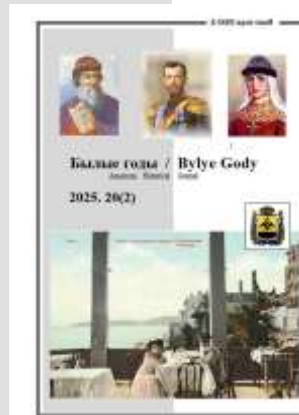


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## The Art of Diplomacy in European Ceremonies of the XVII-XIX centuries

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### Abstract

Ideology always played an important role in state foreign policy. As its inherent element and communication factor, cultural diplomacy is considerable in world politics as well. Famous intellectuals of the Modern Age history were often applied by state authorities as accredited representatives, personal secretaries or diplomatic advisors. It was artists who founded the Modern Age diplomacy. They impacted on skills of negotiations and performed important duties in international politics.

The article reflects role and relevance of diplomacy art in European ceremonies of the 17th-19th centuries. Attitude to diplomatic ceremonies was regarded as an actual attitude to current authorities of a certain state. Diplomatic relations between countries were accompanied by properly elaborated ceremonies where artists were usual participants. It produced a corresponding image of and respect to the country authorities. Involvement of proper persons to diplomatic activities indicates wisdom and reason of past authorities. Despite originality of Muscovy ceremonies, diplomatic protocol of the Russian Empire was approved in legal acts, which shows an important step in diplomacy development. Historical sources confirm that art was a relevant component of the world politics in the 17th-19th centuries.

To prepare this article, the authors used Russian Empire legal acts on rules of international missions and court ceremonies as well as unique sources (for example, document circulation between diplomatic officials of leading countries in the 17th-18th centuries: England, the Netherlands, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the USA, France).

**Keywords:** diplomacy art, ceremonies, the 17th-19th centuries, Europe, Muscovy, Russian Empire.

### 1. Introduction

As an application realization of international relations and world politics, diplomacy was always similar to a certain rite. Various ceremonies (inauguration, reception, visit, military parade, etc.) play a specific role in public policy and cultural life of society.

Political symbolism developed within strict power adoptions, which requires special scientific clarification. Political symbols were revealed via artistic works, music, dancing, theater and cinema. On the one hand, these symbols were understandable for current authorities and common people. On the other hand, they distributed statehood values, produced a positive image of and respect to authorities within home and foreign policy. That established mutually beneficial relations among countries.

From this perspective, we treat art as a factor of public diplomacy, which is a tool to generate a positive state image. The article purpose is to study origin of modern political ceremonies as well as to define role and relevance of art in international relations.

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## 2. Materials and methods

The theoretical base of our research comprises works on diplomacy history by D. Vud, S. Bakhrushin, S. Skazkin, Sh. Serre ([Bakhrushin, 1941](#); [Vud, Serre, 1976](#); [Skazkin, 1941](#)). They created a foundation in regarding diplomatic ceremonies as a vivid phenomenon of international relations and an artistic development trend.

To prepare this article, the authors used legal acts on rules of international missions and court ceremonies as well as unique sources (for example, document circulation between diplomatic officials). First of all, we included the “Complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire” among such sources ([PSZRI](#)).

The research relied on generally scientific and specifically historical methods. The former comprises analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, generalization, description. The latter includes historical criticism, typology and comparison, chronology, content analysis.

Analysis and synthesis investigated origin of political ceremonies, their role and relevance in diplomatic activities of states.

Induction and deduction provided empirical data as a research substantiation. Factual materials produced theoretical definitions while scientific conclusions were argued and illustrated via certain empirical confirmations. Generalization summarized research facts. Description provided the brightest examples of ceremonial culture in the state diplomatic history.

Besides, specifically historical methods were engaged. Criticism assessed representativeness of historical sources. Chronology explained features of ceremonial culture among states in the time development aspect. Comparison reflected a contrast between original diplomatic ceremonies of various states. Content analysis was applied to study primary historical sources of legal and official character. It unfolded main imperatives of diplomacy functions.

## 3. Discussion

Despite topicality and relevance of our research, the issue is weakly investigated in the historical sphere.

R. Wortman, an American Slavist, was among the first scientists who studied the topic of court and diplomatic ceremonies in Muscovy and the Russian Empire. His two-volume work “Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in the Russian Monarchy” is the best research so far ([Wortman, 1995](#); [Wortman, 2000](#)). The term “scenarios” described individual public representations of the imperial myth, which monarchies applied to create beneficial symbols and images. A complex system of court rites, ceremonies, feasts, receptions, etc. fixed a monarch’s idea as a heroic conqueror, enlightened leader whose activities were appreciated by society and God ([Shandra, 2006: 207](#); [Olbrich, 2017](#)).

Within the post-Soviet space, a vivid interest to public diplomacy dates back to beginning of the 2000s. Works by V. Vladyshevskaya, T. Hryhorieva, M. Hrushko, A. Zinchenko, H. Kalashnyk, O. Podvorna, O. Sahaidak, etc. generalize all important elements of diplomatic protocol, role of specific procedures in foreign affairs ([Vladyshevskaya, Grushko, 2023](#); [Grigorieva, 2014](#); [Zinchenko, 2002](#); [Kalashnik, 2007](#); [Podvorna, 2014](#); [Sagajdak, 2012](#); [Degtyarev, Zavhorodnia, 2018](#); [Degtyarev, Zavhorodnia, 2019](#)). V. Tsyvatyi represents diplomatic practice of international relations within the Modern Age history ([Civatyj, 2014](#); [Civatyj, 2016](#)). O. Zaharova shows main components of state ceremonies during the first period of the Russian Empire existence: inauguration, music, dancing, suits as factors of public diplomacy ([Zaharova, 2014](#); [Zaharova, 2019](#); [Zaharova, 2021a](#); [Zaharova, 2021b](#)).

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned authors do not resort to European ceremonies of the 17th-19th centuries. Therefore, our research will remove such a gap in the home historiography.

## 4. Results

The high-society ceremonies of monarchy courts with its artistic performance already existed in the Middle Ages. The court institute comprised supreme dignitaries close to the emperor. Their main task was support of king or queen’s image. However, they depended on power of their autocrat.

Apart from professional competence, officials were appreciated for their contribution to court culture. Its important part was ceremonies: receptions, knight tournaments, grand balls, hunting, etc. Court members were united in a certain type of corporation where each had own social status, strict conduct rules and beneficences ([Zaharova, 2014: 46](#)).

When absolute monarchies prevailed, traditions of court life changed. Everything was strictly canonized with splendor. Since the 16th century, etiquette became the existence form of European imperial courts. The king’s absolute power impacted on strong regulation of his subjects’ conduct. Etiquette principles had been improving for centuries. It provided a strict order and discipline among court members with features of classical perfection. Participation of dignitaries showed their significance and influence for the court itself.

Within court ceremonies, members of diplomatic corps played a specific role. Diplomatic corps is regarded as a unity of diplomatic representatives accredited in the state (ambassadors, envoys, charges d’affaires, nuncios and internuncios). In a broad sense, diplomatic corps comprises all members of foreign delegations and authorized representatives with the diplomatic status.

The diplomatic corps is not based on norms of international law. It has no rights of legal entity. Collective speeches of diplomatic corps may concern only ceremonial issues.

An important tool of representing and protecting state interests is embassy perceptions. Here, formal political communication and international cultural exchange occur. For ceremonies, participation of artists plays a relevant role to attract a grand aura among visitors. Let us observe certain historical examples of diplomacy among different European countries to show the art relevance for state ceremonies.

**European embassy ceremonies of the 17th century.** The 17th century is a period of new diplomatic ceremony. It depended on state political influence in foreign relations.

This period lays a foundation of the all-European diplomatic protocol as a unity of single norms and traditions depending on the country status. The attitude to ambassador was equated with the attitude to state ruler. Departure from these principles was regarded as disrespect for the ambassador and, consequently, for the represented state ruler himself. A great significance was traced to ambassador's entrance and first audience. It explains ambassadors' debate on etiquette details, desire to acquire the same honors previously paid to ambassadors of other countries. Disrespect for ambassador was treated as honor attack of the state ruler himself.

In the 17th century, the Pope of Rome granted audiences together with consistory cardinals. The ambassador listened to the Pope in the standing bare-headed position. Ambassadors from emperors, crowned heads and Venice were received in the Grand Royal Hall while envoys from other states were received in the Small Ducal Hall. There were some ambassadors that were received in the Pope's chamber. For such a case, several cardinals came.

With the Cyprus ruler title, the Duke of Savoy demanded for his ambassadors' reception in the Grand Hall. After refusal, he was offended and did not send his envoys for a certain time to the Pope at all. The Republic of Genoa offered a great sum of money for their reception in the Grand Hall. Under the Venice pressure, the Pope refused. The reason was the Venice perspective as a high-rank state in contrast to small influence of Genoa.

On 13 September 1672, a delegation of the Muscovy tsar visited Rome. The audience was granted in the Grand Hall with 15 cardinals. As each Catholic, the ambassador made three deep bows and kissed the Pope's shoe. During his ordinary audiences, the Pope sat on a red silk armchair. The bare-headed ambassador was allowed to sit on a stool.

In France, king's ambassadors and pope's nuncios were brought into the hall by princes of blood. When the English ambassador's visit took place in 1635, there were no princes of blood in the court (located outside Paris). The ambassador refused to go further unless he was brought by a prince of blood. Therefore, it was necessary to call a prince of blood from Paris.

To underline respect for the state, kings dared to violate the strict ceremony. During the first Restoration years, Charles II made a solemn reception for the Dutch embassy where he found shelter in the wandering period.

In 1660, the Republic of the United Provinces (Holland) sent to England an extraordinary embassy to welcome a crowned king. In Greenwich, the embassy was welcomed from the king by Lord Richard and his suite. They arrived to London on lord's wooden barges. At the quay, Lord Graven waited for them with twelve harnessed carriages. The ambassadors rested in apartments of the main ceremony master A. Williams. Going to the audience, they were honored like ambassadors of the crowned persons. The ambassadors of the United Provinces were first to be met by lords still outside London ([Skazkin, 1941: 176-177](#)).

The 17th century generated works as practical guidelines for ambassadors. Among them, we can enumerate diplomacy books by R. Such (1650) and A. Vikfor (1676). The latter was called "Ambassador and His Functions" as a diplomatic table-book.

A certain independence of royal authorities could focus on deciding foreign policy problems within the court. It was a social and political institute, so-called "state within state" with own territory, property, army and bureaucracy.

In the 17th century beginning, a stable institute of diplomatic mission unfolded. Here, a rigid hierarchy with staff selection rules was established. It is worth saying that French, Spanish and English kings as main players on the foreign policy arena demanded for their ambassadors more honors than a Milanese duke or a German prince.

**Art of diplomatic negotiations (the 17th-18th centuries).** One of the most famous state rulers in Europe was cardinal Richelieu. His diplomacy guidelines were based on search for French "natural borders" and "political balance" to weaken the Austrian House of Habsburg.

Richelieu understood relevance of propaganda rather than weapon in state policy. In France, he created the first newspaper and used it for own benefit. Later, the pamphlet appeared with the title "What Is the Surest Means of Annexing to France the Duchy of Lorraine and Bar". He noted that the emperor may not conquer the territory at the left Rhine bank because this river has been a French border for 500 years. Emperor's rights rely on usurpation ([Istorija diplomatii, 2006: 64](#)).

Among all diplomatic tools, the cardinal preferred negotiations: "I dare to say that you should negotiate constantly, openly and everywhere. The negotiator is warned against everything in the world. You should act here and there" ([Borisov, 1991](#)). In international life, the cardinal succeeded greatly. He constructed French unions in Europe, weakened the House of Habsburg, secured independence of certain Germanic principedoms, pursued his policy in Italy.

After Richelieu's death in 1642, the French foreign policy was coordinated by Jules Mazarin. He could impose "natural borders" on neighboring states referring to ancient Gauls and monarchy of Charlemagne to confirm French territorial rights in Germany and Italy. Mazarin was characterized by his monarchic adherence to national and state interests, recognition of aristocracy privileges (even though considerably cut), general principles of home and foreign policy.

However, he had another side of identity. His obsession with wealth was traced to personal and real assets, luxury items, art objects. In particular, Mazarin's inventory comprised 200 statues and marble works, 450 paintings, jewelry, 30,000 books. The most beautiful diamonds in Europe belonged to Mazarin. Some of his treasures came to king, other ones to Mazarin's family. The library was inherited by the Collège des Quatre-Nations founded by the cardinal ([Borisov, 1991](#)).

Mazarin was mentor of the young king Louis XIV. The latter was taught how to pursue negotiations. In "Memoirs", Louis XIV regards Mazarin as a great beloved person who conferred him favors. In the king, the cardinal cultivated secrecy, fame obsession and infallibility.

The king had a strong health. He could endure both diseases and court entertainments like dancing or hunting. At the age of 60, Louis XIV perfectly drove a harnessed carriage, rode and hunted. Anne of Austria, his mother and queen, was brought up at the Spanish court. She made her son respect the etiquette. The French court was the brightest in Europe as a role model, which demanded for huge expenses.

Preparing for wedding of the Duke of Burgundy in 1667, Saint-Simon together with his wife and brother spent 20,000 livres. To decorate garments, some ladies used two kilograms of gold while hairdressers worked for 200 livres per hour. On the wedding day, thousands of flames were lighted in the grand gallery of the Palace of Versailles. "They were reflected in mirrors and diamonds. The night was brighter than the day. It was a magic dream", – said a Venice representative at the French wedding. N. Kareev, a Russian historian, wrote that Louis XIV had promoted France as the most powerful and influential state whose government system was a role model for many countries ([Borisov, 1991](#)).

Receiving ambassadors, the king was reserved and laconic. Diplomat's requests were sent to the state secretary. Simultaneously, Louis XIV leveraged his aristocratic skills. He "showed" anger when the Lorraine ambassador talked on French occupation of his country. Also, he wrathfully exposed pro-Spanish and anti-French position of the Venice ambassador.

Absence of single European diplomatic norms could often cause serious conflicts. When the Swedish ambassador solemnly entered London in 1661, a gang hired by the Spanish envoy stopped the carriage of Godefroi d'Estrades, the French ambassador, and killed his horses. During this clash, there were dead and injured Frenchmen (five and thirty, respectively). Spaniards did not lose people at all. The ambassador of Louis XIV was offended in London. At 11 pm, this event came to Henri-Auguste de Loménie de Brienne, the French state secretary. The king got acquainted with the incident during supper. Furious and angry, Louis XIV ordered to banish the Spanish ambassador from Paris. As a Spanish subordinate, the Dutch ruler was not allowed to cross France. The Spanish-French trade was interrupted. A personal representative of the Spanish king arrived to Paris and apologized to Louis XIV and his diplomatic corps.

Most diplomatic posts were held by state officials. Clerical envoys protected royal interests in Poland, Savoy, Venice, Rome and Madrid. High requirements were applied to the ambassador: professional competence, host state experience, foreign language proficiency, intellect. Ambassador's mission usually lasted for three years (some months as an exception). Among attached employees, there were cooks, grooms, maids, musicians, lackeys and tailors. Luggage of French ambassadors was quite serious. One of diplomats brought to Constantinople 60 furniture crates, 300 kilograms of tableware, gold-embroidered cloth, velvet, sateen, broadcloth for the sultan ([Borisov, 1991](#)).

Philip IV ordered his diplomats conceding to French representatives in any case. It was a glorious victory of the House of Bourbon who struggled for prestige of their power. When Louis XIV finished his reign, the French diplomatic corps comprised 15 ambassadors, 15 envoys and 2 residents. Ambassadors were appointed for the "first-rank" European countries (England, Spain). In Vienna, the French king was represented by his envoy in protest against their honors paid to the Spanish ambassador. Special envoys were accredited at small courts (like Germanic ones).

Louis XIV succeeded in the French culture development. Architects and artists, writers and poets created the cult of ruler. The royal memory was embodied in the Palace of Versailles, the Grand Trianon, the Hôtel des Invalides, the Louvre Colonnade, the Porte Saint-Martin and the Porte Saint-Denis in Paris. There were architect Jules Hardouin-Mansart; artists and sculptors Charles Le Brun, François Girardon, Jacques Sébastien Leclerc, Georges de La Tour, Antoine Coysevox and Hyacinthe Rigaud; writers, poets and playwrights Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, Jean Racine, Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, Jean de La Fontaine and Charles Perrault. Besides, the Academies of Science, Music and Architecture were constructed (with the French Academy in Rome). In the 18th century, France was still a leader of international relations.

The art of diplomacy also developed in young Western countries like the USA. The American diplomacy introduced new principles into international relations. In particular, they concerned social equality of all people and national sovereignty. On 29 November 1775, the USA established the Commission for Secret Communication for work with partners of British, Irish and other countries' colonies. This authority was similar to a foreign affairs ministry.



On 3 March 1776, the Commission sent Silas Deane, a Continental Congress member, as a secret agent to obtain the French support. In Paris, he met with Pierre-Augustin de Beaumarchais, a famous writer of works "The Barber of Seville" and "The Marriage of Figaro". With his assistance, Silas Deane coordinated departure of volunteers, soldiers and weapon. Therefore, the Victory ship came to America in 1777. The latter was funded by Marquis de La Fayette, a young French soldier.

Pierre-Augustin de Beaumarchais accomplished his secret mission eagerly. He wrote to the American Congress: "Your deputies and gentlemen may regard me as a true friend. They can find a safe shelter in my house and cash in my chests. Let them completely rely on my support in official or secret affairs" (Efimov, 1941: 304).

Acting on behalf of Roderique Hortales & Co., a fake trade enterprise founded by Beaumarchais, Deane bought outfits for 20,000 persons, 30,000 muskets, 100 tons of gunpowder and 200 cannons. Beaumarchais let Deane into many affairs and did not reveal his being an informal agent of the French government. This precaution proved to be reasonable. Silas Deane discussed many issues with George Bancroft, a secret Congress agent in France and simultaneously an intelligencer of the British government. Understanding real Deane's goals, the English Foreign Affairs Ministry started capturing ships that were chartered by Roderique Hortales & Co.

After the Declaration of Independence, the American Republic sent Benjamin Franklin as an ambassador to Paris. As a well-known philosopher, scientist and public figure, he made great discoveries of electricity and created the ship-building theory. Karl Marx appreciated his knowledge of political economy. Franklin was elected a member of the English Royal Society. Besides, the Copley Medal was awarded to him for scientific achievements.

England apprehended danger of Franklin's position as an American ambassador to France. Lord Rockingham treated Franklin's presence in Paris as a more serious attack for Great Britain than their previous New York seizure for colonies (Efimov, 1941: 306).

Lord and ambassador Stormont threatened to leave Paris if the leader of American rebels would be allowed to appear here. Charles Gravier, the French foreign affairs minister, told Franklin had been sent a Paris travel ban that he did not get. Now, Franklin's exile from Paris could be regarded as "a scandalous inhospitality". Therefore, Franklin was solemnly received in Paris.

For his first Paris visit in 1767, Franklin resorted to the French fashion of wearing a caftan and a powdered wig. In 1776, as the American Republic ambassador, he appeared among Parisians in a brown modest caftan with combed hair in a marten cap. The diplomat was so popular that his forgiven originality became a role model. Shops and cafés were decorated with his busts and portraits. His image was etched on rings, medallions, canes and snuffboxes.

The American diplomat became a Paris style influencer via art as a means of communicating to common people and diplomatic corps. Franklin actively cooperated with Beaumarchais who persuaded Louis XVI to ally with the USA.

***Ambassadorial rite as a Muscovy diplomacy factor in the 17th century.*** The Muscovy ambassadorial rite (diplomatic etiquette) was created at the 17th century end. Although mainly borrowed from the Western ceremony tradition, Muscovy possessed a specific culture, which is fairly treated as Eurasian.

Let us observe reception of foreign ambassadors in Moscow. At the border, a special officer met ambassadors. The priority of cap taking off was taken into account before approaching another partner. The ambassador was escorted from the right side. They got many provisions. Sent to the tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, the ambassador P. Meyerberg was given 7 glasses of simple wine, 2 glasses of Rhine wine, 2 glasses of romance wine, 1 bucket of beer, 4 mugs of honey.

On their way to Moscow, ambassadors were met with honors. However, no military officers could visit them before the tsar audience. Sometimes, common people asked ambassadors for mediation to their local authorities. Very often, these requests were appreciated, which solved current problems of residents.

Within several versts to Moscow, ambassadors stopped to get a travel permission. On the granted day, harnessed carriages were sent to them. Under Moscow, a debate began on who would be the first to get off the carriage or dismount from horses. After tsar's greeting, the debate concerned taking a certain seat in the carriage. In 1678, such a debate between Polish-Lithuanian ambassadors and escort officers lasted for two hours when the procession had suddenly stopped. Finally, two Russians with a Pole sat in the first row and two Poles with a Russian in the second row (Bahrushin, 1941: 240-241). Later, the escort officers took care of ambassadors' residence and provision. They mediated between them and Muscovy authorities.

Ambassadors entered Moscow with pomposity and luxury. In 1630-1631, Dutch ambassadors were met by the equerry within a verst before Moscow. On behalf of the tsar, he granted them 2 sledges while the suite became 17 argamaks or Caspian horses. "Having got on the sledges, the ambassadors saw many riders in luxurious garments: princes, boyars and other nobles. They escorted the entering ambassadors", – noted Albert Burgh (Donesenie..., 1991: 311).

On the way to Moscow, the ambassadors listened to tsar's greetings from high-rank people. For this goal, a special tsar's interpreter was resorted to. The ambassadors were greeted by bare-headed persons.

The ambassadorial suite and tsar's officials moved to the city with many common people and soldiers around on streets. Ambassadors of crowned persons stayed at the Persian Podvorie and waited for tsar's audience. On the reception day, the ambassadors were brought to the Kremlin between rows of armed

soldiers and common people. Entering the Kremlin, the ambassadors saw court merchants with brocaded garments and fox-fur caps on.

The tsar sat on the throne with a crown on the head and a scepter in the right hand. Rightward, there was a patriarch with a golden miter and a cross. Leftward, there was a golden pyramid with a crown, which was a sign of the absent tsarevitch. Four stolniks stood near the tsar with crosswise-worn pole axes. Other important princes, boyars and nobles were present in the hall as well. The Polish suite was not allowed to leave the residence without a special permission. Outdoors, suite members were escorted with a soldier ([Donesenie..., 1991: 312](#)).

Solemn perceptions of foreign ambassadors took place in the Palace of Facets. About 150 stolniks catered for 500 guests at the dining tables. The ambassadors introduced themselves with hats on. In the second half of the 17th century, the ambassadors spoke with a bare head and without any swords. The ambassadors were introduced by an okolnichy. He asked about tsar's health and spoke with a welcome speech. Then, the tsar stood up and asked about health of the represented ruler. In such a case, no crown was taken off. In 1658, Hungarian ambassadors protested against this tradition. They were answered that the crown is not a hat; it is not taken off even during divine services.

After greetings, the ambassador handed over his credentials to a special clerk. Then, he could shake a tsar's right hand while the scepter was put in the left hand. Later, tsar washed his right hand under a silver washstand, which extremely offended foreign guests. Only Christians could kiss tsar's hands. For Muslim ambassadors, there was another tradition: the tsar put his hand on their head. After kissing, the ambassadors sat down on a bench opposite to the throne. Later, the ambassadors spoke with a brief speech when they reported the visit purpose and gave gifts. In 1692, Persian ambassadors presented live lion and lioness. They were brought on sledges separately. Without being shown in the palace, the animals stayed at the Red Porch ([Bahrushin, 1941: 244-245](#)).

In some days after the solemn audience, another one was appointed under more modest circumstances. For the second case, the ambassadors were reported about several boyars for negotiations. They took place in "a responding room". Later, a farewell audience occurred. In case of successful negotiations, the tsar entertained the ambassadors to mead. Sometimes, they put an empty mead vessel in the bosom. In England, there were special vessels for shameless ambassadors: copper, silver- and gold-plated.

Negotiations also took place in border cities during special ambassadorial congresses. Ambassadors negotiated in closely located marquees. Sometimes, the negotiating table began in the first marquee and ended in the second one. So, the table was shared between two marquees simultaneously. There was debate on what marquee occupied the larger table part ([Bahrushin, 1941: 245](#)).

The tradition of treaty strengthening via marriage with foreign courts get out of use in the 16th century. The last case occurred when Ivan III married his daughter Elena to Alexander, the Lithuanian prince. The goal was fixing peace. However, relations between the Orthodox and Catholic churches made such marriages practically impossible ([Bahrushin, 1941: 246](#)).

In the 17th century, Moscow is being interested in inner affairs of foreign countries as a defender of European monarchic institutes. After execution of Charles I, government of Alexei Mikhailovich stopped trade relations and did not recognize the Commonwealth of England. Foundation of imperial diplomacy was laid in the 17th century. For example, animosity of the conquered Orthodox population was used against Turks.

Besides, the 17th century launched struggle against anti-Russian press propaganda. During the Stepan Razin's rebellion, Sweden published Riga messages that offended tsar's dignity. In 1650, the treaty with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth provided for elimination of books that condemned Muscovy policies. It was a reason for treaty dissolution ([Istorija diplomatii, 2006: 78](#)).

Through absence of diplomatic missions, Russian authorities were poorly notified of foreign policies. The information main source was newspapers translated by the Ambassadorial Prikaz. Such a source could not replace diplomatic messages.

Professional features of Russian diplomats comprised all shades of stiff slyness, which was applied to cheat foreigners. They could pass lie for truth, pass over details in silence, dodge duties, etc.

Simultaneously, Moscow diplomatic techniques were quite naïve. During one audience, the Moscow ambassador in Florence asked Ferdinando about Polish ambassador' mission in Spain. Another case concerned Honorius and Arcadius. Moscow diplomats told these emperors had sent a crown to Vladimir, the first Muscovy prince. After the reply on the emperors' having lived 600 before Vladimir, the diplomats alleged there had been other Honorius and Arcadius as "Vladimir's contemporaries". In contrast, foreign diplomats applied these techniques more skillfully.

At the 17th century beginning, the Ambassadorial Prikaz was small. In 1594-1601, it comprised a clerk and up to 17 assistants. In 1684, there were 53 assistants, 22 translators and 17 interpreters for different languages: Greek, Latin, Polish, German, Caesarean, Swedish, Dutch, Italian, French, Hungarian, Byelorussian, Armenian, Tatar, Turkish, Kalmyk, Nogai, Khiva, Persian, Mongolian ([Istorija diplomatii, 2006: 73, 79](#)).

Since 1667, the Ambassadorial Prikaz was headed by boyars rather than clerks, which underlined diplomacy significance in the country life. Established by Ivan IV, ambassadorial ceremonies with slight amendments existed orally in Muscovy till the 17th century end. The embassy showed majesty of rulers within relations to European and Eastern monarchies.

After proclamation of the Russian Empire by Peter I and creation of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs (the Ambassadorial Collegium till 1719), the diplomatic protocol was coordinated by one of four dispatch offices – according to the Regulation as of 11 April 1720. In the 18th century, there were masters of ceremonies. Their task was court etiquette enforcement. Audience rules were properly considered and adopted by the empress Elizaveta Petrovna in 1744. The title of this document was “Ceremony Order for Foreign Ambassadors within the All-Russian Imperial Court” (PSZRI, Vol. XII. №8908). In 1779, the Collegium of Foreign Affairs created a ceremonial department.

**Codification of diplomatic protocol and ceremony guidelines in the Russian Empire legislation of the 19th century.** State attempts of converting diplomatic principles into legal international norms were traced to the 19th century. This task was in agendas for the Congress of Vienna (1815) and the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818). As an important political tool, the adopted acts had been regulating international diplomatic norms for 150 years (Kvasov, 2011: 11).

In 1802, the Russian Empire founded the Foreign Affairs Ministry. The office was headed by a respective minister with full control of important political correspondence. Till 1887, the latter was performed in French.

In 1826, Nicholas I founded the Imperial Court Ministry. The heading minister was chancellor of tsar's orders with direct subordination to the emperor. In 1827, the ceremony norms as of 1744 were amended as “The Highest-Rank Etiquette of the Russian Imperial Court” (PSZRI, Vol. II. №802).

The Ceremony Affairs Department informed ambassadors about all public ceremonies. The Collegium of Foreign Affairs folded in 1832. The respective protocol service remained in the Ceremony Affairs Department. It was managed by the court master of ceremonies.

On 29 October 1858, there was another adopted resolution with the title “On Appending the Ceremony Affairs Department to the Imperial Court Ministry”. Consequently, the office comprised masters of ceremonies, chief and two secretaries. The office consisted of two units. The first unit coordinated relations to the diplomatic corps. The second unit organized ceremonies for court feasts and other solemn events according to minister's orders (PSZRI, Vol. XXXIII. № 33978).

Duties of ceremony office members were defined within a strict court etiquette. For granting an emperor's audience, foreign mission heads first addressed themselves to the foreign affairs minister. With emperor's consent, the latter informed foreign guests and the imperial court minister about date and time of audience. Then, the imperial court talked to masters of ceremonies (PSZRI, Vol. XXXIII. №33978).

The etiquette strictly regulated the court life. All assignments were predetermined (monarch's escort, missions, ceremonies, audiences, dances, feasts). Therefore, the 18th-19th centuries summarized and adopted norms of the Russian diplomatic protocol.

## 5. Conclusion

As the diplomatic protocol history shows, attitude to ceremonies was equated with attitude to authorities. Propaganda and ideology had been playing an important role in state foreign policies. With art as a communication factor, cultural diplomacy is a relevant element of world politics.

Treaties and other diplomatic documents were signed within a thoroughly arranged ceremony. Artists (poets, writers, musicians, actors, dancers, architects, sculptors, painters, etc.) promoted ruler's reputation and image of their country on the international arena.

Famous intellectuals were often applied by state authorities as accredited representatives, personal secretaries or diplomatic advisors. It underlines wisdom and reason of rulers. It was artists who founded the Modern Age diplomacy. They impacted on skills of negotiations and performed important duties in international politics.

Having compared ceremonies of various countries, we see both similar and different features of specific original character.

For example, Muscovy ambassadorial rites reveal a long process of Eurasian ceremonial culture formation, which absorbed Western and Eastern diplomatic techniques. The Russian Empire possessed the protocol peak in the 19th century when diplomatic guidelines were codified as certain legal acts.

In general, historical sources confirm the art significance in diplomacy and world politics of the 17th-19th centuries.

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