

**Bohemian and Moravian Nobility in the Diplomatic Service
of the Austrian Habsburgs (1640-1740)**

Current state of research

History of early modern international relations, diplomacy, diplomatic corps and ceremonial rules have already been studied in some western and southern historiographies for a long time. It is taken for granted that genesis of early modern states brought relativization of the older obligations that were built upon feudal links and dynastical connections. In this situation all the states tried to consolidate traditional relations and – of course – also find new allies and they were in great need of fresh, reliable and detailed news concerning the situation all over the European states. That is the reason why all the rulers started to create an European wide net of their emissaries, envoys and ambassadors. This development led to institutionalization of each ruler representation and diplomatic corps – first, a well-brought-up *honnête homme* was required and on the other hand a perfect education in history, law and other branches together with some experience was demanded to create a professional corps. It was a long and complicated process that started in the second half of 15 century in Italy and was finished at the beginning of 19 century. (see in general Krauske 1885; Schaube 1889; Mattingly 1955; Roosen 1976; Anderson 1993)

For Central Europe and the monarchy of the Austrian Habsburgs it is believed the second part of 17 and first part of 18 centuries is a crucial period in this process and the Peace of Westphalia (1648) is considered to be a turning point. After it the principle was accepted that every ruler who wanted to be esteemed in the European *concert of powers* should be provided with a couple of envoys. France and its Europe wide and dense net was generally appreciated example to follow. (Roosen 1976; Tischer 1999) Habsburg imperial court was much more slower in establishing the similar corps and its wider system of envoys was created at the end of 17 century. However, there were no two similar envoys – in this period we have to draw a clear line between ordinary and extraordinary envoys. While the second ones continued in the work of their older predecessors (they came to express gratulations to weddings or condolences, etc.) the ordinary envoys filled much harder tasks – their service was in principle long-termed, financially and logistically more expensive. We know several types of such representatives – agents, correspondents, residents, legates, envoys, accredited ministers or ambassadors and it always depended on emperor and his advisers whom they sent

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to which country. F. i. an emperor could have in the United Provinces for a long time a resident only but at the end of 17 century – in connection with peace negotiations (1679, 1697) – Leopold I began to send more important and highborn people with the title of an ambassador there. (see Tischer 2005; for imperial diplomacy Müller 1976 is considered to be a basic reading; for the situation in the Provinces Jarren 1998, Jarren 2002)

The ambassadors appear at the very peak of this hierarchy and contemporaries often understood them as the closest representatives of their masters. After the Peace of Westphalia they enjoyed as an *alter ego* of the emperor appropriate honour and precedence in ceremonial questions. (Hartmann 1990) They were equipped not only with traditional passports but also with identity documents (so called *creditif*), an instruction from their masters and sometimes they even had written power of attorney that specified limits of their power (so called *pouvoir, plenipotencia*). They presented all these documents (except of a secret instruction) to the ruler of the country they travelled to and after the first audience they were considered for accredited in the hosting country. (Gräf 2005)

From 17 century there were placed very big demands on the ambassadors regarding mainly the knowledge of several languages, different branches of law, ceremonial rules and also adequate behaviour and representation of their master. However, the authors of contemporary treatises did not have not the same opinions. Some of them declared that standard noble upbringing was quite enough to become an ambassador. On the other hand there were such people who demanded the diplomats should have a lot of specialized knowledge in the field of state science and they should gain some experience in the lower positions in the diplomatic service. (Kugeler 2006) However, this demanding model that should lead to professionalisation of diplomatic corps did not get through and emperor appointed to the higher diplomatic functions only the noble and wealthy people (it is not valid for residents – see Jarren 2002) who had known most of important European courts from their previous grand tours. (Müller 1976, pp. 180-252) We can find a lot of noblemen from Bohemia and Moravia among them but we do not know nearly anything about them.

Of course, we know their names and approximate duration of their missions, so we can find out that there was around three dozens of such people between 1648 and 1740. We are also aware of how many diplomatic journeys they went through. Most of them managed only one short extraordinary mission or one ordinary diplomatic tour. F. i. Claudius Collalto visited at the turn of 1660 and 1661 England, Heinrich Franz of Mansfeld between 1680 and 1682 France, Anton Johann of Nostitz between 1685 and 1690 Sweden, Hermann Jakob Tschernin of Chudenitz went to Poland in 1695 or Filip Josef Kinsky was staying in Great Britain

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between 1728 and 1736. Then there were such noblemen who managed several smaller or more important journeys. F. i. Wenzel Ferdinand of Lobkowitz served to Leopold I in Bavaria (1679-1682), France (1685-1688) and then in Spain. Johann Wenzel Gallas visited England and the United Provinces (1705-1711) and Papal Rome (1714-1719), Stephan Kinsky went to Russia (1721-1722), Lower Palatinate (1727) and France (1729-1732) and Wenzel Anton of Kaunitz appeared first of all in Torino and then in France (1750-1752). And finally, we know two of them who were serving to the Austrian Habsburgs abroad nearly all their adult life. One of them is Franz Anton Berka of Dubá who visited various imperial countries, Denmark, Sweden, the United Netherlands, Spain and Venice between 1681 and 1704, the second one was Franz Karl count Wratislaw of Mitrowitz travelled to Regensburg (to imperial diet), Russia and mainly to the personal union of Saxony-Poland-Lithuania between 1709 and 1747. (Repertorium I 1936; Repertorium II 1950)

When considering the activities and lives of these noblemen in the diplomatic service of the Austrian Habsburgs we have to confess we know only a couple of things. The title of the work Mžyková 2001 sounds very interesting but the author did not make any archival research and brings the well known basic information only. On the other hand it has been recently several times dealt with the relation between diplomatic service and later career of these noblemen. Mařa 2004 (pp. 465-477) writes the diplomatic service was no alternative model of high-nobility careers in the baroque period because they managed only several such journeys and they themselves considered it only for one useful strategy how to gain better functions much closer to the emperor. (see also Pečar 2003, pp. 41-53 and Cerman 2011, pp. 197-203) Such a motivation can be seen behind the missions of Wenzel Eusebius Prince of Lobkowitz and Franz Karl Libštejnský of Kolowrat to Frankfurt am Main in 1657-1658 (they were representatives of the Bohemian king Leopold I at the imperial election; see Kubeš 2009) or in the journey of Humprecht Johann Tschernin of Chudenitz to Venice 1660-1663. (Kalista 1928-1930) And of course there were some others who were successful and found their way to imperial court. (to Johann Wenzel Wratislaw of Mitrowitz or Johann Wenzel Gallas at the beginning of 18 century see Vokáčová 2008, pp. 61-104; Mezgolich 1967; Geyer 1948; Jarnut-Derbolav 1972; Sedláček 1988). These are several exceptions we are lucky to know something and can follow older research. All the other missions of Bohemian and Moravian nobility (except of the journeys to Turkey, see Teply 1968; Tischer 1903; Smutný 1970; Vintrová 2008, etc.) were not studied yet.

Main goals and project solution:

Our project consists of two basic and some supplementary goals.

Firstly, we would like to analyse diplomatic journeys of selected Bohemian and Moravian noblemen and follow the development of the other historiographies around the Czech Republic because there have been recently published several works to this topic in Austria, Bavaria, or Saxony. (F. i. Polleroß 2010; Matzke 2007) Therefore we would like to write first Czech written monograph dealing with early modern diplomacy.

Secondly, we would like to join wider international discussion to the history of diplomacy that has changed since 1980s a lot. Scientist are not interested so much in international political relations and they moved from the history of institutions to the research of the embassies that are interpreted as a complex social practice of the noble society. (see f. i. Droste 2006; Polleroß 2010) That is the reason why we focus mainly on the people that were connected with legations (ambassadors, their families, servants, etc.) and their aspirations, interests and patterns of their behaviour. We are supposed to follow this view and make such an archival research that will be based upon the systematic analysis of not only official but also personal correspondence of chosen ambassadors. We will focus on two main topics: 1) everyday and festive life of an embassy and 2) activities of these embassies in the hosting countries and functions they carried out there.

ad 1) We will be interested not only in the concrete ambassadors but also in their families, servants, officers or visitors who jointly form a microcosmos of an embassy. Every person has got his/her own role, authority and duties in this system but they had to cooperate. We perceive an embassy not only as a group of people but also as a space they were living and working in. That is the reason why we will be interested in the places where the ambassadors lived, their equipment, room arrangement or their chapels that were often discussed in the non-Catholic hosting countries. (Kaplan 2002; to diplomatic immunity see Frey – Frey 1999) We will try to find answers to following questions: What do we know about the financial situation of these ambassadors? How did they maintain connections to their own estates in the Habsburg monarchy? How were they supplied and what did they buy for the people in their home country? What cultural trends did they mediate home? (see f. i. Kalista 1928-1930; Lindorfer 2009, pp. 179-185 a recently Polleroß 2010, pp. 300-533)

ad 2) We will try to analyse relations between an ambassador and the ruler and court of a hosting country. We will be interested not only in the ways of cooperation when they were allies but we would like to study the forms of mutual behaviour in times when the open

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hostility was broken up. We will not avoid to examine the phenomenon of creating and maintenance of ambassador's information net, relations with important courtiers and we will deal with a role of gifts in this milieu. (see for Brandenburg Falcke 2006) We would also like to pay attention to the relations between the ambassadors and their compatriots who dwelled abroad because we believe the ambassador's household served as a point of contact mainly for young noblemen who managed their grand tours. An ambassador introduced them to local society and helped them to gain an audience at the royal court. (Kubeš 2011) We will also focus on the strategies and different forms of representation that were used abroad by these ambassadors when they represented their masters. We will point out the role of festive entries, the first and last audiences, ceremonial conflicts or various celebrations.

According to the above mentioned goals of the project we distributed the work among us and everyone will primarily focus on one concrete ambassador, only Jiří Kubeš (doc., Ph.D.) will deal with several personalities. He will be interested in the ambassadors to England / Great Britain (Dominik Andreas count Kaunitz, Karl Max count Thurn, Karl count Auersperg, Johann Wenzel count Gallas or Filip Joseph count Kinsky), he will also analyse the sources documenting activities of Johann Georg Mark count Clary-Aldringen, an ambassador to Saxony († 1700) between 1686 and 1693, or Anton Johann count Nostitz (1659-1736) who represented Leopold I in Sweden between 1685 and 1690.

Vítězslav Prchal (Ph.D. in spe) will make a systematic research of the activities of Franz Karl count Wratislaw of Mitrowitz (1679-1750), a person who devoted nearly all his adult life to represent his masters. Firstly, he dwelled as a Bohemian envoy at the imperial diet in Regensburg (1709-1722) and then different countries in eastern and northern Europe became his home. He spent some five years in Russia (1728-1733) but he devoted most of time to the service in the personal union of Saxony-Poland-Lithuania (1724-1728, 1733 – cca 1747) where he served as the highest *hofmeister* at the court of Queen Maria Josefa, sister of emperor Charles VI, as well. (Pavličková – Prchal 2011, pp. 123-124; Lancinger – Vlček 1997)

Jiří Hrbek (Ph.D.) will focus on Karl Ernst count Waldstein (1661-1713) who was the only noble imperial ambassador to Portugal. He stayed at the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession between 1700 and 1703 there and when he returned back home he was taken as a prisoner in France and was held captive in Vincennes. We do not know nearly anything about his mission and captivity.

Martin Krummholz (Ph.D.) will deal with art historical dimension of all above and below mentioned ambassadors' representation – that means mainly their patronage and

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building activities – around 1700 and he will also focus on Johann Wenzel count Gallas (1669-1719) who made two very different diplomatic experience. His stay in Great Britain and the United Provinces turned out badly in the end (1705-1711) but on the other hand he was very successful as an ambassador to Rome (1714-1719). (Krummholz 2007, pp. 22-25; Höfler 1869; Jarnut-Derbolav 1972; Polleroß 2010)

Jiří M. Havlík (Ph.D.) will deal with Franz Udalrich count Kinsky (1634-1699) who gained his first diplomatic experience in 1658 in the times of the imperial election of Leopold I. Then he was very successful as an ambassador to Haag at the end of the 1670s (Peace of Nijmegen). His next fate was also very interesting because he became an unofficial head of the imperial diplomacy (he served as the highest chancellor of the Kingdom of Bohemia, *Oberstkanzler*) and played important role in international politics in the 1680s and 1690s when the emperor fought France and Ottoman Turkey in th same time. (Černý 1952; Kalista 1999, pp. 157-163; Srbik 1944; Havlík 2009, etc.)

Lenka Maršálková (Mgr., a Ph.D. student) will focus on Dominik Andreas count Kaunitz (1655-1705) who is familiar to early modern scientist but nobody has dealt with his activities in the 1680s yet when he spent most of his service at the Bavarian court in Munich. His stay is documented in his personal correspondence to Ferdinand prince of Dietrichstein very well. (Braubach 1974; Klingenstein 1975, pp. 41-74)

Michaela Buriánková (Bc.; Mgr. in spe 2013, a Ph.D. student in spe) can also speak Spanish and will deal with Wenzel Ferdinand count Lobkowitz (1654-1697), a member of Bílina family branch. This man started similarly to count Kaunitz in Bavaria but then he served to the emperor in Paris (1685-1688) and Madrid (1689-1697) where he spent – despite of his constant requests to return home (he was very ill) – the rest of his life because he died on the return journey. (Vehse 1852, 112-113)

The careers of the above mentioned noble diplomats in the service of the Austrian Habsburgs will create frame of our project research and they were not chosen by chance. There are two main reasons: Firstly, the places of their activities cover the key positions in the creating and complicated net of Habsburg diplomatic representation. These noblemen helped the Habsburgs to advance their diplomatic interests in the newly-emerged relations in the European international "concert" of the sovereign powers of a new kind. Secondly, each of them was a member of different generation. Preparing the final monograph it will allow us to cover all the specified period of 1640-1740. Using the method of concrete analytic probes we will create complex interpretation of the changing strategies on the field of international

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politics and all this will be possible thanks to the analysis of behaviour, activities and careers of these concrete noblemen in concrete destinations and situations.

We suppose the work will go on continuously for all the five years but every year we will manage a little bit different research and scientific activities. We expect that we will focus mainly on heuristics of literature and systematic archival research in the Czech Republic in 2013. We will primarily visit Národní archiv (National Archive) in Prague, Moravský zemský archiv (Moravian Land Archive) in Brno and all the other state regional archives and their workplaces. This research will be time consuming and it will also continue in the next years.

At the end of the first year and in 2014 we will focus above all on archival research in the central Austrian archives and libraries (mainly Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Staatsabteilung). Therefore we will manage several one-week stays in Vienna.

In 2015 we will continue in the archival heuristics in the Czech Republic and abroad, however, we will also have to manage some archival stays in the destinations where the chosen diplomats served their masters. Jiří Kubeš will make a research in London, the Hague and Dresden, Vítězslav Prchal in Warsaw and Dresden, Jiří Hrbek in Paris, Martin Krummholz in Berlin, the Hague and Rome, Jiří Havlík also in Rome, Lenka Maršálková in Munich and Michaela Buriánková will visit Spanish archives (Simancas in Valladolid and Toledo). In this year we will also start to prepare international scientific conference in Pardubice (CFP, searching for participants, arranging for suitable rooms, creating the web site of the conference, etc.)

In 2016 the archival research will be slowly finished and we will organize three-days-lasting international scientific conference in Pardubice in spring. It will deal with nobility in the diplomatic service of the Austrian Habsburgs in early modern period. There will be a deadline for submitting articles from this conference cca June 2016 and at the turn of 2016 and 2017 the proceedings will be published.

Finally, we will be preparing a manuscript of collective monograph for press during 2017. The book will present the second most important goal of the project and it should appear at the end of 2017.

There are also some partial goals of the submitted project that were not mentioned yet. We would like to intensify domestic discussions on the topic therefore we want to organize one-day workshops each year in autumn (except of 2016, the year of the main conference) where the basic archival sources and other things will be dealt with. All the key information

(the goals of the project, conference, workshops, primary sources, etc.) will be summarized at the web page that will be created at the beginning under the umbrella of the web presentation of the Institute of Historical Sciences of the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy of the University of Pardubice (see <http://uhv.upce.cz>).

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