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The Diplomatic Exchange of Honours and Some Augmentations of Honour in the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

ANTTI MATIKKALA

The first part of this study discusses the diplomatic exchange of honours during the early modern era in general while the second part is a case study, which looks at some seventeenth to nineteenth century diplomatic augmentations of honour to coats of arms. The latter discusses the English and British augmentations granted to Venetian ambassadors, the relationship between the orders of knighthood and augmentations as well as some late augmentations given in recognition of particular merits and services. Besides augmentations granted by English sovereigns to foreign diplomats, this survey includes examples of those granted by foreign sovereigns to English diplomats, and foreign augmented noble arms related to the diplomatic service and recorded at the College of Arms.

I

The diplomatic gift-giving has received growing attention in recent research,¹ but the understanding of the nature of the honours remains often undefined even for the specialists of diplomatic gifts,² and attempts to their classificatory definitions unsatisfactorily vague.³ Therefore it is necessary to elucidate some of

the central concepts. Early modern diplomatic honours were part of a complex and partly overlapping web of inter-complementary means used in the conduct of foreign relations. These ranged from honours, which were worn and used with pride, to gifts – which could take any form between an elephant⁴ and sheets of copper – and further to secret gratifications, which were often regarded as shameful. Elaborating Ragnhild Hatton's terminological definitions,⁵ a rough division can be made into 1) honours, 2) presents and 3) gratifications (Table 1). While gratifications were frequently disapproved of, they were, to some extent, regarded as a 'part of the system', and thus distinct from outright bribes. Avoiding 'taking money from both sides' could be considered honourable.⁶ Hatton did not discuss honours *per se*, but wrote – in 1968 – that a 'case can be made for [...] money-gratifications' being 'the equivalents of the orders and honours which foreign governments nowadays bestow on deserving individuals of another country; but this argument ignores the real distinction which contemporaries certainly made between varying methods of gratification, some acceptable to the code of honour, some not'.

Hatton subdivided gifts into customary presents and those of politeness. The former were 'expected and accepted', and included the departing-gifts, customarily given to an envoy by the sovereign to whom he had been accredited. A present of politeness was, on the other hand, 'on the borderline between the open

¹ Guy Walton, 'Ambassadorial Gifts: An Overview of Published Material', *The Court Historian*, 14 (2009), 189–98.

² For instance, Guy Walton has claimed that 'Jeweled and enameled gold collars frequently conveyed membership in exclusive orders of chivalry such as the orders of the Golden Fleece (Austria) or the Garter (England)'. Guy Walton, 'Diplomatic and Ambassadorial Gifts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century', in Barry Shifman and Guy Walton (eds), *Gifts to the Tsars 1500–1700: Treasures from the Kremlin* (New York, 2001), 88. It was, of course, in the reverse order: collar and other insignia were indications of the membership in an order of knighthood. Jeannette Falcke's doctoral dissertation, *Studien zum diplomatischen Geschenkwesen am brandenburgisch-preussischen Hof Im 17. Und 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2006), does not include such misunderstandings of the honours, but their role and relationship to gifts remains, nevertheless, undefined.

³ 'By today's definitions, they can be classed as verging on awards, rewards, bribes, and payments.' Cordula Bischoff, 'Presents for Princesses: Gender in Royal Receiving and Giving', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 15 (2007), 19.

⁴ For the elephant given by King Manuel I of Portugal to Pope Leo X during a 'mission of obedience' in 1514, see Silvio A. Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant* (Manchester, 1997). Further examples are discussed in Carlos Gómez-Centurión, 'Treasures Fit for a King: King Charles III of Spain's Indian Elephants', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 22 (2010), 29–44.

⁵ Ragnhild Hatton, 'Gratifications and Foreign Policy: Anglo-French Rivalry in Sweden during the Nine Years War', in Ragnhild Hatton and J. S. Bromley (eds), *William III and Louis XIV: Essays 1680–1720 by and for Mark A. Thompson* (Toronto, 1968), 68–70.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 92.

The early modern diplomatic honours included titled and untitled nobility, other honorary titles, knighthoods of the orders of knighthood as well as 'simple' knighthoods (*militēs simplices*), gold medals and chains and augmentations of honour, among others. What constitutes an honour as opposed to a gift is a somewhat perplexing question and the line of distinction between the two thin.¹³ However, the crucial difference is that honours proper could only be given by a legitimate sovereign. With few notable exceptions, the concept of 'honours' is restricted in this definition to those honorary distinctions which gave either a right to use a title or to wear, in some form, a visible indication of the honour received. Thus, portable medals are here classified as honours as opposed non-portable medals, which were often given as diplomatic gifts.¹⁴ Swords of honour present another borderline case. They can be divided into purpose-made presentation swords – such as the papal Blessed Sword – and *ad hoc* swords of honour – for example, a monarch's own ordinary sword, which received its honorific character from the fact that it had been worn by a sovereign. Whether a sword was a gift or an honour must be determined almost on a case-by-case basis. Some swords of honour could be worn while others were large processional swords.

Since papacy, which was also a temporal power, took precedence before all secular powers in the Catholic world-view, the papal honours and gifts had a special spiritual, but sometimes also political and diplomatic significance. Although the papal Golden Rose (given at least since 1096) as well as the Blessed Sword and Hat (first mentioned in 1357) included some features uncommon to other honours,¹⁵

¹³ How 'gifts', in general terms, were distinguished 'from other modes of exchange and circulation, such as [...] bribes, tributes and honours' has been on the agenda of some medievalists' collaborative efforts. Ludolf Kuchenbuch, 'Porcus donativus: Language Use and Gifting in Seigneurial Records between the Eight and the Twelfth Centuries', in Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner and Bernhard Jussen (eds), *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen, 2003), 196 n. 11.

¹⁴ For example, lists of diplomatic gifts given by the king of France include a number of examples of medal collections (*médailleurs de l'Histoire du Roi*). Alexandre Pradère, 'Les armoires à médailles de l'histoire de Louis XIV par Boule et ses suivants', *Revue de l'art*, 116 (1997), 50, 51 n. 45.

¹⁵ They could be given multiple times and the Golden Rose was occasionally given collectively, for instance, to city-states. The Blessed Sword and Hat were symbolic and not meant to be worn apart from their presentation ceremony, during which the sword was girded on its recipient. However,

they were much more than mere gifts and, indeed, arguably the most prestigious honours in Latin Christendom, often conveyed to their recipients by special diplomatic missions. Although they were expensive works of art, their monetary value was of secondary importance compared to their spiritual meaning: the Golden Rose was meant to represent Christ himself, the Blessed Sword the defence of the Church and the Apostolic See and the Blessed Hat the protection of the Holy Spirit.¹⁶ The accompanying letters stressed these religious aspects, and because the minutes of the consistory meetings where the popes sometimes deliberated with the cardinals on the potential recipients have not survived, the diplomatic motives must be analysed from the political context of the time. While the Blessed Swords were personal gifts, in two cases – Scotland and Prussia – they received special national significance afterwards by being used as swords of state.¹⁷

It was quite natural that monarchical orders of knighthood and later orders of merit were used in diplomacy, but the situation is more complex in regard to the military-religious orders. John Selden, perhaps the greatest early modern scholar to write about the honours, did not discuss military-religious orders of knighthood in his *Titles of Honor* arguing that they are not truly honorary and thus not 'any way [...] fitly put amongst Titles Honorarie'.¹⁸ However, the Order of St John, called that of Rhodes and Malta, became a sovereign state, which maintained its own diplomatic representatives also

they all were often carried in processions. For the origins and history of these honours until 1585, see Elisabeth Cornides, *Rose und Schwert im päpstlichen Zeremoniell von den Anfängen bis zum Pontificat Gregors XIII.* (Wien, 1967).

¹⁶ The Blessed Sword (*stocco benedetto*) was often inscribed with the following quotation from the Deuterocanonical scriptures: *Accipe sanctum gladium munus a Deo, in quo deficiēs adversarios populi mei Israel* ('Take this holy sword, a gift from God, with the which thou shalt wound the adversaries'). 2 Maccabees 15:16.

¹⁷ Charles Burns, 'Papal Gifts to Scottish Monarchs: The Golden Rose and the Blessed Sword', *The Innes Review*, 20 (1969), 155–60, 164–5, 168. After the latter half of the eighteenth century, all recipients of the Golden Rose have been either female royals or impersonal entities. The Blessed Swords were given infrequently beginning from the 1590s and the very last was given in 1825. Cornides, *Rose und Schwert*, 120–2.

¹⁸ John Selden, *Titles of Honor* (London, 1614), 373. A condensed summary of the contents of the first two editions of *Titles of Honor* has been published by G. J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship* (2 vols, Oxford, 2009), I, 126–68.

becoming a sort of 'school for ambassadors'.¹⁹ Occasionally, the Order conferred its membership for the sake of its own diplomatic aims.

Gold chains and medals were one of the most typical departing-gifts for ambassadors and lesser diplomats. They were conspicuous honours, which could and sometimes were worn on a daily basis,²⁰ but at the same time their intrinsic value remained important and they were easily transferable into cash. Indeed, their monetary value was the basis for their gradation. Among the diplomatic honours chains and portable medals had a pivotal role. While appointments to the monarchical orders of knighthood were guided by religious and status requirements promulgated in their statutes, medals and chains could be given to anybody: dwarfs, republican regicides, Muslims, Jews, and native chiefs among others. In practice, no specific service or merit was required from the recipients of diplomatic honours, but the language of merit was often present in contemporary descriptions. John Evelyn recounted how Mr Ramus, dwarf to the Earl of Arundel, 'being Learned, and in the magnificent Train of that Noble Lord, when he went Ambassador to Vienna (about the Restitution of the *Palatinate* to the vanquish'd King of *Bohemia*) [in 1636] made a Speech in *Latin* before his Imperial Majesty with such a Grace, and so much Eloquence, as merited a Golden Chain and Medal of the Emperor [Ferdinand II].'²¹

No European monarch probably ever even contemplated appointing Oliver Cromwell, the Puritan Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, a knight of an order of knighthood, but Queen Christina of Sweden did not hesitate to send him a gold medal with a pearl – nor Cromwell to wear it on a 'double gold chain round the neck' with which he was portrayed.²² On his part, Cromwell duly observed time-honoured diplomatic practices

¹⁹ David F. Allen, 'The Order of St John as a "School for Ambassadors" in Counter-Reformation Europe', in Helen Nicholson (ed.), *The Military Orders, vol. 2: Welfare and Warfare* (Aldershot, 1998), 363–78.

²⁰ In general terms chains were important status symbols and the right to wear them was restricted to certain estates in some parts of Europe. For the regulations of the German dress codes (*Kleiderordnungen*), see the thorough survey by Hartmut Bock, 'Goldene Ketten und Wappenhelme: Zur Unterscheidung zwischen Patriziat und Adel in Frühen Neuzeit', *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben*, 97 (2004), 59–120.

²¹ J[ohn] Evelyn, *Numismata: A Discourse of Medals, Antient and Modern* (London, 1697), 267.

²² Mark Noble, *Memoirs of the Protectoral-House of Cromwell* (2 vols, London, 1787), I, 307.

and knighted, among others, the Swedish ambassador Peter Julius Coyet in 1656 and presented him with a sword and gold worth £600 in the form of a chain and Cromwell's miniature portrait set 'with ten large diamonds and about thirty small ones'.²³ Since the intrinsic value of gold was universally respected, chains and medals were useful in extra-European diplomacy as well, and used also by the semi-diplomatic actors who enjoyed delegated sovereignty, such as the Dutch East India Company.²⁴

II

Although the significance of diplomatic ceremonial is readily acknowledged even in standard textbooks on diplomatic history,²⁵ diplomatic gifts and honours have often been treated either as curiosities or forms of corruption.²⁶ As Guy Walton has rightly observed, 'diplomatic and ambassadorial gifts and their presentation are virtually omitted from the standard histories of diplomacy'.²⁷ When mentioned in passing in general works on diplomatic history, the dismissive approach has been common currency. For instance, according to M. S. Anderson, 'the knighting of ambassadors' and granting to 'them augmentations to their coats of arms' was 'no more than a politeness with little political meaning, and one which disappeared, though slowly, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries'.²⁸ By definition, an augmentation of honour is an 'additional charge to arms, crest, badge, or supporters' granted 'usually as a mark of honour'.²⁹ Thus, pre-existing arms were a pre-condition to the granting of an augmentation.

²³ Roy Sherwood, *Oliver Cromwell: King in All but Name 1653–1658* (Stroud, 1997), 60. Heiko Droste has mistakenly claimed that Coyet was appointed a Knight of the Order of the Garter in 1656. Heiko Droste, *Im Dienste der Krone: Schwedischer Diplomaten im 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2006), 386. Since Cromwell did not claim to have usurped the sovereignty of the Order of the Garter, the exiled King Charles II alone appointed Knights of the Garter at the time.

²⁴ For the chain given to Sultan Amsterdam of Ternate in 1675, see Amin Jaffer, 'Diplomatic Encounters: Europe and South Asia', in Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (eds), *Encounters: the Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500–1800* (London, 2004), 82.

²⁵ See, for instance, M. S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450–1919* (London, 1993), 15–20, 56–68.

²⁶ Examples cited in Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, 'Gift and Diplomacy in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Italy', *The Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), 882.

²⁷ Guy Walton, 'Diplomatic and Ambassadorial Gifts', 92 n. 1.

²⁸ Anderson, *Rise of Modern Diplomacy*, 47.

²⁹ Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1988), 197.

The Venetian ambassador's augmentation revisited

In his classic treatise *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (1680), Abraham de Wicquefort wrote that 'In most of the Courts of Europe a particular Honour is done to the Ambassadors of Venice: For if it be their first Embassy, they are ask'd, whether they will be made Knights.' Wicquefort went on to discuss some incidents when Venetian ambassadors, who had already been knighted, were conferred knighthood anew. He recounted, too, how King Władysław IV Vasa knighted the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Tiepolo in 1646 and 'oblig'd the new Knight to charge the Arms of his Family with an Eagle and a Sheaf, which are the Arms of Poland, and of the Royal House of Sweden, from whence the King was descended'.³⁰ The Venetian ambassadors received knighthoods and similar kind of augmentations of honour from a number of sovereigns. The following discussion reconsiders those granted by English sovereigns.

Michael Siddons's monumental work *Heraldry of Foreigners in England 1400–1700* contains information about some 160 'arms and augmentations recorded for foreigners in England'.³¹ Based on the information provided in the work, out of the about 90 augmentations to foreigners published by Siddons, about 30 were granted to ambassadors, envoys and agents or their personnel. Chronologically they range from 1461 to 1708. The first is the one granted by Edward IV to his envoy to the Holy See, Francis de Coppini, Bishop of Terni, and the last the one granted by Queen Anne to Francisco Cornaro, Venetian ambassador in London.³²

Siddons states that 'it became a custom to award a knighthood and an augmentation of arms to the Venetian ambassador on his departure, and departing ambassadors claimed their augmentation'.³³ Siddons's volume includes records of 22 arms to Venetians,³⁴ of whom 13 were ambassadors. Anthony Wagner and Colin

Cole,³⁵ who wrote about the Venetian ambassador's augmentation in the 1950s, admitted that their list 'may not be exhaustive and additions to it will be welcomed'.³⁶ Siddons's work provides additions to Wagner's and Cole's list, which includes some Venetian grantees who were not diplomats, as well as two later ambassadorial augmentations from 1714 and 1763. Yet, at least two additional names can be added to these lists. The details of these grants to Angelo Correr and Nicolò Tron are given further below. Thus, it would appear that there were at least 17 English/British augmentations to Venetian ambassadors.³⁷

Not all augmentations to foreigners were duly recorded at the College of Arms, but if the number of the English augmentations granted to the ambassadors of the Republic of Venice during some two centuries between c. 1547 and 1763 was not much higher than 17 known to us by now,³⁸ it would appear that the custom was quite a sporadic one. First, there were the three augmentations granted by Edward VI around the mid-sixteenth century. Directly after Venice had established a regular embassy in London in 1603, a clear pattern was followed: all six ambassadors ordinary, who served their full term – two to four years – and took their leave during the reign of James I, appear to have received an augmentation together with a knighthood.³⁹ Then there were three augmen-

³⁵ Anthony R. Wagner and A. Colin Cole, 'The Venetian Ambassador's Augmentation', *The Coat of Arms*, 3 (1954–5), 80–3, 130–4; 5 (1958), 94.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

³⁷ Owing to the lack of evidence, some of these augmentations are presumed or possible. Also among the uncertainties are the two texts relating to a grant of augmentation to an 'unnamed Venetian ambassador', which 'may be early drafts for the grant of augmentation made to Giacomo Soranza' in 1552/3. Siddons, *Heraldry of Foreigners*, 367. The unnamed texts have not been counted in the figure quoted.

³⁸ Domico Bollani (c. 1547), Daniele Barbaro (1550/1), Giacomo Soranzo (1552/3), Nicolò Molin (1605/6), Giorgio Giustinian (1608), Marco Antonio Corrarò (date and text of the grant unknown, but in all likelihood in May 1611 when he was knighted), Antonio Foscarini (probably after 1614, in all likelihood in 1615 when he took his leave), Girolamo Lando (1622), Alvise Valereso (1624), Giovanni Pesaro (1626), Alvise Contarini (1629), Angelo Correr (1638), Lorenzo Soranzo (1696), Francisco Cornaro (1708), Pietro Grimani (1714), Nicolò Tron (1717) and Tommaso Querini (1763).

³⁹ For the list of ambassadors ordinary, extraordinary and agents see Roberta Anderson, 'Foreign Diplomatic Representatives to the Stuart Court, 1603–1625' (UK Data Archive, SN 5645, 2007, <http://www.esds.ac.uk/>). Gregorio Barbarigo died in office in 1616 and therefore was not knighted. Neither was Antonio Donato (Donatus), who was recalled from his earlier misdemeanours after some

³⁰ Quotation from [Abraham] de Wicquefort, *The Ambassador and His Functions*, transl. Mr. Digby (London, 1716), 288–9.

³¹ Michael Powell Siddons, *The Heraldry of Foreigners in England 1400–1700* (London, 2010), xv. See also Michael Siddons, 'Augmentations Granted by English Sovereigns to Foreigners', in Rolf Nagel (ed.), *Herrschaftszeichen und Heraldik: Beiträge zum 15. Kolloquium der Internationaler Akademie der Heraldik (Xanten 2007)* (Duisburg/Essen, 2010), 83–97.

³² Siddons, *Heraldry of Foreigners*, 97–100, quotation at 99.

³³ *Ibid.*, xvi.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 371.

tations by Charles I (between 1626 and 1638), one by William III (1696), two by Queen Anne (1708 and 1714), one by George I (1717) and one by George III (1763).

Sir John Finet, Master of Ceremonies, wrote in his diary in 1622 that the Venetian ambassador Girolamo Lando 'received the honour of Knighthood from his Majesty and had the day after (according to Custome) the Sword wherewith he was Knighted sent to him from his Majesty, and two or three dayes after an addition to his Armes, in memory of his employment hither'.⁴⁰ When James I, for the last time during his reign, knighted a Venetian ambassador in 1624 and granted an augmentation as well, he did this in the 'usual and accustomed manner', as it was written in a College of Arms record.⁴¹ The respective roles of the sovereign, the ambassador, the heralds and the ceremonial staff in initiating the granting of augmentations and in the process of assigning them have not been studied in detail.⁴² Maija Jansson has written that the 'personal gift to the departing ambassador seems often to have been discussed with the king. Whether he was consulted on every departure gifts remains a question, but, certainly when considerations arose about precedence, rank, or value of gifts received, the king was consulted directly or through the Lord Chamberlain'.⁴³

However, unlike departure gifts, the augmentations were far from automatic, apart from those in the reign of James I. Ambassadors' own requests with regard to leaving presents were sometimes taken into account.⁴⁴ Their own activity on the ambassadors' part may have been required, in at least some grants of augmentations. When the Venetian ambassador Lorenzo Sorenzo was knighted and granted an augmentation in 1696, Peter Le Neve, Norroy King of Arms, noted in his diary that 'Their

six months' service in 1619. John Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis: Som Choice Observations of Sr. John Finett Knight, And Master of the Ceremonies to the two last Kings, Touching the Reception, and Precedence, the Treatment and Audience, the Puntillios and Contests of Forren Ambassadors in England* (London, 1656), 58.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁴¹ Siddons, *Heraldry of Foreigners*, 331.

⁴² While the diplomatic functions of the medieval heralds have been studied, their changed relationship to the conduct of foreign relations during the early modern period appears not to have attracted much attention. For the ceremonial roles of the French heralds in international relations during the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, see Christophe Parry, 'Les hérauts d'armes dans les relations internationales', *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, 111 (2000), 251–9.

⁴³ Jansson, 'Measured Reciprocity', 365.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 365.

ambassadors claim always knighthood by the princes they are sent to, and claim to have the sword of the King. Sorenzo had King William's sword wherewith he was knighted, worth 100l'.⁴⁵

First of all, it must be kept in mind that the early modern 'diplomacy reflected European aristocratic society, with its values and codes of honor, its taste for forms and appearances and sense of hierarchy and ranks', as Daniela Frigo has put it.⁴⁶ The personal role of the ambassador was more central to the conduct of foreign relations than 'diplomacy' as the sphere of formal actions, as such. Ambassadorial service was an important part of the *cursus honorum* for those who aspired to the high government offices on their return to Venice. The accumulation of honours could be beneficial to the ambassador both with regard to his personal career as well as to the discharge of his duties. Since the international community of diplomats and ceremonial staffs kept a close watch on the honours received by their peers, they also had a bearing on the conduct of foreign relations.⁴⁷ After having been knighted by Charles I at his leave-taking audience, Alvisio Contarini reported to the doge and the senate in July 1629 that he hoped 'support this honour worthily, especially as it will help me in serving my country'.⁴⁸

Considering the political positions, it is worth remembering that the Venetians regarded London, with Turin, as their least prestigious embassies in the first half of the seventeenth century when permanent representation was established in these cities. While the five major capitals – Constantinople, Madrid, Paris, Rome and Vienna – were reserved for the nobility,⁴⁹

⁴⁵ 'Extracts from the MS. Diary of P. Le Neve, Norroy King of Arms', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, N.S. (1842), 266.

⁴⁶ Daniela Frigo, 'Prudence and Experience: Ambassadors and Political Culture in Early Modern Italy', transl. John Watkins, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38 (2008), 29.

⁴⁷ This included the domestic honours as well. For instance, when the fourth Earl of Chesterfield, British ambassador at The Hague, was pressing for his appointment to the Order of the Garter in the late 1720s, he argued that the Garter 'can never be of so much (or indeed, of any real) use to me as now that I have the honour be in the situation I am in' and pointed out that 'it will not be very advantageous for me here [at The Hague] to fail of it'. Quoted in Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 135–6.

⁴⁸ *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy* (London, 1919), XXII, no. 182.

⁴⁹ Andrea Zannini, 'Economic and Social Aspects of the Crisis of Venetian Diplomacy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Daniela Frigo (ed.), *Politics and*

some of the ambassadors sent to London were of *cittadina* origin, that is to say from the intermediate class. Heraldry was important to both of these groups and compilations chronicling both nobles and citizens of Venice and their arms a popular genre.⁵⁰ In a summary fashion, H. G. Koenigsberger has described that ‘The reports of the Venetian ambassadors at the princely courts show these representatives of the most successful and admired republic of Europe almost invariably as political royalists [...], social snobs, passionate court gossips and admirers of a hierarchical structure of society.’⁵¹

The position of Venice and its diplomatic representatives in the European system of states was somewhat contradictory. Tensions between royal and republican forms of government were constantly present in the exchange of diplomatic honours and gifts, since republics were considered less honourable than monarchies in the papal and monarchical discourse. This made republics sensitive to guard their position and, on the other hand, anxious to avoid the danger of foreign corruption. As early as 1268, the Great Council of Venice had stipulated that all ambassadors should present all gifts they had received during their embassies to the state. The practice changed over time, for at one point the ceremonial gifts received by the ambassadors were sold at public auctions, but later the senate usually returned the gifts to the diplomat.⁵²

Masters of ceremonies could recognise the special role of Venice by ruling that ‘The Ambassador of Venice ranked always among Crowned heads’,⁵³ but the hierarchy of the states was always evident in the value of the ‘parting gift’. In 1615, James I halved the earlier amount of gilt plate given to the departing ambassadors so that thereafter French and Spanish ordinary ambassadors received 2,000 ounces

and the Venetian ambassadors 1,000 ounces. The Venetian ambassador Antonio Foscarini complained immediately about the value of his departure gift.⁵⁴ Despite some variations – some individual ambassadors could receive more than their predecessors or successors – the general practice remained the same. In 1711, a departing ambassador of a monarchy received a present valued at 1,000 pounds sterling while an ambassador from a republic only 800 pounds. As seen, since the Venetian ambassadors were knighted, they also received a sword with its belt, which were valued at 100 pounds at this time.⁵⁵

The cost of diplomatic gifts and honours presented a considerable expense to the often strained royal and state treasuries. The estimated cost of the English diplomatic gifts between 1627 and 1641 was in the region of £51,000–54,000 while the total annual receipts of the royal treasure have been estimated at £700,000–750,000, that is on average a half per cent of the royal income was used for diplomatic gifts.⁵⁶ Since an augmentation was a non-material honour, which did not cost more than producing and recoding the grant, it was a very cost effective addition to the leaving present. The material value of the sword with its accessories, which was given to the Venetian ambassador, could, in turn, function as a sort of compensation for the lower value of his actual leaving present. The fees of honour, payable by a new knight on his creation to the heralds and some members of the royal household, were dispensed with. As Peter Le Neve noted in his diary in 1696, ‘My lord Chamberlain gave orders not to demand fees’ from Lorenzo Soranzo.⁵⁷

A quotation from de Wicquefort’s widely circulated treatise illustrates what was the common understanding of the Venetian position among the European diplomatic corps in the late seventeenth century:

‘At Venice the Laws are very rigorous against those who receive Benefices, or take Pensions from a foreign Sovereign: But at the same Time

Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450–1800, transl. Adrian Belton (Cambridge, 2000), 115–17, 119–20.

⁵⁰ Patricia Fortini Brown, ‘Behind the Walls: Material Culture of Venetian Elites’, in John Martin and Dennis Romano (eds), *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-state, 1297–1797* (Baltimore, 2000), 316; James S. Grubb, ‘Elite Citizens’, in *ibid.*, 339–64.

⁵¹ H. G. Koenigsberger, ‘Republicanism, Monarchism and Liberty’, in Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs and H. M. Scott (eds), *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of Ragnbild Hatton* (Cambridge, 1997), 56.

⁵² Donald E. Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation on Ambassadors* (Genève, 1966), 41–2; Zannini, ‘Economic and Social Aspects’, 124.

⁵³ Finet, *Finetti Philoxenis*, [252].

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 30–1; Albert J. Loomie, ‘Introduction’, in John Finet, *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet 1628–1641*, ed. *id.* (New York, 1987), 37.

⁵⁵ Cassidy-Geiger and Vötsch, ‘Documents of Court Gifts’, 152, 157.

⁵⁶ John Finet, *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet 1628–1641*, ed. Albert J. Loomie (New York, 1987), Table II, ‘Estimated Crown Expenditures on Gifts’, 320; Loomie, ‘Introduction’, in *ibid.*, 39.

⁵⁷ *Le Neve’s Pedigrees of the Knights*, ed. George W. Marshall (London, 1873), 455

the Republick is so far from being offended at the Presents that are made to her Embassadors, or from forbidding them to receive any at the Conclusion of their Embassy, that it takes it ill when they have none; and would be apt to call them to an Account for their Behaviour, which had render'd them unworthy of the Benevolence of the Prince they came from'.⁵⁸

It is against this background that the Venetian ambassador's English augmentations should be considered.

Siddons mentions two Venetian ambassadors – Antonio Foscarini (English augmentation in all likelihood in 1614) and Giovanni Pesaro (English augmentation in 1626) – who had earlier received an augmentation from the king of France.⁵⁹ To the list of recipients of multiple ambassadorial augmentations one can add the name of Alvise Contarini, who later played an instrumental role in the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia. Contarini received an augmentation – 'on a canton argent a rose gules thereon another argent' – from Charles I in 1629.⁶⁰ As ambassador to the Dutch Republic, he had already received an augmentation from the States-General of the Republic of the United Netherlands in 1626. Contarini was granted 'the arms of the Republic, to be quartered with his own'. He 'placed the Dutch arms in the first and fourth quarter', but they appear sometimes without the English augmentation.⁶¹

In some cases the political climate, and the personality of ambassador, may have prevented the granting of an augmentation. Giovanni Soranzo, Venetian ambassador in London 1629–32, descended from Giacomo Soranzo, who had received an augmentation from Edward VI in 1552/3. This augmentation consisted of quarterings and included supporters as well. Giovanni Soranzo was knighted by Charles I in February 1631/2 but appears not have been granted an augmentation. As ambassador he presented Venetian objections to the peace between England and Spain and neither did his character endear him to the English courtiers.

⁵⁸ de Wicquefort, *The Ambassador*, 289.

⁵⁹ Siddons, *Heraldry of Foreigners*, xvii.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁶¹ C. Pama, 'Venetian Ambassador's Augmentation', *The Coat of Arms*, 5 (1958), 262; [Vincenzo Maria] Coronelli, *Blasone veneto* (2nd edn, Venezia, 1706), pl. 29. An engraving by Pieter de Jode, published in *Pasificatores orbis Christiani* (1697), depicts the Dutch arms in the second and third quarter. The English augmentation is missing here as well. Heinz Duchhardt et al. "... zu einem stets wäbrenden Gedächtnis": *Die Friedenssäle in Münster und Osnabrück und ihre Gesandtenporträts* (Bramsche, 1996), 190.

Sir John Finet, Master of Ceremonies, found him 'in deed a man little curious', since he, for instance, repeatedly either replied rudely or expressed 'no affection to' invitations to St George's feast.⁶² The earlier English augmentation would not have prevented the granting of a new one. Indeed, Giovanni Soranzo himself received a Dutch lion as a supporter from the States-General in 1632,⁶³ and his descendant Lorenzo Sorenzo was granted a further English augmentation in 1696.⁶⁴ Soranzo's successor, Vincenzo Gussoni, had also been transferred from the Netherlands, where he had received the Dutch arms as an augmentation to be placed in the third quarter in 1631.⁶⁵ Gussoni was knighted in 1634,⁶⁶ but since he was not really *persona grata* at the English court, he was not given an English augmentation. The States-General of the Republic of the United Netherlands granted in total only four augmentations.⁶⁷

According to Wagner and Cole, 'perhaps the most splendid augmentation of all was the last to granted', that is on a chief three lions of England, given to Tommaso (Thomas) Querini in 1763.⁶⁸ However, Charles I had already given an identical augmentation – *in capite Scuti de rubro, Tres Leones aureos pleno vultu gradatim & ordinatim incedentes* – to Angelo Correr already on 27 June 1638.⁶⁹ Another addition to the previously published augmentations is the one granted to Nicolò Tron in 1717, which

⁶² Siddons, *Heraldry of Foreigners*, 301, 304; Finet, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, 90, quotation at 113, 120–1.

⁶³ Pama, 'Venetian Ambassador's Augmentation', 263.

⁶⁴ Siddons, *Heraldry of Foreigners*, 304.

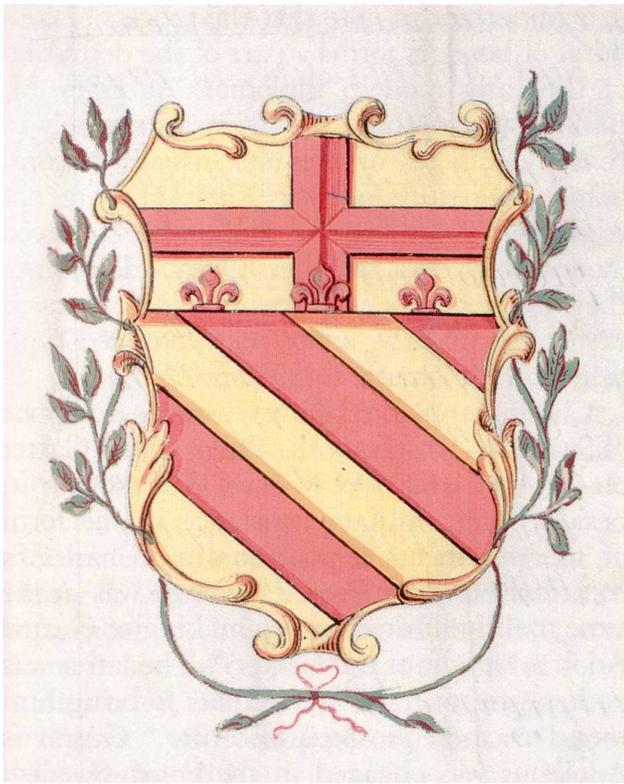
⁶⁵ Pama, 'Venetian Ambassador's Augmentation', 262–3.

⁶⁶ Finet, *Ceremonies of Charles I*, 156.

⁶⁷ The fourth augmentation was to Christoforo Suriano in 1627. Pama, 'Venetian Ambassador's Augmentation'; O. Schutte, *Repertorium der bñutenlandse vertegenwoordigers residerende in Nederland 1584–1810* ('s-Gravenhage 1982), 673, 674, 676–7.

⁶⁸ Wagner and Cole, 'Venetian Ambassador's Augmentation', 134. Wm. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England: A Complete Record from the Earliest Time to the Present Day of the Knights of all Orders of Chivalry in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of Knights Bachelors* (2 vols, London, 1906), II, 293 gives a wrong year (1768) to Querini's knighthood.

⁶⁹ The text of the letters patent is published in Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, ed. Robert Sanderson (20 vols, Londini, 1704–35), XX, 240–1 and *Relazioni degli stati europei lette al Senato dagli ambasciatori Veneti nel secolo decimosettimo*, ed. Nicolò Barozzi and Guglielmo Berchet (Venezia, 1859), Serie II, Vol. II, 314–15. The original letters patent is in Museo Correr, Venice. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, relating to English Affairs, existing in the Archives and collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy* (London, 1923), XXIV, no. 471.



Ill. 1. The augmented arms of the Venetian Ambassador Nicolò Tron (1717). CA record MS I.27, p. 61.

was recorded in the College of Arms I series.⁷⁰ After having knighted Nicolò (Nicholas) Tron on 2 April 1717,⁷¹ and 'having taken into [...] Consideration' his 'great Worth and Prudence', King George I gave by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain 'an Addition to his Pater Coat of Arms, to be borne, and used by him [...] and the heirs Male of his Body Lawfully begotten'.⁷² While the augmentations granted to own subjects often referred to some particular deeds – being sometimes veritable pictorial records – the 'augmentations granted to foreigners [...] usually consisted of the addition to the grantee's arms of either a part of the royal arms, or else a royal badge',⁷³ as Siddons has summed up.

Although the grant in Latin stated that the augmentation granted to Tron (ill. 1) – on a chief or, a cross gules (the three fleurs-de-lys issuant from the base gules was part of Tron's paternal arms) – was taken from the royal emblems (*ex Regijs Nostris Emblematicibus*)⁷⁴, the Cross of St George, as the augmentation was blazoned in the grant, was, of course, strictly

speaking not part of the royal emblems or arms. Indeed, St George's Cross was used only a few times as a charge in the English augmentations to foreign arms and it appeared in these cases in its basic form, argent a cross gules.⁷⁵ It seems likely that in Tron's case the heralds and the grantee did not wish to shake the balance of the tinctures by adding a new one and thus in this augmentation St George's Cross appears unusually on gold.

In the eighteenth century a growing number of Venetian noblemen refused appointment as ambassador, which has been regarded as a reflection of the decay of Venetian diplomacy.⁷⁶ Interestingly, the length of service seems not to have influenced decisions about knighthood and augmentation. Nicolò Tron was knighted and granted an augmentation after the customary three years' period, but his successor Giacinto Fiorelli, who served for an exceptional eleven years, was left without these honours. The traditionally good English-Venetian relations were disturbed in 1737 when the republic gave a semi-official reception to Charles Edward Stuart. The British government broke off diplomatic relations and the Venetian ambassador, Giacomo Busenello, who was of *cittadini* origin, was ordered to return immediately.⁷⁷ The first Venetian ambassador to arrive to London after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations was carefully recruited from the ranks of nobility. Pietro Andrea Cappello, who served in London 1744–48,⁷⁸ belonged to the same family as Vincenzo Cappello, who had already received an English augmentation already from Henry VII in 1506.⁷⁹

In the course of the eighteenth century the general taste towards heraldic manifestations became more reserved in different parts of Europe. In his *Analysis of Nobility*, first published in German in 1752 and translated into English in 1754, Baron Johann Michael von Loën referred to the Venetian custom of registering every nobleman 'immediately after their birth' and argued that 'it seems also a fantastical kind of ostentation, that a Venetian noble, when ambassador to a state or prince, makes it his business to obtain permission for quartering

⁷⁰ College of Arms [hereafter CA] record MS I.27, pp. 59–62.

⁷¹ Tron's knighthood is not mentioned in Shaw, *Knights of England*.

⁷² CA record MS I.27, pp. 59–60.

⁷³ Siddons, *Heraldry of Foreigners*, xvii.

⁷⁴ CA record MS I.27, p. 61.

⁷⁵ Siddons, *Heraldry of Foreigners*, 136, 163, 254, 378.

⁷⁶ Zannini, 'Economic and Social Aspects', 121.

⁷⁷ P. Preto, 'Busenello, Giacomo', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1972), XV, 512.

⁷⁸ P. Preto, 'Cappello, Pietro Andrea', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, 1975), XVIII, 820.

⁷⁹ Siddons, *Heraldry of Foreigners*, 64.



Ill. 2. Copy of the grant by Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, to Henry St George, Richmond Herald. CA record MS 1 L.2/100.

the arms of such state or prince with his own'.⁸⁰ Side by side with the crises of Venetian diplomacy the practice of granting augmentations to Venetian ambassadors died out. The last one in England was granted in 1763.

The orders of knighthood and augmentations

The following section looks at the interrelationship between the orders of knighthood and augmentations of honour. While not all honours conferred on foreigners can be regarded as diplomatic, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish specifically diplomatic honours from the others in the era of pre-professionalised diplomacy. As a general rule, military men carrying out primarily military operations, merchants, consuls and heralds can be excluded. However,

⁸⁰ Baron [Johann Michael] von Lowhen [Loën], *The Analysis of Nobility*, transl. anon. (London, 1754), 153. Also quoted by A. Colin Cole, 'Venetian Ambassador's Augmentation', *The Coat of Arms*, 5 (1958), 168.

it is important to note that the process of conferral of honours forms a part of the definition of the early modern diplomat. As Gary M. Bell has put it, those who were 'sent merely to convey messages or presents (usually falcons, horses, foodstuffs, or the like) [...] were not really diplomats', unlike those who conveyed 'honorary titles or membership in orders', since they 'frequently became involved in diplomatic exchanges, and the honor they conveyed typically had diplomatic significance'.⁸¹

Charles I appointed King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden a Knight of the Order of the Garter on 24 April 1627. As Michael Roberts put it, besides some military assistance in the form of 'four regiments of poor quality', 'Charles I's contribution to the Protestant cause was' at the time mainly limited to 'the making of Gustav Adolf a Knight of the Garter'.⁸² The latter was perhaps meant to be 'a sweetener to bring him round to a more pro-Stuart posture'.⁸³ Gustavus Adolphus was engaged in the Polish-Swedish War, but Charles I hoped to see Sweden entering into the Thirty Years' War proper.⁸⁴

The Garter mission, which invested Gustavus Adolphus with the insignia of the Order at Dirschau (Tczew) in Polish Prussia in September 1627, was headed by Sir James Spens, who had been an army officer in the Swedish service and in turns both British special ambassador to Sweden as well as Swedish ambassador to Britain. Spens, who had already been knighted earlier, was created a Swedish baron and granted an augmentation – on a canton azure three crowns or, two and one – the following year. After the investiture on 23 September 1627, Gustavus Adolphus knighted three Scottish and one English colonels, who served in the Swedish army, and two members of the Garter mission,⁸⁵ who also received the arms of Sweden as an augmentation.

The details of the grant to Peter Young, Gentleman Usher Daily Waiter,⁸⁶ who was

⁸¹ Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives, 1509–1688* (London, 1990), 3.

⁸² Michael Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus: A History of Sweden 1611–1632* (2 vols, London, 1953–8), II, 355.

⁸³ Steve Murdoch, 'Scottish Ambassadors and British Diplomacy 1618–1635', in id. (ed.), *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1616–1648* (Leiden, 2001), 35.

⁸⁴ Alexia Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden, 2003), 53–4.

⁸⁵ Shaw, *Knights of England*, II, 193.

⁸⁶ In this capacity he was one of the recipients 'certeyne Fees upon Knighthood, and other Creations and Additions of Honour'. 'A speciall Grant to the Gentlemen Ushers daily Waiters, and their Successors', given by Charles I in 1629/30,



Ill. 3. Drawing of seal of Sir Thomas St George, Garter King of Arms, 1686. CA record MS Grants 3, p. 305.

a Scotsman, are not available.⁸⁷ The grant to Henry St George, Richmond Herald, dated 26 September 1627, is recorded in the College of Arms in several copies,⁸⁸ but only one of them is illustrated. This shows the St George arms – together with five quarterings – charged with the Swedish augmentation: on a canton or an escutcheon azure, charged with three crowns or (ill. 2).⁸⁹ John Selden printed the text of this grant to his ‘worthy friend Sir Henry Saint-George’ in the second edition of his *Titles of honor*.⁹⁰ The grant recites that by conferring the knighthood the king of Sweden wanted, in turn, to express his thankfulness and favour to the legates. Since Young and St George had attempted to decline the honour for the reason that they should first procure permission to receive it from their sovereign,⁹¹

is printed in Rymer, *Foedera*, XIX, 121–3.

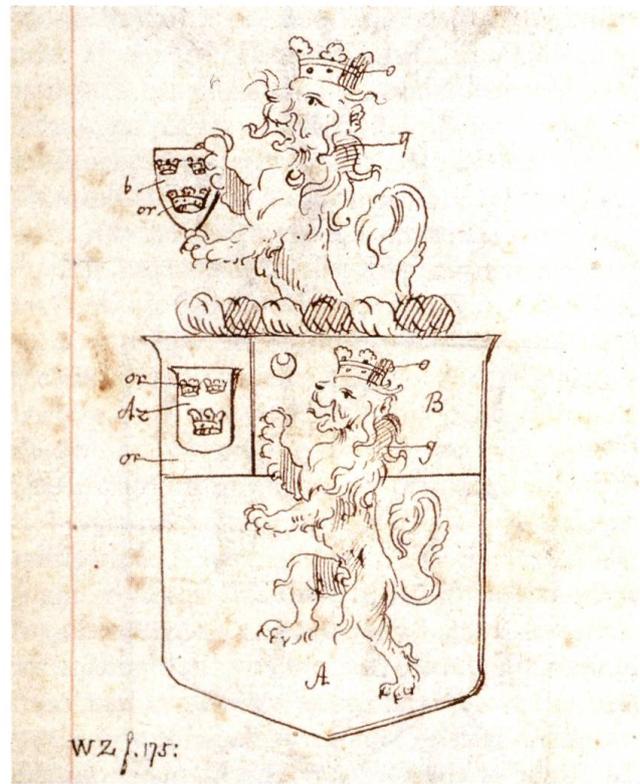
⁸⁷ His arms are not recorded in the Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland since he died unmarried before its establishment. The original grant was in the possession of Francis Aberdein of Keithock in 1881, but its present whereabouts are unknown. Alex. J. Warden, *Angus or Forfarshire: The Land and People, Descriptive and Historical* (5 vols, Dundee, 1880–5), II, 301.

⁸⁸ CA record MSS Grants 2/693, Grants 2/695, 1 L.2/100 and WZ 175. The searches relating to the St George arms in the College of Arms records were carried out by Hubert Cheshire, Clarenceux King of Arms, and are summarised in his letter to the author 3 August 2001. The original grant was sold at the auction of James Bindley’s library. *A Catalogue of the Curious and Extensive Library of the Late James Bindley* (London, 1818), 51.

⁸⁹ This copy can be dated to 1661–75 as Sir Henry St George’s son Thomas has signed it as Somerset Herald and Francis Sandford as Rouge Dragon.

⁹⁰ John Selden, *Titles of Honor* (2nd edn, London, 1631), 459–61. The augmentation is also discussed in John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (4th edn, London, 1660), 389.

⁹¹ Gösta Malmborg, ‘När Strumpebandsorden förlänades till Gustaf II Adolf och Karl XI’, in Sigurd Erixon and Sigurd Wallin (eds), *Svenska kulturbilder* (6 vols, Stockholm,



Ill. 4. The St George arms with augmentation both on shield and in the crest. Visitation of Cambridge 1684. CA record MS K.7, p. 131.

the grant included the wish that the King of Great Britain would not disapprove of it. The augmentation was to be a perpetual memory to his legitimate heirs of both sexes.

The St George ‘dynasty’ at the College of Arms, which began in 1602 and lasted until 1715, produced four heralds all of whom became kings of arms. Hence, the Swedish augmentation came to be shown in various official heraldic contexts, for instance in the seal of Sir Thomas St George, Garter King of Arms, which depicts the arms of the office of Garter impaling the arms of St George (ill. 3). According to *The College of Arms Monograph*, Sir Henry St George used the same crest as his father, i.e. a demi-lion rampant gules crowned or.⁹² Indeed, there is no augmentation in the crest in the illustrated copy of the grant (ill. 2). However, the Visitation of Cambridge 1684 includes a trick of the St George arms (ill. 4) with the augmentation and a crescent for cadency ensigned by a crest, in which the lion holds the augmentation.

This came to be the method by which the augmentation was borne in the family, as is

1929–32), V, 96–7.

⁹² Walter H. Godfrey and Sir Anthony Wagner with H. Stanford London, *The College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street: 16th Monograph of the London Survey Committee ... with a Complete List of the Officers of Arms* (s.l., 1963), 51, 87.

evidenced by the Chippendale armorial bookplate of Henry Emmett (d. 1756, ill. 5), who had married Clare St George Dare, daughter of Thomas Dare and Eleanor St George, who was a heraldic heiress as the only daughter of Thomas St George, son of Sir Thomas St George, Garter, the grantee's eldest son. The basic arms are Emmett quartering Hill,⁹³ while the inescutcheon of pretence shows Dare quartering St George modern with the augmentation, St George ancient and Argentine.⁹⁴ Importantly, of all possible crests the one used here is St George with augmentation, which is a testimony to its continuing importance to the family.

The case of Sir Philip Meadows, Cromwellian ambassador to Denmark, 1657–9, can be mentioned as an example where an augmentation of honour apparently functioned as a substitute for a knighthood of an order. Meadows had been knighted by the lord protector and appointed a Knight of the Order of the Elephant by the king of Denmark in recognition of the treaty of Roskilde in 1658. At the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, his Cromwellian knighthood became void. Within two years time Meadows had returned to favour sufficiently enough to be granted an augmentation – on a canton gules a lion passant guardant crowned or – by Sir Edward Walker, Garter King of Arms, on 20 February 1662 in pursuant of the warrant given by Charles II in 1660, which had authorised Garter to grant augmentations 'unto any person of eminent quality, fidelity and extraordinary merit that shall desire it'.⁹⁵ In the words of Sir Anthony Wagner, Walker 'was free thus to make grants to a large and ill defined class of persons without the control by the Earl Marshal'.⁹⁶

At the time of his appointment to the Order of the Elephant, Meadows had considered it to be 'only [...] an aierie title of honor which to me is more of burden than advantage'.⁹⁷

⁹³ E. R. J. Gambier Howe, *Franks Bequest: Catalogue of British and American Book Plates Bequeathed to the Trustees of the British Museum by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks* (3 vols, London, 1903–4), I, 345.

⁹⁴ Scott Robertson, 'Bexley, The Church, Hall Place and Blendon', *Archæologia Cantiana*, 18 (1889), 378–9.

⁹⁵ *Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights*, 163; G. D. Squibb, *Munimenta Heraldica* (London, 1985), 127. This discussion corrects some of the information presented in Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 238.

⁹⁶ Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London, 1967), 275.

⁹⁷ 'Some correspondence of Thurloe and Meadowe', ed. E. Jenks, *The English Historical Review*, 7 (1892), 732.



Ill. 5. The bookplate of Henry Emmett (d. 1756). The Swedish augmentation to the St George arms in the second quarter of the inescutcheon of pretence and in the crest.

Although he wore the insignia of the Order only rarely, reports according to which Charles II disapproved of Meadows wearing it and that Meadows had been told not to wear it any longer and resign from the Order, reached the Danish court.⁹⁸ In November 1662 Meadows sold the insignia of the Order to the king of Denmark via Christopher Parsberg and was thereafter regarded as having resigned from the Order.⁹⁹ Charles II gave the final touch to the affair by knighting Meadows on 24 November 1662.¹⁰⁰

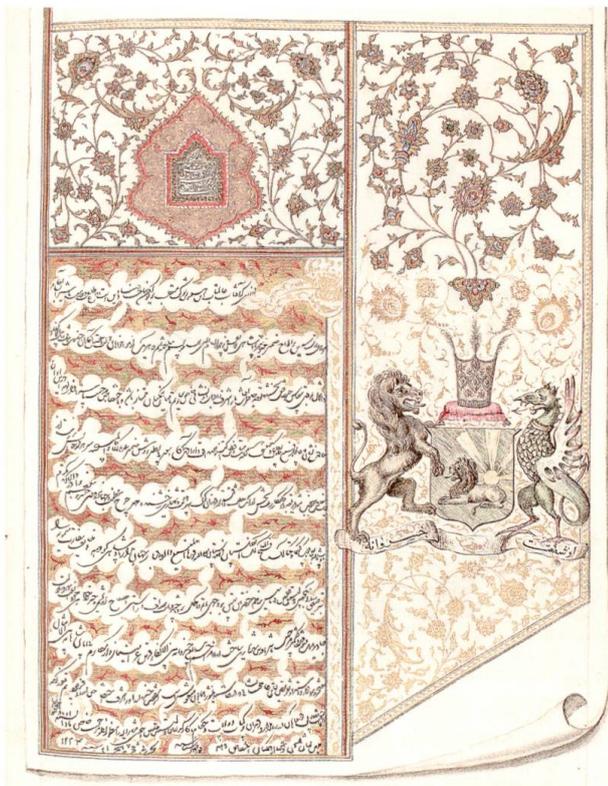
Sometimes the augmentation could be the favoured preference over an order of knighthood owing to other appointments made at the same time. Sir Harford Jones (later Brydges), 1st Baronet, served as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Persia in 1807–11. The preliminary Anglo-Persian treaty of 1809, 'which effectively barred France from the route to India' has been regarded as his 'main achievement'.¹⁰¹ The uneasy Anglo-

⁹⁸ The Danish National Archives, Copenhagen, Kongehuset, Christian V, Kongehuset, Christian V, Recit d'un Voyage fait par un Tres-haut & Tres-Illustre Inconnu L'An 1662 & 1663, entry on 1 October 1662.

⁹⁹ Jørgen Pedersen, *Riddere af Elefantordenen 1559–2009* (Odense, 2009), 49.

¹⁰⁰ *Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights*, 163.

¹⁰¹ T. F. Henderson, rev. H. C. G. Matthew, 'Brydges, Sir Harford Jones, first baronet (1764–1847)', in H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000*



Ill. 6. Copy of the grant of the Persian augmentation to Sir Harford Jones. CA record MS I.38, p. 197.

French relations were also behind the fact that the honour Sir Harford received from the king of Persia took the form an augmentation. Sir Harford's letter to George Canning on 29 March 1809 speaks for itself:

'during the Residence of General Gardanne at this Capital, [the king of Persia] thought proper (I believe at the Instance of the French Ambassador) to create the Order of the Sun the Insignia of the first Class of which were bestowed on the Prince of Benevento; another of the French Ministers [...] and on General Gardanne himself [the king of Persia] offered and pressed me to accept the same Mark of distinction the Star of which richly set in Jewels, I am told had been prepared for me previously to my Arrival at the Capital.

Considering however all the Circumstances which had given the rise to the Creation of the Order and the Persons on who it had been bestowed there seemed to me a manifest Impropriety in accepting an honor of this sort from the Persian Court and I therefore in as polite and gentle a manner possible requested permission to decline the proffered favor.

I was afterwards informed by the Ministers that His Persian Majesty felt himself hurt at my Conduct; to persist (as they said) in which might induce him to imagine I did not treat

the Condescension he manifested towards me with a proper degree of Respect.

To obviate this (which I really believe would have been the Case) I frankly told the Ministers I would respectfully accept and should highly prize any mark his Majesty might give me of his favor provided such mark had not the objections attached to it which appeared to me applicable to the Order of the Sun.

In consequence of which His Majesty was pleased to send the accompanying Patent granting me with Supporters the old Royal Arms of Persia surmounted (to inhance the Honor) with the Royal Crown of Persian on a Cushion.

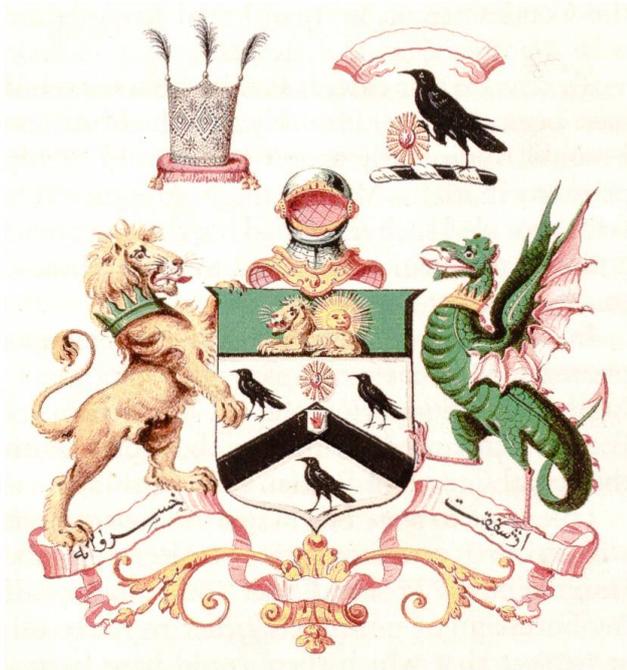
I presume to hope His Majesty's Government will think I acted correctly in declining the Insignia of the Persian Order and I shall await my Sovereign's Commands either to make use or neglect that which there could have been a manifest Inconvenience to the Public Service in declining for the present to accept from the Persian Court'.¹⁰²

The augmentation was duly recorded at the College of Arms. Fateh Ali Shah, King of Persia, having 'solicited Our Consent that We would be graciously pleased to allow [...] Sir Harford Jones Baronet [...] and his Posterity to bear certain Armorial Ensigns together with Supporters as depicted in a Patent presented by the said King of Persia [...] as a distinguished Mark of His Royal Approbation of the Services of Our said Envoy in cementing an Alliance between the two Kingdoms' King George III was 'pleased to approve thereof' and granted him the permission 'that he may avail himself of the said distinguished Mark of Favour [...] and that he and his Descendants may bear the Arms and additional Crest' as well as supporters as 'a further Testimony of Our Approbation of the Services of the said Sir Harford Jones and such of his Descendants on who the Dignity of Baronet shall devolve'.¹⁰³

The augmentation – the lion and the rising sun – depicted in the original patent of honour (ill. 6) was placed on a chief of Sir Harford Jones's armorial bearings (ill. 7), which already included the star of the Imperial Ottoman Order of the Crescent of the superior degree both on the shield and in his original crest. It is interesting to note that the charges granted to Sir Harford were the principal motifs of the insignia of the above mentioned Order of the Lion and the Sun, which had been established in

¹⁰² CA record MS I.38, p. 196 (copy of the letter).

¹⁰³ CA record MS I.38, p. 193.



Ill. 7. The augmented arms of Sir Harford Jones. CA record MS I.38, p. 195.

imitation of the Turkish Order of the Crescent in 1808 and was initially conferred exclusively on foreigners.¹⁰⁴

From a custom to the recognition of particular merits and services

Whereas the Venetian ambassadors' augmentations of honour had been granted more or less routinely during the reign of James I, by the early eighteenth century diplomatic augmentations were extremely rare. Besides those granted to Francisco Cornaro in 1708 and Nicolò Tron in 1717, there appears to be only one other. The need to pay more attention to the Hanoverian dimension in British history has been voiced in recent historiography.¹⁰⁵ A heraldic honour, which illustrates this, is the augmentation granted by George I to Sir Jan (John) Walraven (1681–1740), Baronet, on 20 May 1718. Since Walraven was a resident, this is also a late instance of an augmentation to a diplomatic representative below the supreme rank of ambassador. Contemporary theorists, for instance Callières in his famous treatise of 1716, classified residents as belonging to the second order, below ambassadors and envoys extraordinary.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Sir Bernard Burke, *The Book of Orders of Knighthood and Decorations of Honour of All Nations* (London, 1858), 184.

¹⁰⁵ See, for instance, Brendan Simms & Torsten Rott (eds), *The Hanoverian Dimension in British History, 1714–1837* (Cambridge, 2007).

¹⁰⁶ [François] de Callières, *The Art of Negotiating with Sovereign Princes*, transl. anon. (London, 1716), 63.



Ill. 8. The augmented arms of Sir Jan (John) Walraven, Bt. CA record MS I.27, p. 78.

'Having taken into [...] Consideration the many good Services done Us by' Sir John Walraven, 'Our Resident at Amsterdam', George I was 'pleased as a Mark and Testimony of Our Gracious Acceptance thereof, to give and assign unto him [...] an Addition to his Paternal Coat of Arms'.¹⁰⁷ The rank of resident was favoured by George I in his British diplomatic appointments,¹⁰⁸ but significantly Walraven was not a British resident, he was the resident of George I in his capacity of elector of Hanover. Walraven's father, Sir Jacob Walraven (1661–1731), Baronet, was a jeweller like his son, and had also served as resident of George I.¹⁰⁹

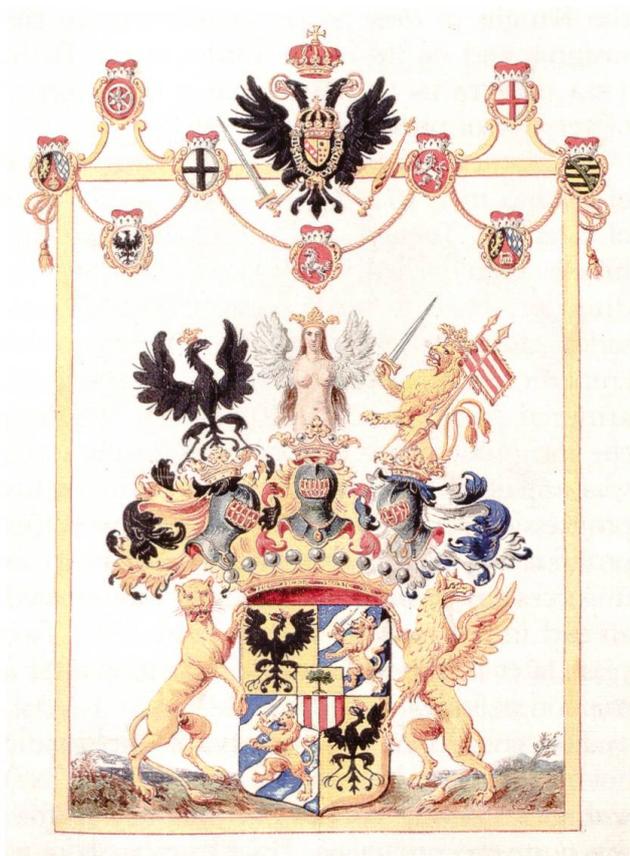
The particular good services rendered by Sir Jan (John) Walraven related to the arrest of Georg Heinrich von Görtz, Baron of Schlit, chief minister of King Charles XII of Sweden, by the States General in 1717. Görtz was at the time conducting negotiations with the English Jacobites in the Netherlands in order to obtain a loan in exchange for Swedish military help towards the contemplated Jacobite invasion.¹¹⁰ For his services in the seizing of Görtz,

¹⁰⁷ CA record MS I.27, p. 76.

¹⁰⁸ D. B. Horn, 'Rank and Emolument in the British Diplomatic Service', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 9 (1959), 21–2.

¹⁰⁹ Schutte, *Repertorium der buitenlandse vertegenwoordigers*, 301–2. In his will proved 3 March 1740, Walraven is styled as 'the Honorable S^r. John Walraven Knight Baronet'. The National Archives, PROB 11/701.

¹¹⁰ John J. Murray, 'The Görtz-Gyllenborg Arrests: A Problem in Diplomatic Immunity', *The Journal of Modern History*, 28 (1956), 325–37.



Ill. 9. Copy of the imperial grant of arms to Count Peter de Salis. CA record MS I.38, p. 117.

Walraven was also rewarded a grant of fairs.¹¹¹ The augmentation – on an inescutcheon argent a crane in its vigilance azure – makes a pun with the motto *PRO FIDE ET VIGILANTIA* (ill. 8). Since Walraven was already a baronet and because his modest diplomatic rank did not facilitate any higher honours, an augmentation was a convenient method to recognize his services.

Considering the political context of this augmentation it is interesting to look at the precarious situation at the College of Arms at the time. After the death of Sir Henry St George junior in 1715, the Gartership was disputed. John Anstis, a Tory MP, who had obtained a reversionary grant of this office in 1714, was briefly arrested on suspicion of high treason relating to the Jacobite activities in 1715. According to his later colleague Stephen Martin Leake, Anstis was ‘justly suspected of Treasonable Practices’.¹¹²

The members of the de Salis family, who

¹¹¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II, 1673–5* (London, 1904), 619. Walraven is styled here as Johannes Walraven.

¹¹² Stephen Martin Leake, *Heraldo Memoriale: Or Memoirs of the College of Arms from 1727 to 1744*, ed. Anthony Richard Wagner (London, 1981), 99. For Anstis, see [Sir Anthony] Wagner and [A. L.] Rowse, *John Anstis, Garter King of Arms* (London, 1992).

were British subjects, were not granted the right to use the title of the Count of the Holy Roman Empire and bear their imperial arms (ill. 9) until 1809, but the origin of these arms is firmly rooted in the eighteenth century diplomacy, as the royal licence makes clear:

‘in consideration of the eminent Services Military and Civil rendered by divers Individuals of the said Family to the Holy Roman Empire [...] but more especially considering the particular Merits and Services of Peter De Salis the Petitioners Great Grandfather and some time Envoy from the said Republick [of Grisons] to Our Royal Predecessor Queen Anne and of his only Son Jerome De Salis [who had been naturalized in 1730] the Petitioners late Grandfather and some time Envoy from our Royal Grandfather King George the Second to the said Grison Republick [Emperor Francis I was pleased] to advance and raise the said Peter De Salis to the Rank Degree and Dignity of Count of the Holy Roman Empire [on 12 March 1748].’¹¹³

The family arms were placed as an inescutcheon on a quartered coat, the first and fourth quarters of which displayed a single-headed imperial eagle, while the second and the third quarters referred to the earlier acquired land holdings in Oberaich (Oberaach).¹¹⁴

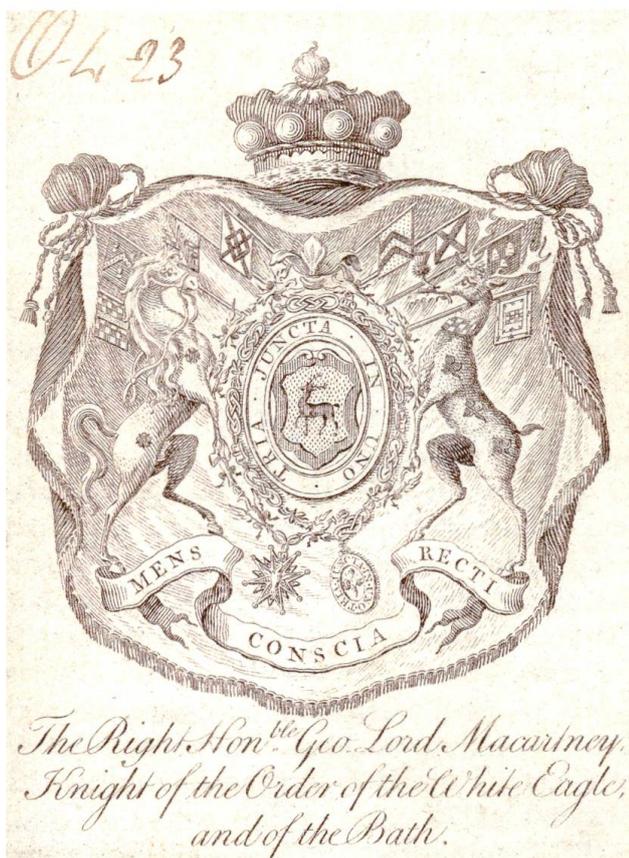
There appears not to have been any proper reciprocal arrangements in regard to the English custom, discussed earlier, of knighting the departing Venetian ambassadors. On the contrary, some English and British ambassadors and envoys were knighted by their own sovereign in conjunction with their diplomatic appointment. For instance, Sir George Macartney was appointed envoy extraordinary to Russia on 4 October and knighted on 19 October 1764.¹¹⁵ The purpose of this kind of knighthood was to enhance the rank of an untitled commoner diplomat and thus to help him achieve the goals of his mission. Macartney’s varied career as diplomat, MP and colonial governor illustrates what kind of honours could come into question in different contexts during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

During his time in St Petersburg, Sir George managed to counteract the Prussian policy towards Poland. In recognition to his services to Poland, King Stanisław II August appointed

¹¹³ CA record MS I.38, p. 113.

¹¹⁴ [Nicolaus von Salis], ‘Siegel und Wappen der Familie von Salis’, *Archives héraldiques suisses*, 41 (1927), 184.

¹¹⁵ D. B. Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1689–1789* (London, 1932), 116; Shaw, *Knights of England*, II, 292.



Ill. 10. The armorial bookplate of Lord Macartney with the insignia of the Orders of the White Eagle of Poland and of the Bath (1776–92).

him a Knight of the Order of the White Eagle in 1766. Macartney was invested with the insignia of the Order by the Polish envoy extraordinary in St Petersburg, Count Rzewuski. In the accompanying letter the king of Poland wrote that as his 'gratitude and special affection for' England was well known, he wished to make his gratitude equally known to Macartney personally.¹¹⁶

After an unsuccessful term as Chief Secretary for Ireland, Macartney attempted, in vain, to obtain an Irish peerage. In compensation, he was appointed a Knight of the Order of the Bath 'as an honourable quietus' in 1772.¹¹⁷ The Irish patriot publication *Baratariana* lampooned his knighthoods in quixotic terms by referring to 'the chevalier Don Georgio Buticartny, a Polish knight' and asking: 'But why must I mention

¹¹⁶ The letter is dated 31 May 1766. John Barrow, *Some Account of the Public Life, and a Selection from the Unpublished Writings, of the Earl of Macartney* (2 vols, London, 1807), I, 35. Marta M clewska (ed.), *Kawalerowie i statuty Orderu Orła Białego 1705–2008* (Warszawa, 2008), 207, gives the year of appointment as 1767.

¹¹⁷ Peter Galloway, *The Order of the Bath* (Chichester, 2006), 58, 60; Thomas Bartlett, *Macartney in Ireland 1768–72: A Calendar of the Chief Secretaryship Papers of Sir George Macartney* ([Belfast], 1978), 221.

the Knight of *three crowns* [a reference to the insignia and motto of the Order of the Bath, *TRIA JUNCTA IN UNO*], His name is unworthy of verse or of prose'.¹¹⁸

Macartney was created a baron in the peerage of Ireland in 1776 when he served as governor of Grenada, Tobago, and the Grenadines, but his elevation to the Irish viscountcy in 1792 was directly related to his appointment as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the emperor of China shortly before.¹¹⁹ Macartney's armorial bookplate (ill. 10), which depicted the insignia of both his orders of knighthood, was amended – at each stage – to mark his progression in the ranks,¹²⁰ but despite this proliferation of titles, his Chinese embassy was unsuccessful. On his return, he was created an earl in the peerage of Ireland in 1794. Two years later he obtained a British barony after a mission to Italy.

The collection and variety of diplomatic honours received by James Harris, Baron (1788) and subsequently Earl of Malmesbury (1800), was quite exceptional. As British ambassador to Russia he was appointed a Knight of the Order of the Bath in 1779. According to the then usual custom he was invested with the insignia by the sovereign to whom he was accredited, Empress Catherine II.¹²¹ After having served for some three years as envoy extraordinary at The Hague, Harris was promoted to the ambassadorial rank in February 1788. In the course of this year the British-Prussian-Dutch Triple Alliance was created and a considerable rain of honours followed to mark Harris's diplomatic success. He was created a baron on 19 September, after which William V, Prince of Orange, requested him 'to use in future' his motto, *JE MAINTIENDRAI*, on 7 October. On 21 October, King Frederick II William of Prussia granted Malmesbury 'permission to add to the Arms of his Family the Black Eagle of Prussia either quarterly or as one of his Supporters as a Public Mark of his Royall Esteem and Regard and as

¹¹⁸ *Baratariana: A Select Collection of Fugitive Political Pieces: Consisting of Letters, Essays, &c. Published during the Administration of His Excellency Lord Viscount Townshend, in Ireland* (Dublin, 1772), 188; *Baratariana: A Select Collection of Fugitive Political Pieces, Published during the Administration of Lord Townshend in Ireland* (end edn Dublin, 1773), 290.

¹¹⁹ James L. Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham, N.C., 1995), 82.

¹²⁰ Peter Allpress, 'Orders of Chivalry and Decorations Depicted on Bookplates', *The Bookplate Journal*, 8 (1990), 27–8.

¹²¹ Galloway, *Order of the Bath*, 62.



Ill. 11. The arms of Baron Malmesbury together with those of his wife. CA record MS Peers Pedigrees III/8.

a Memorial of the Satisfaction his said Majesty derived from' Malmesbury's 'Conduct in the Character of [...] Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United Provinces during the late Revolution in that Country as well as from his Services in cementing the Union between the two Crowns by the Treaty lately signed at Loo'. In the end, in pursuant to letters patent given in 1789, the Prussian eagle landed on a chief argent and another became a supporter to his arms (ill. 11).¹²²

'When additions of honour have been granted, fashion alone seems to have guided in the choice of the particular ordinary',¹²³ wrote Joseph Edmondson in his *Complete Body of Heraldry*. Among the English augmentations granted to foreigners and discussed by Siddons, a chief and a canton were the most popular positions.¹²⁴ As seen, in many cases it was left to the grantee or the heralds to determine the position of the augmentation.

While only the diplomats of the first rank with necessary noble credentials could aspire to the greatest European orders of knighthood – the Garter, the Golden Fleece,¹²⁵ the Holy Ghost and others – the new junior orders, created in several countries in the course of the

¹²² CA record MS I.33, pp. 246–9; Peers Pedigrees III/8.

¹²³ Joseph Edmondson, *A Complete Body of Heraldry* (2 vols, London, 1780), I, 169.

¹²⁴ Siddons, 'Augmentations granted by English Sovereigns to Foreigners', 85.

¹²⁵ Didier Ozanam has pointed out in his prosopographic study of the 550 members of the Spanish diplomatic and consular corps between 1700 and 1808 that only about fifteen chiefs of mission were Knights of the Golden Fleece. Didier Ozanam, *Les diplomates espagnols du XVIII^e siècle: Introduction et répertoire biographique (1700–1808)* (Madrid, 1998), 32.

eighteenth century, made the diplomatic use of these institutions easier. One of the factors which contributed to the decline of the diplomatic use of augmentations of honours was undoubtedly the greater availability of orders of knighthood for this purpose both from the own sovereigns of the diplomats as well as from those to whom they were accredited to.

The Congress of Vienna: the end or the beginning of the end of old diplomacy?

Although the Congress of Vienna was an important turning point in regard to diplomatic culture it was rather 'the beginning of the end of "old diplomacy"' than the end.¹²⁶ It was decided in Vienna that 'the plenipotentiaries should receive neither presents nor decorations'. However, each participating power gave presents – snuff-boxes and money – to the principal secretary Gentz and his assistants. During the signing and ratification of treaties, an exchange of gifts and decorations took place on a large scale. As Sir Ernest Satow put it: 'Care was taken that the decorations given on both sides [...] should be of corresponding class, a matter always considered to be of the highest importance, even in modern days, when such trinkets are exchanged.' By the time Metternich received the Grand Cross of the newly established (1815) Order of the Lion of the Netherlands in 1818, he had already been decorated with twenty-four orders.¹²⁷

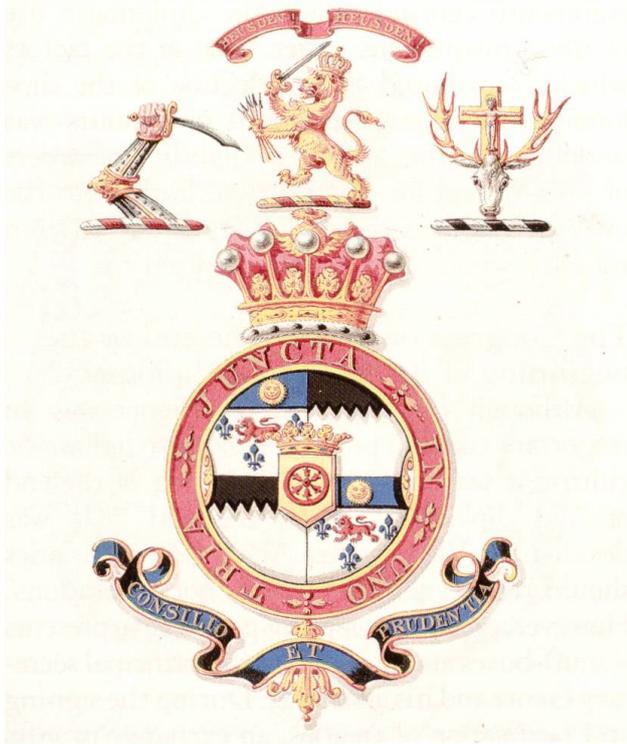
While the era when augmentations were granted to ambassadors as leaving honours had been drawn to a close, they had still their uses in special circumstances. One of the participants at the Congress of Vienna was Richard Le Poer Trench, second Earl of Clancarty, who was the senior British plenipotentiary at the end of the negotiations. In April 1815, he was appointed a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, which had been enlarged to include three classes in the preceding January.¹²⁸ Further honours followed. The Final Act of the Congress of Vienna was signed on 9 June 1815, and on 8 July 1815, King William I of the Netherlands created him Marquess of Heusden.¹²⁹ Clancarty had been accredited as ambassador to the newly

¹²⁶ Markus Mösslang and Torsten Rlotte 'Introduction: The Diplomats' World', in id. (eds), *The Diplomats' World: A Cultural History of Diplomacy 1815–1914* (Oxford, 2008), 12.

¹²⁷ Sir Ernest Satow, *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (2 vols, London, 1917), II, 361–3.

¹²⁸ Galloway, *Order of the Bath*, 116–17, 429.

¹²⁹ *Nederland's Adelboek*, 95 (2010), 307. I am grateful to Dr Egbert J. Wolleswinkel, Secretary of the *Hoge Raad van Adel*, for his assistance.



Ill. 12. The arms of the Earl of Clancarty as Marquess of Heusden. CA record MS I.45, p. 38.

proclaimed king of the Netherlands in 1813 and during the Congress of Vienna he contributed to the solution of some border disputes. Clancarty had inherited the Irish earldom from his father in 1805, but in August 1815, he was created Baron Trench of Garbally in the peerage of the United Kingdom, which gave him a seat in the House of Lords.

Clancarty served, for the second time, as ambassador at The Hague in 1816–1823, and was advanced to a viscount in the peerage of United Kingdom in December 1823. A Dutch augmentation (ill. 12) followed the next year. As ‘an especial and lasting Testimony of the high Sense that’ William I ‘entertained of the eminent Services rendered by’ Clancarty to him ‘and to his Kingdom on divers important occasions’, he allowed Clancarty on 11 June 1824 ‘to augment his Family Armorial Ensigns by bearing an Escoccheon over the same Or charged with a Wheel of six Spokes Gules being the Arms of the Marquisate of Heusden ensigned by the Coronet of a Marquis of the Kingdom of the Netherlands with the Motto “Consilio et Prudentia” And for an additional Crest the Lion borne in the Royal Arms of the Netherlands that is to say a Lion rampant Or Armed and Langued Gules imperially crowned holding the dexter Paw a naked Sword and in the Sinister a Sheaf of Arrows to which is added the Words Heusden! Heusden! as a Cry of War.’

By a royal licence, dated 16 August 1824, Clancarty was allowed ‘to accept and use the Title of Marquis of Heusden’ and given permission to bear this honorable augmentation.¹³⁰

Conclusion

Was ‘the knighting of ambassadors’ and granting to ‘them augmentations to their coats of arms [...] ‘no more than a politeness with little political meaning’, as M. S. Anderson argued? While it is difficult if not impossible to estimate their exact ‘political meaning’, their assessment requires more than simplistic dismissal. In England the granting of augmentation to departing Venetian ambassadors was a regular practice only during the reign of James I. It was a cost-effective honorific method to compensate for the lower material value of the departure gift, which was the result of the lower position of the *Serenissima* in precedence owing to its republican form of government.

Although the diplomatic augmentations of honour were relatively few in number, partly just because of their rarity, they were useful substitutes, for instance, for knighthoods of the orders in those situations where such appointments could not be considered. As perpetual inheritable honours, the charges of which were usually taken out of the sovereign’s arms, their ‘symbolic pregnancy’ was heavy. With the multiplication of the orders of knighthood and merit, and their classes, in the course of the eighteenth century, there was less need for this kind of honours, but they still had, on occasion, their moments as special tokens in exceptional circumstances.

Diana Carrió-Invernizzi has argued that a ‘cultural analysis of gifts can lead to a better understanding of how diplomacy and government practices evolved’.¹³¹ The same applies to diplomatic honours. In regard to augmentations of honour, this would be best achieved by a European-wide comparative study of their diplomatic use.¹³²

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¹³⁰ CA record MS I.45, pp. 36–38.

¹³¹ Carrió-Invernizzi, ‘Gift and Diplomacy’, 882.

¹³² I should like to thank the Chapter of the College of Arms for the kind permission to consult their records and reproduce photographs, and Robert Yorke, former Archivist, for his knowledgeable help. I am grateful to Bruce B. Hogg for proofreading the manuscript and making useful corrections and additions.