional in its performance of masculine royal power, wealth and cultural sophistication.¹³⁷

Nobody understood this performative power dynamic better than the presiding genius of the event, Thomas Wolsey: Cardinal-Priest of Santa Cecilia-beyond-Tiber, Pope Leo X's *legatus a latere* to (and in) England, Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor of England. As Henry's closest advisor, Wolsey conceived a permanent European non-aggression and mutual defence pact, negotiated and signed in London in October 1518 as the Treaty of London, also called the Treaty of Universal Peace.¹³⁸ An Anglo-French alliance secured by the betrothal of the dauphin François to Princess Mary underpinned the international peace. The alliance was to be inaugurated with a meeting between the kings of England and France in the late-spring or summer of 1519 but it did not actually take place until a year later.

¹³⁶ Richardson, *The Field of Cloth of Gold*, 205–209; Mickel, "Performing Power," 194–195.

¹³⁷ For background see Connell, *Masculinities: knowledge, power and social change*; and also Le Gall and Michaud, *Comment la confiance vient aux princes*, for a discussion of an array of early-modern royal encounters.

¹³⁸ Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones*, vol. 13, 625–632 for the treaty documents. For the original argument about the significance of the 1518 Treaty of London see Mattingly, "An Early Nonaggression Pact."

The Planned meeting of 1519

When Cardinal Wolsey drew up the first "Memorial of such things as be requisite" for the meeting, early in 1519, he specified a date of 15 July that year.¹³⁹ In early February, the city of Tournai (captured by Henry in 1513) was returned to France, under the terms of the Treaty of London.¹⁴⁰ Even as the transfer proceeded, however, news came of the death, at Wels in Austria on 12 January 1519, of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. This necessitated a postponement of the meeting for the election of a new emperor.

Wolsey's first memorandum suggests that his initial thoughts about the form of the meeting, had centred on recreating the kind of grand embassies that had been exchanged between the courts of England and France in the autumn and winter of 1518 for the signing and ratification of the Treaty of Universal Peace. Henry's reception of a large French embassy to London in October had been performed as a series of self-conscious gestures of conspicuous generosity and respect towards the French ambassadors. They were also intended as expressions of his own honourability as a gentleman and monarch. For example, at the arrival of the embassy at Blackheath, each senior member of the delegation was paired with an English nobleman or gentlemen of equivalent status. As the chronicler Edward Hall later reported, they then travelled the road into London side-by-side, thereby acting out apparent unity and parity among the participants. At the official reception of the embassy at Greenwich, Henry made a point of greeting each member of noble rank individually. This was a gestural performance of royal magnanimity, as it was not something that established protocol required of him. It was therefore also innovative, and prompted Francis I to do the same for the members of the reciprocal English embassy to Paris in December 1518.¹⁴¹

Wolsey was very conscious of the personal rivalry Henry felt with Francis, and his initial plans sought to deploy rhetoric and diplomatic protocols that diffused that rivalry, or at least redirected it, by encoding equality, mutuality and masculine authority, fraternity and literal familiarity, in the performance of meeting.¹⁴² In the original plan, the

¹³⁹ Caley, "Two papers relating to the interview between Henry the Eighth of England and Francis the First of France," 76.

¹⁴⁰ Richardson, "Most highly to be regarded," 114–130.

¹⁴¹ Richardson, "Entertainments for the French Ambassadors," 405–408.

¹⁴² On monarchy and masculinity see Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*; Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*; and Kallas, *From Boys to Men*.

two kings were to meet more or less immediately upon arrival for the event; not as happened in 1520, the best part of a week later. They were both to come to "Sandingfield"—that is, Saint-Inglevert—a small town on the border of the Pale of Calais and French territory in Picardy. The exact numbers of planned participants for 1519 are imprecise but, such sources as we have, indicate that participation was initially to be confined to the members of the French and English royal households proper, combined with servants and the necessary security forces. These comparatively low projected numbers and simple arrangements in 1519, may also reflect a willing restraint, and even a certain degree of royal modesty, intended to be taken as a token or a performance of sincerity between the two kings. Something of this spirit may also have animated a rhetorical flourish that Francis made, when he said that so keen was he to meet Henry, that, if necessary, he would come just himself with his lackey.¹⁴³

The two kings were to be accompanied at their first meeting by their wives. After their own greeting, each would introduce his spouse to the other, and then the two queens to each other. Then, they were briefly to meet the other principal members of each other's entourages. This was quite different from what finally happened on 7 June 1520 when the first meeting of the two kings was an all-male encounter, from which both queens were excluded. Further to the performance of familial intimacy between the two crowns, Princess Mary was originally to have attended her father, symbolic in herself, as it were, of the alliance which had been secured by her betrothal to the infant dauphin François.¹⁴⁴

Anglo-French marriage had been the reason for another meeting in a location east of Saint-Inglevert, near Ardres in October 1396, when Richard II met Charles VI of France. This too, may, have been influential on 1519 planning. Like Henry and Francis, Richard and Charles met to confirm an already-agreed Anglo-French peace, secured by Richard's marriage to Princess Isabelle of France. Richard came to receive her as his bride, from Charles. He and Charles had advanced on foot over an equal distance to greet each other before their assembled courts. Clasp hands as equals (rather than as one the vassal of the other) the two kings exchanged a kiss of peace, and gifts. The king then introduced his daughter to Richard. Banquets, masques and further gift-giving followed over several days, during which each man did his best to show himself off as a splendid and generous host.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ LP 3 (i) 212, Boleyn to Wolsey, Paris, 14 March 1519.

¹⁴⁴ In 1520 Mary remained in England and received a special French delegation sent to greet her in the name of the dauphin.

¹⁴⁵ Saul, *Richard II*, 229–234, 253–254.

As in 1396, the 1519 plans enacted notions of familial mutuality, equality, and generosity intended to be reassuring to the kings themselves, as well as international observers, of their status as leaders of patriarchal societies. Their masculine rivalry was acknowledged but was channelled into an affirmation of mutual commitment to the peace and the alliance they met to confirm even, as it turned out, there was nothing exactly like the 1396 occasion finally enacted at the actual meeting in 1520.

According to the 1519 memorandum, after the preliminary introductions, the two kings and queens and their respective entourages were to ride together from Sandingfield to Calais. Each member of the English entourage was to be matched with a French noble of the same rank to whom they were to give the place of honour on their right-hand, just in the way the English had received the French embassy of 1518. Once the two courts had reached Calais, Henry and Katherine were to be accommodated in the Exchequer, the official civic buildings of the royal governor in Calais, and nearly adjacent to St Nicholas's Church. It was a considerable establishment, in the manner of a French *hôtel particulier*, and its spaces included numerous rooms, two privy gardens within double central courtyards, a long gallery, and a tennis court. The king's lodgings there were to be connected via a temporary gallery to the church, the seating of which was to be removed so that it could function as the chapel royal throughout the meeting.

The king and queen of France, and Francis's influential mother, Louise of Savoy, who accompanied them, were to be accommodated within private suites at what Wolsey called "the Hows of Staple." This was almost certainly the Staple Inn, located at the intersection of the modern Rue Royale and the Rue de Duc de Guise, a block south of the market square (now more or less the Place d'Armes), where stood the Staple and Town Halls. Described by Colvin as "by far the most handsome building in Calais," it was acquired by the king in 1535 in settlement of Calais merchants' debts to the crown.¹⁴⁶ Hospitality and accommodation was to be of the highest standard possible, and "in such good order and goodly manner that they may have cause to be contented with their goodly and loving entertainment."¹⁴⁷

A number of temporary entertainment spaces were also to be created, literal and metaphorical theatres, for the performance of the two kings' roles as allies and equals. The whole Exchequer was to be furnished, organised and presented in the way of a great court feast, such as Christmas, when the royal household was at its most theatrical. At the Exchequer, a "goodly large hall" was to be prepared to host a banquet for the French court

¹⁴⁶ Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, 3(i):349–351.

¹⁴⁷ Caley, "Two Papers," 188.

and two large rooms adjacent were to connect it with the king and queen's separate lodgings and as further spaces for entertainment and dancing. The castle at Calais was also to be used for at least one major banquet, with its central courtyard the focus. A roof and ceiling were to be hung over this space and underneath it a "sale [salle or large reception room] to be devised and made... after the best and gorgeous manner." The castle's chapel and "great chamber" were to be incorporated to create a "withdrawing place," leading to and from the covered courtyard, "whereunto the Queen's ladies and Gentlemen may pause and repair, as case shall require."¹⁴⁸

Wolsey seems to have planned to use the building as part of a direct response to a celebrated banquet at the fortress of the Bastille in Paris, for the English ambassadors sent to receive Francis's ratification of the Universal Peace. Such temporary venues within existing structures were well-known in Italy, then becoming fashionable in France, but still largely unknown in England. The whole area of the inner court at the Bastille had been covered over with a canvas roof, underneath which was painted an azure ceiling or "sky," decorated with various constellations celebrating Francis's imperial status as duke of Milan, and signifying "great happiness for the present and times to come" for Italy and the realm of France.¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately, there is no information on what the proposed 1519 English entertainment in response to this was to be, beyond the mention of two masques or mummeries, one in the castle in the specially constructed banqueting hall, and the other at the Staple. The "appellyng," or devising, of the themes, characters and costumes of these masques were to be at the king's will, indicating that Henry had a direct involvement in planning the political messages they were intended to convey.¹⁵⁰

Change of Plans

Charles V's election as Holy Roman Emperor in June 1519, against competition from Francis and, less seriously, from Henry, radically altered the circumstances of the planned meeting. He succeeded, in effect, in making the planned Anglo-French occasion a tripartite event, even he was not there in person. From the moment the result was announced, Francis

¹⁴⁸ Caley, "Two Papers," 189.

¹⁴⁹ Rincio, *Le livre et foret de messier Bernadin Rince Millanoys*, fol. Aiv r.; Lecoq, "Une fête italienne à la Bastille," 149–168.

¹⁵⁰ TNA SP1/20 fols. 250–252, "An estimation of the king's diets." An undated budget for food and drink totalling just over £7,400 was drawn up in 1519 or early the following year, which proved remarkably close to the final recorded expenditure for the Field in 1520.

wanted to use the meeting to advertise his own status as the "real" emperor, and chivalric champion of Christendom, and to strengthen diplomatically his hold on Milan through his commitment to the Universal Peace. Charles, too, had a claim to Milan which Francis expected would be neutralized by the Peace. Likewise, Henry and Wolsey began to see the meeting as an opportunity to present Henry as the effective equal of both Francis and Charles in European affairs, because of his role as defender of that Peace.

The most striking aspect of this change was Wolsey's making a tournament the central event, indeed the reason for, the meeting. In some ways its absence from initial planning is surprising, given that there had been several tournaments of peace between mixed teams of English and French knights since Henry's accession. The most recent had been in October 1518, at Greenwich, to celebrate the betrothal of Princess Mary and the dauphin. Perhaps Wolsey had initially wanted to lessen the military emphasis, in view of the fact that the proposed Anglo-French summit was intended to inaugurate the Universal Peace, and to move away from war and militarism? Yet, Wolsey surely knew that the way the noble elites of his time validated any peace agreement was by staging a mock fight; proof, as it were of their capability at war, that underscored their commitment to peace secured by treaty.¹⁵¹ Here, too, there was a local precedent. In 1390 during a truce in the Hundred Years War, the seigneurs de Boucicaut, de Roye and de Sempy hosted a "tournament of peace" at which about 100 knights participated. An open tournament certainly provided a potentially much wider international audience than did a series of banquets and entertainments at Calais between the two kings alone.¹⁵²

In striking contrast to the 1519 version then, Wolsey's February 1520 memorandum placed his monarch's physical self and performance as a chivalric warrior (and by implication that of his rival Francis) central to the event.¹⁵³ It was put into effect by a Proclamation of the meeting he made on 12 March, one with a notable emphasis on the persons of the two kings who:

be like in force, corporall beauty and gift of nature, right expert and having knowledge in the art militant, right chivalrous in arms and in the flower and vigour of youth, whereby seemed to us a right assembly that for to décore and illustre the same and to show their forces in armes they shall take counsel and dispose themselves to some faire feat of arms as

¹⁵¹ Richardson, "Boys and Their Toys," 183–206.

¹⁵² Froissart, *Chronicles*, 373–381.

¹⁵³ TNA, SP1/19 fols. 200–210, especially fol. 200. [LP III i, 629] Undated drafted from early March 1520.

well on foot as on horseback against all comers.¹⁵⁴

It was hoped that the 1520 tournament would attract as many as 200 participants not just from England and France, but from all over Europe, including the dominions of the new emperor. A tournament jointly hosted by two kings, themselves both renowned jousts, would surely attract a top field of competitors who would want to be part of this glamorous celebration of chivalric brotherhood and Christian accord. Yet Charles and his aunt, Margaret of Savoy, his regent in the Netherlands, forbade knights of their dominions from attending. Consequently, Henry and Francis were deprived of the array of international competitors they had hoped for and only mixed teams of English and French knights took part.¹⁵⁵ Despite this sabotage, Charles could not be ignored and a treaty arranging two meetings between the emperor and Henry, one before and one immediately after the Field of Cloth of Gold, was finally signed on 11 April 1520.¹⁵⁶

The key to successful performance as a host for the event was "magnificence," or a winning generosity, which marked the greatness of its bestower. So, on both sides, projected numbers and costs for the 1520 event rapidly spiralled, so that eventually some 6,000 attendees on either side converged. The tournament was very elaborately performed and was quite theatrical, within the recent Franco-Burgundian tradition of the *pas d'armes*. This form of tournament was also influential in late fifteenth-century England where allegorical, and often specifically Arthurian, competitions were staged by Edward IV and Henrys VII and VIII. Knights dressed as classical heroes, or angels or figures from chivalric romance. The tournament enclosure or the lists, were effectively stage sets with scenery appropriate to the tale being acted out by participants. The knights acted their parts in combat before a long gallery, in front of an elite audience. All these elements were, for example, present in the tournament held at Westminster in February 1511 to celebrate the birth of Henry's first born and short-lived son, Prince Henry.¹⁵⁷

The *pas d'armes* in its strictest sense had an overarching theme, clear narrative, and pre-written scripts for performers. Although the 1520 Cloth of Gold tournament had none of these features, other elements of the *pas d'armes* were present. There was, for example,

¹⁵⁴ Hall, *Chronicle*, 601; see further Richardson, *Cloth of Gold*, 108–140 for the events of the tournament itself.

¹⁵⁵ CSP Sp., II, Juan Manuel, Imperial ambassador in Rome to Charles V, 12 May 1520; Brandi, *The Emperor Charles V*, 116–119.

¹⁵⁶ LP III i, 728, De La Sauch to Chièvres, London, 7 April 1520; CSP Sp. II, 274 [LP III i, 740–41] Treaty documents dated London, 11 April 1520.

¹⁵⁷ Blunk, "Between Sport and Theatre," 120–138.

at the lists, the "Tree of Honour" hung with fruit and flowers symbolic of France and England. On it, were hung shields to indicate the three competitions of the tournament. Knights touched the shield of those contests they wished to enter. Similarly, a variety of elaborate allegorical costumes were worn over several days, with various colour schemes and combinations, coats of arms, badges, symbols and motifs that identified participants to all. These costumes made complex, and often deliberately obscure, claims of personal valour, bearing, ancestry, rank and ambitions. The kings were no exception. Their jousting gear displayed emblems of chivalric and royal virtue, and these were carefully described by a range of witnesses at the event.

On the first of the four days on which Henry jousted, his garments and his horse's bard were of russet velvet decorated with waves made of damask gold. These decorations were interpreted by Hall and others as indicating his command of the sea around his kingdom. On Thursday 14 June, Henry's outfit featured a design of lozenged eglantine flowers; the emblem of England. Hall described the native rose as:

swete plesant and grene if it be kyndely and friendly
handled, and [but] if it be rudely delt with it will pricke and
he that will pull up the whole tree by the top, his handes
will be hurte.¹⁵⁸

On Saturday 16 June Henry wore a garment, the border of which was decorated with the phrase "God willing, my realm and I...", left pointedly unfinished. Both these allegorical references played out the political message that, as far as Henry was concerned, it was he who was the master of the political moment.

Whereas Henry's jousting garments presented him in the role of English national hero, and master of the political moment, Francis performed a more abstract role, presenting a more elusive figure than Henry's conventional warrior-king. Francis played the role of a philosopher-king, whose heart and mind were centred on the highest ideals of chivalric love and of monarchy. Over the course of the four days on which he jousted, Francis's costumes progressively displayed symbols and words, that spelled out the phrase "heart fastened in pain endless / when she / delivereth me not of bonds."¹⁵⁹ According to Hall, this programme—like the king's salamander emblem and motto, "*nutrisco et extinguo*"—indicated Francis's passionate nature and his ability, through learning and

¹⁵⁸ Hall, *Chronicle*, 613

¹⁵⁹ Hall, *Chronicle*, 614.

wisdom, to endure the pains of love while himself triumphing through loving purely. The political message was that whatever Henry or Charles hoped to achieve in continental politics by the Universal Peace, his power on the ground was such that they would need his assent and support.

On Wednesday 20 June the tourneying began. The tourney was a freer form of group horseback fighting, with swords, staves and clubs rather than couched lance. Yet spectacular display and numbers of strokes delivered determined the scores. Good horsemanship, using a mount's impetus to lend force to his own blows, was essential for the knightly competitor's success. He had to keep moving and, according to one source, to ensure that he went through the whole field (of opponents) "seeking the places of the most important onlookers"; a reminder that it was primarily a sport of performative court spectacle where heralds of arms were on hand "to marke and write the dedes of noblemen."¹⁶⁰

During his participation in the tourney, Henry's costumes retained their nationalistic themes. On Thursday 21 June his garments displayed little mountains planted with branches of golden basil. On the borders were the words: "Breake not these swete herbes of the richemounte, doute for damage." This image of an enriched mountain with vigorously guarded flora, alluded to Henry VII's earldom of Richmond, his palace in England (where tournaments were frequently held) and, by extension, to England's power against France under its current Tudor king. It had first appeared as a central stage prop in a pageant for the Twelfth Night celebrations of 1512–1513 at Richmond, prior to Henry's first personal leadership of an attack on France the following summer. Ironically, Richard Gibson's *revels accounts for the Field*, show that its literal message was ignored, and that the golden "basil" leaves were souvenired by the French at the conclusion of the day's events. As was customary practice at the English court, this gave Henry an opportunity to enact royal largesse.¹⁶¹

The final two days of the tournament were taken up with the foot combats at the barriers, in which Henry had been eager to appear in a new suit of Greenwich armour, using a mighty double-handed sword. This was the most specific performance of his potential as a warrior for, or against, France, and the suit of armour has been much discussed for its utility and originality.¹⁶² In the event he had to wear a more conventional suit. In 1520 the

¹⁶⁰ Anglo, *Martial Arts*, 253–268.

¹⁶¹ TNA E36/217 fol. 161.

¹⁶² Richardson, *The Armour and Arms of Henry VIII*, 18–22.

foot combat from was still a relatively new competition and the rules were not always obeyed or even understood by knights. Nevertheless, Hall asserted that "this [these] same two kings safe in body and lymmes [limbs] ended battail for that day at the barriers with great honor."¹⁶³

While there was no elaborate tournament staging at the lists, the English did build a stage setting for the hospitality shown to the French that was unprecedented in scale—an entire temporary banqueting palace just outside the walls of Guînes. Christened "the crystal palace" by the French, it is properly seen in context as an extension of the theatricality of the tournament field. It was the primary focus of events on those days when there was no competition, whereas banquets usually followed the competition in the lists. In 1519, the intent was to cover a ward of Calais castle to provide a temporary banqueting space. Now, rather than simply emulating that recent French decorative tradition, Henry and Wolsey conceived an entirely new temporary building designed to impress with its size and architectural boldness, its luxurious comfort within two halls, its entertainment rooms and lodgings on two floors, and its interior and exterior decoration in the latest Renaissance fashion.

In February and May 1520, a group of international mercers and traders, including Giovanni Cavalcanti and Richard Gresham (later Mayor of London and the father of a more famous son, Sir Thomas) were paid some £1,700 for velvets, silks, and sables for the king's use. In May, Sir Andrew Windsor, Master of the Great Wardrobe, was paid £746 3s 8d "for preparing stuff for the king." This was in direct response to Wolsey's memorandum, an article of which prescribed that:

all the King's rich stuff as well of arras and clothes of tissue and gold with also the best and finest tapestries and other honourable stuff convenient for the garnishing of such houses and lodgings shall be transported and conveyed to the King's town of Calais.¹⁶⁴

It is also noteworthy that Henry's clothing was the first item in both Wolsey's memoranda of preparation, but its design was reserved to the king himself. This statement provides good evidence that, as Lesley Mickel has observed, "for the early modern subject, materiality (clothes for example) constituted identity at a profound level."¹⁶⁵ Henry was therefore to "power dress" as he judged best. Doubtless Wolsey would have been on hand

¹⁶³ Hall, *Chronicle*, 618; Anglo, *Martial Arts*, 168–171.

¹⁶⁴ Caley, "Two Papers," 184, 176; Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England*, 46.

¹⁶⁵ Mickel, "Performing," 194–206.

to advise if asked, but the decision was Henry's alone, and it is clear that both he and Francis always dressed to impress, especially at their first meeting on 7 June. Apart from clothing, the two consistent features of both the 1519 and 1520 memoranda were preparations for banquets and masques for his guests, all expressive of Henry's wealth and sophistication. These events, however—staged in 1520 by both sides in literally much larger spaces—were longer, more expensive, and deliberately designed to be more spectacular with the number and kinds of dishes served, than had been those originally planned for Calais in 1519. At these events, Queen Katherine hosted Francis and his court at the Guînes, while Queen Claude did the like for Henry and his courtiers at Ardres.

These banquets were usually followed by masques and other events, which lie beyond the scope of this paper. One example, however, may suffice to show how closely the performance of power at the various banquets was linked to that in the tournament competitions. The final set of banquets took place of Sunday 24 June. Henry travelled to Ardes with his sister Mary, accompanied by forty courtiers divided into four groups, all in costume from the outset. Hall describes the first as led by Hercules, presumably Henry himself, who carried a club covered with green damask and wore a lion's pelt made of cloth of gold of damask, with ears of flat gold. He was accompanied by courtiers playing the Nine Worthies: Hector, Alexander, Caesar, King David, Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Godfrey de Bouillon. These representatives of heroic chivalry were well known across sixteenth-century Europe. They had preceded King Henry VI in his triumphal entry to Paris in 1431, and a rather comical set of them appear in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*. In France they were known as "*les neuf preux*" or "valiants." In 1516, Francis and his generals at the previous year's battle of Marignano were portrayed as "*les neuf preux*" in an illuminated book celebrating his conquest of Milan.¹⁶⁶

The performance of royal soldierly courage and command acted out by the English king and his courtiers at the concluding banquet and masque of the Field emphasized the meeting's overtly political and military nature, and honoured the ancient heritage of England (and France) as a Christian nation led by chivalric warrior-kings.¹⁶⁷ It also made the point that Francis had better abide by the peace to which he had agreed, lest he be confronted by the "Herculean" Henry on a real battlefield. Meanwhile the French king and twenty-eight nobles went to Guînes and were received by Queen Katherine, although no

¹⁶⁶ Nevinson, "A Show of the Nine Worthies," 103–107. In 1608 the London scrivener Thomas Trevelyan included illustrations of the Nine Worthies in his commonplace book.

¹⁶⁷ Hall, *Chronicle*, 618–620.

description of the masking costumes they wore survives. There, the winners of the various competitions in the tournament were named and given jewels, rings, collars, and similar prizes.¹⁶⁸

Comparing Wolsey's plans for the 1519 Anglo-French meeting, limited though they are, with what eventually happened in 1520 enables us to see how English ideas about the event changed and developed: becoming far more ambitious, more international in outlook, and more concentrated on the person of Henry VIII, in order to allow him far greater scope to present himself as a significant European political and military leader. From an initial, fairly conventional, diplomatic meeting at which their personal rivalry was to be channelled into a celebration of the dynastic connection between them through the prospective marriage of their heirs, it became a much more complex performance of international authority and status in their joint-hosting of a large tournament. Although the initial 1519 plans were heavily adapted in the opening months of the following year, they were not just thrown away. Indeed, they directly anticipate, and were very likely used, in planning both Charles V's visit to Calais immediately after the Field, in July 1520, and the second Anglo-French summit of Henry's reign, which occurred at Calais and Boulogne in October 1532, a dozen years after the Field, and almost two after Cardinal Wolsey's death.¹⁶⁹

This discussion of the development of what became the Field of Cloth of Gold has shown how early-modern diplomatic encounters could be staged, or performed, within a variety of different cultural forms or artefacts. Personal greetings, and mutual entertainment at banquets amidst luxurious surroundings, were perhaps the most familiar of these forms in the early-modern world. They have a long history into the modern era and remain familiar today. Yet, other diplomatic forms, now unfamiliar to contemporary audiences, could also be used to communicate clear political messages to participants and observers alike. So it was with the decision by the English to stage an international tournament and build an extraordinary entertainment centre at Guînes in 1520. Theirs was the greater technical ambition and theirs the greater need to impress—not just the French, but a wide range of observers across Europe. Henry and Wolsey sought to create a meeting commensurate in scale and style to the Treaty of Universal Peace by which Henry made claims for his significance in wider European politics.

¹⁶⁸ CSP Ven, 91, 93, 95.

¹⁶⁹ Giry-Deloison, "Le premier ouvrage imprimé à Arras?," 167–202; Arber, *The Maner of the Triumphe at Caley and Bulleyn*, 3–8.

Celebrating the agreement of peace by playing at war was not itself new, but it has rarely, if ever, before been done on the scale it was at the Field, with performances of both personal and political power at the tournament by two royal participant-hosts. This was intended to convey a message of sincerity and commitment to the aims of the Peace being inaugurated to each other, but also to generate a wider enthusiasm for it among European nobles. It was also an assertion (literally and ceremonially) by the hosts of their potential as war-leaders in a western European continent then confronted by two superpowers. The first of these was the Ottomans, whose expansion had prompted the negotiation of Universal Peace in the first place. The second was Charles V, whose election as emperor, with a personal inheritance drawing together a vast agglomeration of territories, including the Americas, was unprecedented in late medieval history. This situation demanded the enacting of yet more striking and dramatic demonstrations of the diplomatic and military potential of England and France together to counter (in theory at least) these powers, in the wider interests of a united Christendom. It provoked a radical rethink, and more significant deployment of resources, material and personal, from both kings—but especially from the English monarch.

Had Emperor Maximilian still been in robust health in 1519, and no imperial election therefore necessary, it is likely that the meeting between Henry and Francis would still have been impressive in a diplomatically conventional way, and in line with the familial scenario envisaged by Wolsey in his first memorandum of 1519. It is persuasive evidence of the extraordinary adaptability of early-modern diplomatic forms and practices, that the initial plans were so rapidly and effectively altered in scale, according to the changed circumstances, so as to enact very different and perhaps more compelling political messages. The Field of Cloth of Gold has come to be seen as the most famous royal tournament and diplomatic performance in the history of early-modern Europe.

“As if it were a sinne to thinck uppon businesse”: Court Entertainments in Turin during the War of the Montferrat Succession*

Alana Mailes

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

When Savoy went to war with Spain in 1613–1617 over rival dynastic claims to the Italian duchy of Montferrat, the entire European Alpine region was thrown into turmoil. King James I of England (1566–1625), in response, adopted an interventionist policy of sending his own diplomatic delegates to Turin to guide the duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel I (1562–1630), towards reconciliation with the Habsburgs. The Stuarts pursued amicable relations with both dynasties and so desired to end the conflict. In 1615 James I dispatched the English ambassador in Venice, Dudley Carleton (1573–1632), to Turin to draw up a peace treaty, the Treaty of Asti, and negotiate an armistice, which seemed temporarily successful. The treaty, however, was not immediately ratified, and warfare dragged on for years. That autumn Carleton left behind an English embassy agent in Turin, Isaac Wake (1580/1581–1632), to manage the situation until the Treaty of Pavia finally brought the war to its conclusion in October 1617. Despite waning support from France and the Republic of Venice, two major allies, Charles Emmanuel continued his bid for Montferrat. He had long been reluctant to disarm, seeking further support from England and other potential sources of military reinforcement. As is apparent from records of Carleton’s earlier peace-making mission to Turin, negotiations for the Peace of Asti had been delayed in part by the duke’s fondness for court masques and other Carnival merriments.¹⁷⁰

This brief article examines Wake’s diplomatic correspondences, now held in the British State Papers, to analyze a handful of new archival findings on dramatic spectacle at the court of Turin during Savoy’s sustained 1615–1617 battle for Montferrat. Though rarely consulted as source materials for the reconstruction of theatrical occasions, diplomatic papers have much to add to current knowledge of historical drama and its political dimensions; Wake’s letters describe multiple court masques that have hitherto eluded

* This research was funded by the University of Southern California Society of Fellows, to whom I am also grateful for reading a draft of this article. Many thanks especially to Kangni Huang for sharing a detailed response with many insights.

¹⁷⁰ For further details on this war and a full bibliography of relevant scholarship in political history, see Mailes, “A Harmonious Armistice.”

theatre historians. The Savoyard court's unceasing staging of dramatic productions, I argue, appears to have continued to shape the frequency and timing of the duke's negotiatory parleys while also portraying the duke as a victorious master of the natural elements and Turin as a global nexus of international harmony. Despite immense strife across Northern Italy, Charles Emmanuel envisaged an increasingly dubious outcome in which Savoy triumphed as a conciliatory power meriting further assistance from foreign polities. How Wake recounted such events to his British colleagues, however, was its own epistolary performance, gesturing towards the Stuart government's ambivalence about Savoy's geopolitical ambitions.¹⁷¹

This study supplements research that I have recently published on the rich variety of music heard by Carleton's retinue during his negotiations for the Peace of Asti. The present article, like its antecedent publication on Carleton, draws on methodologies and theoretical perspectives from the New Diplomatic History, which has lately zoomed out from official dealings within a small circle of elite male politicians to consider how the performing arts and other forms of cultural expression have historically shaped international relations.¹⁷² This contribution offers a precise example of, on the one hand, how symbolic political messaging in early modern court spectacle served to emphasize the authority and power of a ruler to legitimate that ruler's foreign policy prerogatives, and, on the other hand, how diplomatic practice functioned as a performative act. I conclude by problematizing a scholarly tendency to prioritize the study of representation in arts diplomacy over questions of how projected political messaging was received or even traceably influenced foreign policy decisions.¹⁷³ I point to the relationship between artistic and diplomatic temporalities as an avenue of research with the potential to decenter analyses of representation.

¹⁷¹ For a foundational study of diplomatic writing as a performative literary act, see Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy*. For diplomatic dispatches and state spectacle, see for example, Berti, "Europe in Rome/Rome in Europe," 23–42.

¹⁷² For this peace-making episode, cultural diplomacy, and the New Diplomatic History, see Mailes, "A Harmonious Armistice."

¹⁷³ This topic, in relation to more modern subject matter, formed the basis of the 2006 "diplomatic twitch" debate forum. See Reynolds, "International History, the Cultural Turn and the Diplomatic Twitch"; Best, "The 'Cultural Turn' and the International History of East Asia"; and Finney, "The Diplomatic Temptation."

Performing Peace and Conflict

Archival records of Carleton's journey to and from Turin in 1615 amply demonstrate the centrality of cultural diversions to his diplomatic interactions. Presumably escorted by the governor of Spanish Milan, Carleton's cortege first heard two talented singing nuns in that city, one of whom appears to have been the famous Italian singer, composer, and instrumentalist Claudia Sessa. Once arrived in Turin, Carleton's entourage was welcomed with elaborate balls, masques, and musical banquets. The duke, his family, and his courtiers danced in some of these productions. As the 1615 diplomatic papers indicate, these performances both dazzled and frustrated foreign envoys. The duke's indulgence in such Carnival jollities demonstrated hospitality towards his foreign guests, many of whom represented potential or declared ally states, but these amusements did also delay conversations about geopolitical matters; this was convenient for the duke, who was reluctant to disarm. As Carleton wrote in February 1615, the duke's Carnival celebrations had trapped the court "in equilibrio betwixt peace and warre." On Carleton's return from Savoy to Venice, he visited the duke of Spanish-backed Mantua, who treated the Englishman to vocal music apparently composed or directed by the Jewish-Italian violinist and composer Salamone Rossi, possibly music from Rossi's *Ha-shirim 'asher li-Shlomo* (*Songs of Solomon*, 1622–1623), the first known collection of music in Europe to polyphonically set Hebrew texts.¹⁷⁴

Subsequent dispatches sent from Wake into England attest to the continuation of lavish Savoyard court entertainments during the following two years of sustained international conflict. Despite the jubilant ideals of these celebrations, the specter of warfare loomed over them. Wake's colorful accounts of these politically charged performances display the artistry of his own work as a diplomatic reporter, adept at creatively transmitting not only high political news but also foreign cultural knowledge. The theatricality of Wake's diplomatic writing about all affairs real or imagined undoubtedly helped to capture the attention of his powerful readers at home, blurring the boundaries between Savoy's staged fiction making and the War of the Montferrat Succession as metanarrative.

In January 1616, Wake reported to the English secretary of state, Ralph Winwood, that Spain had been reinforcing its armies, thereby provoking Charles Emmanuel to violate

¹⁷⁴ Mailes, "A Harmonious Armistice" (Dudley Carleton to Ralph Winwood, p. 116).

the Treaty of Asti: "The jealousies of the Duke of Savoy do dayly increase so fast..."¹⁷⁵ At the end of the letter, Wake described a recent performance of a pastoral for the duke's birthday, *Bell-Unda* (perhaps *Bellonda*), written by the duke himself and featuring "Intermedij of Maskes" performed by the princes and *infante*. Wake lauded the "singular decorum and magnificence" of the entire show, but, at one point, tragedy had struck in a manner upsettingly fitting for the violent times. So many spectator-auditors had entered the hall to see the drama that the battlements of the stairs had collapsed, killing six people and injuring ten. The duke had been so close to the accident that

...the harts of all the people were dead, untill they sawe him safe, and at his entry into the hall, he was receaved with a publique jubily every man thancking God for having preserved him from y^t danger, and reserved him to the publique consolation of his people.¹⁷⁶

During this inauspicious final masque, a piece of the ceiling had also fallen onto the stage, barely missing the Infanta Caterina.¹⁷⁷ While the production's series of accidents did result in multiple tragedies, Charles Emmanuel's dancing daughter was spared from harm, and—according to Wake—when the duke himself theatrically emerged from the rubble, he was lionized as a divinely protected survivor beloved by his subjects. It is tempting to ask whether these catastrophes were strategically manufactured. Another ballet unmentioned by Wake concluded that same 1616 Carnival season. It was entitled *Venere, Diana, Pallade, e Giunone* and showcased dancing Amazons and singing nymphs.¹⁷⁸ On 23 February, Wake provided Winwood with a detailed update on foreign affairs, claiming that since late January, "all businesses have stood at a stay for some dayes by reason of the Carnevale feasts..."¹⁷⁹

About a year later, in February 1617, Wake recounted to a friend and political advisor John Chamberlain that the court was again spending the Carnival season "banqueting, feasting, masking, & tournoying, as if it were a sinne to thinck uppon businesse..." Savoy could take no other actions anyway, Wake explained, "until wee see what resolution they will take in France, considering y^t wee are inforced to dance after their

¹⁷⁵ Isaac Wake to Winwood, 18 January 1616, State Papers 92/4, fol. 87r, National Archives, London (henceforth TNA).

¹⁷⁶ Wake to Winwood, 18 January 1616, State Papers 92/4, fols. 87r–90r, TNA.

¹⁷⁷ Wake to Winwood, 18 January 1616, State Papers 92/4, fol. 90r, TNA.

¹⁷⁸ Bouquet-Boyer, "Musical Enigmas in Ballet at the Court of Savoy," 30.

¹⁷⁹ Wake to Winwood, 23 February 1616, State Papers 92/4, fol. 95r, TNA.

pipe."¹⁸⁰ Here, Wake was evidently referring to Charles Emmanuel's recent requests made to François de Bonne, Duke of Lesdiguières, for further French military backup.¹⁸¹ In January Wake had described to Winwood de Bonne's elaborate reception in Turin by the duke: "ladders, drawe-bridges, & fire workes, besides some choice pieces of artillery..."¹⁸² Wake's February letter to Chamberlain then turned to a masque that had been performed by the princes on 23 January, again for the duke's birthday. Unlike the calamitous 1616 masque, this one had gone splendidly.

The masque had represented the four elements showcased by a giant globe "as great as a fourth part of the Temple hall, the proportion whereof was very good, & y^e motion very regular..." Fire was the first element to "shewe it selfe, with a cherefull illumination," accompanied by an antimasque featuring eight cyclopes "who wth hammers in their hands, & an Anvile in y^e midst of y^e stage, did make good musique, & dance to the cadence thereof..." After the cyclopes and the fire had vanished, "y^e spheare of the aire did appeare, well painted," out of which flew many live fowl, including partridges and pheasants, "w^{ch} did flye about y^e hall, & did fall to their share that could first seaze upon them..." The next antimasque was performed by six pages costumed as birds, who "did appeare very handsomely in regarde of the strangenes of the invention, & did dance likewise with no unproper motion..." As the air imagery disappeared, the globe opened, revealing "paesi, villages, Towns, & castles" with water painted "in a prospective behind y^e Earth, in such good proportion as they did seeme both together to make but one globe..." Out of the castles emerged armed fighters representing "several nations, four Turkes, four Italiens, four Spaniards, four Dutch, & four French..." Each band was "suted according to y^e nation they did represent, & accompanied wth musique of proper to their countrye..." These combatants "did first make a Tournay, & fought at Barriers, & afterwards, peace being made betwixt them, they did joine together in a measure, which was well danced by them all..." Finally, as Wake remarked, "wth a sweet close," the two youngest *infante* presented a masque alongside eight women of the court "& did dance one of y^e best contrived measures that I did ever yet see..."¹⁸³

This production, though bursting with theatrical marvels, relied on many dramatic tropes of the era. As Wake might have recalled, for instance, singing and hammering

¹⁸⁰ Wake to John Chamberlain, 7 February 1617, State Papers 92/5, fol. 22r, TNA.

¹⁸¹ See preface to Hinds, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*.

¹⁸² Wake to Winwood, 24 January 1617, State Papers 92/5, fol. 5r, TNA.

¹⁸³ Wake to Chamberlain, 7 February 1617, State Papers 92/5, fols. 22r-v, TNA.

cyclopes had also been featured in Ben Jonson's 1608 English court masque, *The Fugitive Cupid* (the *Haddington Masque*).¹⁸⁴ Turin and other early modern courts frequently depicted on-stage the seemingly incongruous and therefore miraculous unification of the four disparate classical elements; this alchemical symbolism served a range of political purposes, including portraying patrons as Neoplatonic mages endowed with divine powers over the natural world.¹⁸⁵ The Savoyard court was known especially for its *piscatorie*, elaborate dramatic spectacles on aquatic themes.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, pyrrhic dance and allegorical *ballets des nations* were far from unusual in court theatre, usually deployed as an image-building enterprise that strategically articulated national particularities and ethnic stereotypes.¹⁸⁷ In the manner of this 1617 masque, the later 1635 Savoyard *Ballet de l'Aveuglement* also used sonic markers to denote nationality, associating a Frenchman with the sound of bagpipes, violins, and the lute; an Italian with violins, the viol, and the lute; a German with violins, a lute, and a flute; and Spaniards with guitars and a pandora.¹⁸⁸

The duke's staged tussle and peace between these embodied "nations," encapsulated within a grander amalgamation of oppositive natural elements, projected a fantasy in which the court of Turin mediated harmonious accord between antagonistic proto-national powers. As implied by Wake's account, all of the show's elemental scenes up to the point of peacemaking conjured aggressive evocations of armed conflict: pyrotechnics, monstrous creatures, clanging metal, captured fowl, and, finally, a literal depiction of international warfare. The categorization of combatants as either Ottoman, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, or French suggests a larger commercial and imperial rivalry at the core of these tensions. That Savoy was not represented as an independent polity perhaps indicates an attempt to symbolically align the court of Turin with Venice, a prosperous maritime empire upon which the duke had depended for allied support. The Sunday after this masque, Wake added in his letter to Chamberlain, the Venetian ambassador Antonio Donato had hosted a feast in his own home, which had been attended by "all the Ladyes of this Towne..." Wake recounted that the Venetian diplomat had covered the banquet tables

¹⁸⁴ Wiggins and Richardson, "1584. Court Wedding Masque: The Fugitive Cupid." For later depictions of cyclopes in Savoyard court theatre, see Santarelli, *La gara degli elementi*.

¹⁸⁵ For an in-depth study of this tradition in Savoy, see Santarelli, *La gara degli elementi*.

¹⁸⁶ For recent research, see Emanuele, *Commedie in musica, pastorali, e piscatorie alle corte dei Savoia 1600-1630*; and "Per un repertorio delle piscatorie"; Claudia Peirone, "Un genere di 'confine': le piscatorie"; and Santarelli, *La gara degli elementi*.

¹⁸⁷ See for example Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy*; "Dancing the Nation."

¹⁸⁸ Bouquet-Boyer, "Musical Enigmas in Ballet at the Court of Savoy," 30.

in blue tinsel to represent the sea or a lake and had displayed a model of the bucentaur (or *bucintoro*, the doge's ceremonial barge) and fifty gondolas filled with "comfits & Sweetmeats..."¹⁸⁹ The Venetian ambassador's representational assertion of the Serene Republic's dominion over the seas implies its competitive homage to Turin's *piscatoria* tradition.

Despite these fantastical spectacles, peace in Northern Italy remained but an illusion. Wake's subsequent dispatches devoted substantial detail to the continuing battles, many of which purportedly proceeded in a comparably melodramatic manner. Later that February, Wake wrote to Winwood that Savoy had recently taken the town of San Damiano in Montferrat. At first, the town's troops had perilously underestimated the duke's forces: "when y^e Canon did play most rudely, they did dance uppon y^e Walls of the Towne, to the musique of Viols..."¹⁹⁰ The fate of the duke's military campaign, however, took a downward turn, as the town of Vercelli fell to the Milanese that summer and Savoy had started to lose support from Venice and France. From 1616 Wake worked constantly towards effecting a mutual assistance treaty between Savoy and the Republic of Bern, which promised Charles Emmanuel further military backup should Spain re-arm after a truce.¹⁹¹ In August 1617, Wake informed Winwood that the representatives of Bern had been honorably received in Asti, where they had formally sworn an alliance to Savoy. As soon as the ceremony had ended, Wake recounted, "all y^e Canon in y^e Towne, the Trumpets, Drums, Bells, & Musketterie, did publish this Act unto y^e worlde, with a thundering Voice..."¹⁹² A few months later, a long-awaited ceasefire was finally brokered, and, against Charles Emmanuel's aspirations, the treaty of Pavia was signed in favor of Mantua.

Conclusion: Beyond Representation?

Wake's diplomatic letters share considerable information on Savoyard court entertainments staged between 1615 and 1617, but absent from his accounts is any sign that the political messaging implanted in these shows swayed his own opinion in favor of the duke's military campaigns. Wake's correspondences deem the court's theatrical

¹⁸⁹ Wake to Chamberlain, 7 February 1617, State Papers 92/5, fols. 22v-23r, TNA.

¹⁹⁰ Wake to Winwood, 18 February 1617, State Papers 92/5, fol. 27r, TNA.

¹⁹¹ Hinds, ed., preface to *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*; Larminie, "The Jacobean Diplomatic Fraternity and the Protestant Cause"; and Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy*, 21.

¹⁹² Wake to Winwood, 19 August 1617, State Papers 92/5, fol. 127v, TNA.

diversions magnificent and high-quality productions, but any propaganda embedded in them did not resurface in the English agent's surviving communications about them. Wake's words go so far as to specify that it was Charles Emmanuel's own people, not the Englishman himself, who responded ecstatically to the duke's narrow escape from death in the 1616 *Bell-Unda* performance. These are not the only historical accounts demonstrating the shortcomings of early modern court entertainments in influencing foreign spectator-auditors by way of political messages projected on-stage. Much of the intricate, erudite symbolism featured in the Florentine *intermedi* for the 1589 marriage of Ferdinando de' Medici to Christine of Lorraine, for instance, was lost on foreign attendees, even if such representational nebulousness did inspire a sense of mystery and wonder in spectator-auditors that was also politically gainful for Medici image making.¹⁹³

Timothy Hampton's "diplomatic poetics"—theorizing early modern diplomacy as principally a trifecta of representation, negotiation, and mediation—has been instrumental to scholarship on musical and theatrical diplomacy.¹⁹⁴ How much tangible impact, however, did metaphorical representation in the performing arts really have on seventeenth-century negotiatory and mediatory efforts, especially when it came to policy-making decisions? If Wake, Donato, and other envoys were the target audience for Charles Emmanuel's court masques, what these foreign cultural mediators witnessed in such diversions clearly did not motivate these men to rally their own government superiors for further military aid to Savoy, as the duke had hoped might happen. Moreover, diplomatic history holds a great many examples of political missteps caused by cultural misunderstandings, leading some scholars to question the efficacy of emissarial ritual as a mode of representation. According to one early modern French ambassadorial anecdote, for instance, in 1543, King François I of France shipped an entire musical ensemble to the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman I as a gesture of goodwill, but the sultan unexpectedly (mis)interpreted the music's softening effect on his own emotional state as a trick to weaken his disposition as a warrior; he subsequently expelled the musicians from his court and destroyed their instruments.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ See Treadwell, *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court*; "Music of the Gods."

¹⁹⁴ Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy*. For an example of how Hampton's "poetics" of diplomacy has influenced scholarship on musical diplomacy, see Weaver, "The Materiality of Musical Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe."

¹⁹⁵ Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy*, 162.

The gap between theatrical projection and reception in the New Diplomatic History certainly requires further scholarly attention, but so does the matter of how politicians engaged with the arts as a strategy for delaying diplomatic deliberations or at least filling time between such parleys. So the frame narrative in *One Thousand and One Nights* makes clear, the Persian queen Scheherazade told a stream of gripping unfinished tales to postpone her own execution; what that storytelling conveyed to her homicidal husband was far from a priority. Charles Emmanuel’s tendency to eschew court “business” in favor of theatrical gaieties during the Carnival season conveniently aligned with his hesitation to disarm and cede to Spanish demands. This recalls Queen Elizabeth I’s (1533–1603) practice of performing music at court, for example on the lute for foreign ambassadors, as a means of prolonging her own marriage negotiations.¹⁹⁶ In other situations, such as in the *Ballet de la Paix* during the Congress of Westphalia (1645–1649), the allegorical content of theatrical productions unsubtly pressed diplomatists in the audience to speed up their peace talks.¹⁹⁷ The case of Carleton and Wake in Savoy further begs the underexplored question of how, whether deliberately or not, artistic praxis determined the timing of historical political events.

¹⁹⁶ See Butler, *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*, 44–48.

¹⁹⁷ See Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy*, 107–130.

Gustatory Encounters and Courtly Hierarchies: French Identity Formation through Persian Exchange

Tania Sheikhan

INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR

Amid the entries of the *Dictionnaire historique de la France* lie glimpses into lives defined by France's enduring engagement with Persia—a fascination that shaped its cultural imagination over centuries. For many individuals, ties to Persia marked the most defining aspect of their lives. Marie Petit, for instance, gained recognition for accompanying her lover, Fabre, a royal envoy dispatched by Louis XIV, on his diplomatic mission to Persia. François Pétis de la Croix served as a linguistic and cultural intermediary, translating *The History of Louis XIV* into Farsi for presentation to the Shah in 1708 and introducing Persian tales, such as *The Thousand and One Days*, to French audiences.¹⁹⁸ These figures, among others, illustrate how Franco-Persian entanglements extended beyond political and literary circles, shaping personal legacies and cultural narratives. This fascination persisted into later centuries, finding theatrical expression in the play *La Vieillesse d'un grand Roi*, which pays tribute to seventeenth-century French infatuation with Persia.¹⁹⁹ Centred on a comedic encounter between Louis XIV and an imposter posing as a Persian ambassador, the narrative underscores the grandeur of the French court. Louis's immediate recognition of the ambassador's ineptitude contrasts French sophistication with the perceived shortcomings of the foreign pretender, deploying Persia as a symbolic foil to affirm French cultural distinction. This emphasis on contrast and recognition reflects a broader preoccupation with Persia as both mirror and measure of France's courtly ideals, a theme that recurs throughout seventeenth-century cultural expressions.

Central to this historical engagement is Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689), a French jeweller and merchant who undertook six voyages to the East between 1631 and 1668. His experiences culminated in *Les Six Voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*, first published in 1676 by Gervais Clouzier and Claude Barbin in Paris, with subsequent editions and translations into English, German, and Dutch ensuring its broad circulation.²⁰⁰ Written in a

¹⁹⁸ Lalanne, *Dictionnaire historique de la France*, 1448.

¹⁹⁹ *Journal des Demoiselles*, 120.

²⁰⁰ Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages*; Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*. Unless otherwise noted, all citations are from the English edition.

pragmatic, commercial style that emphasised observations of goods, routes, and courtly customs, the *Voyages* were addressed to a diverse readership of merchants, courtiers, and diplomats interested in commerce and foreign customs.²⁰¹ Tavernier's accounts not only documented Franco-Persian exchanges but also shaped them, contributing to the burgeoning early modern French interest in Oriental cultures. Enlightenment writers engaged seriously with his work: Montesquieu referenced Tavernier in *Lettres persanes* (1721), Voltaire drew upon his descriptions of Eastern trade and jewel in the *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756), and Diderot lampooned the conventions of such travel narratives in *Les Bijoux indiscrets* (1748).²⁰² These responses, whether critical or celebratory, attest to Tavernier's enduring influence on French perceptions of the East.

Born into a family of cartographers and engravers, Tavernier was immersed from an early age in the cultures of travel and representation. His professional path merged commercial ambition with exploratory drive: in 1636, he accompanied two religious pilgrims to Constantinople before continuing independently to Isfahan, marking his first encounter with Persia. Over the course of his six voyages, he cultivated extensive networks across the Safavid Empire and South Asia, particularly in the gem trade. His most renowned transaction, the sale of a large blue diamond to Louis XIV for a staggering three million livres in 1668, not only secured his fortune but also cemented his status within elite courtly circles.²⁰³ Tavernier's writings, shaped by his professional motives and self-fashioning, offer a rich lens through which to explore the interplay of sensory perception and cultural representation, particularly through the gustatory frame.

This article situates Tavernier's sensory accounts within the broader framework of performative politics, understood here as the strategic use of sensory engagement, especially through rituals of dining, ceremonial hospitality, and etiquette, as a means of enacting political power. It examines how diplomacy functioned as a carefully choreographed performance of authority and cultural identity. This framework emphasises that courtly rituals were not merely symbolic but instrumental in communicating political dominance and cultural distinction. Drawing on the concept of

²⁰¹ Tavernier does not dedicate *The Six Voyages* to a patron. In "The Design of the Author," he frames his aim as practical; the English editor similarly notes the work was intended to be "serviceable to this City." Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 2.

²⁰² Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, Lettre LXXII; Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs*, 208–213; Diderot, *Les Bijoux indiscrets*, 138–139. See also Shackleton, *Montesquieu*; McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France*.

²⁰³ Ogden, *Diamonds*, 311.

sensory subjectivities, defined as the culturally situated ways individuals experience and interpret the world through their senses, the article analyses how embodied, multi-sensory encounters were shaped by cultural frameworks and, in turn, produced political meaning.²⁰⁴ By focusing on gustatory encounters in Tavernier's writings, the study explores how sensory experience became a mechanism through which the French state articulated its claims to refinement and superiority in the diplomatic sphere. As Jean Chardin, a fellow traveller and self-proclaimed Persian expert, once remarked: "I know, for example, Isfahan better than London, although I have been established there for more than twenty-six years, I speak Farsi with as much ease as English and almost as easily as French."²⁰⁵ Whether or not such claims reflect historical reality is less significant than the cultural frameworks and political ambitions they reveal. These travel accounts allow us to examine how sensory experience, especially in relation to food and drink, was deployed to construct and negotiate cultural identities. Rather than focusing solely on how European represented the East, this paper explores how such accounts simultaneously reflected and shaped *French* self-perception. As Donald Harreld observes, travel literature often reveals more about the societies that produced it than about the regions described.²⁰⁶ Such narratives offer a lens through which to examine how France fashioned its identity in relation to Persia, navigating admiration, critique, and ambivalence to construct a flexible yet assertive national self-image. The discussion begins with an examination of Tavernier's portrayals of Persian hospitality and refinement, which positioned France and Persia as cultural allies sharing values of civility. These narratives of alignment are contrasted with moments of critique, where Persian culinary and horticultural practices are framed as inferior to French standards. Scholars such as Susan Mokhberi, Julia Caterina Hartley, Jennifer Yee, and Davi Fieni have expanded Edward Said's foundational theory of Orientalism, interrogating its application to early modern cultural exchanges and emphasising the fluidity and ambivalence of these encounters.²⁰⁷ Mokhberi, in particular, describes French depictions of Persia as a "mirror," reflecting Bourbon France's values and struggles with monarchy, luxury, and despotism.²⁰⁸ Drawing on these perspectives and Homi Bhabha's

²⁰⁴ Howes, *Empire of the Senses*; Classen, *The Deepest Sense*; Smith, *Sensing the Past*.

²⁰⁵ du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, LXXXI.

²⁰⁶ Harreld, "How Great the Enterprise," 19.

²⁰⁷ For more, see Hartley, *Iran and French Orientalism*; Hartley, Suwanwattana, and Yee, *French Decadence*; Fieni, *Decadent Orientalisms*.

²⁰⁸ Mokhberi, *Persian Mirror*, 2.

concept of ambivalence in colonial literature, particularly his "pleasure/unpleasure" dynamic, this study examines how Tavernier's writings construct Persia as both a site of admiration and denigration, reflecting broader dynamics of identity formation and power in early modern cross-cultural exchanges.²⁰⁹ Through this analysis, I argue that French representations of Persia reveal a hybrid narrative of cultural alignment and superiority. These narratives not only shaped French perceptions of Persia but also reinforced evolving courtly ideals and national identity, positioning France as both aligned with and elevated above the Safavid Empire. By situating Tavernier's accounts within this broader context, this study illuminates the complex dynamics of early modern cultural exchange and the role of sensory experiences in shaping France's national identity.

Dining Civility and Cultural Alignment: France, Persia, and the Venetian Missteps

The accounts of Tavernier offer a rich tableau of Persian hospitality, one that exemplifies civility, sophistication, and cultural affinity with France. Tavernier describes an encounter in which he and his companions were welcomed into a room adorned with fine Persian carpets, where their host presented them with tobacco and coffee, adding, "he nobly treated us."²¹⁰ The Persian host, troubled by the offering of gifts for his hospitality, insisted it was "a crime for him to take anything... especially from Strangers that had come so long a journey."²¹¹ Tavernier's observations highlight the tactile and visual opulence of the Persian setting: the governor's apartments, for instance, are described as "one of the most beautiful," filled with tapestries of gold and silk and punctuated by cushions adorned with gold embroidery.²¹² These descriptions reveal not only a shared emphasis on accommodating guests but also the sensory elegance that Tavernier portrays as aligning French and Persian courtly values. This narrative of affinity becomes particularly vivid in Tavernier's recounting of a dinner where the presence of a Venetian ambassador serves as a foil for highlighting French adaptability and cultural discernment. It is important to briefly note Persian relations with Venice, which was historically marked by centuries of trade in glass, silk, and luxury goods.²¹³ The latter had frequently engaged in conflicts with the Ottoman Empire, hoped the Safavid state could serve as an ally in its military and

²⁰⁹ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 107.

²¹⁰ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 75.

²¹¹ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 75.

²¹² Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 75.

²¹³ Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran*, 23.

political struggles against the Ottomans.²¹⁴ By Tavernier's time, the Safavid court's regard for Venice was exemplified by the appointment of Venetian merchants and diplomats as intermediaries.²¹⁵ Yet, Tavernier's account of the dinner juxtaposes the French and Venetian approaches to diplomatic etiquette rooted in the senses.

With this in mind, we may return to Tavernier's recounting of the evening:

They serv'd in Supper, which consisted of several Dishes; but no wine was to be had; our drink being only Sherbet and the juice of Granates [pomegranates], with Sugar for those that desired it. We were a long time at Supper, for'tis the custom of Persia that when one man rises, another takes his place and falls too, in so much that the Master of the Feast must have the Patience to stay till several have tak'n their turns; and when every one has done, the Cloth is tak'n away without any more to do. Here the Ambassador committed an absurdity; for there are no Silver or Gold Spoons in Persia, but only long Wooden Ladles that reach a great way. Now the Ambassador, reaching his Ladle to a Purslane-Dish full of pottage that was scalding hot, clap'd it presently into his mouth; but finding it so hot that he could not endure it, after several scurvy faces, he threw it out of his mouth again into his hand, in the presence of all the Company.²¹⁶

The evening is concluded thus:

Now to show you the Civility of the Persians; the Master of the Ceremonies came to the Ambassador and told him, that if he did not like the Cookery of the Persians, he had Order from the *Atemadoulet*, [title given to Shah's the first minister], to offer him Money...to the end he might dress his own Meat as he pleas'd himself. Upon which the covetous Ambassador accepted his offer...the Franks, being offended at his baseness, slighted the Ambassador, and left him to keep House by himself.²¹⁷

This account serves as a striking contrast, where the Venetian ambassador commits a series of diplomatic faux pas. Most memorably, the ambassador—who remains unnamed—using a long wooden ladle customary in Persia, hastily consumed scalding hot soup, only to spit it out in front of the company, creating an embarrassing spectacle. Tavernier remarks that this inability to navigate Persian dining etiquette extended beyond clumsiness, framing the ambassador's actions as emblematic of a lack of cultural adaptability. The Venetian's missteps culminate in an even greater breach of decorum: accepting an offer from the Persian host to prepare his own meals, a gesture Tavernier interprets as both an insult to Persian hospitality and contrary to French ideals of courtly generosity and honour. Tavernier's implicit cultural hierarchy becomes evident here: the French, through their

²¹⁴ Institut du Monde Arabe, *Venice and the Islamic World*, 46.

²¹⁵ Matthee, *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran*, 23; Falcucci, Trentacoste, and Giusti, *Rereading Travellers*, 185.

²¹⁶ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 75.

²¹⁷ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 76.

sensory adaptability and cultivated etiquette, align with Persian standards, while the Venetians are excluded from this framework of elevated taste.²¹⁸ The ambassador's failures also carry a moral undertone. Tavernier critiques his greed and lack of generosity, contrasting it with the Persian emphasis on hospitality. The ambassador's acceptance of money to prepare his own food, coupled with his bragging about the gifts brought from Venice, reflects not only personal avarice but also a broader cultural insensitivity.²¹⁹ Such anecdotes serve to reinforce an imagined Franco-Persian rapport, positioning both as exemplars of civility and grace, in contrast to other Europeans. These narratives of sensory engagement as diplomacy find echoes in other travel accounts, such as those of Jean Chardin. The latter recounts a similar episode in 1661 involving a Russian envoy, whose disregard for Persian decorum led to public rebuke and mutual amusement between Persian and French observers.²²⁰ The shared laughter over foreign missteps underscores the perceived cultural rapport between France and Persia, one that was premised on their ability to recognise and uphold the values of courtly civility. These moments illuminate how sensory experiences, particularly dining practices, became a site for negotiating cultural hierarchies, where etiquette and gustatory command functioned as markers of sophistication. Ultimately, this episode demonstrates how dining functioned as a carefully orchestrated diplomatic act, where command of decorum and sensory adaptability signified cultural and political legitimacy.²²¹ The ambassador's failure was more than a personal blunder; it was a breakdown in diplomatic performance, one that implicitly reinforced French self-assurance by contrast. In this setting, courtly rituals of food and hospitality became arenas where power was staged, tested, and reaffirmed: exemplifying how diplomacy was as much about embodied performance as it was about verbal negotiation.²²² By foregrounding the sensory dimensions of these encounters, Tavernier's

²¹⁸ For more on Franco-Venetian competition and diplomatic entanglements in the early modern Mediterranean, see Zannini, "Economic and Social Aspects."

²¹⁹ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 76.

²²⁰ Chardin, *Voyage du Chevalier Chardin*, 185; see also Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, 549.

²²¹ Johnson, Keliher, and Şahin, "Political Ceremonies and Rituals"; Smith, Watson, and Kenny, *The Senses in Early Modern England*.

²²² This theme has been recently explored by Lucy Munro who examines how early modern drama used gustatory acts as theatrical enactments of power and seduction, and by Tracy A. Sowerby, who discusses how diplomatic banquets, such as those at the Spanish Netherlands court, were carefully choreographed to assert precedence through seating, serving order, and spectacle. See Munro, "Staging Taste"; Sowerby, "Diplomacy."

writings construct a narrative of French-Persian affinity that transcends mere diplomacy. The shared values of hospitality, elegance, and civility emerge as key elements in shaping this cross-cultural rapport, positioning France and Persia as cultural allies against a backdrop of European rivalries. Yet, as subsequent sections will explore, this narrative of alignment is not without its tensions, as moments of critique and ambivalence reveal the complexities of early modern cross-cultural exchanges.

Critique and Culinary Hierarchies

While narratives of affinity between France and Persia often highlight mutual sophistication, they are complicated by ambivalent comparisons that position Persia as both a cultural ally and a site of critique. In Tavernier's writings, Persian culinary and horticultural practices serve as focal points for such ambivalence. On the one hand, Persian customs and gastronomy are lauded for their sensory elegance; on the other, they are measured against French standards, with perceived deficiencies used to assert cultural self-assurance.

Tavernier's descriptions frequently suspend dialogues of Persian refinement to emphasise its inadequacies. For example, he critiques Persian flora, noting, "The Flowers of Persia are nothing comparable to our European Flowers, neither for variety nor beauty. For having pass'd the Tigris in the Road to Persia, you meet with nothing but Roses and Lilies, and some other Fruits peculiar to the Country."²²³ Similarly, he comments on Persian fruits, observing, "There are in Persia apples, pears, oranges, pomegranates, prunes, cherries, apricots, quinces, chestnuts...which is not generally so well-tasted as ours."²²⁴ Even the preparation of local delicacies is subject to scrutiny:

The Persians have also a particular sort of quince-pekin, but not as good as ours, which they fry, calling a great store of salt in the pan to excite thirst...oil they have none, but in the provinces of Mazandaran and Gilan, which furnish all the rest of Persia; but the olives are rotten, black, gravelly, and not worth anything, compared with Provence olives.²²⁵

These remarks, steeped in Eurocentric perceptions of taste, reflect a broader cultural project of defining French culinary distinction. Zilkia Janer's analysis offers a framework for contextualising these observations. She argues that European perceptions of non-European foods reflect "the will to control the affectiveness of taste to create the idea of a

²²³ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 144.

²²⁴ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 144.

²²⁵ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 144.

distinct and superior white European race.”²²⁶ Tavernier’s narratives exemplify this dynamic, as his moments of gustatory rapport with Persia are often disrupted by comparisons that reinforce French dominance. In seventeenth-century France, ingredients such as spices and hot peppers, once associated with luxury in medieval cuisine, began to symbolise excess and were increasingly rejected in favour of what contemporaries considered modern taste. Janer links this shift to a racialised disavowal of the “Other,” whereby spices came to signify the “uncivilised” and “exotic” in contrast to the restrained elegance of French cuisine.²²⁷

These critiques resonate within the broader context of French gastronomy during the seventeenth century, where food was closely tied to social and cultural identity. Simple, locally sourced fare was associated with peasants, while elaborate, resource-intensive dishes symbolised aristocratic refinement. Under the patronage of Louis XIV, the development of haute cuisine formalised these distinctions, embedding culinary practices within the hierarchies of class and taste.²²⁸ The court of Versailles became synonymous with culinary opulence, where feasts were meticulously orchestrated to reflect the king’s grandeur. Sensational anecdotes, such as the tale of the Prince of Condé’s steward who allegedly took his own life in 1671 when a royal meal was delayed.²²⁹ Whilst an alternating version suggests his death was due to the fish being improperly prepared, both underscore the high stakes of courtly dining as a performance of power.²³⁰ Cookbooks of the period, such as François Massialot’s 1693 *Le Cuisinier roial et bourgeois*, and François Pierre de la Varenne’s 1721 *Le Cuisinier Français*, reveal how culinary practices were codified to reflect the legislative ethos of Louis XIV’s reign. These texts not only prescribed recipes but also emphasised proper behaviour and household management, extending the king’s authority into the domestic sphere.²³¹ The influence of Louis’ royal gardens, such as the *potager du roi* at Versailles, further highlights the interplay between gastronomy, aesthetics, and power.²³² These gardens were not merely functional but symbolic, with their geometrically arranged *allées* and meticulously pruned trees serving as a physical attestation of the king’s

²²⁶ Janer, *The Coloniality of Modern Taste*, 91.

²²⁷ Janer, *The Coloniality of Modern Taste*, 91.

²²⁸ For more on “haute cuisine” see Dunn, *Cooking Through History*; Kümin, *A Cultural History of Food*; Way, “Haute Couture, Haute Cuisine.”

²²⁹ Davis, *Defining Culinary Authority*, 45; Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste*, 36.

²³⁰ Vandam, *An Englishman in Paris*, 28.

²³¹ Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste*, 37.

²³² Pinkard, *A Revolution in Taste*, 76.

mastery over nature and his subjects.²³³ Tavernier's critiques of untended Persian gardens, which he described as lacking the geometrical precision and grandeur of Versailles, underpin the symbolic role of horticulture in projecting absolutist ideals.²³⁴

Gustatory pleasure, in this context, became intertwined with political, physical, and moral tenets. Reflecting on this dynamic, Massialot denoted that, "only in Europe... cleanliness, good taste, and skill in seasoning meats and foods prevail," highlighting that "one can boast, especially in France, of surpassing all other nations in this regard, just as in politeness and in a thousand other well-known advantages."²³⁵ Similarly, a writer only known as "L. S. R." dismissed Eastern imports, arguing that such practices were at odds with "a pure climate like ours, where cleanliness, delicacy, and good taste are the focus and substance of our most earnest attentions."²³⁶ Persian ingredients such as saffron, black pepper, cinnamon and coriander are dismissed as markers of "wretched dishes," while Louis' personal *valet de chambre* Nicolas de Bonnefons asserts that foreign foods are inherently inferior unless prepared by French chefs.²³⁷ While French cuisine was framed as a symbol of civility, capable of elevating foreign ingredients through French expertise, Persian food and drink were often depicted as flawed, despite their allure. François Pétis de la Croix's writings reinforce this narrative by offering moral lessons about indulgence and propriety at Persian feasts. In one tale, a carefully orchestrated supper descends into chaos when excessive drinking leads to a king abandoning his assumed identity.²³⁸ Another

²³³ Alexander, *Liberty's Grid*, 169; Thompson, *The Sun King's Garden*, 104; Milam and Van Dyk, "Introduction," 3–5.

²³⁴ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 144.

²³⁵ Massialot, *Le Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois*, préface, page unmarked. "L'homme n'est pas par-tout capable de ce discernement, qui est néanmoins un raison de sa raison & et de son esprit...c'est n'est qu'en Europe ou règne la propreté, le bon gout, & et l'adresse dans l'assaisonnement des viandes & des aliments qui s'y trouvent, & ou l'on rend en meme-temps justice aux dons merveilleux que fournit l'heureuse situation des autres climats, et l'on peut se vanter, principalement en France, de l'emporter en cela sur toutes les autres Nations, comme on le fait en politesse, & en mille autres avantages assez connus."

²³⁶ "L. S. R.," *L'art de bien traiter divisé en trois parties*, 7. "une infinite d'autres gueuseries que l'on souffriront plus volontiers parmi les Arabes, & les margajeats que dans un climat pure comme le notre, ou la propreté, la délicatesse, et & le bon gout sont l'objet & la matière de nos plus solides empressements. Passons donc s'il vous plait de plus honnêtes, & plus importantes leçons, & pour ya apporter quelque ordre nous diviserons tout ce discours."

²³⁷ Bonnefons, *Les délices de la campagnes, suite du jardinier François*, page unmarked. "Car je crois n'avoir rien oublié du meilleur, & d'un plus agréable de tout ce que nos François accommodent, (laissant aux Etrangers beaucoup de ragouts dépravez, lesquels ne font jamais bonne chère que quand ils ont des Cuisiniers de France)."

²³⁸ de la Croix, *The Persian and Turkish Tales Compleat*, 118.

account describes revelry that culminates in disorder, with indulgence serving as a destabilising force.²³⁹ Similarly, Tavernier's observations of Persian wine, described as "cold on the stomach yet warming the head" when consumed in excess, reflect a fascination with its exotic qualities tempered by cautionary undertones.²⁴⁰ Recent scholarship, such as Yuan Yin's analysis of exotic consumables like tea, sugar, and opium, illuminates how these substances were rationalised and demystified when brought into European contexts.²⁴¹ Tavernier's critiques of Persian culinary practices mirror this process, as they simultaneously admire and dismiss Persian gastronomy. This ambivalence reinforces a cultural hierarchy that positions French taste and aesthetic discernment as the standard against which all others are measured. By constructing Persian food and horticulture as simultaneously enchanting and deficient, Tavernier's writings reveal a hybrid narrative of cultural alignment and critique. While Persian hospitality and refinement are celebrated as attuned with French values, the persistent denigration of Persian gustatory practices serves to affirm France's self-perception of distinction. This dynamic reflects the complexities of early modern cross-cultural exchanges, where admiration and ambivalence coexist within narratives of diplomatic embodiment through the senses.

Ambivalence and the Politics of Praise

French representations of Persia oscillate between admiration and critique, embodying what Homi Bhabha identifies as the ambivalence of colonial discourse: a dynamic where the "Other" is simultaneously idealised and diminished. In his theory of the "fetish," Bhabha situates this tension within contradictory beliefs, oscillating between mastery and pleasure, anxiety and defence, encapsulated in what he terms "the pleasure/unpleasure principle."²⁴² This framework proves invaluable for analysing the duality in Tavernier's writings, where Persian ceremonial grandeur is celebrated even as its culinary practices and cultural specificities are critiqued.

A second royal feast hosted by the Safavid king offers a microcosm of these contradictions:

²³⁹ de la Croix, *The Persian and Turkish Tales Compleat*, 302.

²⁴⁰ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 144.

²⁴¹ Yin, *Alimentary Orientalism*.

²⁴² Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 107.

The King was, sitting upon a low pallet, with two mattresses cover'd with a rich carpet. He lean'd his back against a large cushion four foot long, having before him eight or ten plates of fruits and sweet-meats. Before him also stood two bottles, with long round necks of Venice crystal hop'd with pitch, full of wine, with a cup of pure gold...with a gold ladle that held a good *Chopine* of Paris. The bottles were for the King's drinking and those that the King did the honour to drink with him... thereupon the King commanded one of the Dutch-men to fill some wine, which he did, but with a trembling hand Heaven knows, as never having been at such a Festival before. And I observ'd that having laid his Hat upon the carpet, the King commanded him to put it on, it being a very ignominious thing in Persia to be bare-headed.²⁴³

The tableau Tavernier presents is one of lavish hospitality, rich in sensory details. The carpets, golden utensils, and crystal bottles signal a shared value of elegance and cultural performance; after sampling a bread at the behest of the King, Tavernier remarks that he has “never... better eaten in the world.”²⁴⁴ Yet, the figure of the Dutch diplomat disrupts this imagined harmony. His trembling hand and ignorance of Persian sartorial etiquette highlight his cultural missteps, reinforcing Tavernier's implicit hierarchy in which the French emerge as Persia's natural ally, united by a shared appreciation for courtly grandeur. Notably, Tavernier highlights the presence of a *Chopine*, a Parisian bottle of wine, amidst the Shah's banquet. This subtle inclusion is significant: while the banquet ostensibly centres on Persian customs, the presence of a quintessentially French artefact becomes a marker of transcultural influence, subtly asserting France's cultural imprint even within the grandeur of a Persian setting. The *Chopine* thus serves not only as a symbol of France's global presence but also as an instrument of cultural leverage, reinforcing the narrative of French distinction.²⁴⁵

Beyond the banquet table, these encounters were embedded in a broader sensory choreography, where gestures, visual spectacle, and ritualised movement communicated power. The act of offering embroidered cushions to French guests, for example, paralleled the symbolic weight of gustatory exchanges. Just as dining projected superiority through ritual, these sensory markers—both material and embodied—functioned as extensions of diplomatic performance. Despite such moments of camaraderie, Tavernier's accounts frequently pivot to critique. Persian oil is described as “gravelly” compared to its French counterpart, and local cooking methods are dismissed as crude. Even as Tavernier lauds

²⁴³ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 182.

²⁴⁴ Tavernier, *The Six Voyages*, 183.

²⁴⁵ For broader discussions on soft power through material culture in cross-cultural diplomacy, see Biedermann, Gerritsen, and Riello, *Global Gifts*. Although the *Chopine* is not mentioned, its presence in this context can be understood within the interpretive frame they provide.

the ceremonial aspects of Persian dining, these culinary appraisals serve to assert the inherent superiority of French taste culture. This ambivalence mirrors Bhabha's notion of the fetish, where the desire to align with the "Other" is undermined by the need to reaffirm dominance. Notably, the Dutchman in Tavernier's narrative embodies more than personal ineptitude; he is emblematic of broader diplomatic and economic rivalries. The seventeenth century witnessed significant trade relations between the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and Safavid Persia, with a particular focus on silk goods. Dutch trading posts in Bandar Abbas and other Persian ports facilitated the flow of goods, but these economic tiers were often fraught with tension, as European powers vied for control over lucrative markets.²⁴⁶ France's attempts to rival the VOC's dominance reflect its aspirations not only for economic gain but also for symbolic prestige. Tavernier, as a merchant himself, was acutely aware of these global networks and their implications for France's standing in the early modern world. What distinguishes Tavernier's writings, however, is his use of sensorial perception as a means of navigating these complex dynamics. His gustatory lens, focused on dining practices, ceremonial etiquette, and hospitality, offers a unique framework for understanding how cultural and political alliances were forged and fractured. The shared rituals of courtly dining serve as both a metaphor and a mechanism for cross-cultural engagement, where sensory discernment becomes a marker of political competence and cultural sophistication.

The ambivalence is not unique to Tavernier but reflects broader patterns in early modern French representations of Persia. The oscillation between praise and critique reveals the dual function of these narratives: they affirm French ideals of civility while simultaneously reinforcing a cultural hierarchy that positions France as distinct. By aligning itself with Persia in moments of shared grandeur, France fashions an image of itself as the arbiter of taste and civility; by critiquing Persia, it reasserts its own cultural discernment. Ultimately, what emerges from Tavernier's writings is a hybrid narrative of cultural affinity, in which French identity is both shaped by and positioned against Persia. The *Chopine*, a symbol of French sophistication within the Persian court, encapsulates this dynamic, where moments of shared sensory rapport are suffused with assertions of French influence. The Dutchman's failure at the Persian court underscores France's claim to adaptability and finesse, framing it as uniquely capable of navigating the complexities of cross-cultural encounters. Yet, as this study has shown, these narratives are as much about

²⁴⁶ Matthee, *The Politics of Trade*; Takeda, *Iran and a French Empire of Trade*; Good, *The East India Company in Persia*.

France’s self-fashioning as they are about Persia. Through a gustatory lens, Tavernier’s accounts reveal the extent to which French identity in the early modern period was predicated on its engagement with the East—not merely as an exotic “Other” but as a reflective medium through which France could critique, align with, and ultimately define itself. In this interplay of admiration and critique, alignment and distinction, French self-perception is revealed to be deeply intertwined with its representations of Persia. The duality in these narratives—at once celebrating Persia’s grandeur and asserting French discernment—reflects the complexities of early modern cultural exchange, where the “Other” is both a partner and a foil. By situating France as both culturally attuned to and distinct from Persia, Tavernier’s writings underscore the ambivalence of cross-cultural encounters, illuminating how sensory subjectivities and courtly practices together shaped the performative construction of identity in a diplomatically entangled world.

A Spectacular Reception: Mohammed Témim's Mission in France

Mary Beth Allen

UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

I know, Madame, according to what you have said and if you were here, you would gladly have difficulty keeping yourself from making a declaration of love to the ambassador of Morocco. How could one not love a man who knew so well that which makes the King the greatest prince in the world? The praises from the mouth of a stranger cannot be suspicious when he only speaks so advantageously of someone other than his master, [the ambassador] must be constrained only by the truth. If I were to tell of all he said of His Majesty over a thousand meetings, I would send you thick volumes rather than a letter.²⁴⁷

In 1681, the Moroccan Sultan Mouley Ismaël sent his first ambassador, Hadj Mohammed Témim, to Louis XIV's palace in Versailles.²⁴⁸ In accounts of the ambassador's stay in France published in the *Mercure galant*, the Moroccan ambassador is reported to have heaped praises on the French monarch at every turn. The journal includes numerous elaborate citations of the ambassador's expressions of admiration each time he was entreated to a spectacle, invited to visit a site of interest, or received in an official ceremony, and the journal alludes to many other expressions of praise and gratitude, such as the above quote, apparently too copious to include in the journal. Such accolades—whether they were uttered by the ambassador or merely claimed to have been so—functioned as a performance to make Louis XIV *the greatest prince in the world*, acknowledged by princes near and far.

At the time of Témim's mission, France and Morocco were engaged in a long conflict of continuous rivalry that began long before their monarchs' respective reigns. This conflict extended beyond each kingdom's borders and was fought more broadly through corsair activity, also known as "privateering." This state-sanctioned piracy resulted in the enslavement of seafarers from both sides of the Mediterranean, and these captives were

²⁴⁷ *Mercure galant*, February 1682, 295–296. "Je vous sçay bon gré Madame, de ce que vous dites que si vous estiez icy, vous auriez peine à vous empescher de faire une déclaration d'amour à l'Ambassadeur de Maroc. Comment n'aimer pas un Homme qui si bien sceu connaistre ce qui rend le Roy le plus grand Prince du monde? Les loüanges, qui sortent de la bouche d'un etranger, ne peuvent estre suspectes, et quand il parle si avantageusement d'un autre que de son Maistre, il faut qu'il y soi contraint par la verité. Si je raportais tout ce qu'il a dit de Sa Majesté en mille rencontres, je vous enverrais de gros volumes et non une lettre."

²⁴⁸ This name is transliterated into French with various spellings, sometimes written "Hadj Mehemet Thummim".

the most significant source of concern and conflict between Morocco and France throughout the reigns of Mouley Ismaël and Louis XIV.

Behind the scenes, Temim's travels in France began inauspiciously, as Louis XIV quite nearly sent the Ambassador home before he even set foot in the country. In a letter dated 26 August 1681, the Secretary of State and of the Marine, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, wrote to Captain Lefebvre de la Barre admonishing him repeatedly on behalf of the King for having signed a "bizarre treaty" with the Moroccans that signified he had forgotten "the dignity of the King." This was primarily because the ceasefire to which he had apparently agreed would require the French to return more than 400 Moroccan captives for just ten or twelve Frenchmen. Colbert continued, writing

and His Majesty could not be more surprised that you believed yourself to have done something good in his service, in making a treaty with people whom you know to be faithless, by giving them one hundred and twenty men for ten or twelve. But this has absolutely decided his Majesty to order you to disembark with this ambassador, and return him to the place from whence you took him, and you are obliged to return all plunder since the signing of the treaty.²⁴⁹

In the same letter, Colbert insists that the King does not even want a treaty with the Moroccan king.²⁵⁰ Despite this, Témim and entourage were permitted to stay in France, and subsequently travel to meet the French monarch, due undoubtedly to the King having learned that the two ships taken by French vessels containing some 120 men taken off the coast of Portugal had indeed been delivered to the monarch's galleys in Marseille. Notably, among the new captives was one Manino, nephew of the Ambassador's companion and brother of the governor of Salé, El-Hadj Ali Manino. A month after his order to return the Ambassador to Morocco, the King instructed Lefebvre de la Barre to allow Témim to stay

²⁴⁹ Colbert, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 564–567. "Et, Sa Majesté ne peut assez s'étonner que vous avez cru faire une chose avantageuse à son service, en faisant un traité avec des gens que vous sçavez ester sans foy, en leur rendant six vingts hommes pour dix ou douze. Mais, ce qui a déterminé absolument Sa Majesté à vous donner l'ordre de remarquer cet ambassadeur, et le reporter au lieu où vous l'avez pris, est que vous vous estes obligé de rendre les prises qui avaient esté faites depuis la signature de ce traité."

²⁵⁰ *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 565. "Et, pour vous expliquer bien clairement les intentions de Sa Majesté sur ce pretend traité, elle m'ordonne de vous dire qu'elle ne veut point d'alliance particulière avec le roy de Maroc, et que si cet ambassadeur a quelque raison pour pretendre qu'on luy rende ces deux cens et tant d'homme d'equipage eschouez sur les costes de Portugal, Sa Majesté veut que vous le reportiez à l'instant mesme au lieu où vous l'avez pris."

in France and then travel to meet the ambassador on the condition that this envoy lay no claim to these 120 slaves.²⁵¹

Though Louis XIV had professed more interest in internal missives in *destroying the corsairs of Salé* than in forming a peace treaty with the king of Morocco, receiving an extraordinary embassy presented the French monarch with an enticing occasion to exhibit his cultural capital at court, within Europe, to the Moroccans, and beyond. To host this foreign dignitary would bestow honor on the king and kingdom, and present opportunities for both Moroccan and French parties to amplify their grandeur through participation in ceremonies, spectacles, and official and unofficial visits. Such performative politics would be visible to the courtiers present for these events and communicated to a more remote reading public through press coverage—most notably the *Mercure galant*—through networks of letter writers, and of course, to the Moroccan sultan upon the ambassador's return to Morocco.²⁵² To succeed, the host country would use these cultural displays of soft power to impress the foreign dignitary, who in turn should display his gratitude and even awe, while embodying the dignity of the crown he represents.

Long credited with coining the term "soft power" in a different political and geographical period and context, Joseph S. Nye asserts that this form of power is really "as old as human history," explaining that soft power is based on positive attraction and persuasion.²⁵³ Distinguished from economic and military power—carrots and sticks—soft power, he writes "is more like a magnet."²⁵⁴ This kind of power "harnesses the allure of culture and values to enhance a country's strength" such that another country chooses willingly to fulfill the desires of the country with soft power.²⁵⁵ While the king himself may

²⁵¹ *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 574–575.

²⁵² Rondot and Kisluk-Grosheide, *Visiteurs de Versailles*, 138.

²⁵³ Nye, "Soft Power," 196.

²⁵⁴ Nye, "Soft Power," 201.

²⁵⁵ Nye, "Soft Power," 202. I would, however, argue that military strength could in fact constitute one facet of soft power, only if that power does not directly threaten the country whose favor is sought. In early modern France, the tradition ideal the hero and of *gloire* was steeped in the images of force and strength (see: Morrissey, *The Economy of Glory*, 2014). While the direct threat of military violence cannot be considered as a form of soft power, military achievement (or the perception of military strength) could illicit admiration and further cultural pull through royal propaganda in the forms of art and literature that emphasize such power (such as paintings and statues of Louis XIV on horseback). This form of glory through military conquest can only form soft power inasmuch that it does not represent a threat to the admiring party. The Master of Ceremonies Nicolas de Saintot recorded in his memoirs that in his audience with the king, Témim said to His Majesty: "The emperor my master having heard of all the great deeds that your majesty has done in

present magnetic charm, soft power depends on a much more diffuse appeal of an entire society. Thus, in their reception of Mohammed Témim, the French Introducer of Ambassadors and other officials invested significant time in familiarizing the ambassador with French society. Their performative politics entailed allowing the ambassador to see and experience French cultural achievements as well as be seen enjoying them.

The French *revue Mercure galant* covered the Moroccan embassy to France from the ambassador's arrival in Brest in October 1681 until his departure from Paris in February 1682. The narrative in the *revue* was especially favorable, omitting any difficulties in negotiations and likely downplaying any misunderstanding or conflict that may have arisen, and notably never mentioning the French or Moroccan captives that would be freed along with the establishment of a peace treaty. Ellen Welch notes this publication's "hyperbolic" accounts of "exotic embassies" among other artifacts that point to "the French court's urgent desire to construct an image of France as an object of foreign admiration."²⁵⁶ In order for the foreign embassy to honor the French King, the embassy—and, first and foremost, the ambassador himself—must be honorable and worthy of praise. The authors of the *Mercurie galant* would have been thus inclined to express a most sympathetic portrayal of the ambassador's stay in France. Dispelling potential prejudices of the readership, the journalist, most likely Donneau de Visé, writes,

it would seem that a man coming from a savage country, and where wars have been continually waged for forty years, should be nothing himself but ferocious. However, if he had always stayed in the most polite court, El Hadj Mohamed Témim could not have had more refined manners or be of a more delicate nature.²⁵⁷

Europe, such as having at the head of his armies conquered Kingdoms, won a large number of battles and like a Lion vanquished all his enemies carrying throughout all terror and fear through all kinds of dangers; all his great actions have given so much admiration and esteem to the Emperor my master..." Saintot, *Cérémonies du règne de Louis XIV*, 215: "L'Empereur mon maistre ayant entendu parler de toutes les grandes actions que votre majesté a fait dans l'Europe, comme d'avoir à la tête de ses armées conquis des Royaumes, gagné un grand nombre de batailles et comme un Lion vaincu tous ses ennemis portant par tout la terreur et l'effroy au travers de toutes sortes de dangers; toutes ses grandes actions ont tant donnée d'admiration et d'estime à l'Empereur mon maistre..." In lauding Louis XIV for his heroism, bravery, and prowess in war, the ambassador flatters the King for his grand reputation, his *renommée*, his glory earned on battlefields in Europe. This engagement with the notion of the King's *gloire* represents only a source of admiration, not threat.

²⁵⁶ Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy*, 183.

²⁵⁷ *Mercurie galant*, January 1682, 305. "Il semble qu'un homme qui vient d'un pays sauvage, et où la guerre n'a point cessé depuis quarante ans, ne doive avoir rien que de farouche. Cependant quand il aurait toujours demeuré dans la cour la plus polie, El Hadj Mohamed Témim n'aurait pas les manières plus honnêtes, ni l'esprit plus délicat."

This is not to say that the ambassador did not in fact impress the French with his refined taste, manners, and noble qualities which may well have surprised the journalists and courtiers who had expected to meet a *savage of Barbary*. For instance, none of the internal communications pertaining to this ambassadorship (of which we have a record) would suggest that any of the ambassador's behavior was ever deemed offensive or impolite. Neither do other texts of the period on this embassy contradict the account provided in the *Mercure galant*. We simply want to acknowledge that this journal (which serves as an important source of information about Temim's embassy) played a performative role in seventeenth-century society and thus may have provided its readership with a somewhat exaggerated or embellished version of events in the ultimate interest of shaping events to honor and glorify Louis XIV. After all, it would be beneath the dignity of the king to receive an ignoble emissary and even embarrassing to honor an undeserving envoy with the honors of a court reception.²⁵⁸ In Deborah Steinberger's study of the *Mercure galant*, she writes of the journal's "tendency to blur the lines between truth and fiction," underscoring the publication's practice of "pro-Louis propaganda" and inclusion of some fictional stories, "disguised as authentic current events," to entertain readers as well as serve Louis XIV's interests, noting that the founder and principal writer, Donneau de Visé received a "series of generous pensions" from the king, including one payment of six thousand livres in 1684.²⁵⁹ While the essential facts of the ambassador's visit are not in dispute, such as places he visited and people he met, we cannot corroborate the ambassador's statements as quoted in the *Mercure galant*.

²⁵⁸ In 1669, more than ten years before Témim's embassy, Louis XIV was disgraced over a diplomatic incident in which the king bestowed the honors due to an ambassador on a simple envoy. The emissary, Soliman Aga, had been sent by the Sultan Mehmet IV, and he demanded an audience with the king so that he might present a letter from Mehmet IV, that he had supposedly been charged to give only to the king. Aga refused to show the proper plenipotentiary credentials and, as it turned out, he had no such credentials and was not a true ambassador. In order not to risk offending the sultan and sending away a true ambassador, Louis XIV conceded and received Soliman Aga as if he were an ambassador with an official audience. Louis XIV was humiliated to have presented himself before a simple messenger in an official audience, decked in diamonds. Sending an ordinary messenger for an official audience in a king's court constituted a crisis of diplomatic ceremonial. To reassert his grandeur after this forced breach in protocol, Louis XIV responded by commissioning Lully and Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*. For a developed account of this diplomatic episode, see: Dyk, "The Embassy of Soliman Aga to Louis XIV."

²⁵⁹ Steinberger, "'Fake News' in Seventeenth-Century France."

While maintaining a degree of skepticism regarding the accuracy of reports of Mohammed Témim's embassy in the *Mercure galant*, especially of quotes by the ambassador, we should not dismiss this journal outright as a key source of information on the embassy, in part because the *Mercure galant* was not merely a source of propaganda and did actually report real news; further, in no way does the journal contradict other sources on Témim's stay. Moreover, it is entirely plausible that the ambassador would seek to praise Louis XIV. To successfully lead his mission, Témim needed to cultivate ties with his French hosts and demonstrate the friendship the sultan wished to establish between Morocco and France. It should not have surprised contemporary readers that Témim's displays of amity were continuous throughout his stay and even began long before official audiences with the king. Each brief sojourn would seem to have offered the ambassador occasions to charm his hosts, and Témim and his suite effectively garnered attention all along the route to the capital. As reported in the *Mercure galant*, the ambassador was deemed especially amiable with ladies:

He began to show his gallantry during a ball that Mme de Seuil, intendent of Brest, hosted for him. He then traveled to Paris by the cities of Vennes, Nantes, Angers, Blois and others and everywhere he was celebrated with a ball where the most exquisite women gathered. In all of these cities, he chose a *queen of Morocco* and *ambadress*, saying that news of the beautiful women of France had created such a stir in his country that the sultan his master had sent him to ask for one.²⁶⁰ Each day, one heard new stories of his gallantry, which made him cherish women. [...] One very witty woman blamed him for the infidelity of men in his country, who took such a great number of women [to which he replied]: *If our women were like you, we would never take more than one.* Everywhere he went, the Ambassador condemned the dowry practices, saying that to those prettiest, he would give millions to marry her.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ There are no further records during Mohammed Témim's embassy in France suggesting that the ambassador sought to return with a French bride or concubine for Mouley Ismaël. However, a later Moroccan ambassador, Abdellah ben Aïcha, would request the hand of Princess Marie-Anne Boubon de Conti, a daughter of Louis XIV, after his mission to France in 1698–1699. See Hermes and Allen, "A Tale of Two Sultans."

²⁶¹ *Mercure galant*, January 1682, 305–308. "*Il commença à faire paraître sa galanterie dans un bal que lui donna Mme de Seuil, intendante de Brest, et il est ensuite venu à Paris par les villes de Vennes, Nantes, Angers, Blois et autres; et partout, on l'a régale d'un bal où les dames les mieux faites se sont trouvées. Dans toutes ces villes, il a choisi une reine de Maroc et une ambassadrice, disant que la beauté des dames de France avait fait tant de bruit dans son pays que le sultan son maître l'envoyait en ambassade pour en demander une. On a tous les jours, entendu de lui des galanteries nouvelles qui l'ont fait chérir à l'envi tout le beau sexe... Une autre dame fort spirituelle blâmant l'inconstance de ceux de son pays, qui prenaient un si grand nombre de femmes: Si elles étaient faites comme vous, dit-il nous n'en prendrions jamais qu'une. Partout où il s'est trouvé, il a condamné l'usage de doter les filles pour les marier, disant à la plus jolie qu'il donnerait des millions pour l'épouser.*"

Témim's efforts to charm French women would likely have formed part of the ambassador's overall strategy for negotiations. François Callières, who himself served as an ambassador for Louis XIV, described the necessary qualities of ambassadors in his work, *On the Manner of Negotiating with Sovereigns*, first published shortly after Louis XIV's death. Callières emphasized that, among other qualities and behaviors, the negotiator must "make women favorable to him by paying attention to that which pleases them, and to make himself worthy of their esteem, [because] often the most important decisions on which events are decided depends on the power of their charms," but Callières cautions "in succeeding to please them with his magnificence, his polite manners and even his gallantry, he should not engage his heart."²⁶²

The ambassador's official business included his first "audience" with the king on 4 January 1682. At this time, the king received the ambassador, ceremonially initiating the embassy. During this reception, the ambassador made a "profound bow," followed by a brief speech on his mission to establish peace between the countries (in Arabic, and interpreted by sieur Pierre Dipy d'Alep, the king's royal interpreter), and then presented the King with two letters from Mouley Ismaël.²⁶³ Whereas in French accounts, the ambassador

²⁶² Callières, *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains*, 26. "Si l'usage du pays où il se trouve lui donne un libre commerce avec les Dames; il ne doit pas négliger de se les rendre favorables en s'attachant à leur plaisir et à se rendre digne de leur estime, le pouvoir de leurs charmes s'étend souvent jusqu'à contribuer aux résolutions les plus importantes d'où dependent les plus grands événements; mais en réussissant à leur plaire par sa magnificence, par sa politesse et même par sa galanterie, qu'il n'engage pas son cœur; il doit se souvenir que l'amour est d'ordinaire accompagné de l'indiscretion et de l'imprudence, et que dès qu'il se laisse assujettir aux volontés d'une belle femmes, quelque sage qu'il soit, il court risque de n'être plus le maître de son secret..."

²⁶³ Témim carried two letters from Mouley Ismaël, dated 4–13 and 15 September 1681, both of which were translated by monsieur Pierre Dipy. In the first letter, the Moroccan king explains that Omar Ben Haddou, governor of maritime cities and ports, had begun to make peace with one of Louis XIV's sea captains (Lefebvre de la Barre), and that Ben Haddou had shared a letter with him (Mouley Ismaël) apparently from Louis XIV. However, the Moroccan king doubted the authenticity of the letter, which, unlike the letter he had received from the English king, wrapped in silk and delivered by people of "quality and condition," the letter from Louis XIV had arrived alone, despite the French king being above other kings in honor and strength. To discover the true intentions of the French, Mouley Ismaël explains, he sends this ambassador, offering to grant all the king's wishes. In the second letter, Mouley Ismaël encourages Louis XIV to convert to Islam, telling him to consider it: "c'est à vous à y songer". The sultan also inquires as to whether the Louis XIV might possess a letter from the Prophet Muhammed to Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor (610–641). *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 567–573.

demonstrated utmost respect for his hosts, the French showed restraint in their reception: upon his arrival in Paris, he was treated *not* as would have been an ambassador from Europe but only "equally to an envoy of a European prince"; on the day of his audience, Louis XIV merely "removed his hat without standing," and in his meeting with Charles Colbert, marquis de Croissy (brother of Jean-Baptiste Colbert), and the Secretary of State and of the Marine, marquis de Seignelay, weeks later, "neither minister gave him their hand."²⁶⁴ All of these ceremonial details carried great significance in the court society, but it is unclear as to whether or not Mohammed Témim would have been aware of some of the subtle differences in behavior—distinctions that would have been more clear to European diplomats who engaged in more frequent diplomatic encounters.²⁶⁵

Notwithstanding the important work of forming a peace treaty between the warring parties, the ambassador was invited to spend most of his time visiting the splendors of the French capital, wherein each outing presented the French with occasions to impress, and the ambassador with opportunities to show his pleasure and astonishment. As Ellen Welch has explained, "the French court often created opportunities for foreign diplomats to perform their recognition of their hosts' worldly stature beyond the confines of official ceremony, in public and semipublic venues where visitors could affirm French cultural achievements."²⁶⁶ After his arrival in the capital, the visits began with the fountains of the Saint Cloud palace and the Notre Dame de Paris cathedral, where he was shown the organ, the tapestries, and taken up to towers for a view of the city. The ambassador is said to have remarked that "there are three cities, one on top of another, due to the height of the houses."²⁶⁷ He was taken to see the observatory where he viewed globes, figures with the moon and other planets, and pendulums. He was invited to see many paintings and books, including a great number in Arabic, at the Louvre palace, followed by more tapestries at the Gobelins factory. The ambassador expressed much admiration for the musketeers during his visit to their training sessions, after his visit to the Invalides palace, and said that this "was the true testament to the King's grandeur, and that all kings of the

²⁶⁴ The King "*se decouvrit sans se lever... Ni l'un ni l'autre de ces ministers luy donnerent la main.*" *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 633–634.

²⁶⁵ Sternberg, *Status Interaction during the Reign of Louis XIV*.

²⁶⁶ Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy*, 174.

²⁶⁷ *Mercure galant*, January 1682, 322. "*Il monta sur les Tours, d'où il admira Paris, et dit qu'il y avait trois villes l'un sur l'autre, à cause de la hauteur des maison.*"

world should come to learn from His Majesty the art of governance.”²⁶⁸ At Versailles, he was surprised by the beauty of the apartments, the silver, the fountains, and the statues. Among other locations, the ambassador was shown the library of the Collège des Quatre Nations, the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, Chartreux, the Sorbonne, and when he visited the Arabic printing press, the ambassador and his companions each received an impression of their names. Each of these visits was described in the *Mercure galant*, and the ambassador’s statements in response to each visit, and most notably his “surprise,” were frequently quoted in the revue. Younès Nékrouf noted that the ambassador was also granted a carriage at his disposal, reasoning that the ample program of visits and distractions most assuredly figured into an overarching strategy to soften and make the ambassador more malleable.²⁶⁹

In addition to the many visits highlighting French achievements in architecture, sciences, art, and crafts, Témim and his suite attended multiple performance arts productions, including two operas composed by Jean-Baptiste Lully, the royal family’s official master musician: *Atys* and *Prosérpine*. The former he saw twice, and the latter just before his departure, because “Lully wanted to leave him with a grand idea of the divertissements in France.”²⁷⁰ When the ambassador watched the *Triomphe de l’Amour* at the Royal Academy of Music, he and his companions were said to be so surprised that “one of them did not want to look at what was happening on the stage, saying that there was magic involved.”²⁷¹ While foreign dignitaries from Europe were frequently invited to performing arts productions, this practice was not common for diplomats from Asia and Africa until the beginning in the 1680s.²⁷² Ellen Welch writes convincingly that performance arts were not universally esteemed but rather rooted in cultural specificity and long-held traditions, not necessarily appreciated by or comprehensible to foreign audiences. While the Moroccan ambassador and most of his companions apparently very much enjoyed the French performing arts, this was not the case with some subsequent emissaries, like the

²⁶⁸ *Mercure galant*, January 1682, 332–333. “Pour les Invalides, répondit Mr de Rémondis, il s’y est promené plus de trois heures, disant que c’était là le véritable marque de la grandeur du Roy; qu’il fallait que tous les Roys du monde vinssent apprendre de Vostre Majesté l’art de gouverner les Royaumes.”

²⁶⁹ Nékrouf, *Une Amitié orageuse*, 88.

²⁷⁰ *Mercure galant*, February 1682, 331. “Mr de Lully voulut luy laisser en partant une grande idée des divertissements de France.”

²⁷¹ *Mercure galant*, January 1682, 321. “Ce spectacle étonna si fort tous ceux de sa suite, que l’un d’entre’eux ne voulait point regarder ce qui se passait sur le theatre, disant qu’il y avait de la magie.”

²⁷² Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy*, 159.

Siamese Embassy of 1684–1685 (to follow European usage), whose attendance at one performance "nearly caused a diplomatic incident."²⁷³

Témim attended three public performances at the *Comédie Italienne*, where the *Mercure galant* reported that the ambassador "had such a wonderful time," noting that the actors are excellent and that the ambassador understands the language.²⁷⁴ The publication included an engraving by Antoine Trouvain, copied from a drawing by Antoine Coypel, of the Moroccan ambassador and his entourage in their theatre box relishing the performance. The image is composed of six figures; from the left, Raymondis faces his Moroccan guests, Témim, and the governor of Salé (Manino) appears with his gaze fixed on the performance, while the other three Moroccans are portrayed glancing in different directions, as if taking in the sights of the larger spectacle, including the theatre and the audience itself at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. The journalist explains, in a common style for the *Mercure galant*, as if writing to a dear friend, "a very talented man and friend of mine drew for [the ambassador] and those of his entourage, his first visit to the *Comédie Italienne*], graced me with the gift of their portraits. I'm sending them to you."²⁷⁵ After receiving the drawing from Coypel, the founder and director of the *Mercure galant*, Jean Donneau de Visé,²⁷⁶ must have hurried to have the image engraved for the upcoming edition of his review. Barbara Selmecci Castioni describes elements which suggest that Trouvain's engraving was made in haste, like the change of orientation from the original drawing, the omission of the Ambassadors' right hand, and the sparseness of the theatre box.²⁷⁷ The journalist continues,

you will be persuaded of their resemblance when I tell you that they were drawn by the same [artist] who drew la Voisin, whose likeness he captured so well, despite having seen her only in

²⁷³ Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy*, 175.

²⁷⁴ *Mercure galant*, February 1682, 322. "Il s'est extrêmement diverty à la Comedie Italienne, qu'il a veu trois fois."

²⁷⁵ *Mercure galant*, February 1682, 322–323. "Un très-habile homme de mes amis, ayant dessiné pour son plaisir, luy, et tous ceux de sa suite, la premiere fois qu'il alla à la Comédie, m'a fait la grace de me donner leurs portraits. Je vous les envoie."

²⁷⁶ Jean Donneau de Visé also held an official royal position in charge of furniture for the king, foreign princes, and extraordinary ambassadors, as "Garde-meubles de la Maison du Roi, des Princes étrangers et Ambassadeurs extraordinaires."

²⁷⁷ Castioni, "De la loge de l'ambassadeur à l'éloge paradoxal," 168.

the moment that she was taken to Notre Dame. The force of his ingeniousness cannot be expressed.²⁷⁸

He then decodes the image, noting the likeness of the representation to reality:

The one marked 1 is the ambassador. The other marked 2 is the governor of Salé [Manino]. I did not think it necessary to number the others. I will only tell you that the Frenchman is Mr. Raymondis, who took care to accompany them. One neglected to make him resemble [Raymondis], so as to focus more on the others. They are all placed as they were in their box, and with the same attitudes.²⁷⁹

Antoine Coypel memorialized Temim's visit to a performance at the *Comédie Italienne* first with his drawing, and then in a painting (based on his own original drawing). The painting reestablished the original orientation of the image and includes the ambassador's hand that was omitted in the engraving. The painting more successfully portrays the ambassador and the governor of Salé's astonishment at the performance. Both appear wide-eyed, and while the ambassador seems to lean back in astonishment, Manino cranes his head forward for the best view. In the painting, these two figures—nearly blended together under the ambassador's white cloth—take up most of the foreground while the other four figures are relegated to the background.

The *Mercure galant* issues in January and February of 1682 dedicate copious pages to coverage of the Moroccan ambassador's stay in France, foregrounding the spectacle of this "exotic" embassy. However, it only mentions the treaty negotiations cursorily and, throughout the narrative, the *revue* does not even once raise the question of what might be gained or lost for France if the parties were to agree to a peace treaty. The *revue* contains only one reference to the treaty signed a peace agreement on 29 January 1682 at Saint-Germain-en-Laye:

²⁷⁸ *Mercure galant*, February 1682, 323. "Vous serez persuadée de leur ressemblance, quand vous aurez sçeu qu'ils ont esté dessines par le mesme qui me donna le portrait de la Voisin, qu'il fit si bien ressembler, quoy qu'il ne l'est veuë que dans le moment qu'on la conduisait à N. Dame. La vivacité de son génie ne peut s'exprimer." Catherine Deshayes, known as "la Voisin," was implicated in the Affair of the Poisons, and executed for crimes and so-called witchcraft in 1680.

²⁷⁹ *Mercure galant*, February 1682, 324. "Celuy qui est marqué 1, est l'ambassadeur. L'autre marqué 2, est le Gouverneur de Salé. Je n'ay pas crû nécessaire de chiffrer les autres. Je vous diray seulement que le Français est Mr de Rémondis, qui a eu le soin de leur conduite. On a negligé de le faire ressembler, pour s'attacher davantage aux autres. Ils sont tous places comme ils l'estaient dans la loge, et avec les mesmes attitudes."

[The ambassador] said to the king that all of the great things he had heard of His Majesty and his country, were infinitely lesser than that which he had seen since his arrival in France; and that he would return glorious for having obtained such an advantageous peace agreement for his [own] king and master.²⁸⁰

Certainly, however, Donneau de Visé and other writers for this *revue* were aware of the captives held in both countries. In an earlier August 1681 issue, one journalist writes of a "great number of [French] slaves, badly mistreated, at risk of denying their faith if left for much longer in the horrible state in which they find themselves."²⁸¹ However, the *revue* makes no celebration of a treaty that promised their imminent return to France. The attention paid to spectacle, combined with a dearth of information on the actual peace negotiations or treaty, points to the importance of glory as emanating *not* through the achievement peace but through homage paid to the king, a recognition from princes near and far and, thus, universal recognition of the greatness of Louis XIV, his court, and kingdom.

Having signed a peace treaty, including an agreement for the exchange of captives, and having ostensibly flattered King Louis XIV and his country incessantly since his arrival, Témim's departure would seemingly come after a very successful stay in France. Even after his official ceremony of departure, Témim is reported to have continued to compliment the king: "His Majesty having asked Mr. Raymondis if the ambassador was content, his response was that he said he had cried when he learned he should come to France, and he would cry even more in leaving."²⁸² When asked again by Louis XIV what the ambassador thought of Paris,

Mr. Raymondis answered that he despaired to think that [Moroccans] wouldn't believe him, but he couldn't fault them because he himself would not have believed what he would see even if a

²⁸⁰ *Gazette de France*, January 1682, 106. "Il dit au Roy que toutes les grandes choses qu'il avait entendu dire de Sa Majesté en son païs, étaient infiniment au dessous de ce qu'il avait vû depuis qu'il estait en France: et qu'il s'en retournait bien Glorieux d'avoir pû obentir de Sa Majesté une Paix si avantageuse au Roy son Maistre."

²⁸¹ *Mercure galant*, August 1681, 323–324. "villes de Fez, Maroc, Salé et Tetouan, un très-grand-nombre d'esclaves fort maltraitez et en danger de renier leur foy, si on les laisse longtemps dans le malheureux état où ils se trouvent."

²⁸² *Mercure galant*, February 1682, 330–331. "Sa Majesté ayant demandé à M. Remondis si l'Ambassadeur estait content, sa reponce fut qu'il luy avait dit qu'il avait pleuré, lorsqu'il apprit qu'il devait venir en France; mais qu'il pleurerait beaucoup davantage en la quittant."

thousand people had told him it was the truth, and he had a book in which he wrote everything he saw, and which he called "The Book of Miracles."²⁸³

The ambassador's eloquent praise of the king and of France persuaded his interlocuters not only of his earnestness but also his brilliance, defying apparent expectations. The journalist of the *Mercure galant* wrote,

I would go too far if I were to relate all the things he says every day to an infinite number of people of the first quality who come to him, and who do not understand how a Moor can have such a brilliant mind, and so gallant.²⁸⁴

Ambassador Témim's embassy seemed truly successful in all respects. However, just as Louis XIV had essentially ignored Lefebvre de la Barre's agreement with the Moroccans, the Sultan Mouley Ismaël would refuse to ratify the 1682 Saint-Germain-en-Laye treaty that would not necessarily have guaranteed the Moroccans' power to recuperate all of their own compatriots held captive in France.²⁸⁵ While the performative aspects of the embassy succeeded remarkably, enriching an image of Louis XIV as the greatest prince in the world, fundamental differences between the two countries remained after Témim's spectacular reception in France. Louis XIV and Mouley Ismaël would continue in their reigns to send and receive ambassadors, but peace would not be established until later in the following century.

²⁸³ *Mercure galant*, February 1682, 331–332. "Sa Majesté demanda encore ce qu'il disait de Paris; à quoi le mesme M. de Resmondis repondit qu'il estait au desespoir de ce qu'on ne le croirait pas chez luy, et qu'il ne pourrait le trouver mauvais, puisque luy-meme n'aurait pas cru tout ce qu'on luy avait fait voir quand mille personnes en auraient voulu soutenir la verité; qu'il avait un livre où il ecrivait tout ce qu'il voyait, et qu'il l'appellait le 'Livre des Miracles.'"

²⁸⁴ *Mercure galant*, February 1682, 335. "J'irais trop loin, si je rapportais toutes les choses qu'il dit tous les jours à une infinité de gens de la première qualité qui viennent chez luy, et qui ne comprennent pas comment un More peut avoir l'esprit si bien tourné et si galant."

²⁸⁵ For more on the failure to ratify the treaty, and Ambassador Saint-Amans' travels to Morocco following Temim's embassy for the purpose of ratifying the treaty, see Penz, *Les captifs français du Maroc au XVIIe siècle*, 111–124.



Figure 1. Antoine Trouvain, d'après, *L'Ambassadeur du Maroc à la Comédie-Italienne*, February 1682, etching and ??, 19 x 15 cm. Château de Versailles, inv. grav. 238.



Figure 2. Antoine Coypel, *Mohamed Temim, ambassadeur du sultan du Maroc assistant à un spectacle dans une loge de la Comédie-Italienne à Paris*, c. 1682, oil on wood, 28 x 21.5 cm. Château de Versailles, MV 5487.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Adv. MS 29.27, vol.7. The Balcarres Papers, National Library of Scotland.

Arber, Edward, ed. *The Maner of the Triumphe at Caley and Bulleyn printed by Wynken de Worde. An English Garner: Tudor Tracts 1532–1588*. Westminster: repr. Archibald Constable, 1903.

Bergenroth, G. A., et al., eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*. 13 vols. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1862–1964.

Bonnefons, Nicolas de. *Les délices de la campagnes, suite du jardinier François*. Paris: Charles de Sercy, 1679.

Brewer, John, J. Gairdner, and R.H. Brodie, eds. *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547*. 21 vols and addenda. London, 1862–1932.

British Library, Royal MS 15 B XIII.

Brown, Rowland, C. Bentinck, and H. Brown, eds. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice etc*. 9 vols. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1864–1898.

Calendar of State Papers Relating To English Affairs in the Archives of Venice (CSP Venice). British History Online.

Calderwood, David, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. 4. Edited by Rev. Thomas Thomson. Wodrow Society, 1843.

Calderwood, David, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. 5. Edited by Rev. Thomas Thomson. Wodrow Society, 1844.

Callières, François. *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains. De l'utilité des négociations, du choix des ambassadeurs et des envoyés, et des qualités nécessaires pour réussir dans ces emplois*. Amsterdam, 1716.

Casaubon, Isaac. Isaac Casaubon to Andrew Melville, Paris, 13th September 1601. In *Isaac Casauboni Epistolae*, edited by T.J. van Almeloveen. Rotterdam, 1709.

Chardin, Jean. *Voyage du Chevalier Chardin, de Paris à Ispahan. Description générale de la Perse*, vol. 3. Paris, 1811.

- Croix, François Pétis de la. *The Persian and Turkish Tales Compleat*, vol. 1. Translated by William King. London, 1739.
- Diderot, Denis. *Les Bijoux indiscrets*. Vol. 2. Paris, 1748.
- Dolce, Lodovico. *Dialogo dei Colori*. Lanciano: Carabba, 1913.
- Donneau de Vizé, Jean, ed. *Le Mercure galant*, January–February 1682. Paris, 1682.
- Guicciardini, Francesco. *The History of Italy*, 1571. Translated and edited by Sidney Alexander. Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Froissart, Jean. *Chronicles*. Translated by Geoffrey Brereton. Penguin Books, 1968.
- Hall, Edward. *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of York and Lancastre*. Edited by Henry Ellis. London, 1809.
- James VI. "Basilicon Doron." In *King James VI and I: Selected Writings*, edited by Neil Rhodes and Jennifer Richard. Routledge, 2003.
- Journal des Demoiselles*. Paris, 1837.
- Lalanne, Ludovic. *Dictionnaire historique de la France... l'histoire civile, politique et littéraire ... l'histoire militaire ... l'histoire religieuse ... la géographie historique*. Paris, 1877.
- Lecoq, Anne-Marie. "Une fête italienne à la Bastille en 1518." In "*Il se rendit en Italie*": *Etudes offertes à André Chastel*. Edited by Giuliano Briganti. Edizione dell'Elefante, 1987.
- Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*. Edited by L^t-Colonel H. de Castries. Deuxième série, *Dynastie Filalienne*, Tome 1. Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1922.
- Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII* (L&P). British History Online.
- "Letter from David Anderson concerning Patrick Adamson." 20 November 1590. msBX4705.A4A6, University of St Andrews Special Collections.
- "L. S. R." *L'art de bien traiter divisé en trois parties: ouvrage nouveau, curieux, et fort galant, utile a toutes personnes, et conditions*. Paris, 1674.
- Mans, Raphaël du. *Estat de la Perse en 1660*. Paris, 1890.
- Massialot, François. *Le Cuisinier Royal et Bourgeois, Qui apprend à ordonner toute sorte de Repas, & la meilleure manière des Ragoûts les plus à la mode & les plus exquis. Ouvrage tres-utile*

dans les Familles, [et] singulièrement nécessaire à tous Mûrres à Hôtels, [et] Ecüiters de Cuisine. Paris, 1693.

Melville, James, *Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill*. Edited by Robert Pitcairn. Edinburgh, 1842.

Melville, Andrew. Andrew Melville to Alexander Arbuthnot, 4th September 1579. Wodrow MSS fol. 42 No. 3. National Library of Scotland.

Melville, Andrew. Andrew Melville to Theodore Beza, 1st October 1578. Wodrow MSS fol. 152, No. 3. National Library of Scotland.

Montesquieu, Charles de. *Lettres persanes*. Paris: L. De Bure, 1721.

National Archives, London: SP 92/4, 92/5.

National Archives, SP 69/1, 69/6.

National Archives, Kew. TNA SP1/19, 20.

Penz, Charles. *Les captifs français du Maroc au XVIIe siècle: (1577-1699)*. Imprimerie officielle, 1944.

Plutarch. *Vitae comparatae illustrium Virorum, Graecorum & Romanorum, ita digestae ut temporum ordo series que constet*. Translated by Herman Crusier. Thomas Guarin, 1564.

Rymer, Thomas, ed. *Foedera, conventiones, literae et cuiuscunque generis acta publica*. 20 vols. The Hague, 1727-1735.

Saintot, Nicolas de. *Cérémonies du règne de Louis XIV, recueil formé, au moins en partie, d'après le Journal de Mr DE SAINTOT (1666-1671 et 1682-1691)*. MS Français 16633, p. 214. Bibliothèque nationale de France.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9061881g>.

SP 1, State Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII: General 1509-1547. State Papers Online.

Statutes of the Realm: Printed by the Command of His Majesty King George III, Volume 3. London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, reprinted 1963.

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste. *Les Six Voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Chevalier Baron d'Aubonne, qu'il fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*. Paris, 1676.

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste. *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier, A Noble Man of France now living, through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies, Finished in the Year 1670, Giving an Account of the State of those Countries*. Translated by J. P. [John Phillips]. London, 1678.

Turnbull, William B., ed. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, Queen Mary 1553–1558*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1861.

Vandam, Albert Dresden. *An Englishman in Paris*. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1893.

Voltaire. *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*. Edited by Charles Palissot de Montenoy. Paris: Stoupe, 1792.

Secondary Sources

Adams, Robyn, and Rosanna Cox. *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Alexander, Amir. *The Liberty's Grid: A Founding Father, a Mathematical Dreamland, and the Shaping of America*. University of Chicago Press, 2024.

Anglo, Sydney. *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*. Yale University Press, 2000.

Arel, Maria Salomon. "Hospitality in the Hands of the Muscovite Tsar: The Welcoming of Foreign Envoys in Early Modern Russia." *The Court Historian* 21 (2016): 23–43.

Austin, Kenneth. "Academic Exchanges: Letters, the Reformation and Scholarly Self-Fashioning." In *Scholarly Self-fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University*, edited by R. Kirwan. Routledge, 2016.

Bachmann-Medick, Doris. *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture*. Translated by Adam Blauhut. De Gruyter, 2016.

Beer, Michelle. "Between Kings and Emperors: Catherine of Aragon as Counsellor and Mediator." In *Queenship and Counsel in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Helen Matheson-Pollock, Joanne Paul, and Catherine Fletcher. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Berti, Michela. "Europe in Rome/Rome in Europe: Diplomacy as a Network of Cultural Exchanges." In *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage*, edited by Frédéric Ramel and Cécile Prévost-Thomas. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

- Best, Antony. "The 'Cultural Turn' and the International History of East Asia: A Response to David Reynolds." *Cultural and Social History* 3, no. 4 (2006): 482–489.
- Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge, 2004.
- Biedermann, Zoltan, Anne Gerritsen, and Giorgio Riello, eds. *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*. Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Biederman, Zoltán, Anne Gerritsen, and Giorgio Riello. "Introduction: Global Gifts and the Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia." In Biedermann et al., *Global Gifts*.
- Biow, Douglas. *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy*. University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Bouquet-Boyer, Marie-Thérèse. "Musical Enigmas in Ballet at the Court of Savoy." Translated by Margaret M. McGowan. *Dance Research* 4, no. 1 (1986): 29–44.
- Blunk, Catherine. "Between Sport and Theatre: How Spectacular was the *Pas d'armes*?" In *The Medieval Tournament as Spectacle: Tourneys, Jousts and Pas d'armes, 1100–1600*, edited by Alan Murray and Karen Watts. Boydell Press, 2020.
- Brandi, Karl. *The Emperor Charles V*. Jonathan Cape, 1966.
- Butler, Judith. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 519–531.
- Butler, Katherine. *Music in Elizabethan Court Politics*. Boydell & Brewer Press, 2015.
- Caley, James. "Two papers relating to the interview between Henry the Eighth of England and Francis the First of France." *Archaeologia* 21 (1827): 175–191.
- Cameron, James. "St Mary's College 1547–1574: The Second Foundation." In *In Divers Manners: A St Mary's Miscellany*, edited by D. W. D. Shaw. St Mary's College; St Andrews, 1990.
- Castioni, Barbara Selmecì. "De la loge de l'ambassadeur à l'éloge paradoxal: Naissance de la critique dramatique illustrée dans le *Mercure galant* (1682)." *Littératures Classiques* 89 (2016): 159–172.
- Cevizli, Antonia. "Portraits, Turbans and Cuirasses." In Biedermann et al., *Global Gifts*.
- Classen, Constance. *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch*. University of Illinois Press, 2012.

Colvin, Howard M. *The History of the King's Works*. 6 vols. Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975.

Connell, Raewyn W. *Masculinities*. 2nd edition. Routledge, 2020.

Cooper, Frederick, and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. University of California Press, 1997.

Cox Jensen, Freyja. "After Peter Burke: The Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450–1600." *The Historical Journal* 61 (2018): 561–595.

Cox Jensen, Freyja. *Reading the Roman Republic in Early Modern England*. Brill, 2012.

Cox-Rearick, Janet. "Power-Dressing at the Courts of Cosimo de' Medici and François I: The 'Moda alla spagnola' of Spanish Consorts Eléonore d'Autriche and Eleonora de Toledo." *Artibus et Historiae* 30, no. 60 (2009): 39–69.

Craigwood, Joanna, and Tracey A. Sowerby, eds. "English Diplomatic Relations and Literary Culture in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Special issue, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 82, no. 4 (2019): 491–517.

Currie, Elizabeth. *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence*. Bloomsbury, 2016.

Currin, John M. "'Pro Expensis Ambassatorum': Diplomacy and Financial Administration in the Reign of Henry VII." *The English Historical Review* 108, no. 428 (1993): 589–609.

Curzon, George Nathaniel. *Persia and the Persian Question*. Vol. 2. Cambridge University Press, 1892.

Davis, Jennifer J. *Defining Culinary Authority: The Transformation of Cooking*. Louisiana University Press, 2013.

Diehl, Paula, and Michael Saward, eds. *Bodies, Spaces, Claims: The Theory and Practice of Performing Political Representation*. Oxford University Press, 2024.

Driver, Martha. "There and Back Again: Manuscripts after Printing." In *Middle English Manuscripts and Their Legacies: A Volume in Honour of Ian Doyle*, edited by Corinne Saunders and Richard Lawrie with Laurie Atkinson. Brill, 2022.

Dunn, John P. ed. *Cooking Through History: A Worldwide Encyclopaedia of Food with Menus and Recipes*. ABC-CLIO, 2020.

Dyk, Garritt Van. "The Embassy of Soliman Aga to Louis XIV: Diplomacy, Dress and Diamonds." *emaj* 9, no. 1 (2017): 1–19.

- Emanuele, Marco. *Commedie in musica, pastorali, e piscatorie alle corte dei Savoia 1600–1630*. Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2000.
- Evangelisti, Silvia. "Monastic Poverty and Material Culture in Early Modern Italian Convents." *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 1 (2004): 1–20.
- Falcucci, Beatrice, Davide Trentacoste, and Emanuele Giusti, eds. *Rereading Travellers to the East: Shaping Identities and Building the Nation in Post-unification Italy*. Firenze University Press, 2022.
- Ferguson, Priscilla Parkhurst. *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine*. University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Fieni, David. *Decadent Orientalisms: The Decay of Colonial Modernity*. Fordham University Press, 2020.
- Finney, Patrick. "The Diplomatic Temptation." *Cultural and Social History* 3, no. 4 (2006): 472–481.
- Fisher, Celia. "The Queen and the Artichoke, A Study of the Portraits of Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon." *The British Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (2002): 20–27.
- Foyster, Elizabeth. *Manhood in Early Modern England, Honour, Sex and Marriage*. Routledge, 1999.
- Frick, Carole Collier. *Dressing Renaissance Florence*. John Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Giry-DeLoison, Charles. "Le premier ouvrage imprimé à Arras? Jean [De] Buyens et l'entrevue de Charles Quint et d'Henri VIII à Calais en Juillet 1520." In Jean-Paul Poussou, Roger Baury, and Marie-Catherine Vignal-Souleyrou, eds. *Monarchies, noblesses et diplomaties européennes. Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean-François Labourdette*. Presses universitaires de France, 2005.
- Goetze, Dorothee, and Lena Oetzel, eds. *Early Modern European Diplomacy: A Handbook*. De Gruyter, 2024.
- Good, Peter. *The East India Company in Persia: Trade and Cultural Exchange in the Eighteenth Century*. Bloomsbury, 2022.
- Goodare, Julian. *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland*. Oxford, 1999.
- Graham, Michael. *The Uses of Reform: 'Godly Discipline' and Popular Behaviour in Scotland and Beyond, 1560–1610*. Brill, 1996.

- Griffey, Erin. "Introduction." In *Sartorial Politics in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Erin Griffey. Amsterdam University Press, 2019.
- Hampton, Timothy. *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*. Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Hansen, Lars Ivar. "The Trading Networks of the High North during the Sixteenth Century." In *The Protracted Reformation in the North*, edited by Sigrun Høgetveit Berg, Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, and Roald Ernst Kristiansen. De Gruyter, 2020.
- Hardiman, Louise, ed. *Courtly Gifts and Cultural Diplomacy: Art, Material Culture, and British-Russian Relations*. Brill, 2023.
- Harreld, Donald J. "How Great the Enterprise, How Glorious the Deed: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Circumnavigations as Useful Myths." In *Myth in History, History in Myth*, edited by Laura Cruz and Willem Frijhoff. Brill, 2009.
- Hartley, Julia Caterina. *Iran and French Orientalism: Persia in the Literary Culture of Nineteenth-Century France*. Bloomsbury, 2023.
- Harley, Julia, Wanrug Suwanwattana, and Jennifer Yee, eds. *French Decadence in a Global Context: Colonialism and Exoticism*. Liverpool University Press, 2022.
- Hayward, Maria. "Crimson, Scarlet, Murrey and Carnation: Red at the Court of Henry VIII." *Textile History* 38, no. 2 (2007): 135–150.
- Hayward, M.A. "Gift Giving at the court of Henry VIII: The 1539 New Year's gift roll in context." *Antiquaries Journal* 85 (2005): 125–175.
- Hayward, Maria. *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*. Routledge, 2017.
- Hayward, Maria. "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII." In *Clothing Culture, 1350–1650*, edited by Catherine Richardson. Ashgate, 2004.
- Hayward, Maria. "Luxury or Magnificence? Dress at the Court of Henry VIII." *Costume* 30 (1996): 37–46.
- Hayward, Maria. "Spanish Princess or Queen of England? The Image, Identity and Influence of Catherine of Aragon at the Courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII." In *Spanish Fashion at the Courts of Early Modern Europe*, vol. 2, edited by José Luis Colomer and Amalia Descalzo. Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2014.
- Hayward, Maria. *Rich Apparel*. Ashgate, 2009.

- Hayward, Maria. "Symbols of Majesty: Cloths of Estate at the Court of Henry VIII." *Furniture History* 41 (2005): 1–11.
- Heal, Felicity. *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Hennings, Jan. *Russia and Courtly Europe: Ritual and the Culture of Diplomacy, 1648–1725*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Heri, Joseph. *Worship Wars and Early Lutheranism*. Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Hermes, Nizar, and Mary E. Allen, "A Tale of Two Sultans: Franco-Moroccan Reinventions of Muḥammad Ismāʿīl and his Marriage Proposal to La Princesse de Conti." *New Literary History* 52, nos. 3–4 (2021): 489–507.
- Hinds, Allen B., ed. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, Vol. 15. The Stationery Office, 1909. Available online: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol15>.
- Holloway, Ernest, R. *Andrew Melville and Humanism in Renaissance Scotland, 1545–1622*. Brill, 2011.
- Howes, David, ed. *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*. Routledge, 2020.
- Institut du Monde Arabe. *Venice and the Islamic World, 828–1797*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.
- Janer, Zilkia. *The Coloniality of Modern Taste: A Critique of Gastronomic Thought*. Routledge, 2023.
- Jaworska, Marta, and Konrad Bielecki. "Performance of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World Symposium, 17–18 March 2017, Vienna, Don Juan Archiv." *Legatio: The Journal for Renaissance and Early Modern Diplomatic Studies* 1 (2018): 170–174.
- Johnson, Carina L., Macabe Keliher, and Kaya Şahin. "Political Ceremonies and Rituals in Early Modern World." *Journal of Early Modern History* 29, nos. 1–2 (2025): 1–9.
- Kallas, Ruth. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.
- Kirk, James. "Melville, Andrew." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 4 November 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18543>.

- Kirk, James. "Adamson [Constantine], Patrick." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 13 December 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/145>.
- Krawiec, Rebecca. "'Garments of Salvation': Representations of Monastic Clothing in Late Antiquity." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 17, no. 1 (2009): 125–150.
- Larminie, Vivienne. "The Jacobean Diplomatic Fraternity and the Protestant Cause: Sir Isaac Wake and the View from Savoy." *The English Historical Review* 121, no. 494 (2006): 1312–1315.
- Le Gall, Jean-Marie, and Claude Michaud. *Comment la confiance vient aux princes: Les rencontres princières 1494-1788*. Presses universitaires de France, 2023.
- Leaver, Robin A. *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*. Fortress Press, 2017.
- Lewis, Katherine. *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*. Routledge, 2013.
- Levin, Carole. "Queen Elizabeth and the Power and Language of the Gift." In *Elizabeth I in Writing: Language, Power and Representation in Early Modern England*, edited by Donatella Montini and Iolanda Plescia. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Lu, Ying-hsiu. "King Arthur: Leadership Masculinity and Homosocial Manhood." In *Perceiving Power in Early Modern Europe*, edited by K. H. Francis. Palgrave MacMillan, 2016.
- Lynn, Eleri. *Tudor Fashion*. Yale University Press, 2017.
- MacDonald, Alasdair. "Best of Enemies: Andrew Melville and Patrick Adamson, c. 1574–1592." In *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, edited by Julian Goodare and Alasdair MacDonald. Brill, 2008.
- Mailes, Alana. "A Harmonious Armistice: Music in Diplomatic Negotiations for the Peace of Asti." *Acta Musicologica* 96, no. 2 (2024): 108–129.
- Masoero, Mariarosa, Sergio Mamino, and Claudio Rosso, eds. *Politica e cultura nell'età di Carlo Emanuele I: Torino, Parigi, Madrid*. Leo S. Olschki, 1999.
- Matthee, Rudolph P. *The Politics of Trade in Safavid Iran: Silk for Silver, 1600–1730*. Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Mattingly, Garret. "An Early Nonaggression Pact." *Historical Journal* 10, no. 1 (1939): 1–30.
- Mallett, Michael, and Christine Shaw. *The Italian Wars, 1494–1559*. Pearson, 2012.

McCabe, Ina Baghdiantz. *Orientalism in Early Modern France*. Berg, 2008.

McCall, Timothy. *Brilliant Bodies: Fashioning Courtly Men in Early Renaissance Italy*. Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022.

McCall, Timothy. "Brilliant Bodies: Material Culture and the Adornment of Men in North Italy's Quattrocento Courts." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 16, nos. 1–2 (2013): 445–490.

McCall, Timothy. "Fashioning Diplomacy: Gift-Exchange, Luxury Textiles and Aristocratic Array in Fifteenth-Century Italy." In *Textile Gifts in the Middle Ages: Objects, Actors and Representations*, edited by Christiane Elster, Stephanie Luther, Tanja Michalsky, and Stefanie Seeberg. Campisano Editore, 2022.

McCall, Timothy. "Materials for Renaissance Fashion." *Renaissance Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (2017): 1449–1464.

McNeill, Peter. *Fashion: Critical and Primary Sources*. Berg Publishers, 2009.

Mickel, Lesley. "Performing Power and Theatricalisation at the Field of Cloth of Gold". In *Royal Journeys in Early Modern Europe: Progresses, Palaces and Panache*, edited by Anthony Musson and John P. D. Cooper. Routledge, 2023.

Milam, Jennifer, and Garritt Van Dyk. "Introduction: Plants and Culture during the Enlightenment." In *A Cultural History of Plants in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, edited by Jennifer Milam. Bloomsbury, 2023.

Moore, Helen. "Gathering Fruit: The 'Profitable' Translations of Thomas Paynell." In *Tudor Translation*, edited by Fred Schurink. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Mokhberi, Susan. *Persian Mirror: Reflections of the Safavid Empire in Early Modern France*. Oxford University Press, 2020.

More, Alison. "Institutionalising Penitential Life in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Third Orders, Rules and Canonical Legitimacy." *Church History* 83, no. 2 (2014): 297–323.

Morrissey, Robert. *The Economy of Glory: From the Ancien Régime France to the Fall of Napoleon*. Translated by Teresa Lavender Fagan. University of Chicago Press, 2014.

Nékrouf, Younès. *Une Amitié orageuse: Moulay Ismaïl et Louis XIV*. Albin Michel, 1987.

Nevinson, John. "A Show of the Nine Worthies." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 14 no. 2 (1963): 103–107.

Niccoli, Bruna. "Official Dress and Courtly Fashion in Genoese Entries." In *Europa Triumphans*, edited by J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, and Margaret Shewring. Ashgate, 2010.

Nye, Joseph S. "Soft power: the evolution of a concept." *Journal of Political Power* 14, no. 1 (2021): 196–208.

Ogden, Jack. *Diamonds: An Early History of the King of Gems*. Yale University Press, 2018.

Osborne, Toby, and Joan-Pau Rubiés. "Introduction: Diplomacy and Cultural Translation in the Early Modern World." *Journal of Early Modern History* 20, no. 4 (2016): 313–330.

Osborne, Toby. *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years' War*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Paranque, Estelle. *Elizabeth I of England Through Valois Eyes: Power, Representation, and Diplomacy in the Reign of the Queen 1558–1588*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Pettegree, Andrew. *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*. Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Phillips, Kim M. "Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws." *Gender & History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 22–42.

Pinkard, Susan. *A Revolution in Taste*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Powell, Jason. "Scholars, Servants, Spies: William Weldon and William Swerder in England and Abroad." In *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, edited by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Reid, Steven, 'Andrew Melville and the Law of Kingship' and 'Melville's Anti-Episcopal Poetry: The *Andreae Melvini Musae*' in *Andrew Melville (1545-1622): Writings, Reception, and Reputation*, ed. by Roger A. Mason and Steven J. Reid. Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2014, 47-74; 127-154.

Reid, Steven. *The Early Life of James VI: a Long Apprenticeship, 1566–1585*. Birlinn, 2023.

Reid, Steven. *Humanism and Calvinism*. Ashgate, 2011.

Reynolds, David. "International History, the Cultural Turn and the Diplomatic Twitch." *Cultural and Social History* 3, no. 1 (2006): 75–91.

- Rickard, Jane. "The Writings of King James VI and I and Early Modern Literary Culture." *Literature Compass* 9, no. 10 (2012): 654–664.
- Richardson, Catherine. "Introduction." In *Clothing Culture, 1350–1650*, edited by Catherine Richardson. Ashgate, 2004.
- Richardson, Catherine. "Status." In *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Renaissance*, edited by Elizabeth Currie. Bloomsbury, 2018.
- Richardson, Glenn. "Entertainments for the French Ambassadors at the Court of Henry VIII." *Renaissance Studies* 9, no. 4 (1995): 404–415.
- Richardson, Glenn. "‘Most highly to be regarded’: The Privy Chamber of Henry VIII and Anglo-French Relations." *The Court Historian* 4 no. 2 (1999): 119–140.
- Richardson, Glenn. "Boys and Their Toys: Kingship, Masculinity and Material Culture in the Sixteenth Century." In *The Image and Perception of Monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern England*, edited by Sean McGlynn and Elena Woodacre. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.
- Richardson, Glenn. *The Field of Cloth of Gold*. Yale University Press, 2013.
- Richardson, Thom. *The Armour and Arms of Henry VIII*. Royal Armouries, 2002.
- Roland, Ruth A. *Interpreters as Diplomats: A Diplomatic History of the Role of Interpreters in World Politics*. University of Ottawa Press, 1999.
- Rondot, Bertrand, and Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, eds. *Visiteurs de Versailles*. Gallimard, 2017.
- Roosen, William. "Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial: A Systems Approach." *The Journal of Modern History* 52, no. 3 (1980): 452–476.
- Rupp, Ernest Gordon. *Studies in the Making of English Protestant Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, 1966.
- Santarelli, Cristina. *La gara degli elementi: acqua, aria, terra, e fuoco nelle feste sabaude (1585–1699)*. Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2010.
- Saul, Nigel. *Richard II*. Yale University Press, 1997.
- Schurink, Fred. *Plutarch in English, 1528–1603*. 2 vols. The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2020.

- Schurink, Fred. "Print, Patronage, and Occasion: Translations of Plutarch's *Moralia* in Tudor England." *The Yearbook of English Studies* 38, nos. 1–2 (2008): 86–101.
- Schutte, Valerie. "A 1555 German Gift Book for Queen Mary I." ARC Humanities Press, 2021.
- Schutte, Valerie. *Princesses Mary and Elizabeth Tudor and the Gift Book Exchange*. ARC Humanities Press, 2021.
- Shackleton, Robert. *Montesquieu: A Critical Biography*. Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Shepard, Alexandra. *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*. Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Smith, Mark. "The Presbytery of St Andrews 1586–1605: A Study and Annotated Edition of the Register of the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews." PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1985.
- Smith, Mark M. *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History*. University of California Press, 2007.
- Smith, Simon, Jackie Watson, and Amy Kenny, eds. *The Senses in Early Modern England, 1558–1660*. Manchester University Press, 2015.
- Sowerby, Tracey A. "Diplomacy." In *Early Modern Court Culture*, edited by Erin Griffey. Routledge, 2021.
- Sowerby, Tracey A. "Early Modern Diplomatic History." *History Compass* 14, no. 9 (September 2016): 441–456.
- Sowerby, Tracey A. "Francis Thynne's *Perfect ambassadour* and the Construction of Diplomatic Thought in Elizabethan England." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 82 (2020): 539–557.
- Sowerby, Tracey A. *Renaissance and Reform in Tudor England: The Careers of Sir Richard Morison, c. 1513–1566*. Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Sowerby, Tracey A. "Roger Ascham's Diplomatic Training and Mid-Tudor Diplomatic Careers." In *Roger Ascham and His Sixteenth-Century World*, edited by Lucy R. Nicholas and Ceri Law. Brill, 2021.
- Sowerby, Tracey A., and Jan Hennings, eds. *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410–1800*. Routledge, 2017.

- Steinberger, Deborah. "'Fake News' in Seventeenth-Century France: The Case of *Le Mercure Galant*." *Past & Present* 257, Supplement 16 (November 2022): 143–171.
- Sternberg, Giora. *Status Interaction during the Reign of Louis XIV*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Stuber, Regina, and Anuschka Tischer. "Clientele and Patronage in Early Modern Diplomacy." In *Early Modern European Diplomacy*.
- Takeda, Junko Thérèse. *Iran and a French Empire of Trade, 1700–1808: The Other Persian Letters*. Liverpool University Press, 2020.
- Thomas, Alastair H. *The A to Z of Denmark*. Scarecrow Press, 2009.
- Thompson, Ian. *The Sun King's Garden: Louis XIV, Andre Le Notre and the Creation of the Gardens of Versailles*. Bloomsbury, 2006.
- Thurley, Simon. *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life (1460–1547)*. Yale University Press, 1993.
- Treadwell, Nina. *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court: The 1589 Interludes for La pellegrina*. Indiana University Press, 2008.
- Treadwell, Nina. "Music of the Gods: Solo Song and *effetti meravigliosi* in the Interludes for *La pellegrina*." *Current Musicology* 83 (2007): 33–84.
- Tremml-Werner, Birgit, and Dorothee Goetze. "A Multitude of Actors in Early Modern Diplomacy." *Journal of Early Modern History* 23, no. 5 (2019): 407–422.
- Unwin, Peter. *The Narrow Sea: Barrier Bridge and Gateway to the World*. Headline, 2003.
- Vitale Engel, Kristen. "Henrician Spectacle: Courtly Festivity as Performative Politics in Early Tudor England, 1485–1533." PhD Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 2025.
- Walker, Greg. *Writing Under Tyranny: English Literature and Henrician Reformation*. Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Watkins, John. "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 1, no. 38 (January 2008): 1–14.
- Way, Elizabeth. "Haute Couture, Haute Cuisine." In *Food and Fashion*, edited by Elisabeth Way and Melissa Marra-Alvarez. Bloomsbury, 2023.

- Weaver, Andrew H. "The Materiality of Musical Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Representation and Negotiation in Andreas Rauch's *Currus triumphalis musicus* (1648)." *The Journal of Musicology* 35, no. 4 (2018): 460–497.
- Welch, Ellen R. *A Theater of Diplomacy: International Relations and the Performing Arts in Early Modern France*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.
- Welch, Ellen R. "Dancing the Nation: Performing France in the Seventeenth-Century *Ballets des nations*." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 13, no. 2 (2013): 3–23.
- Wiggins, Martin, and Catherine Richardson. *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*. Vol. 5. Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Williamson, Elizabeth R. *Elizabethan Diplomacy and Epistolary Culture*. Routledge, 2021.
- Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. *Early Modern Europe 1450–1789*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Woodacre, Elena, and Cathleen Sarti. "What is Royal Studies?" *Royal Studies Journal* 2, no. 1 (2015): 13–20.
- Wormald, Jenny. "The Headaches of Monarchy: Kingship and the Kirk in the Early Seventeenth Century." In *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch*, edited by Julian Goodare and Alasdair MacDonald. Brill, 2008.
- Yin, Yuan. *Alimentary Orientalism: Britain's Literary Imagination and the Edible East*. Bucknell University Press, 2023.
- Zannini, Andrea. "Economic and social aspects of the crisis of Venetian diplomacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." In *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450–1800*, edited by Daniela Frigo. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Zemon Davis, Natalie. *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*. The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000.