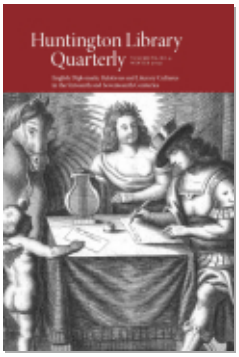
Introduction: English Diplomatic Relations and Literary Cultures in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries



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INTRODUCTION
English Diplomatic Relations and Literary Cultures in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

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ABSTRACT This introduction to the special issue situates its essays within the emergent field of literary-diplomatic studies. It fully discusses the state of current knowledge, providing the first chronological overview of the developing relationship between diplomacy and literary culture across two centuries of English history. Among the subjects addressed are the new literary milieux accessed by resident ambassadors; the use of the press to diplomatic ends; new diplomatic genres such as handbooks and letter-books; diplomacy and controversy on the public stage; literary wit in Restoration diplomacy; and the widening audiences for diplomatic literatures at the end of the seventeenth century. It draws out the findings of this special issue on the development of political publics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, outlining a complex and multidirectional relationship between the government and public sphere; the role of self-interest in motivating engagement with publics; and the role of imitation in entering public debate.

IN 1622, THE ARDENTLY ANTI-SPANISH POLEMICIST Thomas Scott translated sections of Trajano Boccalini's political satire of 1612, *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, into English.[1] Designed to stir up anti-Spanish sentiment among English readers, Scott's "tradaptation," titled *Newes from Pernassus*, was printed at least thirteen times in England between its first imprint and 1722, its lasting popularity evidence of its power

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1. Trajano Boccalini, *Newes from Pernassvs. The Politicall Touchstone, Taken from Mount Pernassus: Whereon the Governments of the greatest Monarchies of the World are touched*, trans. Thomas Scott (London, 1622).

both as an intervention in Anglo–Spanish relations and as a wider commentary on diplomacy.[2] Its chapters mimic political newsletters of the day as they recount the fictional reception, interests, petitions, and machinations of the potentates of Europe at the court of Apollo at Parnassus, lampooning not only political leaders but also the extravagant ceremonies and disputes over precedence and access that characterized early modern diplomacy.[3] The satire's critique of international politics through letters written from the god of poetry's court at the legendary home of poetry—Helicon (the source of poetic inspiration) is its fictional place of publication—had such force because literary culture permeated diplomatic practice.[4] The newsletter describing the solemn entry of Philip II of Spain, for example, places literature at the heart of diplomatic ritual: it reports that Philip was "presented by all the Vertuous of Pernassus with sundry Presents of Poesie, and other most elaborate Writings; the which he exchanged with much liberalitie," while his own standard depicted the "writing penne" with which his polemicists had assaulted and ruined France.[5] *Newes* may deride such diplomatic prostitutions of the pen as dishonorable, but it also acknowledges their importance—not least in the polemical uses to which Scott put his version. Literary writing was at the heart of international interactions.

This relationship between literature and diplomacy stretches across time and cultures. Ancient Greek city-states employed theatrical actors as diplomats for their compelling performance skills and their commanding rhetorical delivery.[6] In the medieval and early modern Islamic polities of North Africa and the Middle East, princes exchanged poetry and literary allusions, erudite scholars carried out diplomatic work, and official interpreters used their privileged access to other cultures to write or translate works.[7] Early European encounters with West African and Native

2. For an overview of the changes made, see William F. Marquardt, "The First English Translators of Trajano Boccalini's 'Ragguagli di Parnaso': A Study of Literary Relationships," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 15 (1951): 1–19. On "tradaptation," see *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge, 2007), 33.

3. On the use of newsletters in diplomatic practice, see Tracey A. Sowerby, "Elizabethan Diplomatic Networks and the Spread of News," in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden, Netherlands, 2016), 305–27 at 313–16; and Zsuzsa Barbarics-Hermanik, "Handwritten Newsletters as Interregional Information Sources in Central and Southeastern Europe," in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brian Dooley (London, 2010), 161, 173.

4. See, in particular, *Cultures of Diplomacy and Literary Writing in the Early Modern World*, ed. Tracey A. Sowerby and Joanna Craigwood (Oxford, 2019).

5. Boccalini, *Newes from Pernassvs*, 22–24.

6. *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. Pat Easterling and Edith Hall (Cambridge, 2002), 332–33. The practice is referenced in Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London, 1612), sigs. C2v–C3r.

7. Doris Behrens Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy in the Mamluk Sultanate: Gifts and Material Culture in the Medieval Islamic World* (London, 2014), 71, 82–83, 125; Cihan Yüksel Muslu, *The Ottomans and the Mamluks: Imperial Diplomacy and Warfare in the Islamic World* (London, 2014), 27, 73–74, 157; Colin Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *tarassul* and the Persian *inshāʾ* Tradition," *Studia Iranica* 26 (1997): 173–209; E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-*

American rulers attest to highly developed oratorical conventions, styles, and skills within their own distinctive diplomatic practices.[8] Eighteenth-century East Asian diplomats recounted their missions in poems read aloud on their journeys and delivered back to their sovereigns, while courtly diplomatic rituals included the production of handsomely calligraphed poetry in the region's *scripta franca* of classical Chinese.[9] And many of the most influential Latin American writers of the twentieth century were employed as diplomats.[10] Perhaps it should not surprise us that diplomats from around the world have drawn deeply on literary traditions to create the imaginative spaces in which to sketch our political futures—both in the negotiating room and in their written works.[11] After all, diplomats need to be consummate performers and skilled workers in words.

Early modern Europe experienced a powerful manifestation of this transhistorical global association. In England alone, an astonishing number of writers from the period undertook some form of diplomatic work. Among those who led embassies, Thomas More, Thomas Wyatt, Philip Sidney, and George Etherege spring immediately to mind. Others served as embassy chaplains, including Richard Hakluyt and John Donne, or embassy secretaries, including Roger Ascham and Matthew Prior. Francis Bacon got part of his education in an embassy household. John Milton and Andrew Marvell held government posts with a remit for foreign affairs. Some worked as diplomatic messengers—including Edmund Spenser—or worked in the field of foreign intelligence—including (probably) Christopher Marlowe and Aphra Behn. Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Jonathan Swift were among the many more who wrote for (or about) diplomatic occasions.

imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul (Ithaca, N.Y., 2012); Tijana Krstić, "Of Translation and Empire: Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Imperial Translators as Renaissance Go-Betweens," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London, 2012), 136–37.

8. Rui de Pina, *Crónica de El-Rei D. João II*, ed. Alberto Martins de Carvalho (Coimbra, Portugal, 1950), 92; for an assessment of Pina's account, see Ivana Elbl, "Cross-Cultural Trade and Diplomacy: Portuguese Relations with West Africa, 1441–1521," *Journal of World History* 3 (1992): 165–204 at 188–92. John Smith, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith, 1580–1631*, ed. Philip Barbour, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 1:65, 167–68; John H. Pollack, "Native Performances of Diplomacy and Religion in Early New France," in *Native Acts: Indian Performance, 1603–1832*, ed. Joshua D. Bellin and Laura L. Meikle (Lincoln, Neb., 2011), 81–116.

9. Liam C. Kelley, *Beyond the Bronze Pillars: Envoy Poetry and the Sino-Vietnamese Relationship* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 2005); Rebekah Clements, "Brush Talk as the 'Lingua Franca' of East Asian Diplomacy in Japanese-Korean Encounters c.1600–1868," *Historical Journal* 62 (2018): 289–309.

10. For example, Carlos Fuentes, Pablo Neruda, Gabriela Mistral, and Octavio Paz.

11. On such imaginings, see John Watkins, "Two Balkan Writer-Diplomats: Reimagining International Space in the Eastern Mediterranean," in *Diplomatic Cultures and International Politics: Translations, Spaces and Alternatives*, ed. Jason Dittmer and Fiona McConnell (Abingdon, U.K., 2016), 113–31; Paul Sheeran, *Literature and International Relations: Stories in the Art of Diplomacy* (Aldershot, U.K., 2007); and Deep K. Datta-Ray, *The Making of Modern Indian Diplomacy: A Critique of Eurocentrism* (London, 2015). For a fuller account spanning the early modern world, see *Cultures of Diplomacy*, ed. Sowerby and Craigwood, esp. introduction.

Yet this is the first collection exclusively dedicated to the relationship between diplomacy and textual production in early modern England. Focusing on one polity in this way permits a more in-depth inquiry into the links between international relations and literary culture than more dispersed studies allow, and it has generated three distinct new findings. First, the collected essays show that diplomatic culture produced new forms of knowledge grounded in material, textual artifacts. Second, the essays allow us to sketch out, in this introduction, the first-ever consolidated history of English diplomacy and literature in this period. Third, the essays provide new, international perspectives on the development of political publics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Each of the three remaining sections of this introduction draws out one of these findings—the first, within the wider context of early modern literary-diplomatic relations.

In fifteenth- to seventeenth-century Europe, the ability to persuade and communicate in foreign languages in a manner that was commensurable with local culture—key to effective negotiation—was taught through a literary education. Rhetorical performances suffused diplomatic orations, and rhetorical agility permeated ambassadors' reports. The textual production that accompanied oral negotiation was the lifeblood of diplomatic practice, and the amount of paper dedicated to diplomatic affairs and foreign news was immense.[12] Sovereigns considered books on almost any topic to be suitable diplomatic gifts,[13] and religious texts were considered especially prestigious presents between coreligionists.[14] Overtures of friendship, peace, and love could be made not just through ambassadorial orations or interprincely letters but also through verses.[15] When princes wished to fight with the pen and not with their armies,

12. Much of the work in this area has focused on Italian diplomatic practice. See, for example, Filippo de Vivo, "Archives of Speech: Recording Diplomatic Negotiation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy," *European History Quarterly* 46 (2016): 519–44; and Isabella Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350–1620* (Oxford, 2015). Megan Williams has posited a direct relationship between diplomatic activity and the availability of paper; see Paper Princes: Exploring the Role of Paper in Early Modern Diplomacy and Statecraft, c. 1460–1560, http://www.paperprinces.org/.

13. See, for example, H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets* (Chicago, 1972); Kristine K. Forney, "A Gift of Madrigals and Chansons: The Winchester Part Books and the Courtship of Elizabeth I by Erik XIV of Sweden," *Journal of Musicology* 17 (1999): 50–75; and Charlotte Bolland, "Italian Material Culture at the Tudor Court" (DPhil thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2011), 119–23.

14. See, for example, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, ed. Rawdon Brown et al., 38 vols. (London, 1864–1940), 8:587; compare Behrens Abouseif, *Practising Diplomacy*.

15. See, for example, Peter C. Herman, *Royal Poetrie: Monarchic Verse and the Political Imaginary of Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2010), 68–71; and Edward Holberton, "Bellipotens Virgo," *Times Literary Supplement*, November 21, 2008, 14–15.

they turned to poetry and plays as well as polemic. As did their opponents: Scott's 1622 translation of the anti-Spanish *Newes* was probably most immediately intended to oppose the proposed marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta—by drawing attention to the untrustworthiness of Philip II and the Spanish, including, by implication, Philip's son Philip III.[16] Diplomats, or those who coordinated ambassadorial actions from the secretariat, were often the ones who composed the texts that defended their sovereigns' actions.[17]

Literary concerns deeply influenced the ways in which political actors thought, wrote, and talked about diplomatic matters. Diplomats and the rulers they served used literary analogies and references to comment on their experiences of embassy. Thomas Smith, for instance, rationalized the favorable treatment he received during a special embassy to France in 1572 by explaining that "al the messages prynces do, even as men do in stage plaies or comedies serve the terne, and the part which is in plaieing."[18] Seven decades later, Elizabeth Stuart described negotiations at the Imperial Diet of Regensburg as "but a comedie," where the German princes believed themselves to be "ye cheefe actors . . . greate ^& powerfull^ men upon ye stage" but were in reality—offstage—simply Habsburg clients.[19] Diplomatic handbooks drew on literary as well as historical and legal works and frameworks to support their arguments, and they recommended that ambassadors be well read.[20] Invoking references from a shared literary culture could help a diplomat avoid being blunt or crude when dealing with a diplomatic correspondent, as when William Maitland—the principal secretary of Mary, Queen of Scots—sent coded warnings to Elizabeth I's ambassador in France by citing a verse from Chaucer.[21]

These practices emerged in Europe at this time in response to a number of developments. As monarchs and their bureaucracies became less peripatetic, noble and elite culture became more intensively focused on the royal courts that sent and hosted ambassadors.[22] Princely courts, which had long attracted literary figures,

16. Marquardt, "The First English Translators." For poems and plays, see the examples given in the footnotes to the third section of this introduction.

17. Especially in the 1530s; see Tracey A. Sowerby, "'All o*ur* books do be sent into other countreys and tra*n*slated': Henrician Polemic in Its International Context," *English Historical Review* 121 (2006): 1271–99.

18. Sir Thomas Smith to his wife, January 9, 1572, SP 70/146, fol. 29r, The National Archives, Kew [hereafter TNA].

19. Elizabeth [Stuart] of Bohemia to Sir Thomas Roe, August 16/26, 1641, SP 16/483, fol. 109r, TNA.

20. See Tracey Sowerby's contribution to this special issue; and Diego Pirillo, *The Refugee-Diplomat: Venice, England, and the Reformation* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2019), 109–17.

21. William Maitland to Nicholas Throckmorton, June 10, 1561, SP 70/28, fol. 32r, TNA.

22. *Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage, and Royalty 1400–1800*, ed. Arthur G. Dickens (New York, 1977); *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime 1500–1750*, ed. J. S. A. Adamson (London, 1999); *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650*, ed. Ronald G. Asch and Adolf Matthias Birke (London, 1991).

witnessed more intense engagement with literary culture, and court entertainments increased in number and scale.[23] The growing bureaucracy and paperwork involved in diplomacy required growing numbers of highly literate—often also literary—secretaries, while the economics of authorship made such posts appealing to writers without independent means. We will address other pan-European changes that affected public diplomacy at this time—the burgeoning print trade, the public stage, and the advent of newspapers—later in this introduction, in the English context.

These changes took place in dialogue with diplomatic developments closely linked to the literary and rhetorical culture of European Renaissance humanism. The first handbooks for ambassadors were written in fifteenth-century Italy, seeding a culture of diplomacy steeped in the humanism of the Italian Renaissance, complete with its focus on classical rhetoric and literature.[24] Italian diplomats adopted humanist language from the early fifteenth century onward and, as Isabella Lazzarini has shown, they were instrumental in spreading humanism across Europe.[25] Humanist ideas and debates about political morality, rhetorical skill, and the place of literary and historical learning in politics spread through diplomatic channels. They were repeated in the proliferating ambassadorial handbooks (and other political and literary texts) of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe and influenced developing theories of statecraft and international law.[26] The wider influence of humanism on European politics and education created both a demand for and a supply of diplomatic professionals with literary skills and knowledge.

Timothy Hampton has established a profound connection between the "web of diplomatic discourse into which virtually every humanist-trained writer would have come into contact" and formal developments in the major early modern genres of tragedy and epic.[27] In his groundbreaking study *Fictions of Embassy*, he shows how major European authors used diplomatic scenarios to reflect on both the limits of genre and rhetoric and the nature of representation and fiction-making. At the same time, he argues, political writers used literary tools to understand and shape developing diplomatic practice. Subsequent literary research, by Hampton and others, continues to draw on his "diplomatic poetics" to expose the many and rich ways in which the diplomatic scenarios and contexts embedded in literary works, as well

23. Ellen R. Welch, *A Theater of Diplomacy: International Relations and the Performing Arts in Early Modern France* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2017); *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics, and Performance*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Aldershot, U.K., 2002).

24. Douglas Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 2002), 16, 101–52.

25. Lazzarini, *Communication and Conflict*.

26. Heidrun Kugeler, "'Le parfait ambassadeur': The Theory and Practice of Diplomacy in the Century Following the Peace of Westphalia" (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2006); Garrett Mattingly's *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Harmondsworth, U.K., 1955) provides an earlier survey.

27. Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2009), 12, and throughout. See also Hampton, "The Diplomatic Moment: Representing Negotiation in Early Modern Europe," *Modern Language Quarterly* 67 (2006): 81–102.

as the literary topoi employed in diplomacy, allowed early modern writers to work through problems that were simultaneously political, moral, and aesthetic.[28]

Other changes in early modern European diplomatic practice that shaped its relationship with literary culture include the introduction of resident diplomacy, or what Garrett Mattingly called the "new diplomacy."[29] Mattingly's overarching picture of a shift toward the use of resident ambassadors in Europe hides a much more complex reality of fitful adoption and enduring asymmetries, and his account has rightly been critiqued by the more recent "new diplomatic history."[30] Nevertheless, bureaucratization, the growing burden of paperwork, and a larger workforce, combined with the erratic emergence of residency, created a gradual but genuine shift toward what Daniela Frigo has called "the institutionalization of a function—that of representation."[31] Recent historical scholarship has also highlighted the importance of understanding diplomacy as a social and cultural practice, providing new frameworks for analyzing its relationship with literary culture. Important trends within this work include the performativity inherent in diplomatic interactions; the function of diplomatic ceremonial as a key mode of nonverbal communication; the ways in which diplomatic cultures were forged through diplomatic sociability at court and beyond; and the importance of material culture to diplomatic practices (including diplomatic texts).[32]

Literature held a special place for those workers in words, papers, and performances who served as European diplomats. By *literature* we here mean writing

28. See especially John Watkins, *After Lavinia: A Literary History of Premodern Marriage Diplomacy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2017), chaps. 5–6; Welch, *Theater of Diplomacy*; Christopher Warren, *Literature and the Law of Nations, 1580–1680* (Oxford, 2015); Timothy Hampton, "Distinguished Visitors: Literary Genre and Domestic Space in Shakespeare, Calderón, and Proust," in *Cultures of Diplomacy*, ed. Sowerby and Craigwood, 41–53; and Timothy Hampton, "The Slumber of War: Diplomacy, Tragedy, and the Aesthetics of Truce in Early Modern Europe," in *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power: The Making of Peace*, ed. Nathalie Rivère de Carles (London, 2016), 27–45.

29. Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*.

30. John Watkins, "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe," ed. Watkins, special issue, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008): 1; *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy: The Structure of Diplomatic Practice, 1450–1800*, ed. Daniela Frigo (Cambridge, 1999); Daniel Goffman, "Negotiating with the Renaissance State: The Ottoman Empire and the New Diplomacy," in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge, 2007), 61–74; *Protegierte und Protektoren: Asymmetrische politische Beziehungen zwischen Partnerschaft und Dominanz (16. bis frühes 20. Jahrhundert)*, ed. Tilman Haug, Nadir Weber, and Christian Windler (Cologne, Germany, 2016).

31. *Politics and Diplomacy*, ed. Frigo, 9; see also Ricardo Fubini's contribution to the volume, "Diplomacy and Government in the Italian City-States of the Fifteenth Century (Florence and Venice)," 25–48.

32. For an extended analysis of key historiographical trends, see Jan Hennings and Tracey A. Sowerby, "Introduction: Practices of Diplomacy," in *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410–1800*, ed. Sowerby and Hennings (London, 2017), 1–21; and Sowerby, "Early Modern Diplomatic History," *History Compass* 14 (2016): 441–56.

that involved imaginative, formal, and rhetorical shaping of material, and by *literary* we mean qualities associated with such writing.[33] Understood this way, literary skill was embedded in the origin myths and etymologies that humanists recounted about diplomacy as they imagined the concurrent foundation and linked history of literature and diplomacy.[34] Since Renaissance poetics was a branch of rhetoric, the central part that oratory played in diplomatic practice—as well as the early modern adoption of the Roman habit of calling ambassadors *oratores*, or orators—placed diplomatic words within the same theoretical field as poetic words.[35] Such fundamental beliefs about correspondences underlay diplomats' and writers' shared use of literary analogies to make sense of diplomatic developments, as well as their shared interests in the fictional, narrative, representative, semiotic, and linguistic dimensions of diplomacy.[36] What is more, when the term *diplomacy* developed in the eighteenth century, it developed from an adjective (*diplomatic*) that started out meaning simply "textual" and only later came to refer more particularly to the official texts and documents of international relations, and from there to international relations in general. Modern diplomacy has a history grounded in textual artifacts.[37]

New forms of knowledge grounded in material, textual artifacts bind together the essays in this collection and underpin its unique contribution. Diplomatic relations did not just shape literary culture (and vice versa), as scholars of diplomatic poetics and the new diplomatic history have so compellingly argued. As this special issue shows, diplomatic relations also enabled new ways of thinking about the material-textual means of negotiating a rapidly expanding world.[38] Each essay's story builds the picture. In the early sixteenth century, the new transnational power of the press allowed a paradiplomatic agent to bypass traditional channels of influence by

33. These definitions are based on the fact that the fields of literature and history (or nonfictional writing) were not clearly separated in this period; to be "literary" in the early modern period meant to be a person of learning, and this implied knowledge of philosophy, science, history, and classical and contemporary literature. A wide range of fictional and nonfictional texts rightly form the material of both literary and historical studies today.

34. Joanna Craigwood, "The Place of the Literary in European Diplomacy: Origin Myths in Ambassadorial Handbooks," in *Cultures of Diplomacy*, ed. Sowerby and Craigwood, 25–40.

35. See Jean Hotman, *The Ambassador* (London, 1603), sig. C2v; Donald E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1967), 60–76; Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries*, 16, 101–52; and Brian Jeffrey Maxson, *The Humanist World of Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, 2014), 85–106.

36. Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy*; *Cultures of Diplomacy*, ed. Sowerby and Craigwood; Warren, *Literature and the Law of Nations*; Joanna Craigwood, "Sidney, Gentili and the Poetics of Embassy," in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke, U.K., 2011), 82–100; Jane O. Newman, "'Mediating Amicably'? The Birth of the *Trauerspiel* out of the Letter of Westphalia," in *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power*, ed. Rivère de Carles, 69–89.

37. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "diplomatic, *adj.* and *n.*," last modified 1989, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/122777.

38. With particular thanks to one of our anonymous readers for encouraging us to develop this line of argument.

mimicking the idioms of official diplomacy; this stratagem formed a turning point in the history of public diplomacy (Rossiter). The sources of the earliest English diplomatic treatise prove that humanist-influenced reading habits and libraries were as important as experience to the production and circulation of diplomatic knowledge (Sowerby). New analysis of the copying and editing of Elizabethan diplomatic letters and letter-books reveals how diplomats deliberately fashioned their reputations by managing their growing documentary records—and how necessary that was for politically vulnerable agents abroad (Williamson). Courtly masque scripts, reports of London gossip, and published paratexts are among the sixteenth-century sources that expose and manage anxieties about diplomatic interpreters in an age of fraught language politics (Wilson-Lee). As European geographies fractured, sustained Anglo–Spanish literary transmission through a recusant seventeenth-century ambassador from Staffordshire proved that local, allegedly marginal, interests could converge with a cosmopolitan European internationalism in translocal forms of cultural and political translation (Samson). By the end of the seventeenth century, diplomats were responding to intensifying demands that their occasional verse address multiple international publics; they addressed these requirements through growing attention to rhetorical kairos—saying the right thing at the right time to the right people—in their drafting practices and publication strategies (Craigwood). Early modern diplomatic culture produced new types of authorial reasoning and strategy; new ways of thinking about writing, copying, and translation; new approaches to the circulation and management of texts; and new understandings of the role of rhetoric in the public and international world. It produced new types of knowledge. As this collection shows, the study of diplomacy and literature contributes to an intellectual history grounded in the material text.

The essays in this special issue span the period from the early days of English resident diplomacy in Henry VIII's reign through the international representation of constitutional monarchy in the late seventeenth century. Cumulatively, the essays gesture to change over time, and they play their part in building the first historical survey of relations between early modern English diplomacy and literature. The survey that follows combines chronological overview with thematic grouping: we pick out significant developments at salient moments while glancing to their relevance throughout the period. These developments include the new literary milieux accessed by resident ambassadors, the use of the press to diplomatic ends, the humanist culture of the English diplomatic corps, new diplomatic genres such as handbooks and letter-books, diplomacy and controversy on the public stage, the diplomatic import of royal writing and patronage, the court masques and entertainments that gave women ways to make diplomatic interventions, the role of literary culture in establishing the authority of the Commonwealth, literary wit in Restoration diplomacy, and the

widening audiences for diplomatic literatures at the end of the seventeenth century. This is (in other words) a history at the heart of the history of English literature.

From the earliest days of resident diplomacy under the Tudor monarchs, English diplomats engaged with the literary milieux they encountered at foreign courts, enjoying privileged access to Continental literary influences. Henry VIII built up a network of resident diplomats: by the end of the 1520s, the English king had ambassadors at the imperial, papal, and French courts, as well as at the vice-regal court in the Netherlands; in the 1530s he added a quasiambassadorial agent in Venice to the network.[39] During his time with the court of the Holy Roman emperor Charles V, Thomas Wyatt met Spanish and Italian poets including Juan Boscán, Giacomo Guidiccioni, Don Diego de Mendoza, and Bernardo Tasso, and his experiences shaped his poetry.[40] Henry's resident in Venice for much of the 1530s and 1540s, Edmund Harvel, bestowed patronage on Italian writers, such as Ortensio Lando, as well as English scholars.[41] Representing Edward VI to Charles V in the early 1550s, polemicist Richard Morison and his secretary, author and educational theorist Roger Ascham, eagerly met and corresponded with Continental authors and librarians, bought recent publications, and studied Latin and Italian texts, benefitting from their access to Continental humanism.[42] Members of embassy households continued to immerse themselves in local literary cultures throughout the period, often seeing this as linked to their linguistic and cultural education:[43] in the 1630s, for example, one resident ambassador's household used the latest Spanish court dramas to learn the language.[44] Diplomats' wide-ranging literary engagements made them conduits for international exchange and influence.

Henry VIII was the first English monarch to realize the potential of the press to further diplomatic ends. Over the course of his reign, he engaged in several polemical campaigns that were overseen at a local level by his ambassadors. Because of the pressures from the annulment of the king's first marriage and break with Rome, some of these printed works even began to be used as diplomatic handbooks, providing his

39. The best available study of Henrician diplomats is currently Luke MacMahon's "The Ambassadors of Henry VIII: The Personnel of English Diplomacy, c.1500–c.1550" (PhD thesis, University of Kent, 2000).

40. Susan Brigden, *Thomas Wyatt: The Heart's Forest* (London, 2012); William T. Rossiter, *Wyatt Abroad: Tudor Diplomacy and the Translation of Power* (Woodbridge, U.K., 2014).

41. Robert Barrington, "Two Houses Both Alike in Dignity: Reginald Pole and Edmund Harvell," *Historical Journal* 39 (1996): 895–913 at 906–9.

42. Lawrence V. Ryan, *Roger Ascham* (London, 1963), 127–62; Tracey A. Sowerby, "Roger Ascham's Diplomatic Training and Mid-Tudor Diplomatic Careers," in *Roger Ascham and His Sixteenth-Century World*, ed. Ceri Law and Lucy Nicholson (Leiden, Netherlands, forthcoming).

43. See, for example, Sowerby, "Roger Ascham's Diplomatic Training"; and R. Jones to [Richard Oseley], September 30, 1559, SP 70/7, fol. 132r, TNA.

44. Christopher Windebank to his father, September 3/13, 1636, SP 16/331, fol. 24r, TNA.

ambassadors with briefs.[45] These innovative new uses of texts in diplomacy both arose from, and contributed to, the wider dissemination of foreign affairs in print through open letters from leading political figures and the publication of festival books, and the dual uses of printed texts as propaganda and briefing notes continued to be important throughout the period. William Rossiter's contribution to this special issue goes beyond existing studies to show how Henry and his chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, not only commissioned and disseminated works by English writers but also sought opportunistically to use influential foreign writers and literary cultures to promote a positive image of the king and his policies well beyond English shores. A nondiplomat who harnessed the form and style of diplomatic language, the Italian humanist and controversialist Pietro Aretino engaged in pro-Henrician paradiplomatic activity, seeking to capitalize on Henry's marital struggles in order to enhance his own international reputation and settle several personal scores. Rossiter's research reveals a new kind of Italian agent, active in Anglo–Italian relations, quite unlike the paid political agents or Protestant émigrés we know about.[46] Aretino was a self-styled (and self-interested) "prince of the press"—able to turn himself into a *public*-diplomatic mediator between the English government and Italian literary communities and readerships.

During the sixteenth century, the humanist perspectives so important to developments in Continental diplomacy also became central to English diplomacy. Humanists brought beliefs, and debates, about the importance of rhetoric, style, linguistic ability, moral philosophy, literature, and translation that influenced political education and practice. Thomas More framed his great humanist fiction *Utopia* within his mission to Flanders in 1515 and used its diplomatic scenes to open up rhetorically ambivalent philosophical reflection.[47] Émigrés and returning exiles and scholars brought Continental humanism, linguistic skill, and contacts into English diplomacy;[48] by early in Elizabeth's reign, shared humanist endeavors bound the diplomatic corps together.[49] Some diplomats, such as Philip Sidney and Daniel

45. On these developments, see Sowerby, "All o*ur* books." Subsequent monarchs engaged in some of these practices. See Corinna Streckfuss, "'Spes maxima nostra': European Propaganda and the Spanish Match," in *Tudor Queenship: The Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth*, ed. Alice Hunt and Anna Whitelock (Basingstoke, U.K., 2010), 145–57.

46. Pirillo, *Refugee-Diplomat*; Catherine Fletcher, "War, Diplomacy and Social Mobility: The Casali Family in the Service of Henry VIII," *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 559–78.

47. A conceit furthered by the paratextual letters; see Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. and trans. George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge, 1989), esp. 8–41, 112–14; Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy*, 32–35.

48. David Carlson, "Politicizing Tudor Court Literature: Gaguin's Embassy and Henry VII's Humanists' Response," *Studies in Philology* 85 (1988): 279–304; Warren Boutcher, "'A French Dexterity, & an Italian Confidence': New Documents on John Florio, Learned Strangers and Protestant Humanist Study of Modern Languages in Renaissance England from c. 1547 to c. 1625," *Reformation* 2 (1997): 39–109.

49. Tracey A. Sowerby, "The Cambridge Connection and the Early Elizabethan Diplomatic Corps," in *The Cambridge Connection and the Mid-Tudor Polity*, ed. John McDiarmid and Susan Wabuda (Leiden, Netherlands, forthcoming in 2020), chap. 10.

Rogers, found that their humanist and poetic interests helped them forge closer relations abroad.[50] Others, such as Thomas Wilson, sought to influence English foreign policy through the translation of classical texts,[51] and yet others provided the English government with foreign texts to translate and publish in order to shape public opinion at home.[52] Many members of Elizabethan embassies (indeed, embassies throughout the period) translated texts that they encountered abroad—from political pamphlets, to poetry, to travel literature—for reasons personal, political, or both.[53] Working within this humanist environment, diplomats and writers drew on literary spaces and ideas to reflect on diplomacy, and vice versa; members of embassies, for example, chose poetic genres that made sense of their experiences, as did George Turberville in Russia and Barnabe Googe in Spain.[54] Sidney, in particular, used fiction to grapple with diplomatic representation, peacemaking, and international law, and he drew on diplomacy to think through poetic theory, with lasting influence.[55] By the end of the sixteenth century, the humanist diplomatic exploitation of rhetoric and literature was so embedded in political culture that it became the target of Christopher Marlowe's poetic satire.[56]

From the mid-Tudor period onward, new diplomatic genres appear. These include the first English handbooks for ambassadors, written by Francis Thynne,

50. J. A. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (Leiden, Netherlands, 1962).

51. Alastair J. L. Blanshard and Tracey A. Sowerby, "Thomas Wilson's Demosthenes and the Politics of Tudor Translation," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 12 (2005): 46–80.

52. Lisa Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce: French Anti-league Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester N.Y., 1996); Sowerby, "Elizabethan Diplomatic Networks," 305–27 at 316–26.

53. For example, Pierre de Ronsard, *A Discovrs of the Present Troobles in Fravnce, and Miseries of This Tyme*, trans. Thomas Jeney (Antwerp, 1568); and René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie containing foure voyages made by certayne French Captaynes vnto Florida*, trans. Richard Hakluyt (London, 1587).

54. Jan Hennings, "Textual Ambassadors and Ambassadorial Texts: Literary Representation and Diplomatic Practice in George Turberville's and Thomas Randolph's Accounts of Russia (1568–9)," in *Cultures of Diplomacy*, ed. Sowerby and Craigwood, 175–89; T. P. Harrison, "Googe's 'Eglogs' and Montemayor's 'Diana,'" *Studies in English* 5 (1925): 68–78.

55. Jason Powell, "Astrophil the Orator: Diplomacy and Diplomats in Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*," in *Authority and Diplomacy from Dante to Shakespeare*, ed. Jason Powell and William T. Rossiter (Farnham, U.K., 2013), 171–84; Craigwood, "Sidney, Gentili and the Poetics of Embassy"; John Watkins, "Diplomatic Pathos: Sidney's Brazen Fictions and the Troubled Origins of International Law," in *Cultures of Diplomacy*, ed. Sowerby and Craigwood, 69–85; Warren, *Literature and the Law of Nations*, 31–61. Sidney's influence is evident in the works of seventeenth-century Sidneian poets: Richard Brathwaite, *Natvres Embassie: Or, the Wilde-Mans Measvres* (London, 1621); and *The Poems English and Latin of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Oxford, 1923).

56. Warren Boutcher, "'Who taught thee Rhetoricke to deceive a maid?': Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, Juan Boscán's *Leandro*, and Renaissance Vernacular Humanism," *Comparative Literature* 52 (2000): 11–52 at 45–49.

Alberico Gentili, Jean Hotman, and Henry Unton;[57] Thynne was an antiquarian who aspired to diplomatic and heraldic service, Gentili and Hotman expatriate civil lawyers with close links to the English diplomatic community, and Unton an English diplomat.[58] Gentili's treatment of ambassadorial work betrays especially deep reliance on classical and humanist sources.[59] As Tracey Sowerby observes, in the first extended discussion of Thynne's *Perfect Ambassadour*, such references were typical of the way that ambassadors themselves discussed their endeavors. Sowerby's close reading of Thynne's sources shows that literary and historical depictions of diplomacy exerted an astonishing influence over evolving early modern diplomatic genres and practices—an influence insufficiently acknowledged in existing surveys of the development of diplomacy. This influence was such that Thynne, a man with no direct diplomatic experience, could construct a plausible treatise on the office of an ambassador—making many of the same points as treatises written by experienced diplomats—by drawing predominantly on the humanist and classical works in his library. His treatise's continued relevance to the diplomatic sphere was sufficiently strong that it continued to circulate in manuscript and was published nearly eighty years after its original composition.

The distorting effects of the nineteenth-century reorganization of pre-Elizabethan state papers cannot wholly explain the new forms of diplomatic texts and miscellanies that also appear in the archives from the mid-sixteenth century onward. They arose from gradual shifts in Tudor record-keeping practices and diplomatic personnel; for example, ambassadors' ledgers of their correspondence survived, and other staff assumed the role heralds had once played in keeping embassy journals.[60] Such texts and their histories highlight the tensions between privacy and publicity and the material forms and lives of diplomatic documents, as Elizabeth Williamson argues in this special issue. The blurred line between what were the private papers of the ambassador and what belonged to the state allowed ambassadors to retain records of their service, which they could circulate as they chose. Williamson's innovative study of the

57. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter *ODNB*], s.v. "Unton [Umpton], Sir Henry (*c.* 1558–1596)," by Mark Greengrass, last modified January 3, 2008, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/28001; Alberico Gentili, *De Legationibus Libri Tres* (London, 1585); Jean Hotman, *The Ambassador* (London, 1603); for Thynne, see Tracey Sowerby's essay in this special issue. Unton's text no longer survives.

58. Gentili and Hotman advised the Privy Council on diplomatic immunity; see Linda S. Frey and Marsha L. Frey, *The History of Diplomatic Immunity* (Columbus, Ohio, 1999), 167–74.

59. Pirillo, *Refugee-Diplomat*, 109–17.

60. For a broader discussion of letter-books, see Elizabeth Rachel Williamson, "Before 'Diplomacy': Travel, Embassy and the Production of Political Information in the Later Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., Queen Mary, University of London, 2012); on other forms of diplomatic reporting, see *Diplomatic Intelligence on the Holy Roman Empire and Denmark during the Reigns of Elizabeth I and James VI: Three Treatises*, ed. David Scott Gehring (Cambridge, 2016); on heralds' accounts, see Robert J. Knecht, "Sir Nicholas Carew's Journey through France in 1529," in *The English Experience in France c. 1450–1558: War, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange*, ed. David Grummitt (Aldershot, U.K., 2002), 160–81.

surviving letter-books of Sir Henry Unton reveals how concerns over reputation management influenced decisions about what to include in ambassadors' records, what to exclude, and how to arrange the contents. Williamson shows that Unton sought to mitigate the negative reception of his first French mission, and reclaim his reputation for posterity, by exerting control over the material record of his diplomatic office. Her work advances our understanding of diplomatic record-keeping in this period and places it firmly within the new social history of the archive.

By the late sixteenth century, performances in English public playhouses were inspired by English diplomatic activity in Europe and beyond. Often alluding to foreign news and even secret diplomatic intelligence, plays provided a popular vehicle for political commentary on foreign relations and drew on the pervasive analogies between diplomacy and theater to comment on both.[61] *Hamlet*, for example, is indebted to the confidential records of Daniel Rogers's 1588 embassy to Denmark, divulging their contents even while portraying the exposure of fictive diplomatic documents, and it reflects on the parallels between acting and embassy.[62] Knowledgeable about the diplomatic world, the members of Shakespeare's company were even employed to act as servants to one visiting Spanish embassy in the early seventeenth century.[63] The furor created by Thomas Middleton's scathing satire on Anglo–Spanish relations, *A Game at Chess*, underlines the extraordinary reach of playhouse commentary: perhaps one-seventh of London's population saw the play in its nine-day run before it was banned for causing diplomatic tensions.[64] Plays also drew inspiration from the marked geographical expansion of English diplomatic activity in the second half of the sixteenth century—including the visits of ambassadors from Muscovy and Morocco—and from accounts of English diplomatic activity beyond the borders of Europe.[65]

As the sixteenth century wore on, diplomats increasingly produced travel accounts, ethnographic studies, and political analyses of the polities to which they were posted, and a wide range of works, beyond plays, reflected the impact of England's

61. See, for example, Watkins, *After Lavinia*, 143–73; Joanna Craigwood, "Diplomatic Metonymy and Antithesis in *3 Henry VI*," *Review of English Studies* 65 (2014): 812–30; Mark Netzloff, "Public Diplomacy and Comedy of State: Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*," in *Authority and Diplomacy*, ed. Powell and Rossiter, 185–97.

62. András Kiséry, *Hamlet's Moment: Drama and Political Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2016), 89–133; Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy*, 138–62.

63. Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642* (Cambridge, 2004), 51–52.

64. See Lena Steveker, "English News Plays of the Early 1620s: Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* and Ben Jonson's *The Staple of News*," in *News in Early Modern Europe: Currents and Connections*, ed. Simon Davies and Puck Fletcher (Leiden, Netherlands, 2014), 215–29; Richard Dutton, *Licensing, Censorship and Authorship in Early Modern England: Buggeswords* (Basingstoke, U.K., 2000), 139–46; T. H. Howard-Hill, *Middleton's "Vulgar Pasquin": Essays on "A Game at Chess"* (Newark, Del., 1995); and Mark Hutchings, "The Spectre of Gondomar in the Wake of *A Game at Chess*," *Seventeenth Century* 27 (2012): 435–53.

65. See, for example, Daryl W. Palmer, *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare* (Aldershot, U.K., 2004); and Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589–1689* (Gainesville, Fla., 2006).

expanded diplomatic horizons on the literary imagination.[66] Literary and aesthetic strategies in turn helped diplomats negotiate, both in person and in their writing, the cross-cultural encounters arising from England's globalizing relations.[67] Throughout the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, works registered the close relationship between England's Continental diplomacy and its imperial ambitions.[68] Edward Wilson-Lee, in his contribution to this collection, uncovers the complexity of that interface, exploring the ways in which English authors used the notion of "barbarity" at the end of Elizabeth's reign. His essay focuses on real and imagined translators from North Africa, India, and the New World in manuscript and print sources. The repeated textual erasure of these linguistic mediators, he argues, registers tensions between, on the one hand, the sixteenth-century opposition of "civilized" England to "barbarous" regions outside Europe and, on the other, the simultaneous realignment of vernacular, Protestant England as a defiant part of this same barbarous periphery when opposed to Latinate, Catholic Europe. Wilson-Lee's theoretically grounded disclosure of these tensions acts as a reminder of the fragile sovereignty of post-Reformation England, a small island on the margins of Europe with little influence and powerful enemies. By the later seventeenth century, things had changed again: literature and literary techniques contributed to the tragic reworking of international law and morality to accommodate the transition toward imperial relations. John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and John Dryden's heroic drama addressed problems of empire and global interaction.[69]

The accession of the assertively literary James VI and I to the English throne marked the apogee of royal interest in the diplomatic functions of literature. More than any preceding monarch, James recognized and personally exploited the power "not only of writing, not only of printing, but of literary forms, conventions, and associations."[70] Literature provided a significant means of both acquiring and

66. See, for example, Giles Fletcher, *Of the Rvsse Common Wealth* (London, 1591); and David Potter and P. R. Roberts, "An Englishman's View of the Court of Henri III, 1584–1585: Richard Cook's 'Description of the Court of France,'" *French History* 2 (1988): 312–44. See also Melanie Ord, *Travel and Experience in Early Modern English Literature* (New York, 2008); and Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark, Del., 2008).

67. See, for example, *Emissaries in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Mediation, Transmission, Traffic, 1550–1700*, ed. Brinda Charry and Gitanjali Shahani (Farnham, U.K., 2009), 23–76; and Nandini Das, "'Apes of Imitation': Imitation and Identity in Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy to India," in *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion*, ed. Jyotsna G. Singh (Chichester, U.K., 2009), 114–28.

68. For example, Richard Hakluyt, *A particuler discourse concerninge . . . the Westerne discoueries* (1584; fasc. repr., London, 1993); and Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie*, trans. Hakluyt.

69. Warren, *Literature and the Law of Nations*; Edward Holberton, "Empire and Natural Law in Dryden's Heroic Drama," in *The Oxford Handbook of English Law and Literature, 1500–1700*, ed. Lorna Hutson (Oxford, 2017), 728–46.

70. Jane Rickard, *Authorship and Authority: The Writings of James VI and I* (Manchester, 2007), 1. For a prime example, see Peter Auger, "Translation and Cultural Convergence in

displaying diplomatic expertise in this period (in parallel, cultural competence in the visual arts aided career progression in the Jacobean diplomatic corps).[71] The nation's foreign relations accordingly motivated the reading, collection, translation, and imitation of foreign literature, whether as a means to promote peace through intercultural exchange or as a form of displaced rivalry during war.[72] As the self-styled Rex Pacificus and his son moved toward a "British" diplomatic corps,[73] and their countries dealt with the ramifications of the devastating Thirty Years' War and Wars of the Three Kingdoms, commentary across genres on foreign affairs registered the complexity of geographical alignments under the early Stuarts.[74] Religion's part in these conflicts is just one (striking) example of the importance of religious allegiance and writing to post-Reformation diplomacy. Unsurprisingly, then, embassy chaplains made various kinds of literary-diplomatic contribution, from sermons and polemic to translation and biblical scholarship.[75] John Donne applied rhetorical techniques from diplomatic handbooks to his embassy sermons, and ideas of embassy structured his (and others') claims to religious authority and representation in wider writings.[76]

Late Sixteenth-Century Scotland and Huguenot France," in *Cultures of Diplomacy*, ed. Sowerby and Craigwood, 115–28.

71. Kiséry, *Hamlet's Moment*; Robert Hill, "Ambassadors and Art Collecting in Early Stuart Britain: The Parallel Careers of William Trumbull and Sir Dudley Carleton, 1609–1625," *Journal of the History of Collections* 15 (2003): 211–28.

72. Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2013); José María Pérez Fernández, "Translation, Diplomacy, and Espionage: New Insights into James Mabbe's Career," *Translation & Literature* 23 (2014): 1–22; *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. Alexander Samson (Aldershot, U.K., 2006).

73. Steve Murdoch, "Diplomacy in Transition: Stuart-British Diplomacy in Northern Europe, 1603–1618," in *Ships, Guns and Bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic States, c.1350–c.1700*, ed. Allan I. MacInnes, Thomas Riis, and Frederik Pedersen (East Linton, U.K., 2000), 93–114; Steve Murdoch, "Scottish Ambassadors and British Diplomacy 1618–1635," *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648*, ed. Steve Murdoch (Leiden, Netherlands, 2001), 27–50. As Murdoch outlines, James used both Scottish and English men to represent his interests as king of both England and Scotland (which were not always aligned), rather than sending separate embassies for each country staffed by English and Scottish citizens respectively.

74. See, for example, John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603–1707* (Oxford, 2008); William B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1998); Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1990); and Nicholas McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance in the English Civil Wars: Marvell and the Cause of Wit* (Oxford, 2008).

75. Hugh Adlington, "Chaplains to Embassies: Daniel Featley, Anti-Catholic Controversialist Abroad," in *Chaplains in Early Modern England: Patronage, Literature and Religion*, ed. Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood, and Gillian Wright (Manchester, 2013), 83–102; Simon Mills, "The Chaplains to the English Levant Company: Exploration and Biblical Scholarship in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century England," in *Die Begegnung mit Fremden und das Geschichtsbewusstsein*, ed. Judith Becker and Bettina Braun (Göttingen, Germany, 2012), 243–66.

76. Hugh Adlington, "Donne and Diplomacy," in *Renaissance Tropologies: The Cultural Imagination of Early Modern England*, ed. Jeanne Shami (Pittsburgh, Pa., 2008), 187–216. Examples include Robert Parsons, *A Christian Directorie Gviding Men to Their Salvation*

Anna of Denmark, as much as her husband, was responsible for the rising prominence of the court masque as diplomatic entertainment. Courtly performances had long been important to diplomacy, providing displays of royal masculinity or femininity, commentary on policy, and a means of furthering (or qualifying) alliances.[77] But, from 1603, the English court adopted Continental traditions of lavish court masques at Christmas.[78] Often recorded in ambassadors' correspondence, court masques were important occasions for disputing diplomatic precedence, conferring favors, and conveying political messages.[79] Samuel Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, for example, kicked off the English peace negotiations with Spain in early 1604 and clearly signaled England's peaceable intentions.[80] The occasion allowed the Spanish to begin building relations with influential court ladies, a process that would ultimately enable the Countess of Suffolk to emerge as a go-between for successive ambassadors; indeed, masques were one of the few literary genres through which women could make diplomatic interventions.[81] We know a little about such London entertainments but less about English diplomats' experiences of entertainments abroad. Alexander Samson's essay in this special issue treads that largely untrodden ground. His archival research into the literary engagements of Sir Walter Aston's household in Spain paints an extraordinarily rich picture of poetic, dramatic, linguistic, and cultural exchange—and its political uses. Both the recusant ambassador's cultural cosmopolitanism and

(Rouen, France, 1585), 892–93; and William Crashaw, *The Embassador between Heauen and Earth, betweene God and Man* (London, 1613).

77. See, for example, Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969); Glenn Richardson, *The Field of the Cloth of Gold* (New Haven, Conn., 2013); Alexander Samson, "Changing Places: The Marriage and Royal Entry of Philip, Prince of Austria, and Mary Tudor, July–August 1554," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36 (2005): 761–84; Bella Mirabella, "'In the sight of all': Queen Elizabeth and the Dance of Diplomacy," *Early Theatre: A Journal Associated with the Records of Early English Drama* 15 (2012): 65–89; and Susan Doran, "Juno versus Diana: The Treatment of Elizabeth I's Marriage in Plays and Entertainments, 1561–1581," *Historical Journal* 38 (1995): 257–74.

78. *The Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. David Bevington and Peter Holbrook (Cambridge, 1998), 67–70, 121, 296–97.

79. See, for example, Peter Holbrook, "Jacobean Masques and the Jacobean Peace," in *Politics of the Stuart Court Masque*, ed. Bevington and Holbrook, 67–87; Graham Parry, "The Politics of the Jacobean Masque," in *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge, 1993), 87–117; Karen Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria* (Cambridge, 2006); John Orrell, "The London Court Stage in the Savoy Correspondence 1613–1675," *Theatre Research International* 4 (1979): 79–94; and Welch, *Theater of Diplomacy*, 33–57.

80. Mark Hutchings and Berta Cano-Echevarría, "Between Courts: Female Masquers and Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy, 1603–5," *Early Theatre: A Journal Associated with the Records of Early English Drama* 15 (2012): 91–108.

81. Hutchings and Cano-Echevarría, "Between Courts," 91–108. See Clare McManus, *Women on the Renaissance Stage: Anna of Denmark and Female Masquing in the Stuart Court 1590–1619* (Manchester, 2002); and Britland, *Drama at the Courts of Queen Henrietta Maria*, esp. 76–89. For other literary-diplomatic interventions open to women, see the relevant section of the further reading guide in this volume.

his Catholic faith, Samson argues, helped him forge translocal connections that were valuable to the English crown. Aston's correspondence with influential Spanish ladies was a means by which Charles I could communicate informally with the Spanish court. Samson even solves a debate in performance history: Aston's account provides the first definitive evidence that the court play he attended in Madrid on New Year's Day 1623 was *Querer por sólo querer* (*To Love Only for Love's Sake*) by Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, intended to showcase the Infanta to the English.

The midcentury Commonwealth government needed the recognition and support of other European polities but faced significant, often contradictory, challenges in establishing a diplomatic presence, which literature and literary skills helped it address. As a revolutionary government, the Commonwealth wanted to emphasize the break from its Stuart predecessors and their degenerative luxury, defining itself in contrast as a plain form of government that would uphold the Protestant faith. But for diplomatic purposes, it needed to establish international legitimacy and alliances, justify the regicide, adopt suitable diplomatic ceremonial, conduct diplomatic business, and assert its position as a successor to England's negotiating status and treaty agreements.[82] As an entirely new government, the Commonwealth had to work out how to resolve these conflicting priorities urgently, from first principles, and with virtually no diplomatic experience.[83] There was sudden, high demand for the kind of diplomatic literatures that could educate inexperienced politicians and publics in international affairs—from diplomatic handbooks to ambassadors' letter-books and accounts of diplomatic encounters.[84] Talented republican authors were recruited to help with foreign affairs and to defend the Commonwealth in writing. Milton wrote and translated diplomatic correspondence and international polemic as secretary of foreign tongues; Andrew Marvell wrote diplomatic verse and became Milton's deputy; and the journalist Marchamont Nedham produced the

82. See, for example, Rosanna Cox, "'The mountains are in labour, only mice are born': Milton and Republican Diplomacy," *Renaissance Studies* 24 (2010): 420–36; Steve Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge, 1996), 11–168; and Sean Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic: The Political Culture of the English Commonwealth, 1649–1653* (Manchester, 1997). For the French repudiation of existing treaties, see *A Declaration of the Most Christian King, Lovis the XIIIth* [*sic*] . . . *Declaring the Reasons wherefore His Majesty Hath prohibited all Trade with England* (London, 1649); and for precedence debates, see Edward Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate: Culture, Politics, and Institutions* (Oxford, 2008), 10–15.

83. Gary M. Bell, *A Handlist of Diplomatic Representatives 1509–1688* (London, 1990), 12–13; Timothy Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (Basingstoke, U.K., 1995).

84. For example, *The Priviledges of an Ambassadour: VVritten by a Civilian to a Friend who desired his Opinion concerning the Portugall Ambassadour* (London, 1654); Alonso de Cardenas, *The Addresse of Don Alfonso de Cardenas Lord Ambassadour for the King of Spain, to the Parliament of the Common-Wealth of England* (London, 1650); *Joyful Newes from Holland: Shewing, the Royall Entertainment given by the States of the United Provinces, to the Lords Embassadours of the Common-wealth of England* (London, 1651); and Dudley Digges, *The Compleat Ambassador, or Two Treaties of the Intended Marriage of Qu: Elizabeth* (London, 1650).

popular government-sponsored newsletter *Mercurius Politicus*, an instrument of foreign policy (and regime critique) that was read widely across Europe.[85] Informed by the intelligence service, their international writings exemplify the Commonwealth's use of both prose and poetry to establish its status and support specific diplomatic agendas.[86] The new government's challenge of balancing plain politics with diplomatic ceremony found its literary counterpart in concerns over style and decorum—which the regime and its diplomats met through careful rhetorical strategies and the manipulation of classical references, styles, and genres.[87]

As the ceremonial representation of sovereignty, diplomacy was bound up with the resurgent royalism of the Restoration and its associated witty styles. In 1664, for example, the new historiographer royal, James Howell, appended his *Treatise of Ambassadors* to a discourse arguing for the ancient authority and diplomatic priority of the English monarchy.[88] Howell's observation that "a Gentleman born, or Noble" would more easily gain precedence at foreign courts mirrored the aristocratic emphasis of Charles II's and James II's ambassadorial appointments. Both diplomatic experience and literary leanings were increasingly the preserve of the lower diplomatic ranks that were gaining in profile within a growing diplomatic bureaucracy.[89] Simultaneously, the English association of wit as a royalist literary mode tied in with shifts in preferred literary and diplomatic styles during the European Baroque toward "constant negotiation," multiple plots, and a kind of witty genius or *esprit*, and diplomatic handbooks of the period compared ambassadors to comic actors.[90] Diplomats increasingly

85. Marvell's predecessors in the role—Georg Rudolph Weckherlin (1652–53) and Philip Meadows (1653–57)—also went on to write several works about diplomacy. See the relevant *ODNB* entries and Blair Worden, *Literature and Politics in Cromwellian England: John Milton, Andrew Marvell, Marchamont Nedham* (Oxford, 2007). See also Cox, "Milton and Republican Diplomacy"; Joad Raymond, "Books as Diplomatic Agents: Milton in Sweden," in *Cultures of Diplomacy*, ed. Sowerby and Craigwood, 131–45; Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 6–36; Holberton, "Bellipotens Virgo"; and Marchamont Nedham, *Mercurius Politicus. Comprising the Summ of all Intelligence, with the Affairs, and Designs now on foot, in the three Nations of England, Ireland, and* Scotland (London, 1650–60).

86. See, for example, Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 6–36; or pamphlets supporting Commonwealth foreign policy by the clergyman Donald Lupton: *Englands Command on the Seas, Or the English Seas Guarded* (London, 1653); and *Flanders. Or an Exact and Compendious Description of that fair, great, and fat Countrey* (London, 1658).

87. Holberton, *Poetry and the Cromwellian Protectorate*, 6–36, esp. 9; Raymond, "Books as Diplomatic Agents"; Holberton, "Bellipotens Virgo."

88. James Howell, *Proedria-Vasilike: A Discourse Concerning the Precedency of Kings . . . Whereunto is also adjoynd a distinct Treatise of Ambassadors* (London, 1664).

89. Howell, *Precedency of Kings*, 190; G. E. Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants: Government and Civil Service under Charles II, 1660–1685* (Oxford, 2002), 185; Phyllis S. Lachs, *The Diplomatic Corps under Charles II and James II* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1965), esp. 67, 141–57. For example, ethnographic writers in lower diplomatic ranks include George Etherege, Bernard Gascoigne, Guy Miege, Robert Molesworth, and Paul Rycault.

90. Timothy Hampton, "Baroque Diplomacy," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Baroque*, ed. John D. Lyons (Oxford, 2019), 734–46; McDowell, *Poetry and Allegiance*, 8–9; Abraham

used literary exchange to foster their networks with other diplomats outside the court, gifting books and poems, and inviting other princes' ambassadors to performances in their residences.[91] Embassy secretary Matthew Prior summed up this convergence of literary style and display with diplomatic reputation when he wrote damningly from Paris in 1699 that his successor had "a quiet lazy Genius that will not brille [shine] enough at Versailles, nor be feared enough at the Coffee house . . . of St Germains," haunt of the French literati.[92]

The increased prominence of Parliament following the Restoration, further strengthened by the rise of the Whig and Tory political parties and by the Glorious Revolution in 1688–89, meant that late Stuart diplomats represented some combination of monarch, Parliament, and party to multiple publics.[93] Factional alignments and patronage governed diplomatic appointments, a situation further complicated by William III's reliance on both Dutch and English diplomats.[94] Diplomatic news was consumed by ever wider political publics within the post-1660 landscape of coffeehouse debate, party-political literary magazines and clubs, and the newspapers that had by then evolved from diplomatic newsletters.[95] Foreign news gained an even greater profile as a means to comment on domestic politics, before the relaxation of censorship in 1695.[96] William III's concerted, militaristic, and interventionist foreign policy created high demand among interested citizens for the circulation of diplomatic writing,[97] and

de Wicquefort, *The Embassador and His Functions*, trans. Mr. Digby (1681; repr., London, 1716), esp. 4, 294, 306, 313; François de Callières, *The Art of Negotiating with Sovereign Princes* (London, 1716), 18, 22, 42.

91. Joanna Craigwood, "Diplomats and International Book Exchange," in *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows, and Edmond Dziembowski (Oxford, 2010), 57–69; Francis Parry to Joseph Williamson, January 26/February 5, 1670, SP 89/10, fol. 175v, TNA.

92. Matthew Prior to the Earl of Jersey, July 8/18, 1699, ACC/0510, London Metropolitan Archives.

93. See, for example, Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War* (Oxford, 1999).

94. Lachs, *Diplomatic Corps*, 59; M. Lane, "The Diplomatic Service under William III," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 10 (1927): 87–109.

95. Abigail Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture* (Oxford, 2005), 204–40; Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996), 64–71; Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham, "News Networks in Early Modern Europe," in *News Networks*, ed. Raymond and Moxham, 1–16; Jason Peacey, "'My Friend the Gazetier': Diplomacy and News in Seventeenth-Century Europe," also in *News Networks*, 420–42; Helmer Helmers, "Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Towards a New History of News," *Media History* 22 (2016): 401–20; Jeremy Black, "Parliament, the Press and Foreign Policy," *Parliamentary History* 25 (2006): 9–16.

96. See, for example, Steven Pincus, "Absolutism, Ideology and English Foreign Policy: The Ideological Context of Robert Molesworth's Account of Denmark," in *Ideology and Foreign Policy in Early Modern Europe (1650–1750)*, ed. David Onnekink and Gijs Rommelse (Farnham, U.K., 2011), 29–54.

97. Robert McJimsey, "Shaping the Revolution in Foreign Policy: Parliament and the Press, 1689–1730," *Parliamentary History* 25 (2006): 17–31 at 20.

foreign affairs became a central concern of domestic literature.[98] The post-Restoration ascendency of satire shaped much of this writing; among other works, Jonathan Swift's *A New Journey to Paris* (1711) exemplifies the susceptibility of diplomatic missions to both parodic presentation and the arcs of prose narrative.[99] Joanna Craigwood's essay in this special issue examines the tangled relationship between these domestic and foreign political-writing contexts, through analysis of commemorations of Mary II by George Stepney and Matthew Prior. In composing poems commissioned by their Whig superiors for London publication, these diplomat-writers faced competing demands: English readerships expected highly conventionalized elegy, and international political publics appreciated a more satirical take on William III's incapacitating grief. The authors' concerns, vacillations, and eventual solutions, as well as their drafting practices and publication strategies, expose the increasing pressure that the myths of "public" production, circulation, and opinion placed on the diplomatic verse that was available to multiple European audiences at the end of the seventeenth century. Our final section expands on this finding, as it connects the combined conclusions of this special issue with debates about the development of political publics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The account of Philip II's entry in *Newes from Pernassus*, with which this introduction started, shows a canny awareness of the importance of the manipulation of a monarch's public image. This theme recurs in several of the mock newsletters it contains. One claims that the Transylvanian prince Sigismund Bathory had learned Latin "onely out of necessitie for his reputations sake."[100] Another describes how a "publicke Censor of Politicall matters" would annually read out criticisms of the "chiefest Potentates of the earth."[101] Although diplomacy involved much secret negotiation, one of its main components was public or semipublic interactions—so much so that Helmer Helmers has argued that we should conceive of public diplomacy as an essential component of early modern international relations.[102] While some of this occurred through polemical literature, yet more involved what Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger has termed symbolic communication.[103] The meaning and outcome of any diplomatic interaction was determined in part by the interpretation of those who observed it.

98. See, for example, Williams, *Poetry and the Creation of a Whig Literary Culture*.

99. Jonathan Swift, *A New Journey to Paris: Together with some Secret Transactions Between the Fr---h K---g, and an Eng--- Gentleman* (London, 1711); see also his popular attack on Whig foreign policy that year, *The Conduct of the Allies* (London, 1711).

100. Boccalini, *Newes from Pernassvs*, 50.

101. Boccalini, *Newes from Pernassvs*, 57–76.

102. Helmers, "Public Diplomacy."

103. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne: Begriffe—Thesen—Forschungsperspektiven," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 31 (2004): 489–527.

As access to such privileged encounters became more available with the rise of the very newsletters that *Newes from Pernassus* imitated, princes and diplomats became acutely aware that their actions were scrutinized not only by those at the court where the action occurred but also increasingly by different international publics.[104]

Despite lively debates about the nature of the public sphere over the last few decades, comparatively little attention has been granted either to the relationship between diplomacy and the public sphere or to what studies of diplomacy can contribute to debates about the public sphere. Habermas's model of an eighteenth-century bourgeois public sphere where groups of individuals with free access to media engaged in disinterested, free, rational, and critical debate, with the potential to inform public affairs, has been widely adapted and critiqued by early modern scholars seeking to understand the relationship between governments and the governed.[105] Scholars such as Kevin Sharpe, Peter Lake, and Steven Pincus have argued that the Reformation provoked the development of a public sphere that was quite different from Habermas's notion of the medieval "representative publicity" of the ruler. The early modern English public sphere was instead characterized (they argue) primarily by religiopolitical controversy and public political empowerment; Lake and Pincus further argue for a distinctive postrevolutionary public sphere marked by more sustained discussions of public economy.[106] Others have traced a complex pattern of publics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, publics that—while transcending spatial boundaries as Habermas envisaged the public sphere should—were more intermittent and specific than Habermas had imagined.[107] Helmers has suggested that these publics are better described by Gerard Hauser's model of multiple rhetorically formed public spheres, each impermanent sphere created by discourse around specific matters of mutual interest and characterized by permeable boundaries and contextualized language.[108] Taken together, the essays in this collection demonstrate that studies of the diplomatic sphere offer new insights into literary and political publics in this period. The following paragraphs draw out from them four important conclusions that either add evidence to existing debates or (in the case of the last) propose an original argument about the role of imitation in enabling individual entry into rhetorically formed early modern public spheres. All four underline

104. On the circulation of news, see in particular *News Networks*, ed. Raymond and Moxham.

105. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. T. Burger with F. Lawrence (Cambridge, 1989).

106. Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven, Conn., 2009); *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, ed. Peter Lake and Steven Pincus (Manchester, 2007).

107. See, for example, *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Massimo Rospocher (Bologna, 2012); and *News Networks*, ed. Raymond and Moxham.

108. Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge, 2015), 23; Gerard A. Hauser, *Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres* (Columbia, S.C., 1999).

the importance of the material forms and historical incarnations of writing—its paratexts and circulation and readerships and afterlives—to early modern public diplomacy.

First, the essays cumulatively demonstrate a mutually influential and interdependent relationship between government and the public sphere, broadening existing arguments for such multidirectional communication by offering new international evidence.[109] Aretino's speculative public dedications, for example, elicited Tudor governmental sponsorship, which sought to harness his attacks against Italian potentates but barely contained his edgy satire (Rossiter). The collection, translation, circulation, and composition of Spanish writing by the Aston circle supported a Hispanophilic literary community in England that—if sometimes at odds with both official foreign policy and popular anti-Spanish political sentiment—was useful to Stuart governments seeking informal connections with the Spanish court (Samson). Whig elegists for Mary II projected an illusory universal poetic space for their writing, which was in reality so heavily prescribed by domestic party politics that even Whig diplomats serving abroad struggled to comprehend and endorse its aesthetics (Craigwood). The diplomatic world is especially well placed to show that public political discussion was neither independent from nor controlled by government but was instead an evolving composite or exchange, because diplomacy exposes the indistinctness of these binary categories. Diplomats simultaneously inhabited private and public personae, representing at once their own interests, their polity, and their sovereign within a multipolar power system of competing governments and conflicting publics.

Second, the essays emphasize the importance of individual self-promotion and self-interest in motivating engagement with the public sphere throughout the period. In doing so, they show that individuals entered the public sphere for narrow political advantage or economic self-interest long before its fragmentation in the 1640s and 1650s.[110] The editorial shaping, manuscript publication, and subsequent distribution of Unton's letter-books show how effectively the publication of private diplomatic records served personal and familial reputation management. Interventions in these records transformed Unton's image from diplomatic failure to exemplary Elizabethan ambassador, and the letter-books continued to circulate because they provided not just valuable political intelligence but also "evidence of political credential and social connection for others" (Williamson). Political know-how was a form of cultural capital that could be acquired through reading as well as through experience, and shared as an alternative to—or appeal for—government posts (Williamson,

109. See also, for example, Filippo de Vivo, "Public Sphere or Communication Triangle? Information and Politics in Early Modern Europe," in *Beyond the Public Sphere,* ed. Rospocher, 115–36; and De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, 2007).

110. For the identification of the 1640s and 1650s as a significant moment of change, see *Politics of the Public Sphere*, ed. Lake and Pincus, 9–10.

Sowerby).[111] When Francis Thynne missed out on diplomatic service, he drew on his library to create a handbook for ambassadors that made an alternative claim to political expertise, producing a guide that was remarkably similar to those written by serving diplomats and was still regarded as a source of diplomatic expertise seventy years later (Sowerby). Rossiter calls Aretino the "ultimate self-publicist," and the dedications that propelled Aretino into the diplomatic sphere formed part of his relentless campaign of self-promotion in print. Diplomatic settings amplified the opportunity for such manipulation and appropriation of written records since they allowed personal writings to "be imbued with the weight of the political and religious concerns that contextualized them" (Williamson) and their authors to profit from the demand for news from abroad.[112] The success of those who used such gambits to obtain posts and patronage underscores the mythic character of disinterested public comment. Possessing, reading, discussing, and writing down diplomatic knowledge projected cultural competence and social status, to political and economic gain.

Third, by bringing an international perspective to bear on the nature of the public sphere, the essays reveal complex interactions between multiple publics across different polities, showing the engagement of different audiences, often in different geographies, through different media, and for different purposes. In this, the essays broaden recent work by Helmers and Jason Peacey on public diplomacy and Anglo-Dutch news to encompass other times, geographies, and genres. Aretino, for example, first supported Henry VIII to Italian readers as an incidental by-product of his satirical attacks against their shared enemies in Italy; he almost accidentally connected separate public debates that then became more purposefully entangled (Rossiter). The problems faced by Matthew Prior and George Stepney in composing diplomatic poetry show how far the "entanglement, interaction and exchange within a multi-dimensional European public sphere" observed by Peacey and Helmers in news also affected verse, demanding rhetorical care and generic and paratextual solutions (Craigwood).[113] Such multilocal interactions fostered both glocality and translocality. Recurrent examples from early modern English drama in which diplomatic translators apparently hailing from non-European cultures are revealed to be fundamentally English—allowing England to position itself "as a proud barbarian culture in opposition to various forms of Continental civilization"—experiment with an identity at once global and determinedly provincial (Wilson-Lee). The Aston circle's reading and writing community linked local English Catholic networks with Spanish court networks, producing the kind of close interrelations over time that characterize translocality, even down to the family's adoption of Hispanicized names

111. See also Kiséry, *Hamlet's Moment*.

112. Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven, Conn., 2014).

113. Helmers, "Public Diplomacy," 401–2, 414; Peacey, "'My Friend the Gazetier,'" 421 (quotation), 432, 440–42.

(Samson). This special issue's attention to the multiple international publics for the literature associated with English diplomacy, as it moves from Italian to Northern European readerships, not only supports a Hauserian model of multiple public spheres but also aligns this collection with the shifting focus of engagement within early modern diplomatic studies from the rich diplomatic history of Italy toward other, less studied areas of Europe and the world.

Finally, the essays reveal, for the first time, the importance of imitation to those wishing to enter into public debate. In so doing, they provide new insight into how people use rhetorical techniques to enter into discursively formed public spheres, characterized by contextualized language, of the kind Hauser proposes. Aretino, a cobbler's son who was chosen by the Duke of Urbino to welcome Charles V on behalf of the Venetian Republic, propelled himself into the diplomatic world of Henry VIII's Europe by mimicking the actions, idioms, and texts of official diplomats (Rossiter). Thynne composed the first diplomatic handbook in English by consulting and citing the same humanist sources as Continental diplomatic handbooks, allowing the nonpractitioner to construct a plausible theory that was of use to diplomats (Sowerby). The punning title of a poem by Aston, "A stranslation" (Aston/translation), not only highlights Aston's assimilation of Spanish literature—an assimilation so complete that we are still uncertain whether this poem is truly a translation or Aston's original in the Góngorine style—but also writes the ambassador's very identity into the acts of cultural translation that enabled him to leverage diplomatic influence in Spain (Samson). Prior's and Stepney's attention to the particular allusive languages and generic decorum of their poetry, and their almost obsessive concern with kairos—or the ways in which a specific time, place, and audience placed demands on their words (Craigwood)—likewise reflect the importance of mastering critical norms that are derived from existing discursive practice in order to gain entry into public diplomatic debate.

The alignment between such modes of entry into public debate and humanist literary referents and techniques (common allusions, especially from the classical canon, *imitatio*, the rhetoric of exemplarity, etc.) is striking. It is even tempting to see the literary techniques that promoted formation of common rhetorical norms as one of the catalysts of public debate and public diplomacy in this period, alongside such other factors as the press, the availability of paper, resident embassies, and the growth of news media. The political value of imitation in turn helps explain why diplomacy was so important to the relationship, so characteristic of this period, between national literatures, translation, and cultural exchange. But the ease with which imitation slips into parody is also apparent from this special issue, in Aretino's mockery (Rossiter); or English caricatures of other cultures' translators (Wilson-Lee); or Prior's and Stepney's manuscript satires on the highly stylized elegies for Mary II (Craigwood). Indeed, in all these cases, parody became a double-edged part of the public debate—in the slightly unmanageable value of Aretino's attacks, in the formation of an English diplomatic identity through caricature, or in the diplomatic networking that Prior and Stepney realized by also circulating satires that undercut their public

diplomatic message. It may be that whenever the imitation of contextual languages is the necessary precondition of entering public political life, such imitation can easily tip into exaggeration; after all, *parode* (imitatio) and *parodia* (parody) are so closely related that we now barely distinguish them,[114] and parody is powerful across politics. But parody was especially potent not just as political commentary but also as a conveniently ambivalent tool in an early modern diplomatic world characterized by multiple layers of representation, symbolic ceremony, hyperbolic rhetoric, and ambiguity—a world already exaggerated and equivocal.[115]

Scott's *Newes* was both diplomatic parody and foreign political tool opposing Anglo–Spanish alliance. Parody can still serve that purpose today. When the Austrian member of the European parliament Eugen Freund was invited to speak to a group of U.K. Labour Party supporters in the lead-up to the 2016 Brexit vote, he decided not to deliver (in his words) "a most likely boring speech" but instead to "compose a short poem" opposing the U.K.'s leaving the European Union. Performed by Freund on YouTube, "The Brexit Poem" opens awkwardly:

> The Brexit is, to put it simple,
> Not like an ordinary pimple:
> You take some cream; you put it on;
> A few days later it is gone.
> It is a complicated matter,
> More like a novel, not a letter
> To understand the story well,
> You've got to listen. I will tell
> You what may happen,
> So sit back and let me rap it.[116]

The oddity of Freund's nonnative idiom and curious similes matches the incongruity of his person, setting, accent, and demeanor with his "rap" composition. Following the reproduction of this part of the poem on the American news-satire program *Last Week Tonight*, host John Oliver remarked acerbically, "Come on, Britain: if a middle-aged Austrian bureaucrat spitting dope half-rhymes in a busy hallway, if he does not win you over, nobody will."[117] In an episode of the show that was dedicated to opposing Brexit, and brought this poem to millions, Freund served as both object

114. Margaret A. Rose, *Parody: Ancient, Modern and Post-modern* (Cambridge, 1993), 7–8.

115. On the value of literary ambiguity to diplomacy, see the introduction to *Cultures of Diplomacy*, ed. Sowerby and Craigwood, 13–14, 20–21.

116. Eugen Freund, "Brexit Poem," published November 24, 2015, YouTube video, https://youtu.be/qIzR4YjNCtc. Our transcription. We have supplied punctuation and line breaks.

117. "Brexit: Last Week Tonight with John Oliver (HBO)," published June 19, 2016, YouTube video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iAgKHSNqxa8. Our transcription.

of Oliver's satire and vehicle for their shared public message.[118] Freund's laughable poetic foray into contemporary culture may seem like the dying gasp of a humanist diplomatic world on whose demise John Watkins's afterword reflects. Yet his surely self-conscious absurdity and its later satirical reappropriation are also a reinvention of diplomatic parody that Scott's or Aretino's early modern readers might have recognized—through new media that, like the early modern press, have the potential to open a traditionally elite sphere to wider constituencies.

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118. As of the end of February 2020, there were over 16.7 million views of the YouTube posting of the episode.