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## Montecucoli's Fame, or: A Diplomat's Military Reputation at the Swedish Court in 1654

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**Abstract:** This article is about the weight of military fame in the inaugural audience of Imperial general and diplomat Raimondo Montecucoli (1609–1680) at the Swedish court in 1654. The assumption is, that Montecucoli's military fame was a resource for him as a diplomat. Military fame was a resource because it was symbolic capital that mediated Montecucoli's reputation in the language of symbolic communication. How military fame worked in the language of symbolic communication is discussed by looking at Raimondo Montecucoli's Swedish journal. Montecucoli's own account is contrasted by the Swedish journal of the English ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605–1675), who was at the Swedish court at the same time.

**Keywords:** Early Modern Diplomacy – Early Modern Era – Military Fame – Raimondo Montecucoli – Bulstrode Whitelocke – Symbolic Capital – Symbolic Communication

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In 1670, Raimondo Montecucoli listed the acquisition of military fame (“*Acquistisi fama all’arme*”) as a necessary disposition for a military leader in his *Della guerra col turco in Ungheria*, his work on the Turkish war 1663–1664, which he dedicated to Emperor Leopold I.<sup>1</sup> In this war, he was supreme commander of an alliance army in the decisive Battle of Saint Gotthard on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1664, the battle that cemented Raimondo Montecucoli's fame and reputation as one of the most important military leaders of his age and of Austrian military history. A work of praise entitled *Schauplatz Serinischer auch anderer Teutschen Tapfern Helden-Thaten* was published in the same year.<sup>2</sup> This work celebrates the military leaders of the Turkish war, with a special emphasis

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1 *Della guerra col turco in Ungheria*, in: Raimondo LURAGHI (ed.), *Le Opere di Raimondo Montecucoli*, Vol. 2, Roma 2000, pp. 253–550, here p. 303.

2 Wolfgang JULIUS – Georg FRIEDRICH, *Schauplatz Serinischer auch anderer Teutschen Tapfern Helden-Thaten: Was nemlich Verwichnes 1663. und nochlauffendes 1664. Jahr, Ruhm- und Truckwürdiges von ... Herrn Generalen ... verrichtet worden; Die Namen ermeldter Helden sind folgende: Herr Graf Peter und Niclaus Serin ...; Sehr nützlich, anmuthig und Zeitverkürztlich zu lesen*, s. l. 1664. On the Battle of

on Raimondo Montecuccoli, to whom the work is also dedicated, as *Helden* – heroes. This publication represented Raimondo Montecuccoli's *military fame*, fame that he had started to accumulate long before 1664 and continued to accumulate after that year, during his long military career – a career that had started when he was 16 years old and had ended in 1676 when he was 67.<sup>3</sup> Mainly through military deeds, patronage and kinship, Montecuccoli had managed to make a career in the military and at the Imperial court.<sup>4</sup> Montecuccoli certainly knew what he was speaking about when he made his recommendation on the acquisition of military fame in 1670, at a time when his reputation as military leader was already well secured.

How important reputation was for a military leader and how difficult it was to obtain and to conserve can be learned from the French Huguenot soldier and writer Henri de Rohan (1579–1638) who writes: “*C'est une chose qui ne se peut comprendre, combien la réputation d'un Chef d'armée sert & combien elle est difficile à conserver.*”<sup>5</sup> An army was commonly referred to by the name of its commander. His good reputation could win the respect and appreciation of both friends and enemies as much as bad reputation could result in dishonour. Fame as a medium of reputation went hand in hand with a military leader's recognition by patrons and enemies alike. The vicomte de Turenne (1611–1675), who was Montecuccoli's main opponent in the Franco-Dutch War (1672–1678), said about him: “*on ne peut pas se mieux comporter qu'il faisait dans cette retraite.*”<sup>6</sup> That military

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Mogersdorf / St. Gotthard see: Karin SPERL – Martin SCHEUTZ – Arno STROHMEYER (eds.), *Die Schlacht von Mogersdorf / St. Gotthard und der Friede von Eisenburg / Vasvár 1664: Rahmenbedingungen, Akteure, Auswirkungen und Rezeption eines europäischen Ereignisses*, Eisenstadt 2016.

- 3 1676 was the end of his active career as field commander. He remained Hofkriegsratspräsident until his death in 1680.
- 4 Cesare CAMPORI, *Raimondo Montecuccoli, la sua famiglia e I suoi tempi*, Firenze 1876; Sandonnini TOMMASO, *Il Generale Raimondo Montecuccoli e la sua famiglia*, Modena 1914; Harms KAUFMANN, *Raimondo Montecuccoli 1609–1680: Kaiserlicher Feldmarschall, Militärtheoretiker und Staatsmann*, Berlin 1974; Luciano TOMMASINI, *Raimondo Montecuccoli capitano e scrittore*, Roma 1978; Fabio MARTELLI, *Le leggi, le Armi e il Principe. Studi sul pensiero politico di Raimondo Montecuccoli*, Bologna 1990; Berardo ROSSI, *Raimondo Montecuccoli: Un cittadino dell'Europa del Seicento*, Bologna 2002; Raffaella GHERARDI – Fabio MARTELLI, *La pace degli eserciti e dell'economia. Montecuccoli e Marsili alla corte di Vienna*, Bologna 2009; Adolf SCHINZL, *Montecuccoli, Raimund Fürst von*, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (ADB)*, Band 22, Leipzig 1885, pp. 183–189.
- 5 Henri de ROHAN, *Le parfait Capitaine, autrement l'abrege des guerres des commentaires de César*, Paris 1639, p. 258. For the importance of reputation as a leading factor of early modern international relations see: Michael ROHRSCHEIDER, *Reputation als Leitfaktor in den internationalen Beziehungen der Frühen Neuzeit*, *Historische Zeitschrift* Vol. 291 (2), 2010, pp. 331–352.
- 6 H. KAUFMANN, *Raimondo Montecuccoli*, p. 15. Turenne referred to Montecuccoli's retreat – which saved the Imperial troops from a more crushing defeat – after the defeat of the Imperial army in the Battle of Zusmarshausen on 17<sup>th</sup> May 1648 against Franco-Swedish troops under John Banér and Turenne. Montecuccoli took the command over the Imperial troops after Peter Melander was severely injured in the battle. See: A. SCHINZL, *Montecuccoli*, p. 185.

fame was crucial in maintaining a military reputation is quite obvious. But how was it important in other areas of princely service? Hardly any military leader was a military leader exclusively. On the contrary, noblemen in princely service had to negotiate between a plurality of roles and expectations.<sup>7</sup>

In this article, I will discuss the role of military fame as a medium of reputation and as symbolic capital<sup>8</sup> in the context of diplomacy. I chose Montecucoli's mission precisely because it is already well studied, as compared to other diplomatic missions by military leaders from the Early Modern Period. There is already a considerable body of insightful literature on Montecucoli's mission to Sweden in Winter 1653–1654 and on his relationship with Christina, Queen of Sweden.<sup>9</sup> This allows me to focus on one side of the dice: How did military fame work as symbolic capital in Raimondo Montecucoli's inaugural audience at the Swedish court on 6<sup>th</sup> February 1654? The audience as an occasion of symbolic communication provides an opportunity to study the weight of military fame within the ceremonial order of the Swedish court.<sup>10</sup>

In the last two decades, *Kulturgeschichte der Diplomatie* has developed as a dynamic field of scholarship. The traditional view, that anachronistically projected a modern image of international relations unto the past was refuted by an impressive wave of studies dealing with a huge variety of subjects. Instead of studying the interaction of “states” and

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- 7 Dorothea NOLDE, *Was ist Diplomatie und wenn ja, wie viele? Herausforderungen und Perspektiven einer Geschlechtergeschichte der frühneuzeitlichen Diplomatie*, *Historische Anthropologie* Vol. 21 (2), 2013, pp. 179–198, here pp. 194 f. Hillard von Thiessen is speaking of a *Rollenvielfalt*, a variety of roles. See: Hillard von THIESSEN, *Diplomatie von type anciens. Überlegungen zu einem Idealtypus des frühneuzeitlichen Gesandtschaftswesens*, in: Hillard von Thiessen – Christian Windler (eds.), *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen. Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2010, pp. 471–503, here p. 476.
  - 8 Pierre BOURDIEU, *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 75 f. For Bourdieu's forms of capital see: Pierre BOURDIEU, *The Forms of Capital*, in: John G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York 1986, pp. 241–258. For the Habitus of Diplomats see: Heiko DROSTE, *Im Dienst der Krone: Schwedische Diplomaten im 17. Jahrhundert*, Münster 2006, pp. 34–43.
  - 9 Susanna ÅKERMAN, *Raimondo Montecucoli and Queen Christina's betrayal*, in: Marie-Louise Rodén (ed.), *Politics and Culture in the Age of Christina: Acta from a Conference held at the Wenner-Gren Center in Stockholm, May 4–6, 1995*, Stockholm 1997, pp. 67–75; Vera NIGRISOLI WÄRNHJELM, *Il viaggio in Svezia del conte Raimondo Montecucoli nel 1654*, in: Marco Gargiulo – Margareth Hagen (eds.), *Carte di viaggio. Studi di lingua e letteratura italiana* 4, Pisa – Roma 2011, pp. 45–52; Suzanne SUTHERLAND, *From Battlefield to Court. Raimondo Montecucoli's Diplomatic Mission to Queen Christina of Sweden after the 'Thirty Years' War*, *Sixteenth Century Journal* Vol. 47 (4), 2016, pp. 915–938. My gratitude goes to Suzanne Sutherland, who kindly send me an earlier version of her article prior to its publication.
  - 10 On the audience as a field for studying symbolic communication in an intercultural perspective see: Peter BURSCHHEL, *Einleitung*, in: Peter Burschel – Christine Vogel (eds.), *Die Audienz: Ritualisierter Kulturkontakt in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2014, pp. 7–15, here p. 8.

“great men”, the New Diplomatic History conceives diplomacy as a cultural practice.<sup>11</sup> The change of perspective included many aspects, groups and agents that were excluded from the traditional view. While the traditional view conceived diplomats as “puppets-on-a-string” led by an official mind and/or sovereign, actor-centred studies showed that kinship, patronage and family traditions guided diplomats to a large extent.<sup>12</sup>

The vocabulary of symbolic communication presented in Montecucoli’s account of his inaugural audience provides us with insights on how military fame worked as symbolic capital for an early modern diplomat. For this reason, scenes of symbolic communication in Montecucoli’s Swedish journals are more than just individual accounts of an inaugural audience at a Northern court.<sup>13</sup> Rather, the validity of values and the stability of norms manifests itself in the condensed moment of the audience.<sup>14</sup> My assumption is that military fame was symbolic capital for Raimondo Montecucoli at the Swedish court mainly for two reasons: 1. Most Swedish courtiers pursued a military career and therefore preferred a military ethos like that of Montecucoli above every other.<sup>15</sup> 2. Montecucoli was well known to many among the Swedish courtiers and to the Queen herself from his time as their military enemy in the Thirty Years’ War. The aim of asking this study is to get to a first understanding of the weight of military fame within the symbolic order of diplomacy in Early Modern Europe.

11 Ursula LEHMKUHL, *Diplomatiegeschichte als internationale Kulturgeschichte: Theoretische Ansätze und empirische Forschung zwischen Historischer Kulturwissenschaft und Soziologischem Institutionalismus*, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27, 2001, pp. 394–423.

12 See: Hillard von THIESEN – Christian WINDLER, *Einleitung*, in: Hillard von Thiessen – Christian Windler – Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger – André Krischer (eds.), *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen. Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2010, pp. 1–14, here p. 5; H. v. THIESEN, *Diplomatie vom type ancien*, pp. 485 f; Hillard von THIESEN, *Diplomatie und Patronage: die spanisch-römischen Beziehungen 1605–1621 in aktorszentrierter Perspektive*, Epfendorf – Neckar 2010; Andreas BEHR, *Diplomatie als Familiengeschäft: die Casati als spanisch-mailändische Gesandte in Luzern und Chur (1660–1700)*, Zürich 2015.

13 Both journals are published: *Viaggio in Svezia del mese di Dicembre, l’Anno 1653*, in: Andrea TESTA (ed.), *Le Opere di Raimondo Montecucoli*, Vol. 3, Roma 2000, pp. 279–303. The original source is in the Kriegsarchiv in Vienna: KA NL 492, a74/10, s. d. (1654) *Viaggio in Svezia nel mese di dicembre 1653*. A German edition was also published: *Reise nach Schweden im Monate Dezember 1653*, in: Alois VELTZÉ (ed.), *Ausgewählte Schriften des Raimund Fürsten Montecucoli*, Bd. 3, Wien 1899–1900, pp. 75–108. Compared to Testa’s edition, Veltzé’s edition – despite it being also a translation from the original source, is weaker in its scholarly apparatus but offers a very helpful register on names, places and things (Orts-, Namen-, und Sachregister). See A. VELTZÉ (ed.), *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 4, pp. 375–530.

14 Barbara STOLLBERG-RILINGER, *Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Begriffe – Thesen – Forschungsperspektiven*, *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 31, 2004, pp. 489–527, here p. 505.

15 See: Fabian PERSSON, *The Courts of the Vasas and Palatines 1523–1751*, in: John S. A. Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Regime 1500–1750*, London 1999, pp. 275–293, here pp. 290 f.

## The inaugural audience

On 6<sup>th</sup> February 1654, Christina, Queen of Sweden welcomed the Imperial envoy Raimondo Montecucoli at her court in Uppsala in his inaugural audience. Montecucoli's mission consisted in being the representative of Emperor Ferdinand III (1608–1657) during the process of Christina's planned abdication and to make a marriage proposal to the Queen of Sweden on behalf of the Emperor's son, Leopold. However, Montecucoli himself writes in his journal that he travelled in "*affari privati*"<sup>16</sup> which signified the confidentiality and delicacy of his mission.<sup>17</sup> In Montecucoli's account of his inaugural audience, the Queen "*was standing and was surrounded by her cavaliers and royal officers but without the ladies. The Queen had a bloodletting and wore her arm in a bandage, and as I began to make my obeisance, she slowly walked towards me until I stood before with her and kissed her hand [... she said] that she is well familiar with my name and that she will strive to make my stay as pleasant as possible for me, that her weapons would have made greater progress, if she would not have had an opponent like me, and similar remarks...*"<sup>18</sup>

The vocabulary of the "*language of the ritual*"<sup>19</sup> in this scene begins with the Queen's standing reception of Montecucoli. Usually, a sovereign would receive a foreign diplomat sitting on his or her throne, while the diplomat had to perform gestures of humility.<sup>20</sup> But the possibility of ignoring the ceremonial order was part of the game. Ceremonial order was produced not only by following the rules but also by breaking them. Symbolic communication structured every social order through collectively recognized fictions and symbols.<sup>21</sup> This fictions and symbols also included deviation from the ceremonial

16 A. TESTA (ed.), *Le Opere*, 3, p. 279.

17 For a thorough discussion of premodern connotations of the term "*private*" see: Peter von MOOS, *Die Begriffe „öffentlich“ und „privat“ in der Geschichte und bei den Historikern*, Saeculum Vol. 49 (1), 1998, pp. 161–193. Montecucoli's travel companion was Aeneas Sylvius de Caprara (1631–1701), who later was *Feldmarschall* in Imperial service and who also accompanied Montecucoli in many military campaigns. See: Wilhelm Edler von JANKO, *Caprara, Aeneas Sylvius Graf von*, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (ADB)*, Band 3, Leipzig 1876, pp. 776 f.

18 A. TESTA (ed.), *Le Opere*, 3, p. 291. "*...la quale stava in una sala, dov'era Corona di Cavaglieri, ed uffiziali del Regno, senza alcuna dama. La Regina s'era salassata la mattina, e teneva il braccio in una banda, e com'io incomincio a far la riverenza, ella si va pian piano avanzando, sin ch'io arrivo dinnanzi a lei, e gli bacio la mano. [...] che il mio nome gli era già molto noto; ch'ella cercherà di farmi ogni piacere; e che le sue Arme avriano fatto maggiori progressi, si non fossero stati persone com'io, e simili...*" KA NL 492, a/4/10, s. d. (1654), fol. 8<sup>v</sup>. All translations in this article are by the author.

19 Gerd ALTHOFF, *Das Grundvokabular der Rituale. Knien, Küssen, Thronen, Schwören*, in: Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger – Matthias Puhle – Jutta Götzmann – Gerd Althoff (eds.), *Spektakel der Macht: Rituale im alten Europa 800–1800*, Darmstadt 2009, pp. 149–153, here p. 149.

20 *Ibidem*, p. 153.

21 See, for example: Barbara STOLLBERG-RILINGER, *The Emperor's Old Clothes. Constitutional History and the Symbolic Language of the Holy Roman Empire*, New York – Oxford 2015, pp. 2–5. For an

order – like the standing reception of Montecuccoli. This justifies the assumption, that there was something about Raimondo Montecuccoli's reputation, that ascribed him an exceptional – or, in other words – famous position within the Swedish court's ceremonial order. Of course, diplomats had a strong tendency to exaggerate their extraordinary status in accounts of their inaugural audience and Montecuccoli is certainly no exception in that. Still, his account of his inaugural audience can be read in terms of symbolic communication. Like most diplomats, Montecuccoli possessed a highly developed "*semiotic sensibility*"<sup>22</sup>, and therefore was fully aware of the meaning of every single detail in the audience. A standing reception in Montecuccoli's case could be interpreted as appreciation or, at least, as a compliment, since the standing reception of a foreign diplomat was not the norm at the Swedish court.

To contrast Montecuccoli's account, it may be helpful to look at the Swedish journal of a different diplomat, who was present at the Swedish court at the same time as Raimondo Montecuccoli. The English ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605–1675) also wrote a detailed journal during and after his mission to Sweden.<sup>23</sup> Whitelocke was a lawyer who had made a career in Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth regime. In 1653 Whitelocke was sent to Sweden to negotiate the 1654 Anglo-Swedish alliance. Similar as Raimondo Montecuccoli, Whitelocke had quite a reputation when he travelled to Sweden. Contrary to Montecuccoli, he was not a military leader and although Whitelocke's account gives the impression that he was very well received at the Swedish court, some details were different. Whitelocke writes of himself in the third person: "*He [= Bulstrode Whitelocke] perceived the Queen sitting, at the upper end of the room, upon her chair of state of crimson velvet, with a canopy of the same over it. Some ladies stood behind the Queen, and a very great number of lords, officers and gentlemen of the Court filled the room; upon the foot-carpet, and near the Queen, stood the senators and other great officers, all uncovered; and none but persons of quality were admitted into that chamber. Whitelocke's gentlemen were all let in, and a lane made by them for him to pass through to the Queen. As soon as he came within this room he put off his hat, and then the Queen put off her cap, after the fashion of men, and came two or three steps forward upon the foot-carpet. [...] Whitelocke made his three congees,*

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introduction see: B. STOLLBERG-RILINGER, *Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne*. For diplomacy see: André KRISCHER, *Souveränität als sozialer Status. Zur Funktion des diplomatischen Zeremoniells in der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: Ralph Kauz – Giorgio Rota – Jan Paul Niederkorn (eds.), *Diplomatisches Zeremoniell in Europa und im Mittleren Osten in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wien 2009, pp. 1–32.

22 P. BURSCHEL, *Einleitung*, p. 11.

23 Henry REEVE, *A Journal of the Swedish Embassy in the Years 1653 and 1654*, Vol. I & II, London 1855. On Bulstrode Whitelocke see: Ruth SPALDING, *The Improbable Puritan. A Life of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605–1675*, London 1975.

came up to her and kissed her hand; which ceremony all ambassadors used to this Queen; [...] Whitelocke told her in English (which Mr. De la Marche interpreted in French) that the Parliament had commanded him to present those letters to her Majesty.”<sup>24</sup> Whitelocke writes that the Queen was sitting when she received him and only walked towards him after he and his entourage had approached her. Another noteworthy difference between Montecucoli's and Whitelocke's audience is the use of an interpreter. Both Whitelocke and the Queen used an interpreter to communicate with each other. In Raimondo Montecucoli's account, no interpreter is mentioned and this indicates that Montecucoli spoke directly with the Queen, which is quite exceptional in the ceremonial order of the Swedish court.<sup>25</sup> Montecucoli writes that the Queen spoke with him for half an hour “*con parole molto obliganti*”<sup>26</sup> – in a very obliging manner. During this conversation, Montecucoli spoke directly to the Queen, which was a sign of preference. An interpreter as mediator denominated the hierarchical difference between the Queen and the foreign diplomat. Of course, the Queen did not treat Montecucoli as her equal when she spoke directly with him. But, Montecucoli's access to the Queen was of a different quality from the start, his relationship to the Queen and his standing in the ceremonial order of the Swedish court was settled already from the beginning and this status was expressed in his inaugural audience.

Raimondo Montecucoli was aware of the ceremonial order's importance at a foreign court: His memorandum on noteworthy issues on a voyage is entitled *Osservazioni ne'viaggi* and lists knowledge on the “*Ceremoniale delle Corti*” first among other points, indicating the importance ascribed to ceremonial knowledge by early modern noblemen.<sup>27</sup> On the 19<sup>th</sup> February 1654, a Muscovite embassy visited the Swedish court. Montecucoli and Whitelocke, both describe the audience of the Muscovites. Montecucoli writes: “*In the morning, the Queen held a public audience for the Muscovite emissaries. She received them sitting on her throne under a red velvet baldachin with gold fringes, surrounded by her courtiers, without the ladies of the court. To be found there was the English ambassador. The emissaries were introduced and presented their ovations in their language, preceding name and title of their sovereign to the Queen's. The interpreter, who stood next to the Queen, translated what he [= the Muscovite emissary] said into the Swedish language.*

24 H. REEVE, *A Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 231 f.

25 On ceremony at the Swedish court see: F. PERSSON, *Courts*, pp. 279–285.

26 *Viaggio in Svezia del mese di Dicembre, l'Anno 1653*, in: A. TESTA (ed.), *Le Opere*, 3, p. 291 (KA NL 492, a/4/10, s. d. (1654), fol. 8<sup>v</sup>).

27 KA NL 492, a/4/6, s. d. (1652–1654), *Osservazioni ne'viaggi*. For the importance of ceremonial knowledge see: Lucien BÉLY, *Das Wissen über das diplomatische Zeremoniell in der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger (ed.), *Alles nur symbolisch? Bilanz und Perspektiven der Erforschung symbolischer Kommunikation*, Münster 2013, pp. 141–159, here p. 148.

*The Queen told her secretary, who stood next to her, who translated her answer into the Russian language. The First Emissary presented to the Queen the Grand Duke's letter which she received and handed to her secretary. The envoy kissed the Queen's hand, bowed down two steps away from her with his hands lowered to the earth, as if he wanted to kiss the floor, he righted himself up and retreated.*"<sup>28</sup>

The gesture performed by the Muscovite envoy was a pyrokinesis, an ancient ritual act of submission. Neither Montecuccoli or Whitelocke had performed such a gesture in their inaugural audience. Whitelocke, who, as we have learnt from Montecuccoli, was also present at this audience, gave an almost identical account of it: "*The Audience was in this manner: – First, there presented himself a tall, big man, with a large, rude, black beard, pale countenance, and ill demeanour. His habit was a long robe of purple cloth, laced with a small gold lace, the livery of his master. On his right-hand was a companion in the same livery, and much like the Envoy in feature and behaviour; he carried on high the great Duke's letters set in a frame of wood, with a covering of crimson sarsenet over them. On the left-hand of the Envoy was his interpreter. After his uncouth reverences made, he spake [sic] to the Queen in his own language. The greatest part of his harangue in the beginning might be understood to be nothing but his master's titles. In the midst of his speech he was quite out, but after a little pause recovered himself again with the assistance of a paper. When he had done, one of the Queen's servants interpreted in Swedish what was said; then one of the Queen's secretaries answered in Swedish to what the Envoy had spoken, and that was interpreted to him in his own language by his own interpreter. After this, the Envoy cast himself flat upon his face on the floor, and seemed to kiss it; then rising up again, he went and kissed the Queen's hand, holding his own hands behind him. In the same order his fellow demeaned himself, and presented to the Queen his master's letters.*"<sup>29</sup>

These two elements of symbolic communication, the standing / sitting reception and the use of interpreters, are matters of hierarchy and status, assigning to each participant a place that matches his or her reputation. Hierarchy and status were represented for example

28 "*La mattina la Regina dà publica audienza à gli Inviati di Moscovia. Ella stà a sedere nella sedia sotto al baldachino di velluto rosso con frangie d'oro, mà senza gradini, è attorniata da tutti li cavalieri, ma senza dame, e vi si trova anche l'Ambasciator d'Inghilterra. Sono introdotti gl' Inviati, e fanno il lor complimento in lor lingua, premetendo il titolo del lor signore, e poi quello della Regina. L'interprete, il quale sta a canto della Regina, ridice in Svedese quello, che costui ha detto, la regina parla ad un suo Segretario, che similmente li sta a canto, e più vicino che l'interprete, il quale risponde, e l'interprete ripiglia la risposta, e la dice in lingua Russica. L'invioato presenta poi nelle mani della Regina la lettera del Gran Duca, la quale è piegata sì ampla, come un foglio di carta ed è tenuta da un canto in un ornesimo: la Regina la piglia, e la dà al Segretario. Poi l'invioato bacia la mano della Regina, ed a due passi di là, si china con le mani per terra, come s'egli volesse baciare la terra, e poi si rizza, e si ritira.*" A. TESTA, *Le Opere*, 3, pp. 294 f.

29 H. REEVE, *A Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 406 f.



by seating arrangements on a banquet table.<sup>30</sup> For the 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1654, Montecucoli's journal describes such an arrangement at the banquet table in the castle of Västerås: "*La mattina alle 10 ore vado alla Corte, e vi trovo il Principe Reale: si desina e sono alla tavola: la Regina, il Principe Reale, il Principe Adolfo suo fratello, Todt, Steinberg, ed io.*"<sup>31</sup> The location of Raimondo Montecucoli at the table is described as opposite to the Queen, next to the Royal prince and his younger brother. Sitting next to the Royal prince – the future King Carl X. Gustav – in a confined circle confirms Montecucoli's standing in the symbolic order of the Swedish court. Montecucoli pays special attention to this scene in his journal, as he not only explicitly mentions all the protagonists and their function but also produces a drawing depicting the seating arrangement. Bulstrode Whitelocke writes in his journal and clearly is acknowledging Montecucoli's exceptionality at the Swedish court: "*This Montecucoli was General of the Horse to the Emperor, and one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. He came hither from the Emperor's Court to visit the Queen; others said he came to solicit a marriage between the Queen and his master's son, the King of the Romans. The Queen used him with great civility and testimonies of favour, whereof he is deserving, being a gentleman of much honour and very ingenious in his discourse, and of a gallant carriage.*"<sup>32</sup> If even the English ambassador is recognizing the exceptionality of an Imperial diplomat, it can be assumed that Montecucoli's fame was working for him as a diplomat. Montecucoli's exceptionality was not a matter of just one deviation from the ceremonial norm. Rather, it was a matter of a dialectics between several components, some of which already became apparent in his inaugural audience. If Montecucoli's military fame would have been of no symbolic weight, the Queen would not have mentioned it in the inaugural audience and Montecucoli would not have referred to her words in his journal.

## Montecucoli's fame and the Swedish court

Montecucoli records an occasion where he was invited by Swedish general Arvid Wittenberg (1606–1657) for lunch: "*General Wittenberg invited me for diner. After I had been at court earlier, I went to Wittenberg, where I was treated lavishly.*"<sup>33</sup> Arvid Wittenberg

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30 William ROOSEN, *Early Modern Diplomatic Ceremonial. A Systems Approach*, *Journal of Modern History* 52, 1980, pp. 452–476.

31 A. TESTA, *Le Opere*, 3, p. 299. "*In the morning at 10 o'clock I went to court where I found the Royal Prince. For dinner at the table were: The Queen, the Royal Prince, Prince Adolphus his brother, Todt, Steinberg and I.*"

32 H. REEVE, *A Journal*, Vol. I, p. 419.

33 "*Il General Wittenberg, mi fa pregare a desinare. Vado a Corte, poi a desinare da Wittenberg, il quale tratta sontuosamente.*" A. TESTA, *Le Opere*, 3, p. 301.

(Montecuccoli consequently writes about “Wittenberg”), *Reichszeugmeister* at the time of Montecuccoli’s mission, was cavalry officer under the Swedish army’s supreme commander General Field Marshal (*General Fältmarskalk*) Lennart Torstenson (1603–1651), who threatened Vienna in 1645 after his major victory in the Battle of Jankau. The Imperial Army managed to defeat Torstenson despite its own weakness near Brigittenau, after Raimondo Montecuccoli successfully led 2 000 men to attack an auxiliary army under Wittenberg of 8 000 men, thereby severely hampering the Swedish offensive.<sup>34</sup> In 1646, Wittenberg followed Torstensson as supreme commander of the Swedish army in Germany and encountered Montecuccoli on the war theatre of Silesia. From his time as a Swedish prisoner of war, Raimondo Montecuccoli was familiar with Swedish customs and it is very likely that he had at least a rudimentary knowledge of the Swedish language. He employed them to gather valuable social contacts at the Swedish court, hence to strive for social capital in the form of social contacts and networks.<sup>35</sup> Like Montecuccoli, early modern diplomats pursued the establishment of networks by visiting eminent courtiers during their mission. For Montecuccoli however, visiting Swedish courtiers often was synonymous with encountering former war opponents, though this time he faced them at the dining table rather than on the battlefield. Montecuccoli was familiar with Swedish customs and it is very likely that he had at least a rudimentary knowledge of the Swedish language. After being wounded on the left arm during a skirmish with Swedish troops near Mělník, Raimondo Montecuccoli was captured by the Swedish in 1639. He was not captured for the first time, but this time his name was well known to Swedish field marshal Johan Banér (1596–1641), who rejected any attempt to exchange Montecuccoli with two Swedish colonels, held in captivity by the Imperial Army. Instead, Raimondo Montecuccoli was held as a prisoner in Stettin and Weimar from 1639–1642 under honourable conditions and he not only got acquainted to the Swedish language and culture but propably also learnt more about the Swedish military and its leading figures.<sup>36</sup> Knowledge of that kind is not only indispensable for a military leader but also for a diplomat. Therefore, we find the “*Case principali di Cavalieri, Dame e ministri*” – the most important noble houses, ladies and ministers in Montecuccoli’s *Osservazioni ne’viaggi*.<sup>37</sup> For the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 1654, one day after his inaugural audience, Montecuccoli’s journal mentions the highest court offices and their bearers by name: “*The highest court offices are: 1. The keeper of*

34 Constantin von WURZBACH, *Montecuculi, Raimund Fürst*, in: Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich. 19. Theil, Wien 1868, pp. 46–50, here p. 46.

35 Matthias KÖHLER, *Strategie und Symbolik. Verhandeln auf dem Kongress von Nimwegen*, Köln – Weimar – Wien 2011, pp. 169–174.

36 H. KAUFMANN, *Raimondo Montecuccoli*, p. 14.

37 KA NL 492, a/4/6 s. d. (1652–1654), *Osservazioni ne’viaggi*.

the seal, who also is responsible for justice, presently entrusted to Count Brahe, from the Danish family Ticone. 2. The field commander, an office held by field marshal Gustav Horn; subordinated to him is Reichszeugmeister Wittenberg. 3. The admiral, presently an Oxenstierna and Grand Vice-admiral is marshal Wrangel. The chancellor, an office held by the old Oxenstierna. The treasurer, Count Magnus de la Gardie, fell from grace presently. The first equerry is Steinberg and the captain of the Queen's guard is Count Todt, son of the deceased General Todt. There are four companies of guards, each with 150 men. Die number of senators counted 24, now the Queen had increased it to 40.”<sup>38</sup> Occasionally personated by their family ties, all the court offices are designated by the names of the bearers. Among them is General Wittenberg, whose office's name, *Reichszeugmeister*, is listed – like others – under a German term, which probably should make it easier for Montecucoli's successors as diplomats to Sweden to distinguish the different offices at the Swedish court. Wittenberg was also one of three people<sup>39</sup> Montecucoli informed about his arrival in Uppsala on the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 1654: The other two were the Spanish ambassador Antonio Pimentel de Prado y lo Bianco (1604–1671/72) and another Swedish general, referred to as “*Linden*” in Montecucoli's journal, whose full name was Lorens von der Linde (1610–1670), brother of Erik von der Linde (1611–1666) the Swedish court's *maître des ceremonies*, who was responsible for the ceremonial introduction of foreign ambassadors. The *maître des ceremonies* was a key figure for a diplomat's inaugural audience and it is likely that Montecucoli tried to approach Erik von der Linde via his brother Lorens, who Montecucoli probably knew from the Thirty Years' War.<sup>40</sup>

Personal relationships were of utmost importance for a diplomat, especially in the initial phase of his mission: “*I announced my arrival to the Spanish ambassador, General Wittenberg and General Linden. The latter came to me in the afternoon, followed by the Spanish ambassador. This one said friendly things to me and praised the Count Andreas*

38 “*La cariche maggiori del Regno sono: 1. Reichsdroste, che ha in cura le cose della giustizia, e tale è oggi un Conte Brahe, della casa di Ticone, e vennto di Danimarca. 2. Veldherr, ovvero Connestabile, ch'è Gustavo Horn, che fu già Maresciallo di Campo, e sotto di lui il Reichszeugmeister, ch'è il general Wittenberg, et altri capi di guerra. 3. Reichs Admiral, ch'è un Oxenstiern, e grande Vice Ammiraglio è il Marescial Wrangel. 4. Il gran cancelliere| Reichscanzler| ch'è il vecchio Oxenstiern. 5. Il gran tesoriere| Reichs Schatzmeister| ch'è il conte Magni de la Garde ora disgraziato. Le premier escuyer è il Steinberg, et il Capitano delle guardie della Regina è il Conte Todt, figlio dell già Generale Todt. La compagnia di guardia del Corpo sono 4, di 150 uomini. Il numero de 'Senatori era già di 24, ora la Regina l'irà accresciuto sino a 40.*” A. TESTA, *Le Opere*, 3, p. 292.

39 Mistakenly, Veltz's edition speaks of two generals of that name – “*den beiden beide Generalen Wittenberg*”. A. VELTZÉ (ed.), *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 3, p. 90. Montecucoli in fact only refers to one general of that name, Arvid Wittenberg and only is in Veltz's register: A. VELTZÉ (ed.), *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 4, p. 526.

40 Often, the diplomat negotiated with the master of ceremonies about the details of the inaugural audience. See: L. BÉLY, *Wissen*, p. 148.

*Montecuccoli, especially for his bravery in the Battle of Rocroi, in which he, in a Spanish regiment, conquered a pike and was captured by the French. In the evening, another Linden visited me, the brother of the general, and maître des ceremonies, whose office it is to introduce the Ambassadors to the Queen, and the foreigners of status. I beseeched him to get permission to introduce myself to Queen. He promised me to present my wish to the Queen the next morning after her rising and to let me know her decision.*"<sup>41</sup>

As representative of the Spanish king Philipp IV (1605–1665), Pimentel's relationship with the Imperial envoy Montecuccoli was despite the apparently deteriorated relation between the Spanish and the Austrian branches of the House of Habsburg characterised by mutual appreciation. Pimentel makes compliments to Raimondo Montecuccoli and emphasizes his appreciation by praising Montecuccoli's cousin Andrea Montecuccoli and his conduct in the Battle of Rocroi 1643. In 1655, when Christina was already in Flanders after her abdication, Andrea Montecuccoli was issued with the Amaranterorden after Raimondo Montecuccoli had strongly supported his cousin's request to be invested with it. Raimondo himself already was a member of this Order, which Christina had founded in 1653. While she was still a sovereign, Christina issued many foreign diplomats at the Swedish court with the Amaranterorden: The Spanish ambassador Antonio Pimentel,<sup>42</sup> who was the first to be issued with the Order, Pierre Chanut (1601–1662) who was French ambassador in Sweden 1645–1649<sup>43</sup> and Bulstrode Whitelocke all were knights of the Amaranterorden like Raimondo Montecuccoli.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, Whitelocke gives no account of when or how he became a member of the Order. The reason for this is according to Howard Reeve that the Amaranterorden was at the time when the journal was composed not recognized by the English College of Arms, and therefore Whitelocke's knighthood

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41 “...io mando a complimentare l'Ambasciatore di Spagna, il General Wittemberg ed il General Linden; dopo mezzo dì, viene egli Linden a visitarmi, e poco dopo viene l'Ambasciatore di Spagna e mi fa mille complimenti, e loda molto il Conte Andrea Montecuccoli particolarmente per l'azione fatta alla battaglia di Rocroy, nella quale prese una pica in un Reggimento spagnuolo e fu fatto prigioniero da' francesi. La sera viene a visitarmi un altro Linden, fratello del Generale, ed il quale è maître des ceremonies, ed ha l'uffizio d'introdurre alla Regina gli Ambasciatori, e li forestieri di condizione: Ond'io lo prego ch'io possa per mezzo del suo favour inchinarmi alla Regina, e degli mi dice, che la mattina seguente, subito al levar della Regina, gli notificherà il mio desiderio, emi farà sapere la risoluzione.” A. TESTA (ed.), *Le Opere*, 3, pp. 290 f.

42 The Spanish ambassador Pimentel was the first recipient of Christina's Amaranterorden after its foundation in 1653.

43 Pierre Chanut was the first foreign diplomat to learn about Christina's abdication scheme in 1649. See: H. REEVE, *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 444.

44 Susanna ÅKERMAN, *Queen Christina of Sweden and her Circle: The Transformation of a Seventeenth-Century Philosophical Libertine*, Leiden 1991, pp. 146 f.

was not legitimate in England at the time. Only in 1661, Whitelocke's knighthood of the Amaranterorden was recognized by the College, after Christina had confirmed it.<sup>45</sup>

Whitelocke, who was present at Raimondo Montecucoli's investment ceremony, gives a description of the Order itself: "... *the jewel of the order hung in the scarf, which was about the compass of half-a-crown; it was made of gold, a round wreath wrought and enamelled like to laurel, and in the midst thereof two great As reversed, set thick with diamonds, the two As for the first and last letters of Amaranta; and about the wreath was written in Italian "Dulce nella memoria" [= sweet in the memory], that is, of a certain noble and famous great lady named Amaranta, who was an eminent pattern and example of honour and virtue, in memory of whom this Order was instituted. The Queen herself is sovereign of the Order; the companions of it made by her were the Prince Palatine and his brother Prince Adolphus, the King of Poland, the Duke of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Spanish Resident, the Count de Montecuculi, and divers other great lords, and afterwards Whitelocke was honoured also by the Queen to be made a knight of this order.*"<sup>46</sup>

Whitelocke lists the most illustrious knights of the Amaranterorden, among them two Swedish princes and a king, before he mentions that he himself is one of them. Like many secular orders, the Amaranterorden was founded to bind high-ranking noblemen to a sovereign's cause and to establish and secure bonds with other sovereigns.<sup>47</sup> The ceremony of investment included kneeling and an oath – two actions of symbolic communication that were heavily loaded with meaning. The whole ceremony should establish a bond between Christina, the Order's founder and Montecucoli, the knight. Raimondo Montecucoli was invested with the *Amaranterorden* on the 26<sup>th</sup> February 1654, as he writes in his journal: "*I took her hand and the dance started; after the ball had lasted for an hour, pastries and refreshments were handed round. Hereupon, the Queen send for the Amaranterorden which she herself used to wear, and a crimson ribbon to be brought. I knelt before her and swore the oath, while laying my hands in hers, thereafter she attached the Order to my coat and put the ribbon around my neck.*"<sup>48</sup> As in the inaugural audience, the investment ceremony offers a rich symbolic vocabulary. The symbolic

45 R. SPALDING, *Puritan*, p. 290.

46 H. REEVE, *A Journal*, Vol. I, p. 424.

47 Martin WREDE, *Ohne Furcht und Tadel – Für König und Vaterland. Frühneuzeitlicher Hochadel zwischen Familienehre, Ritterideal und Fürstendienst*, Ostfildern 2012, pp. 245 f. For the Amaranterorden see: S. ÅKERMAN, *Queen Christina of Sweden*, p. 144.

48 "...io piglio per la mano, e si comincia il branlò; un'ora doppo di aver ballato si portano confetture e rinfreschi, poi la Regina fa venire l'ordine d'Armaranta (è quel medesimo ch'ella ha portato) ed una banda di colore di fuoco con pizzi d'argento ed oro, e dandomi l'ordine, e prestando io il giuramento à ginocchioni innanzi a lei, e con le mani fra le sue, mi lega l'ordine al giubbone, e mi mette la banda al collo." A. TESTA (ed.), *Le Opere*, 3, p. 297.

gesture of kneeling was deeply rooted in Christian culture, resting on the belief that elevation follows the gesture of humility.<sup>49</sup> Montecuccoli, the invested, is thereby elevated by the Queen to be a knight of the Amaranterorden, after he knelt before her and swore the oath. The swearing of the oath, the touching of the Queen's hands inasmuch as the actual ribbon denote the symbolic bond between Christina, the knights and ladies of the Order, in the light of the ideals of the order described by Bulstrode Whitelocke in his journal: "... she declared his duty in that order, to maintain and defend virtue and the honour of virtuous ladies, to endeavour to correct vice, to perform honourable actions, to keep his faith inviolable, with divers the like matters relating to honour and virtuous performances, which the Count promised to observe". This instruction was more meant as a performed compliment for the invested, it was requested that the invested already observes the mentioned duty, which was the very reason why he received the Order in the first place. To become a member of the Amaranterorden – and it was by any means like other European secular Orders – the aspiring knight's reputation should already match the ideals of the Order before he is knighted. In the entry of 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1654–three days before to his investment – Raimondo Montecuccoli describes "After him came one Jacob, who makes miniature portraits of wax. He said, he was send by the Queen, to portray me in that fashion, like he already made portraits of all the other illustrious people, and that her majesty has the intention of framing all the portraits in golden medallions."<sup>50</sup> By referring to the members of the Amaranterorden as "uomini illustri", the member-to-be Raimondo Montecuccoli classified himself as an *uomo illustre*, an illustrious man, which has deserved to be a knight of Christina's Order because of his merits, achievements and virtues.<sup>51</sup>

The 17<sup>th</sup> century still largely associated the nobility with chivalry's ideal of honour; it favoured values and practices, like the carrousel, the early modern version of the medieval tournaments. This code of chivalry had not yet lost its military connotation and provided a frame of reference for reciprocal expectations that configured social relationships.<sup>52</sup> The confidence Christina put in Montecuccoli was legitimized by his reputation, which can

49 G. ALTHOFF, *Das Grundvokabular der Rituale*, pp. 150 f.

50 "Doppo viene da me un certo Jacopo inglese, il quale fa ritratti di cera in picciolo, e dice d'essere mandato dalla Regina per ritrarmi à quell modo, sì come fa di tutti gli uomini illustri, volendo poi la S. Maestà farli gettar tutti in medaglie d'oro." A. TESTA (ed.), *Le Opere*, 3, p. 296.

51 Christina's Order was open for men and women: According to Henry Woodhead, the Amaranterorden consisted of 15 men and 15 ladies. See: Henry WOODHEAD, *Memoirs of Christina, Queen of Sweden. In 2 Volumes. Vol. 1*, London 1863, p. 141.

52 For chivalry and early modern courtly culture see: Martin WREDE, *Code, Konzept und Konjunkturen des Rittertums in der französischen Hofkultur des 17. Jahrhunderts*, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 33, 2007, pp. 350–374.

be described in terms of expectations directed towards chivalry, expectations that were both imperative for Montecucoli as for Christina: On the evening of the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1654, Montecucoli went to court, where he found Christina already in her dressing gown: “*In the evening, I went to court. The Queen in her dressing gown ensured me that under confidence in my ingenuity and my chivalric virtue she wishes to confide me a matter of utmost importance and that she believes that God has led me here: I was a bit doubtful, although I will be told about everything by Pimentel, in whose room I have an appointment at eight in the morning.*”<sup>53</sup> It is noteworthy that Montecucoli uses a version of the Swedish word for “Queen” – “*drottning*” – although he refers to Christina with the Italian *Regina* elsewhere in his journal.<sup>54</sup> By using the Queen’s language to represent a scenario in which Christina intends to divulge her most secret plans to him, Montecucoli depicts himself as a formidable nobleman, whose “*valore cavalleresco*” (“chivalric values”) besides his “*ingenuità*” (“frankness”/“candour”) apparently made the Queen to bestow him with the Amaranterorden. All this virtues and ideals were part of the nobility’s education and where as much of importance as patronage and kinship for a career in princely service.

Montecucoli’s mission to Sweden was crucial for his later career in Habsburg service.<sup>55</sup> He visited the Brandenburg court where he had an audience with Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg (1620–1688), was introduced to the Electress of Brandenburg, Louise Henrietta of Nassau (1627–1667) and sat at the Elector’s table between the Prince of Croy, *Hofmarschall* at the Brandenburg court and Otto Christoph von Rochow, a Swedish noble and soldier.<sup>56</sup> This visit in Brandenburg on his journey to the Sweden was very likely a reason why Raimondo Montecucoli was selected for a diplomatic mission to Brandenburg in 1658. Then, Raimondo Montecucoli’s task was to support the Imperial envoy Franz von Lisola (1613–1674) in alliance negotiations with Brandenburg during the Second Northern War (1655–1660). Lisola, a renowned Imperial diplomat, was

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53 “*Vado la sera à corte. Droning in robba di note mi dice assicurassi, ed aver fidezza nella mia ingenuità, e valore cavalleresco, voler confidarmi cosa di sua maggior importanza, e credere Dio avermi condotto qua a posta: Io starsi un pezzo insieme essere sospetto, e però ch’io intenderò ogni cosa dal Pimentel, alle cui stanza concerto d’essere la mattina seguente all’otto ore.*” A. TESTA (ed.), *Le Opere*, 3, p. 298. The matter of utmost importance (“*cosa di sua maggior importanza*”) was concerning Christina’s secret plans to convert to Catholicism. She converted in Innsbruck on her way to Rome in 1655, one of the witnesses was Raimondo Montecucoli.

54 This word is spelled differently in the individual Scandinavian languages: *Drottning* (Swedish, Icelandic), *dronning* (Norwegian, Danish). In the German 1899 edition of Montecucoli’s writings, Alois Veltzé does not translate *Droning* and makes no comment on it in a footnote, as if it was just the name of a person. However, a *Droning* is absent from the register in his volume, so he probably was aware of the word’s meaning. A. VELTZE (ed.), *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 3, p. 101.

55 S. SUTHERLAND, *Battlefield*, pp. 915–938.

56 A. TESTA (ed.), *Le Opere*, 3, p. 281.

a jurist and had no military vocation whatsoever. When Montecuccoli was sent to Brandenburg, Lisola already had negotiated with Brandenburg for months, without much success so far. Brandenburg, which before was allied with Sweden, switched sides in 1657 to join the anti-Swedish alliance and therefore the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>57</sup> In Montecuccoli's and Lisola's joint legation, the former was preferred to the latter, since he received a special instruction ("*Nebeninstruction*") – for his eyes only – including an authorization for Montecuccoli which was missing in Lisola's otherwise identical instruction.<sup>58</sup> This authorization concerned concessions, which consisted in the concession of sending 6 000 Imperial troops to support the war effort in Brandenburg against the Swedish. Obligated to not inform Lisola about this special instruction, it appears that Montecuccoli was chosen for this mission for three reasons: First, his acquaintance with the Berlin court and with the Elector. Second, his military fame, which added symbolic weight to the Imperial position in the negotiations, which Lisola already had pursued for months.<sup>59</sup> Third, Montecuccoli should counter-balance Lisola, whose conduct of negotiations was not to the satisfaction of the Viennese court.<sup>60</sup>

## Military Experience and Diplomacy

Military experience was honoured by acknowledging an officer's aptitude for the assigned command. Finding that a supreme commander lacks experience also questioned his reputation. In his account of the events and peculiarities of the German campaigns in 1647 and 1648, Raimondo Montecuccoli criticized the newly appointed supreme commander of the Imperial army Peter Melander Count of Holzappel (1589–1648) and judged him to be unqualified to be *Generalleutnant*,<sup>61</sup> stating: "*At the beginning of the year Count Matthias Gallas, who for a long time since Wallenstein's death had commanded the Imperial Army in the charge of General-Lieutenant, had passed on to the other life. And Count Heinrich Schlick, who was president of the Aulic War Council and who privately befriended Count Holzappel, took this opportunity, to recommend him to the Emperor to*

57 Robert FROST, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721*, Harlow 2000.

58 Alfred Francis PRIBRAM, *Franz Paul Freiherr von Lisola (1613–1674) und die Politik seiner Zeit*, Leipzig 1894, p. 146.

59 *Ibidem*, pp. 128–152, especially pp. 146–149.

60 Klaus MÜLLER, *Das kaiserliche Gesandtschaftswesen im Jahrhundert nach dem Westfälischen Frieden 1648–1740*, Bonn 1976, p. 89.

61 The *Generalleutnant* was the acting commander-in-chief and the Emperor's deputy in the military camp. See: Michael HOCHEDLINGER, *Austria's Wars of Emergence: War, State and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy 1683–1797*, New York – London 2003, p. 112.



provide him with the supreme command over the army in the charge of a field marshal. Because he never commanded an army in the meaning of the word, and because his command never extended over the army of the Landgrave of Hessen, he was no match for this position, and because he was new to the army as the army was new to him, this caused disharmony in the minds and disturbance in the arrangements. Gallas used to say about Holzappel, that he will need a period of at least two years, in which he, to instruct himself and acquire the needed skills, should do nothing but observe, what is practice in the army, and gather experience in command.”<sup>62</sup> A lowborn like Melander benefited from social conditions – for example his family’s connections with the princely family of Orange-Nassau – to fashion his career in the military. Melander gained his military reputation in the service of Hessen-Kassel in the Thirty Year’s War fighting the Catholic League, although he changed sides and was awarded by the Emperor with the title of Reichsgraf von Holzappel.<sup>63</sup> It is neither fruitful nor justified to interpret Montecucoli’s critical remarks as proof for Melander’s actual lack of qualification or as a hint to personal animosities between him and Montecucoli. The latter’s doubt of Melander’s qualification as *Generalleutnant* can be interpreted as an act of symbolic positioning. By describing Melander’s incapability for the assigned position, Montecucoli issues his criterions for what an *ideal successor* for Matthias Gallas should be like: While the most eminent problem of Melander is his lack of experience, the hypothetical *ideal Generalleutnant* should already own the required experience and be familiar with the army. This familiarity should enable the implicitly portrayed *ideal commander* to bring uniformity to the war effort, while Melander fails in this respect, in Montecucoli’s account. While the description of Melander avoids disputing his military qualification in general, it is explicit in arguing that his missing qualification for the

62 “Su ‘l principio dell’Anno era il Conte Mattias Gallasso, il quale da molto tempo adietro, cioè dalla morte del Wallenstein sin allora, avea retto l’Arme Cesaree in carica di Tenente Generale, passato all’altra vita. Ed il Conte Enrico Schlick, ch’era in quel tempo Presidente del Consiglio Aulico di Guerra, che avea private amicizia col Melandro, detto Conte di Holzappel, prese questa occasione di promoverlo appresso all’ Imperatore, e di fargli avere il commando dell’Arme, con carica di Maresciallo di Campo. Ma non avendo egli mai per l’adietro governati esserciti giusti, né steso il suo commando più oltre che sovra le truppe della Landgravia di Hessen, veniva stimato non pari al posto, e l’esser egli all’essercito, e l’essercito a lui nuovo, cagionava disarmonia negli animi, e sconcerto nelle disposizioni. Soleva dire Gallasso dell’Holzappel, che bisognava ch’egli per due anni di spazio non facesse altro che osservare quello che si praticava nell’essercito, e praticar nella Cavalleria per bene istruirsi, e rendersi abile.” A. TESTA (ed.), *Le Opere*, 3, p. 161. On Matthias Gallas see: Robert REBITSCH, *Matthias Gallas (1588–1647): Generalleutnant des Kaisers zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Eine militärische Biographie*, Münster 2006.

63 Two monographies deal with Peter Melander von Holzappel, both are dated and apologetic: Wilhelm HOFMANN, *Peter Melander, Reichsgraf zu Holzappel. Ein Characterbild aus der Zeit des 30jährigen Krieges*, München 1882; Rudolf SCHMIDT, *Ein Calvinist als Kaiserlicher Feldmarschall im 30jährigen Krieg*, Berlin 1895. A reference for his biography is: Fritz GEISTHARDT, *Holzappel, Peter Graf zu*, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie (NDB)*, Bd. 9, Berlin 1972, p. 571.

position of *Generalleutnant* is due to his lack of experience. Imperial general, diplomat and writer Giorgio Basta (1550–1607) understood experience (“*isperienza*”) as cultural capital: Experience enabled military leaders to make the right decisions and to act according to prudence.<sup>64</sup> The importance of experience was hardly confined to the military. Often, diplomats were selected for a mission because of their experience with the receiving court and countries people, culture and language.<sup>65</sup> A distant relative to Raimondo, Alfonso Montecucoli (1546–1607)<sup>66</sup> was military leader and Tuscan ambassador extraordinary to the Court of St James in 1603, a post he received because of the “*prudent experience that besides your military profession you have of the actions of the world and of the courts of the Princes, and your knowledge of diverse languages*”.<sup>67</sup> In its different variations, prudence marked both the *ideal commander* and the *good ambassador*. Prudence went hand in hand with physical qualities like *la prestance* in distinguishing the ideal military commander.<sup>68</sup> *La prestance* referred to stoutness, meaning a handsome appearance in accord with the ideal noble masculine body image of the time. This ideal is represented, for example, in the shape of cuirasses worn by noble military commanders, which mirrored the pyknic ideal body image of the time.<sup>69</sup> Raimondo Montecucoli himself related physical and moral qualities of generals in his *Della Guerra col turco in Ungheria* by labelling them as natural (“*naturali*”) and acquired (“*aquistate*”). Montecucoli lists natural qualities: “*Martial spirit, a healthy, robust temperament, large limbs, vivid blood, which causes boldness in danger, dignity in manners and indefatigability in businesses*.”<sup>70</sup> Montecucoli reproduces early modern medicine’s view, which saw vivid blood (“*sangue ispiritoso*”) in consistency with

64 Giorgio BASTA, *Il maestro di campo generale di Giorgio Basta conte d’Hust. Generale per l’imperatore nella Transilvania ...*, Venice 1606, p. 1.

65 Daniela FRIGO, *Prudence and Experience: Ambassadors and Political Culture in Early Modern Italy*, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (1), 2008, pp. 15–34, especially pp. 24–29.

66 See: Zoltán Péter BAGI, *Alfonso Montecucoli a Habsburg család szolgálatában*, AETAS – Történettudományi folyóirat 30 (3), 2015, pp. 37–50; Zoltán Péter BAGI, *Die Karriere Alfonso Montecucolis im Dienste der Familie Habsburg 1570–1593*, in: Podravina: časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja 14 (28), 2015, pp. 73–83.

67 English translation of his instructions in: Alessandra CONTINI, *Aspects of Medicean Diplomacy in the Sixteenth Century*, in: Daniela Frigo (ed.), *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 49–94, here pp. 92 f.

68 On *la prestance* in the ideal noble masculine body image see: M. WREDE, *Ohne Furcht und Tadel*, p. 326.

69 See, for example, the field cuirass of Johann Count Sporck (1600–1679), Imperial general of the cavalry, in the permanent exhibition of the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum Wien (Museum of Military History Vienna), Hall 1. The pyknic body type is characterized by a big head, thickset body and sturdy muscularity. It was seen in coherence with the above mentioned moral qualities.

70 “*Il genio marziale ed il temperamento sano, robusto, di estremità grandi, e ripieno di sangue ispiritoso, onde de risultano la intrepidezza nel pericolo, il decoro nella presenza e l’infatigabilità nel negozio*.” R. LURAGHI (ed.), *Le Opere*, 2, p. 266.

moral qualities.<sup>71</sup> Military commanders should control their emotions, to deploy them when necessary, for example to teach disobedient soldiers to follow orders.<sup>72</sup> In addition to his natural qualities, the ideal general should seek to acquire “*The virtues of prudence, of justice, of firmness and of temperance*”.<sup>73</sup> Here, Montecucoli lists the Platonic cardinal virtues, preserved and reinterpreted in the political philosophy of the Renaissance.<sup>74</sup> Of all four, prudence was given emphasis by writers like Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), who defined prudence as the ability of anticipation, affirming the good and fighting evil.<sup>75</sup>

Montecucoli's fame outlived him and his contemporaries, transcending even the borders of the at some point in history separated military traditions of Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: In the 1930s, a whole class of the Italian Navy's light-cruisers was named after the Condottieri-class light cruiser *Raimondo Montecucoli*, an Italian warship named after Raimondo Montecucoli himself. Later, the class of 1980 of the Austrian Military Academy *Theresianische Militärakademie* chose the name *Raimondo Montecucoli* in honour of the great military commander, to remember the tercentenary of his death. Of course, both the Italian Navy and the *Militärakademie* thought not of Raimondo Montecucoli, the diplomat but of Raimondo Montecucoli, the military hero.

## Perspectives

Examining noble military agents in the military and in diplomacy promises a deeper understanding of in noblemen's practices in both fields. Due to Montecucoli's military reputation, he was assigned a status at the Swedish court which opened possible ways of accessing the Queen and her inner circle of confidants, manifested in the Queen's *Amaranterorden*. His military fame worked in Montecucoli's favour, because of the symbolic capital of being well-known at the Swedish court for his military conduct against the Swedish in the Thirty Year's War, where he had encountered many Swedish officers on the battlefield, he later met again during his stay at the Swedish court.

71 On Galen's theory see: Mary LINDEMANN, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 1999, p. 69.

72 Jonathan DEWALD, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1570–1715*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1993, p. 65.

73 “*La virtù della prudenza, della giustizia, della fortezza, e della temperanza.*” R. LURAGHI (ed.), *Le Opere*, 2, p. 266.

74 For example, Giovanni Cavalcanti (1381–1451) in his *Trattato politico-morale*. See: Marcella T. GRENDLER, *The “Trattato politico-morale” of Giovanni Cavalcanti. A Critical Edition and Interpretation*, Genf 1973.

75 See: Giovanni PANNO, *Die Tugenden des Fürsten zwischen Sein und Schein (Kapitel 15–17)*, in: Otfried Höffe (ed.), Niccolò Machiavelli, *Der Fürst*, Berlin 2012, pp. 96 f.

Besides, Montecuccoli owned cultural capital for this mission: He was familiar with Swedish customs, understood and spoke at least some Swedish and was as military commander especially qualified to connect with the courtiers who shared military experience. Experience as a distinguishing quality was even increased in its value if it was accompanied by prudence. Prudence was equally important for *perfect commanders* and for *ideal ambassadors*. Experience and prudence therefore were main factors for a career as military leader, diplomat and court office holder. By constituting the military fame of a noble military commander like Montecuccoli, experience and prudence provided him with a resource for his diplomatic mission. Montecuccoli's social capital existed in the form of acquaintance with important people like Pimentel or General Wittenberg. His cultural capital existed in form of a noble education, military experience and experience with the Swedish. Both forms were associated with the virtue of prudence: The social recognition and attribution of this virtue increased Montecuccoli's symbolic capital and secured his reputation at the Swedish court and beyond it. This article wished to make a proposal as much as present an attempt for an integrative study of the military, diplomacy and the court. The promising outcome of such a study would be a refined understanding of the workings of early modern cultures of war and peace.