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1. Ettore Cafagna

Representing the Power through diplomacy: Venice and the Dutch Republic in the early XVII century.

The representation of power can have many ways. Surely one of these ways is connected to diplomacy. Within the official framework of the diplomatic action, with its codified set of gestures and rhetoric, it is possible to identify a representation of the state itself and at the same time its qualities and power. The case study I am willing to present is the first diplomatic contact between two republics of the early Seventeenth century: the Dutch Republic and the Republic of Venice. Using the reports of the Venetian ambassadors sent to Den Haag between 1610 and 1620 I aim to show how the young Dutch Republic was trying to impress the diplomats from the Serenissima in order to state the Dutch presence in the group of the independent and powerful European states, and to convince the cautious Venetians to get into a military alliance. Nevertheless, in the *Relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors, in which the diplomas had to show the results of their mission and provide a standardized but detailed description of the country they had visited, there are many points that indicate us which were the signs of a powerful state like it was the case of the United Provinces.

At the same time, the diplomatic mission of the Venetians was an occasion to show once again the prestige of the Serenissima in the international showcase. While the Dutch Republic was trying to gain legitimation as a first rank state among the European powers, the Serenissima was maintaining its status performing a clever diplomatic strategy.

In order to keep my presentation within the timeframe of 15 minutes I will propose two specific showcases. The first one is the extraordinary diplomatic mission of Tommaso Contarini in 1610 aimed to establish the first official diplomatic contact between the two republics after the signing of the Twelve Years Truce between Spain and the Dutch Republic, that constituted an independence *de facto* for the rebel Dutch state. The second showcase is the mission of the extraordinary ambassador Gerolamo Trevisan in 1620 to celebrate the signing of the defensive military alliance involving the two republics. In both cases is present a strong willingness by the Dutch government, and in particular by the Stathouder Maurits van Nassau, to display the power and richness of the Dutch Republic first to Contarini in 1610 and then to Trevisan in 1620. The alliance with Venice itself was a sign of power for the Dutch Republic now fighting for the freedom of the Netherlands and Europe together with another free Republic.

2. Frederico Giona

ISPI, The First Italian Think Tank in International Politics. A Story of persistance and disruption (1933 – 1970)

The Institute for Studies in International Politics (Ispi) is a challenging as well as controversial subject of study. Access to its historical archive now makes it possible to piece together its history from its founding in Milan in 1934 during the fascist regime, through the transitional period (1943-1949) during which it was struggling for survival, to 1970 when it lost its leading figures. The attempt to understand the development of Ispi from a long-term perspective makes it possible to stress what I believe to be the underlying continuity of its history, that is to be an original think tank

in international politics. From this point of view, it is necessary to interpret and understand the meaning of the Institute's origin within the process of intensification and growing interdependence in international relations that began in the aftermath of the First World War, so as not to see ISPI only as a creature of the imperialistic view of the fascist regime. The intention is to call into question the thesis according to which think tanks are a phenomenon strictly related to the emergence of advanced democratic capitalistic societies, assuming as a consequence that these institutes are important pillars of democracy. I argue that foreign policy think tanks have more complex origins. As a consequence the case study of Ispi appears very meaningful: studying a think tank within a dictatorial environment it is an extraordinary opportunity to shed light on the think tank phenomenon as a whole.

More precisely, this presentation will focus on the development of the Institute's role during the fascist regime, in terms of the way it treated and exploited international information (for political, cultural, propaganda and scientific purposes), its degree of independence from its national government, its ability to set up a group of experts who were able to understand international questions, and its desire to influence domestic opinion on foreign matters. The decision to examine ISPI not only as an Italian question but as a phenomenon which concerned the broader international context opens fresh paths of historical research. The most significant is the opportunity to compare the Institute with analogous bodies, such as the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. This approach makes it possible to view the specific features of each body, integrating the history of Ispi with the international context. Furthermore, adopting a transnational perspective, the research tries to make an effort for a better understanding of the so called "Institute of International Affairs movement", which proliferated around the world during the interwar period. Furthermore, as my project is placed at the cross roads between the history of Italian foreign policy, the history of think tanks in international politics and the analysis of the birth of a new elite of specialists in foreign affairs, the following research addresses the theme of informal power exercised by think tanks in international politics in elaborating an elite consensus as well as in mobilizing public opinion.

3. Maud Harivel and Florian Schmitz

Abstract: Entangling formal and informal power. Corruption as an in-between in early modern politics (Venice and Berne, 16th – 17th century)

Semantics and understanding of politics both in academic and public discussion assume a clear disjunction between formal and informal power. Anyway, following current discussions as well as systematically studying electoral corruption in early modern city states we do observe that such a perception fails to describe and explain general working conditions of politics. Far from the ideal, it seems that politics are shaped by the permanent violation of its formal (normative) framework. Based on this observation our paper claims that those deviations, which we grasp on an analytical level as corruption, are not isolated violations but are intrinsic features of the structure of politics.
Historians have tended to follow a perception of politics based on norms and institutions and have therefore struggled to describe deviations from formal procedures. We do observe two positions: On the one hand corruption was either perceived as systemic illness of a failed regime or as erratic behaviour of individuals.

On the other hand corruption was described as a semantic figure used in political infightings with little conjunction to praxis.

However, our studies of politics in early modern Venice and Bern have showed the interdependence of formal and informal structures. In consequence of the increasing complexity of governance politics needs a formal frame in order to structure repeating courses of action. Using the example of the voting system we will show how the city regiments react to this necessity. Since the 16th century both republics issue a bulk of norms in order to structure and legitimate procedures. On the other hand the case of early modern elections in Venice and Bern will show that formal proceedings do not work without parallel informal structures. In fact the complex election system is in need of social linking: Family ties, friendship, loyalty and patron-client relations were and are structural features of politics. Firstly, our paper will be a case study. Focusing on the voting procedures we will describe on the one hand both the normative and institutional settings of politics in early modern Bern and Venice. On the other hand we will describe the informal thwarting of those structures like rather complex ballot riggings or plain bribery. Our presentation will focus on the interdependence of both spheres.

Second, we hope to present a methodological contribution to the discussion if and to what extent 'formal' and 'informal power' are discernible categories as well. We do argue that using corruption as an analytical tool we are able to describe the translation between formal and informal power. We aim to fathom the interdependence of informal and formal power in politics claiming that corruption bridges the logical gap between the two spheres. Jumping-off point of our contribution will be the examination of the conditions of policy making in the early modern republics of Venice and Berne (16th and 17th century). Based on our observation we hope to present in form of a synthesis general remarks on the modi operandi of politics.

4. Mark Hay

Dynastic Networking as a Strategy of Conflict Resolution:
The Historical Agency of Lesser Powers in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era Revisited.

With this paper I aim to offer a new approach to studying and understanding the small and medium sized powers of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period, the so-called lesser powers.

The lesser powers have never been accorded their rightful place in the historiography. The reasons for this are that most research on the era focuses on the great powers, and that the period is mostly studied from a retrospective and national point of view. Such an approach is of course quite understandable, and it has paid off: the general picture of the era is quite clear. Much of the detail, however, remains to be filled in.

In this paper I will make the argument that, 200 years after the main historical events took place, it is time to fill in the detail, and that the study of the lesser powers is the way to achieve this. Furthermore, I will argue that

the "national paradigm" is not a suitable framework within which to study and to understand the lesser powers. Instead, I will argue that for the lesser powers Old Regime dynastic networks, as transnational holistic political entities, remained the primary vehicle for pursuing "national" interests and foreign policy aims.

To bring my argument across I will draw my research on the House of Nassau. I will show that the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars severely strained the dynastic ties between the various branches of the House of Nassau. The Walramian Nassaus became firmly embedded within the French dominated Confederation of the Rhine, whilst the Ottonian Nassaus, in their capacity as hereditary heads of state of the Netherlands, became determined adversaries of Napoleon. Still, the French period did not break the dynastic ties. In the uncertain years of 1812-1814, the House of Nassau united in their aims to re-establish their independence and their position within the international order.

5. Michael Humphries

'The old story – Power and Place are not often synonymous': the influence of social and political networks in Edwardian Britain[1]

The importance of social networks, based on kinship, friendship or other shared experiences, has become an increasingly common theme in political history, from a global as well as national perspective. The majority of these studies, however, do not fully engage with the implications of such a conceptual approach. This paper will examine how it is possible to advance beyond the metaphor of the network and employ the methodological tools developed for Social Network Analysis to understand the extent of how political power without responsibility could be attained in Edwardian Britain. It will show the value of using the concept of social capital to explain the process by which an extensive network of friendships could be translated into significant political sway. By looking at the specific example of Reginald Brett, 2nd Viscount Esher, this study also will provide insights into the wider circles of influence operating in late 19th and early 20th century British politics and why certain statesmen outside Parliament had such a significant impact.

In early 20th century Britain a successful Parliamentary career was generally seen as the surest path to power for any ambitious politician. The House of Commons not only provided the platform for the rise of men like David Lloyd George but also for the first time included representatives of the working class. Yet the decade before 1914 witnessed the growing influence on public debate of statesmen outside Parliament, such as the imperial 'proconsuls', George Curzon and Alfred Milner, and the former prime minister, Lord Rosebery. As well as indicating the widespread disquiet with the partisan nature of party politics the prominence of these men showed how the strength of social networks remained a critical factor in the accumulation of political power.

The most notable example of this phenomenon was Lord Esher, frequently referred to as the *éminence grise* of Edwardian politics. Despite never holding an elected office, Esher was an active participant in major affairs of state and a crucial influence on national defence and constitutional debates in early 20th century British imperial politics. Esher's private papers document his unrivalled access to everyone of importance from the king and prime minister down. He had neither the family status nor the wealth to attain preference and influence through his own patronage. Instead it was achieved through the assiduous cultivation of friends and acquaintances from the upper strata of Victorian and Edwardian society, both in Britain and elsewhere.

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[1] Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge, Esher Papers, ESHR 7/16 Letters from Reginald Baliol Brett to Maurice Brett, 2 Feb 1903 to 27 Dec 1903, 11 Oct 1903.

From a modern perspective Esher was a supreme 'networker'. He demonstrated considerable skill in exploiting his incomparable network of contacts to obtain substantial political influence. Any attempt to solve the enigma of Esher's achievements and character must analyse with more rigour how he developed and exploited his web of contacts.

6. Elina Kauppinen

"The role of official royal mistresses in eighteenth-century Western European discourses on the legitimacy of monarchical rule: Methodological perspectives"

In eighteenth century the royal mistresses were a widely visible part of European courts and political systems. Their presence and potential informal influence in the courts and on the kings became part of wider debates on morality, virtue, decency as well as on the use of power and the monarchy as a form of government. We should not see the royal mistresses only as a phenomenon giving rise to political tension, but also elaborate how and why they became such, and inquire how descriptions of problematic mistresses amalgamated with languages of political power. In my dissertation I intend to view the royal mistresses not just as prominent personas of eighteenth-century courts but as a wider phenomenon and practice, even as an institution, which had its own position, importance and meanings in political cultures, practices and languages.

In my paper I would like to outline methods for analyzing eighteenth-century debates on the official royal mistresses. The work done in the fields of the history of political thought and conceptual history provide means to approach the field of ideological and symbolical meaning formations that exists behind the speech acts, concepts and metaphors and from which all debating, challenging, maintaining, defining and redefining gain their force and meaning. Though I am exploring how monarchy was conceptualized through and in the debates about royal mistresses I am willing to study past political languages and language-uses as a wider and more complex field of action and meaning-formation than focusing just on key/basic concepts of political vocabularies would suggest. Especially I would like to notice the meanings of metaphorical conceptualization and gendered language in eighteenth-century political cultures, for example family-state –analogy and the creative uses of this analogy in languages supporting/ subverting royal authority.

Since the different eighteenth-century representations of the mistresses of the French and British monarchs contributed to the wider discourses on the prevailing political practices the relationship of the king and his mistress was not a private matter of the heart but essentially political. In the debates on the royal mistresses also images of monarchy and kingship were construed, maintained and deconstructed discursively through the gendered notions and conceptions that were embedded in the use of language.

My objective is to combine the linguistically oriented methods of the history of political thought and conceptual history in order to produce new information on the past formations of meaning, on public debate and on political action, not only in the high power but focusing specifically on the multisitedness of the debates about political

system. Accordingly I will analyse discourses on the royal mistresses in relation to monarchs occurring on several interconnected forums nationally and transnationally. On these varying forums different agents used both formal and informal power when striving for to define the conceptions on the right and wrong kinds of exercises of power, on monarchy as a form of government and on the persons using the political power.

7. Lauren Lauret

Matters of formality? – Johan Kelffken (1578-1602) merchant, mayor and delegate. Political power relations between local, provincial and general assemblies

In the last few years, research on the functioning of the early modern States General, provincial, and local assemblies has gained momentum, but the power relations underlying interactions between these institutions remain unclear. In an effort to address this gap, this paper draws on the 'communication theory' of Prof. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, but applies this theory to a republic rather than a monarchy. (Stollberg-Rilinger, 2009; 313-318). The career path of the Nijmegen mayor and delegate at the States General, Johan Kelffken (1578-1602), functions as case study, with Kelffken's various career moves providing insight into the relationship between various levels of representative government. The paper focuses on the connection between Kelffken's political acts and his social standing, while also paying attention to the symbolic nature of the political culture in which he operated.

Stollberg-Rilinger's communication theory was designed to uncover the symbolic meaning attached to communication practices in early modern political acts. The communication theory helps to avoid an anachronistic view of political institutions and their members. Political practice in the period consisted to a large extent of political ceremonies, rituals, and symbols aimed at constructing, reaffirming, and displaying the hierarchical political and social order of the early modern world. Moments of power transfer and (re)negotiation, such as council elections, provide the best opportunities to uncover notions and values attached to what contemporaries perceived as the political world.

Kelffken's career suggests that power in this period was a fluid and social phenomenon, with an unprecedented crisis like the Dutch Revolt allowing a wealthy wine merchant to become a provincial delegate. Operating under the concept that power is *practiced* rather than *possessed* by an individual, the paper demonstrates how Kelffken deployed his informal symbolic capital to carve out his career in office and those of his offspring. As a non-traditional wielder of power, Kelffken needed to accumulate symbolic capital to establish himself as legitimate member of Nijmegen's ruling class. Sources such as marriage contracts, personal bills, and missives illustrate the constant maintenance acquired (rather than inherited) status required. Physical presence and absence are presented as negotiation tools characteristic of the mistrust between assemblies: a delegate could be prevented from attending for as long as another disagreement remained unresolved. The decoration of political spaces with judicial phrases, biblical iconography, and seating arrangements offers insight into the physical setting of the early modern political world. Resolutions indicating assembly procedures reveal contemporary criteria used to establish who

was permitted to enter this world and how such people were expected to behave. By understanding this formal practice of politics, we can see how Kelffken illustrates informal power at work between the rules of procedure.

This paper will demonstrate that examining symbolic communication of power according to the methods of Stollberg-Rilinger's communication theory is a valuable and promising approach to studying the diffuse power relations between representative assemblies and their members at the end of the sixteenth century. Wielders of power in early modern politics took nothing for granted or as self-evident, and nor should their historians.

8. Ann Poulson

Britain, France, and the diplomacy of painting between 1837 and 1870

This paper will examine the artistic interactions between Queen Victoria (1837-1901) and two of her French counterparts, Louis-Philippe, King of the French (1830-1848), and Emperor Napoleon III (1848-1870). I will examine the exchange of portraits between the heads of state, as well as the sending of portraits to be displayed within Embassies. Victoria had clear opinions on how she wished to be represented to her fellow monarchs; in 1839, she confided to her journal about the 'horror' she felt at the prospect of David Wilkie's 'too atrocious' full-length portrait being sent to Paris.[2]

I will also discuss the artistic records of the visits exchanged between Victoria King Louis-Philippe in 1843 and 1844, and Napoleon III in 1855. Franz Xaver Winterhalter, Eugène Louis Lami, and Edward Matthew Ward thoroughly documented these occasions, creating narratives around the interactions of these monarchs, and the diplomatic relations of these nations. Additionally, after the 1855 visit, Victoria commissioned Charles Éduoard Boutibonne to paint a set of four equestrian portraits depicting herself, Albert, Napoleon III, and Eugénie. These images illustrate a fascinating dynamic of power and gender relations between the four individuals, the two couples, and the two countries.

The nature of the pictorial ties between the courts of Victoria and Louis-Philippe, and later Napoleon III, are especially interesting in light of the relatively recent Napoleonic wars. Moreover, Victoria's ideas regarding the images discussed, as laid out in her journals and letters, shed light on her understanding of foreign diplomacy in general, and specifically on her conception of the relationship between Britain and France.

9. Sebastian Schick

The Prime Minister and his "informal" power in 18th century Holy Roman Empire

In 1974 Jean Bérenger argued in a famous article that there existed a period in European political History – the first half of 17th Century –, in which all the main monarchies were governed by a kind of Favourite-Prime minister. In his opinion, only a European comparative survey would shed light on the reasons for such a historical

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[2] RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W), 20 March 1839, Lord Esher's typescripts.

parallel, which lies in a specific phase of the State- building process. In the last two decades, several historians took over this question and focused on the political function of the Favourites and Prime ministers in Early Modern Europe (John H.Elliott, J. Hirschbiegel).

It's obvious that the 18th Century has not been taken into consideration in these studies, although Hamish Scott highlighted a second European period of Prime-Minister, which we fail to understand through Berenger's explanation : indeed, based on a weberian theory of modernization, bureaucratization and professionalization of the state-elites, it was often argued that in the 18th century, the model of a "modern" government, divided in several departments with specialized ministers at their head, took the place of the model of the favourites. The action and power of the ministers would therefor rely on the legally defined prerogatives of their new administrations and on their specific competence, and no longer on patronage or personal trust. Which explains why, in the case of the 18th century, men were much less analysed than the administrations in which they worked – an observation which is certainly still more valid for the German area (Ronald G. Asch).

In this intervention, we would like to focus on the political function of the "Second Man in State" (Michael Kaiser) in the Holy Roman Empire of the first Half of 18th century, and to argue that the nature of his power was also still "informal", i.e. non official and non legally-settled (B.Emich). Indeed, the analysis of the private correspondences of Friedrich Whilhelm von Grumbkow and Gerlach Adolph von Münchhausen, respectively ministers of the Electorate of Brandenburg and Brunswick-Luneburg, shows that in the particular context of the multiple territories of the Holy Roman Empire, these Ministers tried to use all the interpersonal relations they had in the Empire, to act for their prince's diplomacy.

In this context, the extent of their *Verflechtungen* (W.Reinhard), that is to say, relations such as Friendship, family ties, or Patronage, and above all the ability to use them in a political perspective, was one of the main conditions of their masters' capacity to act in the political field. This is why ministers, although their "official" role within the bureaucracy wasn't necessarily relevant to diplomacy, acted through their personal contacts for their Prince : it was one of the best way for them to remain unavoidable also because the political culture of the time gave these "personal" relations a specific political efficiency.

By focusing on these ministerial personal contacts, we would like to offer a new perspective both on the political functioning of the Holy Empire, which relied not only on its judicial system, but also on the relations between political actors, and on the nature of the prime minister's power, which seems still based on informal relations. In this way, we would like to put forward a first explanation of the existence of the second period of the First Ministers in the German area, based on the importance of the informal relations in the diplomatic functioning of this area.