

Perspectives on the Honours Systems

Edited by

ANTTI MATIKKALA
STAFFAN ROSÉN

KUNGL. VITTERHETS HISTORIE
OCH ANTIKVITETS AKADEMIEN
HANDLINGAR *Historiska serien 29*

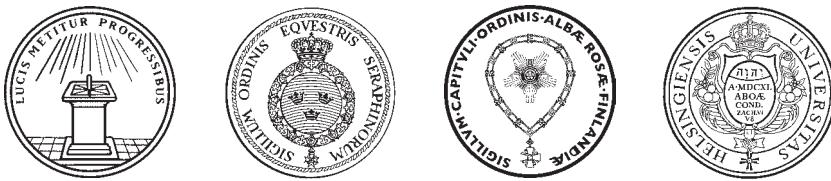


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Perspectives on the Honours Systems

Proceedings of the symposiums
Swedish and Russian Orders 1700–2000
& The Honour of Diplomacy

Edited by ANTTI MATIKKALA & STAFFAN ROSÉN



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Abstract

The volume *Perspectives on the Honours Systems* opens new multidisciplinary avenues for research on both historical and current methods by which monarchs, heads of state and governments have honoured individuals in different contexts, primarily in the Nordic countries and Russia. Most of the papers included in this volume were originally given at the symposiums 'Swedish and Russian Orders 1700–2000: Systems – Traditions – Policies' (Stockholm 2009) and 'The Honour of Diplomacy – The Diplomatic Use of the Honours Systems' (Helsinki 2011). By taking a long perspective from the late Middle Ages until today, historians, archivists, museum curators, officers of orders and diplomats address fundamental questions related to honours: why honours systems have been established, what kind of role they have played in different historical situations and their current relevance in modern societies.

Keywords

Honours systems, orders of knighthood, orders of merit, decorations, medals, diplomacy

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Dresden 1799–1801. Photograph National Board of Antiquities/M. Haverinen.

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INTRODUCTION

THE VOLUME *Perspectives on the Honours Systems* opens new multidisciplinary avenues for research on both historical and current methods by which monarchs, heads of state and governments have honoured individuals in different contexts, primarily in the Nordic countries and Russia. The essays are mostly based on papers given at the symposiums, ‘Swedish and Russian Orders 1700–2000: Systems – Traditions – Policies’, organized by the Chapter of the Swedish Royal Orders of Knighthood and the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities in Stockholm, 9–10 September 2009, and ‘The Honour of Diplomacy – The Diplomatic Use of the Honours Systems’, organized by the Orders of the White Rose of Finland and of the Lion of Finland and the Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies in Helsinki, 15–16 September 2011.¹

¹ The article ‘Gustaf Adlerfelt, Orders of Knighthood and Charles XII’ by Antti Matikkala is based on a paper given at the symposium ‘Award Systems: Russia and Scandinavia’, organized by the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, 2–3 September 2010. Sergei S. Levin was unable to present his paper on orders conferred on the Russian envoys in Sweden, but a list of these is included in this volume. The oral presentation of the current use of the Swedish orders given by Ingemar Eliasson, Chancellor of the Swedish Royal Orders of Knighthood, has been replaced by a short article by Staffan Rosén. Elena A. Yarovaya’s article, ‘Heraldic Composition as a Means to Express Personal Merits’, was not presented as a symposium paper, but since the topic has received only scant attention in previous research, it has been included as a valuable contribution to the study of the display of orders and medals. The presentation, ‘The Marshal of Finland and the System of Orders’, given by Professor Matti Klinge at the Stockholm symposium, was partly based on his earlier article, ‘Suomalaiset ritarikunnat – Ordensväsendet i Finland’, in John Strömberg, Jussi Nuorteva and Christina Forssell (eds), *Valtio palkitsee – Staten belönar* (2nd edn, Helsinki, 2008), 118–127, and is not included in the present volume. Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm’s papers on ‘The State Visit of Nicholas II to Sweden’ and ‘Diplomatic Presentations of the Order of St Andrew during the Reign of Nicholas II’ were based on her Ph.D. thesis, *The Russian Imperial Award System 1894–1917* (Helsinki, 2005), 343–354, 473–485. For the list of the Knights of the Order of St Andrew during the reign of Nicholas II, compiled by Timothy F. Boettger, see *ibid.*, 405–417. Georgy V. Vilinbakhov’s presentation ‘Russian Knights of the Order of the Elephant’ at the Helsinki symposium concentrated on their arms in the armorial of the Order.

The essays have been arranged in six thematic and broadly chronological parts. The first part analyses the foundation of the Swedish orders of knighthood and the background debates beginning in the 1690s. The second part looks at the orders of knighthood as instruments of diplomacy from the late Middle Ages mostly up to the Napoleonic period, while the third part approaches the honours chiefly on the basis of material aspects. The fourth part is chronological, concentrating on the first half of the twentieth century from the perspective of diplomacy as well as the wearing of orders and decorations. Although the fifth part, with its emphasis on the Far East, may seem like a thematic digression, its articles discuss honorific contacts with Denmark and Russia. The sixth and last part describes the current diplomatic use of the Finnish and Swedish orders as well as the Russian award system.

Some of the essays address fundamental questions related to all honours: why honours systems have been established, what kind of role they have played in different historical situations and what their current relevance is in modern societies. The variety of approaches to the honours systems is highlighted by the fact that besides historians, archivists and museum curators, the contributors to this volume include officers of orders and diplomats.

In the greater part of the cases discussed in the present work, the estimation of the sovereign or head of state has been expressed by some outward mark worn by the recipient: insignia of orders of knighthood and merit, decorations and medals. However, it is worth bearing in mind that in this sense many other honours – such as ‘simple’ knighthoods, ennoblements, promotions within the ranks of nobility, titles of honour and augmentations of honour granted to coats of arms – often have been non-material, although some of these have included certain privileges.²

These joint proceedings are included in the series of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, but all institutions involved in the two symposiums have contributed to it in different ways. While international cooperation between academic institutions is prevalent, this publication is rather unique in also being a joint effort of the Swedish and Finnish orders. We acknowledge

² See, for instance, Antti Matikkala, ‘The Diplomatic Exchange of Honours and Some Augmentations of Honour in the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries’, *Archives héraudiques suisses*, 127 (2013), 111–128.

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Antti Matikkala Staffan Rosén

THE SWEDISH ORDERS
OF KNIGHTHOOD AND
THEIR ORIGINS

I



1. King Charles XII wearing an imaginary breast star. Engraving by Adrien Migneret after Jean-Victor Schnetz in Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII* (Paris, 1840). The Royal Library – National Library of Sweden.

GUSTAF ADLERFELT, ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD AND CHARLES XII

Antti Matikkala

IT IS DIFFICULT TO OVERESTIMATE the enduring impact which Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731) has had on the often stereotypical perceptions of Charles XII. The 1840 French edition of the work includes an engraving of the king (Illust. 1) by Adrien Migneret after a portrait by the history painter Jean-Victor Schnetz (1787–1870). The idea that an early eighteenth-century monarch would have had an order of knighthood, and worn its insignia even at the battlefield, appeared so obvious for Schnetz that he depicted Charles XII wearing an imaginary breast star. In fact, Charles XII did not have an order of knighthood of his own. Neither did he hold any foreign orders. Consequently, information on the topic of Charles XII and the orders of knighthood is scarce.

In his seminal 1897 article Harald Hjärne set out an agenda for the research on Charles XII emphasizing that it was essential to place him in his general European context.¹ Although literature on Charles XII is voluminous, with some of the relevant central sources being available in print since the 1860s,² most of them since the 1880s, and despite the fact that all standard works of Swedish orders of knighthood refer to Charles XII's plans to establish an order of knighthood,³ the

1 Harald Hjärne, 'Karl XII: en uppgift för svensk häfdaforskning', *Vintergatan*, 4 (1897), 1–40.

2 The 1860 edition of the dispatches of Count d'Avaux includes only part of the relevant letters, for instance that of 21 August 1697. 'Brefvexling emellan konung Ludvig XIV och franska ministern i Stockholm, grefve d'Avaux, under åren 1697 och 1698', *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*, 40 (1860), 96. Bernhard von Beskow appears to have been the first to direct passing attention to the question. Bernh. von Beskow, *Karl den tolte: en minnesbild* (Stockholm, 1868–69), 105–106.

3 Folke Wernstedt, 'Kungl. svenska riddarordnarna: historisk översikt', in H. J. S. Kleberg (ed.), *Kungl. svenska riddarordnarna* (2 vols, Stockholm, 1935), I, 32; Ernst E. Areen & Sten Lewenhaupt, *De nordiska ländernas riddarordnar* (3 vols, Eskilstuna, 1942), I, 4–5; Arvid Berghman, *Nordiska riddareordnar och dekorationer* (Malmö, 1949), 25; Fredrik Löwenhielm, *Svenska ordnar och medaljer* (Stockholm, 1987, 2nd edn, 1998), 17; Fredrik Löwenhielm, 'Belöningar och utmärkelsetecken: gavör ordnar och medaljer', in Per Nordenvall (ed.), *Kungliga Serafimerorden 1748–1998*

question has not been hitherto properly contextualized. This essay approaches the theme, first, by examining the education and career of Gustaf Adlerfelt and the dissertation *Equites sive de Ordinibus Equestribus*, which he defended at the University of Uppsala in 1696, second, by setting the Swedish honours system into a wider European political and cultural context, and third, by looking at what kind of men attended to the court of Charles XII and what kind of honours the officers of the Swedish army and those of its enemies held.

In the words of Linda Levy Peck, an attempt to survey the mental world of an early modern court would ideally include the examination of 'the mentality [...] that animated [...] court life, its symbolism, ideology and material culture'.⁴ While entry into the mental world of the Caroline court may remain beyond the reach of the present study, it seeks to contribute towards understanding Charles XII's honours policy by reconstructing the presence and perceptions of the orders of knighthood in particular and the honours systems in general at his court. The study also tries to answer why this soldier-king did not establish an order of knighthood or of military merit although his principal enemies and other fellow monarchs either had existing orders at their disposal or created new ones during the era. The study finally combines the approaches of a biographical case study and history of historiography to the contextual history of honours systems.

Gustaf Adlerfelt (1673–1709)⁵ is chiefly known as a courtier, who accompanied his master, King Charles XII of Sweden, since 1701 and kept a meticulous journal of his campaigns until being killed at the Battle of Poltava.⁶ What is less well

(Borås, 1998), 28; Tom C. Bergroth, "En egen Svensk Riddare=Orden": Kring instiftandet av ett ordensväsende i Sverige år 1748, *Livrustkammaren*, (1997–98), 6. The most detailed discussion is by Karl Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar* (Stockholm, [1948]), 213–216.

⁴ Linda Levy Peck, 'The Mental World of the Jacobean Court: An Introduction', in ead. (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991), 4. For the 'mental world' approach, see also John Adamson, 'The Aristocracy and their Mental World', in John Morrill (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 1996), 173–190.

⁵ His surname is variously spelled Adlerfelt (the grant of arms and modern reference works), Adlerfeldt (the armorial plate in the Swedish House of Nobility) or Adlerfeld (most of the works published under his name), while his given name appears in the following forms: Gustaf in the matriculation record of the University of Uppsala, Gustavus in his published works, apart from the French edition *Military History of Charles XII* where Gustave, and the German edition, where Gustav von Adlerfeld. Contrary to the information in most reference works, Adlerfelt was not born in 1671. He was baptized on 14 June 1673. Gösta Thimon, *Stockholms nations studenter i Uppsala 1649–1800 – Vinculum Stockholmense* (Uppsala, 1982), I, 184.

⁶ Peter Englund, *The Battle of Poltava: The Birth of the Russian Empire*, transl. Peter Hale (London 1992), 82.

known is that Adlerfelt had defended ‘with abundance of applause’⁷ a thesis on the orders of knighthood – *Equites sive de Ordinibus Equestribus* – under the presidium of Professor Petrus Lagerlööf (1648–1699) at the University of Uppsala in 1696. Samuel E. Bring claimed in 1919 that this short thesis of 67 pages was the first printed Swedish work of this kind.⁸ However, Torsten Rudeen (1661–1729) had already in 1691 defended a thesis on the origins of the English Order of the Garter – *De Origine Ordinis S. Georgii in Anglia* – under the presidium of Professor Gustaf Peringer (1651–1710).⁹

Adlerfelt’s family was moving upwards on the social ladder and benefitted from Charles XI’s generous ennoblement policy, which was essentially directed towards creating meritocratic crown service nobility. During twenty-four years of the personal rule of Charles XI, a total of 730 men gained untitled nobleman’s status in Sweden, 73 were created barons and 23 counts. Thus the Swedish nobility grew annually on average by 30 new untitled noble families.¹⁰ Gustaf Adlerfelt’s eldest uncle was a major, who had been ennobled with the name Trafverhielm in 1681.¹¹ Adlerfelt’s father, Carl Johansson, was a civil servant, who had moved from Finland to mainland Sweden becoming in due course a clerk to Count Johan Gabriel Stenbock (1640–1705), Chief Marshal of the royal household, and finally ‘Treasurer or Controller of the Accounts to the Royal Court of Sweden’,

⁷ [Carl Maximilian Emanuel Adlerfeld], ‘Preface’, in Gustavus Adlerfeld, *The Military History of Charles XII, King of Sweden*, transl. Henry Fielding (3 vols, London, 1740), I, i; Thimon, *Stockholms nations studenter*, 184.

⁸ Samuel E. Bring, ‘Inledning’, in Gustaf Adlerfelt, *Karl XII:s krigsföretag 1700–1706*, ed. Samuel E. Bring (Stockholm, 1919), VI.

⁹ The works by Peter Heylyn, Elias Ashmole and Gregorio Leti were the principal sources used in the thesis. See also, Arvid Hultin, *Torsten Rudeen: ett bidrag till karolinska tidens litteratur- och lärdomshistoria* (Helsingfors, 1902), 28–31. Rudeen went on to become a professor at the Royal Academy of Turku and in that capacity presided over the first Finnish academic disputation on heraldry in 1706. Torsten Rudeen (præs.) – Bengt Granroot (resp.), *De insignibus nobilium* ([Aboæ], 1706), reprint ed. by Kari K. Laurla & Henrik Degeman (Helsinki, 1982). See also C. G. U. Scheffer, “Svensk heraldik i den akademiska undervisningen, i disputationer och i den populärvetenskapliga litteraturen under 1700-talet II”, *Heraldisk Tidsskrift*, 36 (1977), 264.

¹⁰ Pontus E. Fahlbeck, *Sveriges adel: statistisk undersökning öfver de å Riddarhuset introducerade ätterna* (2 vols, Lund, 1898–1902), I, 459, 467. In standard textbooks the figures for the number of ennoblements often include only those families which were introduced (matriculated) in the House of Nobility, i.e. 23 counts, 55 barons and 556 untitled noble families during the personal reign of Charles XI. Jan von Konow, *Sveriges adels historia* (Karlskrona, 2005), 171. Relying on the number of introductions only does not, of course, give an adequate picture for comparison of ennoblement policies of various monarchs.

¹¹ For Adlerfelt’s family, see Jolly Ramsay, *Frälsesläkter i Finland intill Stora ofreden* (Helsingfors, 1909–16), 493–495; Gustaf Elgenstierna, *Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor med tillägg och rättelser* (Stockholm 1925–36), I, 41–43; VIII, 348–349; Carl Szabad, *Supplement till Den introducerade svenska adelns ättartavlor* (2 vols, Solna, 2008), I, 36.

i.e. court clerk (*hovkamrer*) in 1691.¹² His services were rewarded by ennoblement in 1693, and the family took the name Adlerfelt.

Among other civilian Swedes ennobled in 1693 were the above mentioned Professor Peringer – who took the name Lillieblad – Peringer’s younger brother Johan (1654–1720) – whose name was augmented as Peringskiöld and whose scholarly interests included heraldry¹³ – and a certain Johan Marhein, who was ennobled with the later famous name Mannerheim. The outward look of the Swedish nobility was, nonetheless, markedly military as the English diplomat Rev. John Robinson put it in 1694: ‘The Nobility mostly apply themselves to a Military Life.’¹⁴ In 1672, Charles XI had published a decree ‘to fix the Right of Precedency among the Nobility and Officers; wherein next after the Privy-Councillors, the Soldiers are principally considered; each considerable Office, being ranked according to its Dignity and Precedency, determined according to that Rank, without any respect to Birth or Quality’.¹⁵ Besides civil servants and military men, nobility was in some exceptional cases conferred on representatives of the liberal arts. In 1692, the importance of the medallic art was recognized by the ennoblement of Arvid Karlsteen, to whom one of the three medals commemorating the appointment of King Charles XI as a Knight of the Order of the Garter in 1669 has been attributed (Illust. 2–3).¹⁶

¹² [C. M. E. Adlerfeld], ‘Preface’, i. The annual salary of the court clerk, who was ‘responsible for the book-keeping for the royal household’, was 900 *daler* in 1700. Fabian Persson, *Servants of Fortune: The Swedish Court between 1598 and 1721* (Lund, 1999), 59, 61, 214.

¹³ C. G. U. Scheffer, ‘Johan Peringskiölds och hans efterföljares heraldiska arbeten för Riddarhuset’, *Personhistorisk Tidskrift*, 73 (1977), 66–71; Inga von Corswant-Naumburg, *Huvudbaner och an-vapen under stormaktstiden* (Stockholm, 1999), 92–94.

¹⁴ [John Robinson], *An Account of Sueden: Together with an Extract of the History of that Kingdom* (London, 1694), 47. On Robinson’s work see, R. M. Hatton, ‘John Robinson and the Account of Sueden’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 28 (1955), 128–159.

¹⁵ [Robinson], *Account of Sueden*, 106. The 1672 table of ranks was a consequence of precedence disputes within the nobility. Severin Bergh, ‘Rangstriderna inom adeln under 1600-talet’, *Historisk Tidskrift*, 16 (1896), 117–154. The development was remarkably simultaneous in Denmark, where the table of ranks was issued in 1671. Ronny Andersen, ‘Os og Voris Hof til større lustre: Adelsbegreb, rangsamfund og heraldiske udviklinger under den unge enevælde – For Greater Lustre to Us and Our Court: The Concept of Nobility, Rank Society and Heraldic Developments in Early Absolutism’ (unpublished specialeafhandling, Syddansk Universitet, 2009), 16–20.

¹⁶ Stig Stenström, *Arvid Karlsteen: hans liv och verk* (Göteborg, 1944), 24–26, 77, 274. For a partial list of honours conferred on artists during the early modern period, which does not include Karlsteen, see Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist*, transl. David McLintock (Cambridge, 1993), 155–174.



2-3. A medal commemorating the appointment of King Charles XI as a Knight of the Order of the Garter in 1669. Attributed to Arvid Karlsteen. The Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm.





4. Armorial bearings of the Adlerfelt family. The Swedish House of Nobility.

5. Armorial bearings of the Hägerfelt family. The Swedish House of Nobility.

The design of the armorial bearings granted to Carl Adlerfelt (Illust. 4) is rather typical for the period.¹⁷ The arms make no reference to those of his brother Per Traverhielm, but the shield is identical to one which was granted to Isak Stirén, who was ennobled with the name Hägerfelt in 1690 (Illust. 5), apart from the fact that Adlerfelt's stars are *or* (gold) and Hägerfelt's *argent* (silver). According to Jully Ramsay, the crest, which displays an eagle's head and wings, and the surname Adlerfelt were formed after the arms of Carl Adlerfelt's first wife, Rebecca von Hagen, daughter of court cashier (*hovkassör*) Kristoffer Acatius von Hagen,¹⁸ thus making the arms canting. Isak Hägerfelt's second wife was

¹⁷ Rutger Croneborg, 'Strövtåg bland svensk adlig heraldik under den karolinska tiden fram till Carl XII', *Heraldisk Tidsskrift*, 25 (1972), 234–245.

¹⁸ According to Ramsay, this was a German noble family. Ramsay, *Frälsesläkter i Finland*, 494. However, according to Anders Ant. von Stiernman, *Matrikel öfwer Swea Rikes Ridderskap och Adel* (2 vols, Stockholm, 1754–55), II, 930, the von Hagen family was non-noble (*ofrelse*). Also Elgenstierna, *Introducerade adelns ättartavlor*, I, 41, and Thimon, *Stockholms nations studenter*, I, 184, give her surname as von Hagen, but in the marriage records she appears as Hager (Szabad, *Supplement*, I, 36), which form is also given in Gabriel Anrep, *Svenska adelns ättartaflor* (4 vols, Stockholm, 1858–64), I, 21; [Wilh. Ståhlberg & P. G. Berg], *Anteckningar om svenska qvinnor* (Stockholm, 1864–65), 165; and *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, I, 137.

Wendela van (von) der Hagen, daughter of Arnold van der Hagen, who was born in Arnhem in the Netherlands and belonged to a prominent merchant and ship-owner family.¹⁹ The armorial claim about the genealogical link between Carl Adlerfelt's and Isak Hägerfelt's wives is quite obvious.

After the grants of crown land, which had often accompanied noble status, had been abolished, ennoblement was a very frugal method for the Swedish monarchs to reward loyal service. Since 1672, the newly ennobled or promoted families had to pay for the painting of their armorial bearings on the grant of arms (*sköldebrev*), a document which constituted one's nobility. The office of 'state heraldist' (*riksheraldiker*) was not established until 1734,²⁰ but in practice the same duties were performed since the 1680s by Elias Brenner (1647–1717), who was styled *administer heraldicus* in a contemporary reference work, and who was responsible for drafting proposals for most of the new arms granted during his time.²¹ It is likely that the armorial bearings in the Adlerfelt grant of arms are painted by Brenner, although there is no direct evidence to confirm this.²²

Equites sive de Ordinibus Equestribus

Adlerfelt, by this time still Gustaf Carlsson, matriculated at the University of Uppsala at a very early age in 1684, applying himself 'to all the sciences that could adorn a Gentleman': to 'History and Languages, both ancient and modern' and 'the Law of Nature and Nations' he joined the study of Heraldry and Genealogy,

¹⁹ Elgenstierna, *Introducerade adelns ättartavlor*, III, 764; *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, XVII, 737.

²⁰ Not to be confused with the separate office of *rikshärold*, literally 'herald of the realm', which was established in 1780 as one of the offices of the Swedish Royal Orders of Knighthood (*Kungl. Maj:ts Orden*).

²¹ [Rikhard von der Hardt], *Holmia literata* (Holmiae, 1701), 7. For Brenner's heraldic production, see Eiel Aspelin, *Elias Brenner: en förskare och konstnär från Karlarnes tid* (Helsingfors, 1896), 47–48; H. J. S. Kleberg, 'Riksheraldikerämbetets uppkomst och utveckling', *Meddelanden från Riksheraldikerämbetet*, [I] (1933), 9; Fredric Rudbeck, 'Riksheraldikernas vapenexlibris', *Svenska Exlibrisföreningens årsbok* (1949–1950), 31; Uno Lindgren, *Heraldik i svenska författningar: en vapenrättslig översikt från medeltiden till våra dagar* (Lund, 1951), 36 n. 4; C. G. U. Scheffer, 'Riddarhusets sköldemalare', in id., *Heraldisk spegel* (Stockholm, 1964), 31; C. G. U. Scheffer, 'Till riksheraldikerämbetets förhistoria', *Personhistorisk Tidskrift*, 71 (1975), 39; C. G. U. Scheffer, 'Kring Elias Brenner', in Ahti Hammar et al. (ed.) *Heraldica Fennica* (Espoo, 1978), 87, 95–96; von Corswant-Naumburg, *Huvudbaner och anväpen*, 89–90.

²² The Adlerfelt arms are not among the blazons and armorial designs signed by Brenner in the collection of *Sköldebrev och adelsvapen* (Grants of arms and noble coats of arms), nor in Brenner's sketchbook, *Genealogica 64*, in the National Archives of Sweden. I thank Carl Michael Raab for this information.

as thinking the knowledge of them absolutely necessary', as his son later put it.²³ The choice of disciplines was typical for one planning to enter the civil service,²⁴ but it is quite evident that Adlerfelt's education was planned to prepare the courier in the making. To celebrate the twelfth birthday of the future King Charles XII, Adlerfelt gave a Latin panegyric speech in honour of the crown prince in the great hall of the House of Nobility in 1693.²⁵

A look at the background of Adlerfelt's friends and teachers, who authored congratulatory verses to his dissertation, provides a glimpse of his intellectual milieu. The father of Counts Edvard (1679–1709) and Carl Adolf Gyldenstolpe (1681–1709) was the pro-French former diplomat and Chancellor of the University of Lund, Count Nils Gyldenstolpe (1642–1709), who had acted as governor to the future Charles XII since 1690, attempting to influence him with pro-French ideas.²⁶ The father of Count Carl Gyllenborg (1679–1746) was a civil servant who had merited himself in the crown's struggle against the landowning high nobility and been consequently well rewarded by ennoblement (1680) and promotions to baron (1689) and count (1695). Professor Carl Lundius (1638–1715) – a friend of Olof Rudbeck, a notorious exponent of mythical history – had undoubtedly been responsible for Adlerfelt's legal education. Lundius was a staunch supporter of absolute divine right monarchy.

Adlerfelt's studies culminated in the defense of a dissertation, *Equites sive de Ordinibus Equestribus*, on 16 June 1696 (Illust. 6). The authorship of early Swedish academic dissertations is a slightly complicated question. As Samuel E. Bring put it, if the respondent is not expressly mentioned as *auctor*, it is usually assumed that the *praeses* is the actual author of such an *exercitii gratia* disputation, but the respondent played a notable role in the preparation of the thesis being

²³ [C. M. E. Adlerfeld], 'Preface', i.

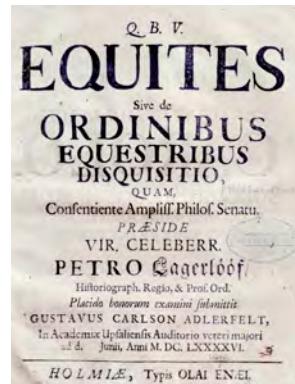
²⁴ Lars Niléhn, *Peregrinatio academica: det svenska samhället och de utrikes studieresorna under 1600-talet* (Lund, 1983), 94.

²⁵ *Panegyricus serenissimo et augustissimo principi ac domino, Domino Carolo Svecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumque principi hæreditario &c. &c. &c. maxima cum veneratione consecratus et in splendido Ordinis Equestris Palatio, ore ac zelo devotissimo proclamatus, die 17 Iunii. anno 1693 & ejusdem natali duodecimo* (Holmiae, 1693).

²⁶ R. M. Hatton, *Charles XII of Sweden* (London, 1968), 46; Gunnar Carlquist, 'Karl XII:s ungdom och första regeringsår', in Samuel E. Bring (ed.), *Karl XII: till 200-årsdagen av hans död* (Stockholm, 1918), 60–61. Gyldenstolpe was a French pensioner. Herman Brulin, *Sverige och Frankrike under Nordiska kriget och Spaniska successionskrisen åren 1700–1701: till belysning af Sveriges utrikespolitik under Karl XII* (Upsala, 1905), 18–20. For Edvard and Carl Gyldenstolpe, who began their studies in 1692, see Adam Lewenhaupt, *Karolinens Edvard Gyldenstolpe* (Stockholm, 1941), 18–23.

in most cases chiefly responsible for assembling the material. The respondent had always to pay both the *praeses* for authoring the thesis and the publishers for printing it.²⁷ The total number of dissertations presided over by Lagerlööf reached 111. When Adlerfelt's friend, Eric Benzelius the Younger (1675–1743), sent a copy of the dissertation to Leibniz on 23 December 1698/2 January 1699, he referred to it as Lagerlööf's 'eruditissimus [...] tractatus de Ordinibus Sueo-Gothiae Equestribus'.²⁸ In his congratulatory sonnet Count Carl Gyllenborg, however, referred to that 'learned work, which Mr Adlerfeldt has written'.²⁹ Fittingly for the future courtier, it was to the future Charles XII 'Devotissimus Servus Gustavus Carlson Adlerfelt' dedicated his dissertation.

The specialist works referred to in *Equites* form almost a complete bibliography of literature on the orders of knighthood published during the preceding century.³⁰ However, the factual information relies heavily on the classic works of François Mennens and Elias Ashmole. *Equites* consists of three chapters: the general discussion on knighthood and the orders of knighthood (pp. 1–19) is followed by a fairly typical list of world orders – both religious and secular – with brief information on each of them (pp. 20–50) while the last chapter (pp. 51–67) discusses knighthood and the orders in Sweden. The list can be said to have covered, indeed, not only the European, but also world orders owing to the



6. Title page of Gustavus Carlson Adlerfelt (resp.) – Peter Lagerlööf (præs.), *Equites sive de Ordinibus Equestribus Disquisitio* (Holmiae, 1696). Author's collection.

²⁷ Bring, 'Inledning', VI.

²⁸ Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe* (Berlin, 2000), I Reihe, 16. Band, 396.

²⁹ C.[arl] Gyllenborg, 'Sägneskrift till Hr. Gustaf Adlerfeldt Då han sitt Wärk om Riddare af Tryk-
ket utgå låt: Sonnet', in Peter Lagerlööf (præs.) – Gustavus Carlson Adlerfelt (resp.), *Equites sive
de Ordinibus Equestribus Disquisitio* (Holmiae, 1696), [70].

³⁰ Francesco Sansovino, *Origine dei cavalieri* (Venetia, 1566; later eds 1570 and 1583), Claudio Paradinus [Claude Paradin], *Symbola heroica* (Antverpiæ, 1567), Hieronymus Megiser, *Ein Tractat
von dem Dreyfachen Ritterstand und allen Ritter Orden der Christenheit* (Franckfurt am Meyn,
1593), William Segar, *Honor, Military and Ciuil* (London, 1602), Franciscus Mennenius [François
Mennens], *Delicia Equestrium sive Militarivm Ordinvm, et eorundem Origines, Statvia, Symbola
et Insignia* (Coloniae Agrippinæ, 1613; later eds Maceratae, 1623 and Coloniae Agrippinæ, 1638),
Andrea Guarini, *Origine e fondatione di tutte le religioni, e militie di cauallieri con le croci, e segni
usati da quelle erette da prencipi diuersi in vari tempi* (Vicenza, 1614; later ed. Venetia, 1666), André
Favyn, *Le théâtre d'honneur et de chevalerie* (1620), Avbertvs Miræus [Aubert le Mire], *Origines
Equestrivm sive Militarivm Ordinvm* (Coloniae Agrippinæ, 1638), Joseph Micheli y Marquez, *Te-
soro Militar de Caballeria* (Madrid, 1642), Marc de Wlson (or Vulson) de la Colombiere, *Le Vray
Théâtre d'Honnevr et de Chevalerie* (Paris, 1648), Nicolaus Upton, *De studio militari*, ed. Edvardus
Bissæus [Edward Bysshe] (Londini, 1654), P.[ère] Anselme de la Vierge Marie [Pierre de Guibours],
Le Palais de l'honnevr (Paris, 1663), Elias Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Most
Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), John Selden, *Titles of Honor* (3rd edn, London, 1672),
Thomas Bartholinus, *De Equestris Ordinis Danebrogici* (Hafniae, 1676), Gregorio Leti, *Il Ceremo-
niale historico e politico: opera utilissima a tutti gli ambasciatori* (6 vols, Amsterdamo, 1685).

inclusion of the Order of St Anthony of Ethiopia, founded in 370!³¹ Such stories about the ancient origins of the orders of knighthood were being viewed increasingly critically around this time,³² but the scholarship displayed in *Equites* did not reach such a critical level. Instead, it argued in the conventional way that the ‘Constantian’ Order of St George was ‘the first and most ancient of all orders in the Christian world’. Among the discussed orders one also finds the Order of the Round Table.³³ Neither was *Equites* completely up-to-date of the recent developments, the foundation of the first new type of order of military merit – the French Order of St Louis (1693) – went unnoticed.

The account on the legendary Swedish orders of knighthood essentially summed up the existing ‘knowledge’. The Order of the Seraphim (*Ordo Equitum Seraphinorum Dict. Nominis Jesu*) was said to have been instituted in 1334 and the information relating to Gustavus Vasa and Eric XIV was dismissed. *Equites* referred to Daniel Gyldenstolpe, according to whom information about the Order had been refound among old documents in France. The account on the Order of the (Sword and) Military Belt (*Ordo balthei militaris*) was quite brief.³⁴ The discussion of these two orders was followed by that of the *Ordo Birgittae*, the Order of the Knights of St Bridget or of ‘Brician Knights’, as Ashmole called it, a religious order of knighthood, which was supposedly founded in 1396.³⁵ The first one to express his doubts about the existence of this order was Christian Gryphius in his 1697 work *Kurzer Entwurf der geistlichen und weltlichen Ritterorden*.³⁶

On firmer ground is *Equites* in regard to the Order of the Saviour (*Ordo Equitum Salvatoris*), worn by King Eric XIV since 1561, and its successor the Order of the Lamb of God (*Ordo Equitum ab agno Dei*) worn by King John III since 1569.³⁷ These were short-lived pseudo-orders worn only by the respective

³¹ Peter Lagerlööf (præs.) – Gustavus Carlson Adlerfelt (resp.), *Equites sive de Ordinibus Equestribus Disquisitio* (Holmiae, 1696), 21–22.

³² Antti Matikkala, *The Orders of Knighthood and the Formation of the British Honours System, 1660–1760* (Woodbridge, 2008), 82–83.

³³ Lagerlööf (præs.) – Adlerfelt (resp.), *Equites*, 21, 36. Adlerfelt’s account of the ancient orders is discussed in Sven Bring (præs.) – Joh.[an] Pehr Höppener (resp.), *Dissertationis Historicæ de Ordinibus Equestribus* (Londini Gothorum, 1748), 16ff.

³⁴ Lagerlööf (præs.) – Adlerfelt (resp.), *Equites*, 58–62.

³⁵ Lagerlööf (præs.) – Adlerfelt (resp.), *Equites*, 62–61 [mispaginated, i.e. 63]; Ashmole, *Institution*, 87. For a detailed discussion of this non-existent order, see Hans Cnattingius, ‘The Order of the Knights of St. Bridget’, *Annales Academiæ Regiæ Scientiarum Upsaliensis – Kungl. Vetenskaps-samhällets i Uppsala Årsbok*, 2 (1967), 5–35.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁷ Lagerlööf (præs.) – Adlerfelt (resp.), *Equites*, 61 [mispaginated, i.e. 63]–67. A modern account of

monarchs.³⁸ The Order of the Sun (*Sonnen-Orden*), a peculiar order, which was founded by Karl Gustav, Count Palatine of Zweibrücken-Kleeburg who later became King Charles X Gustavus of Sweden, on 11 June 1649, i.e. soon after Queen Christina had declared him her successor, has received only little attention, nor is it mentioned in *Equites*. Apart from the foundation charter, which includes the statutes and a list of members, nothing else is known about this order, which was not a state order but rather a confraternal order (Germ. *Geselligkeitsorden*, Sw. *sällskapsorden*), the statutes of which promulgated that its members should ‘bring good grace to upright ladies’ and to ‘render an account of their amorous encounters and adventures to the founder of the order’.³⁹

According to Ashmole, the Order of Amaranta (*Ordo Amarantha*) was instituted by Queen Christina ‘about the year 1645’. In *Equites*, its foundation was dated to 1651 with reference to Brenner.⁴⁰ Alas, the correct year of institution of this short-lived order was 1653. The Order lapsed already at Queen Christina’s abdication the following year.⁴¹ Kurt Johannesson has argued that the Order of Amaranta ‘had the political aim of binding the princes and statesmen to’ Queen Christina’s ‘person and of strengthening her European position after her abdication’.⁴² Indeed, Christina used her order also for diplomatic purposes by appointing several ambassadors as its knights.⁴³ Susanna Åkerman, on the other hand, has made further-reaching suggestions by arguing that it ‘also had a

these orders is in Torsten Lenk, ‘Johan III:s Salvator och Agnus Dei’, *Livrustkammaren*, 7 (1955), 25–44.

³⁸ The classic narrow definition of an order of knighthood is that of the fifteenth-century *maître d’hôtel* to the Duke of Burgundy, Olivier de La Marche, ‘Espirre pour tenir et celebrer la noble feste du Thoisson d’Or’, in *Mémoires d’Olivier de la Marche*, ed. Henri Beaune & J. D’Arbaumont (Paris, 1888), IV, 161–163. For a modern classification of various types of orders, see D’Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325–1520* (2nd edn, Woodbridge, 2000), Appendix I: ‘A Revised System of Taxonomy for Knightly Orders and Related Nobiliary Bodies’, 541–546. ‘True order’ is also briefly defined in D’Arcy Boulton, ‘The Curial Orders of Knighthood of the Confraternal Type: Their Changing Forms, Functions, and Values in the Eyes of Contemporaries 1325–2006’, in Guy Stair Sainty & Rafal Heydel-Mankoo (eds), *World Orders of Knighthood & Merit* (2 vols, Delaware, 2006), I, 205.

³⁹ Sabine Koloch, ‘Der Sonnenorden, gestiftet von Karl Gustav, Pfalzgraf von Pfalz-Zweibrücken – ein Dokument fruchtbringischer Wirksamkeit’, *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten*, 30 (2003), 25.

⁴⁰ Ashmole, *Institution*, 123; Lagerlöf (præs.) – Adlerfelt (resp.), *Equites*, 67.

⁴¹ C. G. U. Scheffer, *Stora Amaranterordens historia* (Stockholm, 1942), ‘Drottning Kristinas Amaranterorden’, 13–20.

⁴² Kurt Johannesson, *I polstjärnans tecken: studier i svensk barock* (Stockholm, 1968), 191–193, quotation at 307.

⁴³ Ashmole’s account on the order was based on the information provided by one of its knights, Bulstrode Whitelocke, a Cromwellian lord and ambassador extraordinary to Sweden in 1653–54. Ashmole, *Institution*, 124.



7. Crest granted to Count Anton von Steinberg in 1654. [Daniel Gustaf Cedercrona], *Sveriges Rikes Ridderskaps och Adels Wapenbok* (Stockholm, 1746).

8. Badge of the Order of the Name of Jesus. Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar* (1948), between pp. 200 and 201.



more solemn' and hermetic aim.⁴⁴ The fact that the order was not a mere playful courtly diversion is confirmed by the fact that its badge formed a part of the crest granted to Count Anton von Steinberg in 1654 (Illust. 7).⁴⁵ Specific orders for ladies only emerged in the course of the sixteenth century,⁴⁶ but the significant feature of the Order of Amaranta was that it was open to both sexes.

Queen Christina had also planned to establish the Order of the Name of Jesus, but this 'order' does not emerge until the reign of Charles X in 1656 when French statutes for *L'Ordre de la Chevallerie du Nom de Jesus* were drafted.⁴⁷ However, the statutes remained unsigned and only two (different) badges of this order are known. Charles X gave one of the two badges (Illust. 8) to his son, the future Charles XI, who wore it on a blue ribbon over the right shoulder. According to a statement of Queen Hedvig Eleonora it was worn by Charles XI until 1675.⁴⁸ It is rather surprising that *Equites* does not even mention this at the time of the most recent Swedish 'order'.

Elias Brenner and the orders of knighthood

In 1740, Adlerfelt's son described his father's dissertation as 'a little work, scarce, and much in request among the learned, because 'tis there only that a description of the ancient Military Orders of Sweden are found; it affords, beside, a grand Collection of Examples, to which is added the Plate, engraved by the famous antiquary Elie Brenner' (Illust. 9).⁴⁹ As Samuel E. Bring correctly observed in 1919, only part of the copies of the dissertation include this plate, and even the Uppsala

44 Susanna Åkerman, *Queen Christina of Sweden and Her Circle: The Transformation of a Seventeenth-Century Philosophical Libertine* (Leiden, 1991), chapter 8, 'The Hermetic Order of the Amarante', 144–154, quotations at 145. Åkerman's argumentation for the 'hermetic' nature of the order is somewhat over-stretched.

45 It was blazoned in the grant of arms as 'Orden af Amarant'. Scheffer, *Stora Amaranterordens historia*, 19.

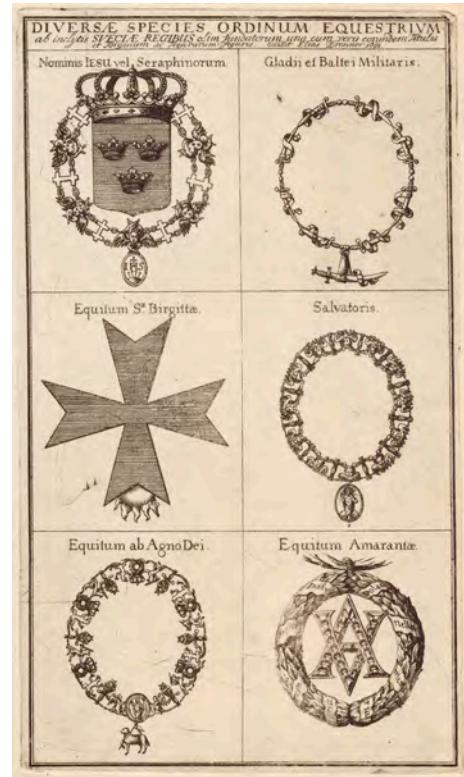
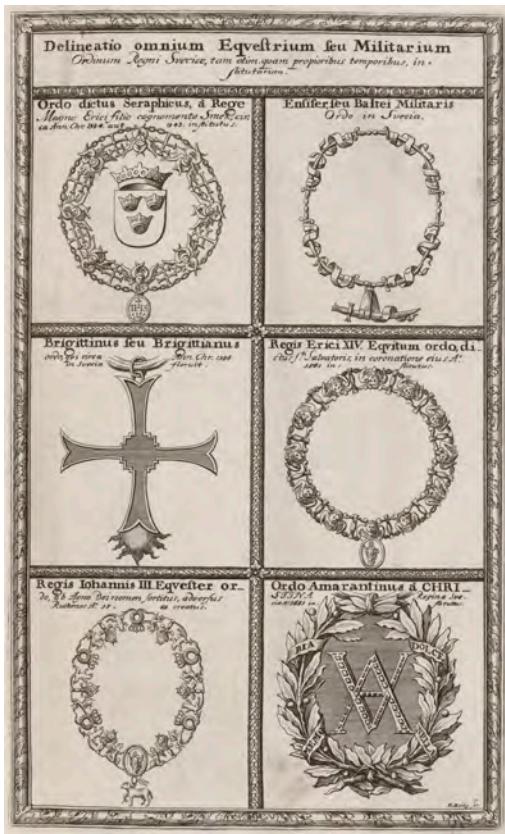
46 For ladies' orders, see Sabine Koloch, 'Phaleristik – Geschlecht – Kunsthistorische: Umrisse und Perspektiven eines Forschungsprojekts zu Damenorden des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Christiane Keim, Ulla Merle & Christina Theuter (eds), *Visuelle Repräsentanz und soziale Wirklichkeit: Bild, Geschlecht und Raum in der Kunstgeschichte: Festschrift für Ellen Spickernagel* (Herbolzheim, 2001), 22–36. In 1701 the ladies' orders of the knighthood were a topic of a University of Halle dissertation. Joh Friedemann Schneider (præs.) – Christian Samuel de Ludwiger (resp.), *Dissertatio politico-historica De Ordine Foeminarum Equestri: Vom Weiblichen Ritter-Orden* (Halle Magdeburgicae, 1701).

47 Johann Arckenholz, *Mémoires concernant Christine, reine de Suède* (4 vols, 1751–60), I, 385 n; ibid., II, 75–78; Åkerman, *Queen Christina*, 149–150.

48 Rudolf Cederström, 'Karl X Gustavs Jesu Namns Orden', *Livrustkammaren*, 1 (1937), 3–6; Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar*, 200–206; Sixten Strömbom, *Svenska kungliga porträtt i Svenska porträttarkivets samlingar: del I, Gustav I – Karl XII* (Stockholm, 1943), 296–297.

49 [C. M. E. Adlerfeld], 'Preface', ii.

9. Diversæ species ordinum equestrivm ab inclytis Sveciæ regibus olim fundatorum una cum veris eorundem Titulis et Torquim ac Tesserarum figuris. Edidit Elias Brenner 1691. The Royal Library – National Library of Sweden.



10. Delineatio omnium Eqvestrium seu Militarium Ordinum Regni Sveciae, tam olim, quam propioribus temporibus, institutorum. Engraving by E. Reitz, 1694. The Royal Library – National Library of Sweden.

University Library does not have one in its collections.⁵⁰ When Brenner published his work *Thesaurus Nummorum Sveo-Gothicorum* (1691), he mentioned that his planned complete work would include illustrations and historical description of the Swedish orders of knighthood. The engraving – which depicts the insignia of Orders of the Name of the Jesus or the Seraphim, the Sword, St Bridget, the Savior, the Lamb of God and Amaranta – was interestingly dated by Brenner in 1691, the same year he published his numismatic work. According to the 1707 edition of *Holmia literata*, the plate was meant to be ‘subjoined’ to *Thesaurus*.⁵¹ Brenner’s biographer Eliel Aspelin speculated that it might have been intended as a replacement for an almost similar plate engraved for *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* (Illust. 10) by Erik Reitz,⁵² who wrote a receipt for work completed in January 1691.⁵³ At least one copy of Adlerfelt’s dissertation includes this *Suecia* plate.⁵⁴ Another possibility considered by Aspelin was that Brenner had been planning a larger work on the orders of knighthood. On the account that there are impressions of Brenner’s plate on a folio size paper, Aspelin considered it unlikely that it would have been meant to be included in the quarto size *Thesaurus*.⁵⁵ Alas, the actual plate size is not larger than 22.8 × 13 cm and thus there is no problem to fold it in a customary manner between the leaves of a quarto size book. Indeed, at least one copy of *Thesaurus* includes the plate.⁵⁶

According to information, which emanated from Brenner himself, he had produced a work on the orders of knighthood, the present whereabouts of which are unknown. Both the 1701 and the 1707 editions of *Holmia literata* included

⁵⁰ Bring, ‘Inledning’, VI. In a take of nine copies of the dissertation only two include the plate: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Clm 25198) and a copy formerly in the collections of Olof Andreas Knös and Ericberg Castle, currently in the author’s collection: Mats Peterson, *Nordisk historia ur Ericssbergs bibliotek I: Från Sagatid till Vasatid* (Centralantikvariatet, katalog 58, Stockholm, 2008), no. 228. There is no plate in the following copies of the dissertation: The British Library (112.a.36), Danish Royal Library (59, 141, 00629), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek – Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek (P-A 1111), Niedersächsische Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (8 H MISC 12/5), The Royal Library – National Library of Sweden (avhandling 1696 Uppsala 4:o), Uppsala University Library and *Det Zetterströmska biblioteket* (Jämtlands läns bibliotek, K.23). There are two loose copies of the plate in The Royal Library – National Library of Sweden, and a copy in the Skoklostersamlingen (E 8747, f. 449) in the National Archives of Sweden.

⁵¹ [Rikhard von der Hardt], *Holmia literata* (2nd edn [Holmiæ], 1707), 7.

⁵² Eliel Aspelin, *Elias Brenner: en forskare och konstnär från Karlarnes tid* (Helsingfors, 1896), 67, 107–108, 187.

⁵³ Cnattingius, ‘Order of the Knights of St. Bridget’, 22.

⁵⁴ The National Library of Finland, Diss. Vet. Ruotsi, bound in the volume Petr. Lagerlöf, *Dissertat. Upsala Vol. 1. 1688–1698*.

⁵⁵ Aspelin, *Elias Brenner*, 107–108.

⁵⁶ Cnattingius, ‘Order of the Knights of St. Bridget’, 23.

a substantially similar but slightly differently worded description of a folio-sized 78-page work 'De Ordinibus Equestribus Regni Sueciae' written by Brenner. This 'just volume' is said to have included most accurate information and illustrations on the Swedish orders of knighthood.⁵⁷ It is possible that the plate was meant for this work, which remained unpublished. For Aspelin the detailed nature of the title of the plate seemed to suggest, rather strangely, that it would not have been meant to be included in a special work.⁵⁸ In any case, Brenner was considered an authority on the orders of knighthood and this was acknowledged also in *Equites*, which includes a number of references to Brenner and according to which he was the only one among the Swedish antiquaries to have properly studied the Swedish orders.⁵⁹

However, Brenner was not the only contemporary who was relied on in matters relating to orders. The question of the ancient Swedish orders of knighthood had been raised by Field Marshal, Count Erik Dahlbergh, who was preparing his *Suecia* work, in 1690. Dahlbergh considered that ancient orders would 'be to no slight glory for our fatherland' asking Claudius Örnjälm (1627–1695), historiographer royal, to assist him in regard to their history. Örnjälm's critical comments on the ancient orders were dismissed by Dahlbergh, who proceeded with the production of the plate, which was engraved by Reitz. In 1693, Örnjälm provided Dahlbergh with a more detailed account on the orders, which has been regarded as 'a document distinguished by its critical perspicacity' and reliance 'entirely on primary sources'. However, Örnjälm did not entirely deny their existence.⁶⁰

Örnjälm had resigned from his Uppsala professorship of history already in 1687 and the last office he held before his death in May 1695 was that of *censor librorum*. Therefore, it is not altogether surprising that his critical views of the ancient Swedish orders appear not to have been known to the author of *Equites*. On the other hand, Adlerfelt and Brenner collaborated, and, as Hans Cnattingius has put it, 'a great deal seems to suggest that' Brenner and Dahlbergh collaborated.⁶¹ The problem with *Equites* was that it relied too heavily on the European literature on orders instead of looking at Swedish evidence. Having

⁵⁷ [Rikhard von der Hardt], *Holmia literata* (Holmiaæ, 1701), 6.

⁵⁸ Aspelin, *Brenner*, 108.

⁵⁹ Lagerlööf (pres.) – Adlerfelt (resp.), *Equites*, 51.

⁶⁰ Cnattingius, 'Order of the Knights of St. Bridget', 20–22; Claudius Örnjälm, 'Om de äldre Svenska Riddare-orden', *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens Historia*, 3 (1817), 130–165.

⁶¹ Cnattingius, 'Order of the Knights of St. Bridget', 23.

11–12. Commemorative medal of the installation of Charles XI as a Knight of the Garter in 1671. The Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm.



briefly analysed the available Swedish sources in 1693, Örnjälm had come to the conclusion that he could not find any knights of orders or depictions of their insignia.⁶² Although *Equites* was a rather typical piece of scholarship, for instance in dating the foundation of the Order of the Seraphim to the year 1334, it is worth remembering that still in 1826 G. W. af Tibell dated it in his history of the order to 1285.⁶³

The education of a Lutheran military prince

Charles XII was exposed to the imagery of orders of knighthood at an early age. When he was nine years old his mother brought to him on loan the gold medal commemorating the installation of Charles XI as a Knight of the Garter in 1671 (Illust. 11–12) ‘that he might study it’.⁶⁴ The young prince wrote a detailed description of the medal in his journal, also noting its motto: ‘Concordia regum salus populorum’ (the concord of the kings is the safety of the peoples).⁶⁵ David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl had painted the young Charles XI in Garter robes c. 1670 (Illust. 13),⁶⁶ a detail of which portrait was engraved by Johannes Hoffman.

When seeking to reconstruct Charles XII’s knowledge of the orders of knighthood one needs to look at how they were featured in the textbooks which were part of his curriculum. Two books by Samuel von Pufendorf, the Swedish historiographer of the realm (*historiographus regni*), on European and Swedish history were used as his history books.⁶⁷ The military-religious orders of knighthood did not appear in a favourable light in the works of Pufendorf, who wrote that the orders of knighthood ‘were grown to that excess of Riches and Power in Spain, that they were formidable to its Kings’.⁶⁸ Pufendorf also explained that ‘there are a great many Persons of Quality as well as of a meaner Condition, who make their advantage of the Romish Religion, where they have an opportunity to

62 Örnjälm, ‘Om de äldre Svenska Riddare-orden’, 135–136.

63 G. W. af Tibell, *Seraphimer Ordens historia: första tidehvarfvet ifrån år 1285 till år 1748* (Stockholm, 1826).

64 Hatton, *Charles XII*, 54.

65 Quoted in Oswald Kuylenstierna, *Karl XII: hans öden och hans personlighet* (2nd edn, Stockholm, 1925), 31–32.

66 Martin Olin, *Det karolinska porträttet: ideologi, ikonografi, identitet* (Stockholm, 2000), 79–80.

67 Hatton, *Charles XII*, 50. The works were *Inledning till Historien angående the Fornästmste Rijker och Stater som för Tijden uthi Europa stå oprätte*, transl. Petro Brask (Stockholm, 1680) and *Innledning till Swånska historien*, transl. Petro Brask (Stäkkholm, 1688).

68 Samuel Puffendorf, *An Introduction to the History of the Principal Kingdoms and States of Europe*, transl. [Jodocus Crull] (London, 1695), 44.

provide for their Friends', for instance, 'by putting them [...] into some Order or other of Knighthood'.⁶⁹ In his *History of Sweden* Pufendorf recounted how Karl Knutsson had lost a fortune after having lent money to the Order of St John.⁷⁰ It seems that Pufendorf viewed the military-religious orders of knighthood as one of the 'errors of popery' and the Lutheran Caroline court in general is likely to have shared the view of its historiographer. The religious education of Charles XII was entrusted to Bishop Erik Benzelius the Elder, whose son was a friend of Adlerfelt's.⁷¹

The presence of the military-religious orders of knighthood at the Swedish court was limited to occasional glimpses. In 1696, Alessandro Bichi, a Siennese marquess and a Knight of Malta, was presented to the fourteen-year old Crown Prince Charles.⁷² The Order of the Malta conferred its cross occasionally on non-Catholics for diplomatic reasons, but such recipients were not considered as members of the Order. One of them was Johan Gabriel Banér (1662–1706), who received the cross of the Order on 7 February 1694 and took part in the Great Northern War as a major general in Holsteinian service.⁷³ In a highly decorative engraving Banér is depicted wearing the suit of armour and the cross of the Order of Malta, which has also been placed behind his coat of arms. The pride of ancestry played a considerable role in the Order of Malta and the proof of *seize quartiers* – i.e. that one's sixteen ancestors were noble armigerous – was required for certain classes. Banér seems to have subscribed to this kind of ethos. In 1702, Peringskiöld compiled an armorial pedigree displaying Banér's 128 ancestors.⁷⁴ On the other side of the front, the cross of the Order of Malta was worn by Field Marshal Count Boris Sheremetev (1652–1719), who had received it during his embassy to the island in 1697. Pufendorf included an example of the diplomatic use of the monarchical orders of knighthood in his *History of Sweden* by recounting how King Francis I had sent an ambassador, 'who, according to the Custom

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 447.

⁷⁰ Samuell Puffendorf, *The Compleat History of Sweden, from its Origin to this Time*, transl. Charles Brockwell (London, 1702), 120.

⁷¹ Bring, 'Inledning', v. For the influence of the Lutheran piety on Charles XII, see Carl-Gustaf Andrén, "Såsom en kristlig konung": karolinsk fromhet och dess påverkan på Karl XII', in Sverker Oredsson (ed.), *Tsar Peter och kung Karl: två härskare och deras folk* (Stockholm, 1998), 95–115.

⁷² Elof Tegnér, 'Tvenne italienska resande i Sverige på Karl den elftes tid', *Ymer*, 10 (1890), 43, 50–51.

⁷³ Bengt Lind af Hageby & C. G. U. Scheffer (eds), *Johanniterorden i Sverige 1920–1970* (Stockholm, 1970), 108; Adam Lewenhaupt, *Karl XII:s officerare: biografiska anteckningar* (2 vols, Stockholm, 1920–21), I, 27.

⁷⁴ C.[arl] M.[agnus] S.[tenbock], 'Johan Gabriel Baners 128 anor', *Personhistorisk Tidskrift*, 11 (1909), 124–129.

13. King Charles XI of Sweden in Garter robes, by David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl. The Swedish Royal Collections, HGK Sandemar Castle © Kungl. Hovstaterna. Photograph Alexis Daflos.



of that Time, presented' Gustavus Vasa 'the Mark of Fraternity, and the Order of the Knighthood of St Michael' in 1543.⁷⁵

Pufendorf, who himself was created a Swedish baron in 1694, had argued in 1667 that great titles are 'empty expressions of honor',⁷⁶ but the Protestant faith alone does not account for his dismissive approach to honours. Leibniz, Pufendorf's fellow Lutheran court historian in Hanoverian service, showed considerable interest in the orders of knighthood. Leibniz included the statutes of four so-called sovereign orders – the English Garter, the Hapsburg Golden Fleece, the Danish Elephant and the French Holy Ghost – in his document collection *Mantissa codicis juris gentium diplomatici* (1700), and made a proposal for changes to be made to the statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Writing presumably in 1699, Leibniz also critically viewed stories about the ancient origins of the Constantinian Order of St George.⁷⁷ If Leibniz had read *Equites*, he would have seen also there the assertion of the antiquity of the Constantinian Order.

In 1695 one of the teachers of Charles XII translated Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani* (1515) into Swedish for his use.⁷⁸ In his work Erasmus asks: 'If all that makes a king is a chain, a scepter, robes of royal purple, and a train of attendants, what after all is to prevent the actors in a drama who come on the stage decked with all the pomp of state from being regarded as real kings?' replying that 'it is the spirit that is right for a prince' which 'distinguishes a real king from the actor'.⁷⁹ Erasmus, however, advises 'the prince learn to take a philosophical interest in the very insignia with which he is adorned' explaining, for instance, that the 'interwoven chain put round his neck stands for the harmonious combination of all virtues' and that 'his official decorations indicate that he will either

75 Puffendorf, *Compleat History of Sweden*, 206.

76 Samuel Pufendorf, *The Present State of Germany*, transl. Edmund Bohun (1696), ed. Michael J. Seidler (Indianapolis, 2002), 162.

77 Godefridus Gvilielmvs Leibnitivs, *Mantissa codicis juris gentium diplomatici: Continen Statuta magnorum Ordinum Regiorum ...* (Hanoveræ, 1700), II, 1–76; Ed. Bodemann, 'Leibnizens Vorschläge über Änderung der Statuten des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies', *Der Deutsche Herold*, 16 (1885), 74–76. For Leibniz the courtier, see also T. J. Hochstrasser, 'Courts and Creativity: II. G. W. Leibniz and "Court Philosophy"', *The Court Historian*, 3 (1998), 2–8. Although Leibniz styled himself von Leibniz, there is no evidence of his nobility. He adopted the coat of arms of a nephew of his great-great-grandfather. Maria Rose Antognazza, *Leibniz: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge, 2008), 26, 68 n. 11, 440 n. 42.

78 Hatton, *Charles XII*, 50.

79 Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, ed. Lisa Jardine, transl. Neil M. Cheshire & Michael J. Heath (Cambridge, 1997), 17.

equal or surpass the achievements of his ancestors. The sword carried in front of him signifies that under his protection the country is to be safe, both from outside enemies and from crime within.⁸⁰ As a king, Charles XII was to wield his sword, but a chain of an order of knighthood was never put round his neck.

Count d'Avaux and 'an own Order of Knighthood'

King Charles XI, who had been a Knight of the Order of the Garter since the age of twelve (1668),⁸¹ died in April 1697. The statutes of the Order required that its insignia was to be returned to the Sovereign of the Order after the death of the knight. It was this procedure that opened the question of an own order of knighthood for the Swedish court society. The key person in the discussions was Jean-Antoine de Mesmes, Count d'Avaux (1640–1709, Illust. 14), French ambassador to Sweden in 1693–99. D'Avaux, who was known as *Figuriborum*, 'someone who takes great pains caring for his appearance',⁸² was more than familiar with orders as he had succeeded his brother as Provost-Master of Ceremonies of the French orders of knighthood (*les ordres du Roi*) in 1684, a position which he relinquished to his nephew in 1703.⁸³ As an officer of the orders, d'Avaux was entitled to wear the cross and the blue ribbon of the Order of the Holy Ghost without being a knight of it. Since such offices could and were purchased, the great chronicler of Versailles, the Duke of Saint-Simon, called d'Avaux's blue ribbon 'd'un cordon bleu venal'.⁸⁴

The question of the Swedish orders appears in d'Avaux's dispatches between June and December 1697/January 1698.⁸⁵ As Master of Ceremonies of the French orders, d'Avaux was evidently something of an expert on orders of knighthood, but when considering his role one must keep in mind both the tendentiousness of his dispatches, and that as an ambassador he was imperceptibly trying to en-

⁸⁰ Ibid., 49–50.

⁸¹ Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 191–194.

⁸² William James Roosen, *The Age of Louis XIV: the Rise of Modern Diplomacy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 68, 84 n. 27.

⁸³ P.[ère] Anselme [de Sainte-Marie], *Histoire Genealogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royal de France* (3rd edn, 9 vols, Paris, 1726–33), IX, 316–317.

⁸⁴ *Mémoires complets et authentiques du duc de Saint-Simon*, réd. Marquis de Saint-Simon (21 vols, Paris, 1829–30), VII, 52

⁸⁵ Note on dates: the dates are generally given as they appear in the sources. Julian calendar was used in Sweden until 1700 and again beginning from 1712. In between, the Swedish calendar was in use. The English dates are according to the Julian calendar. The dates used by Count d'Avaux are, according to the French custom, those of the Gregorian calendar, which was ahead of the Julian calendar. For the sake of the chronological clarity, dual dating has been entered in this section.



14. Ioannes Antonius de Mesmes Comes d'Avaux Regi a Sanctoribus Consiliis Regiorum Ordinum Commendator. Engraving by Cornelis Vermeulen (1691), after Nicolas de Largillière. Yale University Art Gallery. Gift of Edward B. Greene, B.A. 1900.

gage Sweden in the far-reaching plans of France.⁸⁶ On the chessboard of cultural diplomacy orders of knighthood could have been used as additional pieces to insinuate French cultural influence.

On 2/12 June 1697, hardly a month after the fire of the *Tre Kronor* Palace, d'Avaux reported to Louis XIV that he was working on an issue that had come to his mind. D'Avaux referred both to the fact that Charles XI had been a Knight of the Garter and that his insignia was to be returned after his funeral. This also included the possibility that the Prince of Orange, as d'Avaux called King William III of England, would send the Garter back to the new king.⁸⁷ On occasion, the

86 Gustaf Jonasson, *Karl och hans rådgivare: den utrikespolitiska maktkampen i Sverige 1697–1702* (Stockholm, 1960), 76, 82, 97. See also Svante Norrhem, 'Diplomati utan framgång: Stormaktsdiplomati i Norden under Karl XII:s tidiga regeringsår', *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (2008), 108–122.

87 *Négociations de Monsieur le comte D'Avaux, ambassadeur extraordinaire à la cour de Suède, pendant les années 1693, 1697, 1698*, réd. J. A. Wijnne (3 vols, Utrecht, 1882–83), II, 158.

father–son succession in the Order of the Garter could, indeed, be quite instant. When the news of the death of the first Duke of Albemarle, together with his Garter insignia, was brought to King Charles II in 1670, the king ‘immediately Commanded the Garter to be carried back to his Son’.⁸⁸ D’Avaux explained that although Charles XI had never worn the Garter, ‘except on the day he received it and on the queen’s entry to Stockholm’, and reasoned that it would be difficult for Charles XII ‘to wear an order of another prince’. On the other hand, d’Avaux believed that it would be difficult to get Charles XII to refuse the Garter. As giving the French Order of the Holy Ghost to Charles XII was not possible (*qu’on ne peut [...] luy donner celuy de V.[otre] M.[ajesté]*), d’Avaux had thought to propose that Charles XII would ‘restore an ancient Swedish order or to establish a new one’. D’Avaux’s first step was to rely on female influence. He approached Countess De la Gardie in order that she would suggest the foundation of an order to Princess Hedvig Sofia, ‘who is older than the king and who has much influence on his mind’. D’Avaux believed that it would be a suitable time for them to deal with such an issue and intended himself to ‘speak to some senators, who will perhaps not be too upset to establish this mark of distinction with which they will be invested’.⁸⁹

On 16/26 July 1697, d’Avaux reported that Count Nils Gyldenstolpe ‘strongly approves the thought I have had, that the king of Sweden would institute a new order or revive an ancient one’. Gyldenstolpe was to work without delay so that Charles XII would ‘declare himself thereupon before they return the English order [of the Garter] to England’. D’Avaux considered it necessary that Gyldenstolpe would get Charles XII to act without wasting time since ‘the queen and Count [Bengt] Oxenstierna [1623–1702] have plans to send the English order by Count Axel Wachtmeister [1643–1699]’ so that ‘the Prince of Orange’ could return ‘the order forthwith to the present king’.⁹⁰ Oxenstierna was active in the English orientation and had by then approached the English resident the Rev. John Robinson concerning the renewal of the earlier treaties between Sweden and England.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Quoted in Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 139.

⁸⁹ *Négociations de Monsieur le comte D’Avaux*, II, 158. For Hedvig Sofia’s influence on her brother, see Sven Grauers, ‘Hedvig Sofia – Karl XII:s älsklingssyster’, *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1970), 159.

⁹⁰ *Négociations de Monsieur le comte D’Avaux*, II, 181.

⁹¹ Jonasson, *Karl och hans rådgivare*, 17–18.

Would William III have been inclined to send the Garter forthwith to Charles XII? William III's chief interest laid in Continental politics and in building the Grand Alliance against France, in which he had used the Garter as a tool of his foreign policy.⁹² On the one hand he was, as Ragnhild Hatton put it, 'most anxious to obtain a specific Swedish guarantee of the Treaty of Ryswick', which resulted in a bargained and limited guarantee by Charles XII.⁹³ On the other hand, after the conclusion of the Treaty of Ryswick, there was no pressing need for William III to use the Garter in strategic diplomacy.

Although the officers of the Order of the Garter did not play any real role in selection of new Knights of the Garter, it is not without interest how the Chancellor of the Order, Gilbert Burnet, characterized the young king of Sweden. Charles XII seemed to have inherited 'the roughness of his Father's temper, with the Piety and the Virtues of his Mother'. Burnet attached importance to the 'particular manner' his so-called coronation was performed: 'He took up the Crown himself, and set it on his head.' As Burnet put it, Charles XII wanted by 'this Innovation in the Ceremonial' to emphasise to his people that he did not hold the crown 'in any respect by their Grant or Consent, but that it was his own by Descent'.⁹⁴ In the words of Burnet, Charles XII proved to be 'an active, warlike, and indefatigable Prince'.⁹⁵

On 11/21 August 1697, d'Avaux reported that the last time he had been at Karlberg Palace, where the royal family resided during the summer, he had met the king, the queen, Count Gyldenstolpe and Greta Wrangel. According to d'Avaux, when he directed the discussion to French and English orders, Greta Wrangel said to the king 'that he ought to re-establish the ancient Swedish order'. After a long discussion 'the king seemed disposed to revive this order'. D'Avaux was relieved that Oxenstierna did not consider this conversation suspect as it had been Greta Wrangel who had taken the initiative, while he pretended to take no interest.⁹⁶

D'Avaux would have been able to tell Charles XII that besides the Order

92 Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 196–200.

93 R. M. Hatton, 'Sir James Jefferyes in the Army of William III, Queen Anne and George I', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 45 (1967), 114.

94 [Gilbert Burnet], *Bishop's Burnet's History of His own Time* (2 vols, London, 1724–34), II, 223.

95 *Ibid.*, II, 200. Burnet never met Charles XII, and his description was probably, at least partly, based on that provided by John Robinson in a letter to him c. 1710, which is quoted by Hilding Pleijel, 'Ett engelskt ögonvittne om Karl XII', *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1964), 98–99.

96 *Négociations de Monsieur le comte D'Avaux*, II, 258.

of the Holy Ghost, the king of France had at his disposal the earlier debased Order of St Michael, which Louis XIV had reformed so that during the last two decades there had been no more than seven appointments, including such notable representatives of the liberal arts as Le Nôtre and Hardouin-Mansart, both in 1693.⁹⁷ Given Charles XII's military interests, it seems feasible to assume that he was aware of the Order of St Louis – the first modern multi-class military order of merit founded by Louis XIV in 1693 – whether d'Avaux told him about it or not. Even Voltaire later assured that the Duke of Marlborough had detected in Charles XII, whom he met in 1707, 'a natural aversion towards France',⁹⁸ but his attitude appears to have been somewhat different before the outbreak of the Great Northern War. Nicodemus Tessin the Younger reported in 1699 that Charles XII was 'very curious to be informed about everything concerning the French court' and his pedantic interest in uniforms extended to those of the French guards.⁹⁹

Despite its novel structure – 8 grand crosses, 24 commanders and an unlimited number of knights – the Order of St Louis could be given only to Roman Catholic officers, thus excluding, among others, the Protestant Swedes serving in the French regiment – later known as *Royal Suédois* – commanded by Count Erik Sparre av Sundby since 1694.¹⁰⁰ Protestants became eligible for a French order of knighthood only after the foundation of the Order of Military Merit in 1759. In regard to the Order of St Louis, it proved difficult to master the political economy of appointments in an unprecedented scale. The French traveller Aubry de La Motraye – who met Charles XII both at Bender and in Norway – included a 54-page long chapter 'Of the Several Degrees or Orders of Knighthood, Ancient and Modern, which were formerly in Repute, or are still held in Esteem' in his 1732 travel book, in which he explained that the Order of St Louis 'was at first in great Esteem; but the Peace [...] is the Occasion of its being now conferred on many Officers who never faced the Fire of a Gun, or saw any Fire more dreadful than that in a Kitchin'.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Benoît de Fauconpret, *Les Chevaliers de Saint-Michel 1665–1790: le premier ordre de mérite civil* ([Paris], 2007), 130–131.

⁹⁸ Voltaire, *The History of Charles XII. King of Sweden*, transl. anon. (2nd edn, London, 1732), 145.

⁹⁹ Ragnar Josephson, 'Karl XI och Karl XII som esteter', *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1947), 35, 37–38.

¹⁰⁰ Margareta Beckman, *Under fransk fana! Royal Suédois – svenska regemente i fransk tjänst 1690–1791* (Stockholm, 1995), 88–90, 106–136.

¹⁰¹ Aubry de La Motraye, *The Voyages and Travels of A. De La Motraye*, transl. by the author (3 vols, London, 1732), III, 53–54.

On 3/13 November 1697, d'Avaux reported that there was talk of sending Count Bonde as ambassador extraordinary to Louis XIV and that there was a complication that Bonde was obliged to travel first to England in order to return the Garter insignia, which could not take place before the funeral of Charles XI on 24 November/5 December.¹⁰² At the funeral 'the Garter was the only decoration on his coffin apart from the regalia'.¹⁰³

On 1/11 December 1697 – shortly before the 'coronation' of Charles XII (14/24 December) – d'Avaux reported having heard that Princess Hedvig Sofia had recently complained that 'the negligence and indolence of the Swedes was extraordinary; that no one had told her that the kings of Sweden had previously had orders; that it was from me that she learned about them. She testified a great desire that the king, her brother, would re-establish them.' D'Avaux added that it seemed as if it was 'this desire to revive the old orders that hinders the king of Sweden to receive that of the Garter'.¹⁰⁴ Princess Hedvig Sofia's reported complaint about the extraordinary 'negligence and indolence of the Swedes' must be set in the context of d'Avaux's wish to appear as a civilizer, remembering that orders of knighthood were one of the means employed by European monarchies in their cultural competition. As Ethel Seaton has put it: 'It even seems as if the existence and formation of orders, and the wearing of them, were used as a criterion for the outside world to judge whether the Scandinavian countries were civilized and their courts elegant'.¹⁰⁵

The information that Princess Hedvig Sofia had learned about the existence of the old Swedish orders from d'Avaux is rather surprising, if it is correct. Given Adlerfelt's and his father's contacts at the royal court, the fact that Adlerfelt had dedicated his dissertation to Charles XII and that congratulatory poems authored by two sons of Count Nils Gyldenstolpe had been published in it, it would appear conceivable, even probable, that the dissertation was known in the court circles. However, any copies available for members of the royal family for immediate reference are likely to have been destroyed in the fire of the old Stockholm Palace in May 1697.

¹⁰² *Négociations de Monsieur le comte D'Avaux*, II, 339.

¹⁰³ Hatton, *Charles XII*, 78.

¹⁰⁴ *Négociations de Monsieur le comte D'Avaux*, II, 369–370.

¹⁰⁵ Ethel Seaton, *Literary Relations of England and Scandinavia in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1935), 113.

According to Adlerfelt, 'the first step with which' Charles XII 'began his administration was a renewal of the alliances contracted with those powers, who were friends or allies with the Crown'.¹⁰⁶ In this context, a reassurance of friendly relations between Sweden and England in the form of the appointment of Charles XII as a Knight of the Garter might have seemed an obvious move. However, in the event the English were to offer the Garter to Charles XII, Count Bonde was instructed on 6/16 December 1697 that he 'must try to avoid and prevent it in the best possible way and particularly to let it be known that' Charles XII 'would himself be inclined to establish an own Order of Knighthood (*en egen Riddar Orden*) and for that reason is not able to let himself in for a foreign one'.¹⁰⁷

While a great deal of symbolism has been attached to the orders of knighthood, their patron saints, insignia and ceremonies, the chief function of the monarchical orders has often been blatantly political and sometimes purely foreign political considerations led monarchs to decline a proposed honour. That 'Queen Christina would not permit the Prince *Palatin* [the future Charles X Gustavus] to receive the Order of the Garter' from the exiled King Charles II in 1653 was a standard example in ambassadorial manuals by 1680, when Abraham de Wicquefort published his classic treatise, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions*.¹⁰⁸

On 22 December 1697/1 January 1698, d'Avaux wrote that he did not know whether Charles XII 'will restore some of the old orders of the Kings of Sweden'. According to d'Avaux, there were counsellors who opposed the idea on the account that such orders would also be worn by their colleagues, who were not of equal birth. 'However, the king and his sister the princess [Hedvig Sofia] have a lot of penchant for it', d'Avaux assured. At the same time d'Avaux reported about the above mentioned secret instructions given to Count Bonde in regard to the possible offer of the Garter: Charles XII 'ne veut pas porter l'ordre d'aucun autre prince'.¹⁰⁹ The position of Oxenstierna had become even stronger after Charles XII had been declared of age. Charles XII did not take sides either for France or the sea powers.¹¹⁰ D'Avaux left Stockholm in the spring of 1699.

¹⁰⁶ Gustavus Adlerfeld, *The Military History of Charles XII, King of Sweden*, transl. Henry Fielding (3 vols, London, 1740), I, 10.

¹⁰⁷ The instructions to Bonde, dated on 6 Xber 1697, quoted in Areen and Lewenhaupt, *Nordiska ländernas riddarordnar*, I, 4.

¹⁰⁸ [Abraham] de Wicquefort, *L'Ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (La Haye, 1680), II, 206. Quotation from [Abraham] de Wicquefort, *The Ambassador and His Functions*, transl. Mr. Digby (London, 1716), 354–355.

¹⁰⁹ *Négociations de Monsieur le comte D'Avaux*, III:1, 10.

¹¹⁰ Jonasson, *Karl och hans rådgivare*, 99.

While Peter Englund has argued that the ideology of the Swedish nobility 'had developed in the direction of the acceptance of the concept of meritocracy' during the second half of the seventeenth century,¹¹¹ Ingvar Elmroth's formulation is somewhat more cautious: 'the promotion system in the seventeenth century was already developing towards more meritocratic principles'.¹¹² D'Avaux's reference to the high nobiliary opposition to the foundation of an order of knighthood on the grounds that counsellors with an established pedigree did not wish to share such a distinction with their colleagues of inferior birth, seems to confirm that the high nobility had not fully espoused the meritocratic principles.

Return of the Garter insignia of Charles XII

In 1698, Count Bonde, 'who was then at the *Hague*, was dispatched to *London*, to restore to his *Britannick* Majesty the Order of the Garter, which the late King [...] had worn'.¹¹³ Given the topic of Adlerfelt's dissertation, it is hardly surprising that in the original version of his journal, as well as in its 1707 German translation, he discussed this event in greater detail than in the above-quoted much abbreviated form, which derives from the 1740 French edition of his work.¹¹⁴ Adlerfelt recounts that the insignia was delivered to Count Bonde in The Hague by Count Carl Wrangel, Lieutenant of the *Drabants*, and Count Jakob Sperling, Captain of the Life Guards.¹¹⁵ Having received the insignia, Bonde observed that some ornaments of the habit were missing and he duly enquired from Charles XII what he should do. Charles XII instructed Bonde to acquire new ones in England and, should the issue be raised, to explain that the missing pieces were lost in the fire of the Stockholm Palace.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Peter Englund, *Det hotade huset: adliga föreställningar om sambället under stormaktstiden* (Stockholm, 1989), 249.

¹¹² Ingvar Elmroth, *Från överklass till medelklass: studier i den sociala dynamiken inom Sveriges adel 1600–1900* (Lund, 2001), 312.

¹¹³ Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, I, 10. For the Latin text of Bonde's commission, see Jöran Nordberg, *Konung Carl den XIIs historia* (2 vols, Stockholm, 1740), I, 44–45. On returning of the Garter insignia, see Peter J. Begent & Hubert Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter 650 Years* (London, 1999), 172–173; Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 310. At the request of Nils Gyldenstolpe, his sons Edvard and Carl were allowed to join Bonde's mission from the Netherlands to London. Lewenhaupt, *Karolinen Edvard Gyldenstolpe*, 30, 32–34, 36–37.

¹¹⁴ For the publishing history of Adlerfelt's journal, see p. 50.

¹¹⁵ Gustaf Adlerfelt, *Karl XII:s krigsföretag 1700–1706*, ed. Samuel E. Bring (Stockholm, 1919), 10, 373; [Gustaf Adlerfelt], *Warhaffter Entwurf der Krieges-Thaten Carls XII aus einem in diesem Kriege gehaltenen Journal extrahirt* ([Wismar], 1707), 11–12.

¹¹⁶ Gösta Malmborg, 'När Strumpebandsorden förlänades till Gustaf II Adolf och Karl XI', in Sigurd Erixon & Sigurd Wallin (eds), *Svenska kulturbilder* (6 vols, Stockholm, 1929–32), V, 100.

The Garter chapter meeting on 30 May 1698, in which the insignia were returned to King William III was, indeed, solemn just as Adlerfelt described it. Although it is generally assumed that William III disliked ceremonial formalities, he would, in fact, take interest in the minutiae of the Order of the Garter. The power of precedent also proved powerful.¹¹⁷ According to an entry in the register of Garter King of Arms, the insignia ‘were returned with the same solemnity as had formerly been done upon the death of Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden, in the year 1635’.¹¹⁸ The chapter of the Order, which was summoned for this purpose to Kensington Palace, was attended by the Sovereign of the Order who was seated under his canopy and accompanied by ten Knights of the Garter in their mantles. Count Bonde’s French oration concentrated on the glorious memory of the deceased king, but he also praised the advantages of the orders of knighthood, for instance, in forming close friendly relations between kings (*de former entre eux etroites liaisons d’amitié*). William Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury and Chancellor of the Order, replied to Bonde’s speech.¹¹⁹ Returned Garter insignia were occasionally passed on as perquisites to some of the officers of the Order, in this case, to Chancellor Burnet.¹²⁰

Adlerfelt went on to discuss the foundation of the Order of the Garter by recounting the famous story of the Countess of Salisbury’s slipping garter. He was, however, careful enough to note the doubts cast on this legend and referred to Elias Ashmole’s great work on the Order, ‘which repeats some guesses [...] about the occasion for its foundation’, and dismisses the story about the Countess of Salisbury. Referring to Ashmole again, Adlerfelt wrote that the probable truth in the matter is that the Order was founded by Edward III in commemoration of a great victory over Philip Valois at the Battle of Crécy in 1346,¹²¹ a theory rejected by modern historians.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 289, 294.

¹¹⁸ College of Arms, MS O/G (C), Garter’s register 2, A Continuation of The Historical Account of Elections Installations &c. relating to the most Noble Order of the Garter from the year 1685 (separately foliated after f. 78v), f. 7.

¹¹⁹ British Library, Lansdowne MS 881, Sir Thomas St George’s Collections on the Order of the Garter, ff. 235–242. The Swedish translations of the orations are published in Nordberg, *Carl den XIIs historia*, I, 45–48. The quotation is rendered as ‘ett medel til förbindelser och inbördes wänskap Konungar emellan’. *Ibid.*, I, 45.

¹²⁰ Begent & Chesshyre, *Order of the Garter*, 173.

¹²¹ Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, I, 10–11, quotation at 11; Ashmole, *Institution*, 183. For a revisionist account of early modern views on the foundation legend, see Stephanie Trigg, ‘The Vulgar History of the Order of the Garter’, in Gordon McMullan & David Matthews (eds), *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2007), 91–105.

¹²² Begent & Chesshyre, *Order of the Garter*, 13.

Was Charles XII really planning to establish an own order of knighthood or was a reference to such a plan in Bonde's instructions only a part of the diplomatic rhetorical arsenal? According to Tom C. Bergroth, it seems unlikely that an order of knighthood would really have been planned at the time. No documents of any such plans are known from this period.¹²³ However, as seen, the question was at least discussed in the court circles. Already under Charles XI, the Swedish court culture had been animated by *vita rustica* and *vita privata* rather than *vita aulica*. However, after his death, a couple of years' interlude of courtly life followed until the outbreak of the Great Nordic War, during which the tendency of Caroline military simplicity developed even further.¹²⁴

The year 1697 was an *annus horribilis* for Sweden. A great famine was followed by the death of the king and the fire of the Stockholm Palace. There was discontent among the high nobility, which had suffered from the 1680 reduction, and hopes of the return of the lost privileges. To counter any thoughts of the weakness of the king and the kingdom, the 'coronation' of Charles XII was held as soon as possible after the funeral of Charles XI. The court, being still in mourning, omitted some traditions belonging to the chivalric heritage, such as carousel tournaments, which had been held in conjunction of previous accessions.¹²⁵

Had Charles XII wished to establish an order or orders fit for an absolutist state, he would have found a suitable model from Denmark. As William King wrote in 1694, the king of Denmark had two orders of knighthood to 'increase the Grandeur of the Court':¹²⁶ besides the old Order of the Elephant, there was the new junior Order of Dannebrog, which had been established by King Christian V, a maternal uncle of Charles XII, in 1671.¹²⁷ As Ronny Andersen put it, the *raison d'être* of the Order of the Dannebrog was 'to divide the nobility and to

¹²³ Bergroth, "En egen Svensk Riddare=Orden", 6.

¹²⁴ Wilhelm Ernst Winterhager, 'Der Hof als Leitmodell für die Gesellschaft: Schweden – ein Sonderfall?', in Klaus Malettke & Chantal Grell (eds), *Hofgesellschaft und Höflinge an europäischen Fürstenhöfen in der Frühen Neuzeit (15.–18. Jh.) – Société de cour et courtisans dans l'Europe de l'époque moderne (XVe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Münster, 2001), 432–433.

¹²⁵ Mårten Snickare, *Enväldets riter: kungliga fester och ceremonier i gestaltning av Nicodemus Tessin den yngre* (Stockholm, 1999), 115–118, 129–133, 137; Lena Rangström, *Karl XI:s karusell 1672: en manifestation med europeiska rötter och influenser – transformerad till stormaktstidens Sverige* (Stockholm, 1995).

¹²⁶ [William King], *Animadversions on a Pretended Account of Denmark* (London, 1694), 158.

¹²⁷ Knud J. V. Jespersen, 'For dyd, tro tjeneste og mandige bedrifter: de danske ridderordener og enevældens rangdelte samfund', in Mogens Bencard & Tage Kaarsted (eds), *Fra Korsridder til Ridderkors: Elefantordenens og Dannebrogordenens historie* (Odense, 1993), 57–102.

reward loyalty'.¹²⁸ Although the marriage of the Danish Princess Ulrika Eleonora to Charles XI in 1680 had been a part of the peace process between the two kingdoms, which made her something of a peace symbol,¹²⁹ the Swedish–Danish relations did not develop enough amicable to include the conferral of the Order of the Elephant. Indeed, the first king of Sweden to wear the Order of the Elephant was Frederick I, who had received it as a prince of Hesse in 1700.¹³⁰ After having married Charles XII's sister Ulrika Eleonora in 1715, Prince Frederick joined Charles's Norwegian campaigns in 1716 and 1718. Thus, a Knight of the Elephant served in the Caroline army. In addition, Frederick had been appointed a Knight of the Prussian Order of the Black Eagle in 1703 and invested as such in 1705.

Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, who has stressed the fact that Charles XII 'was not crowned at all [...], but merely anointed', has pointed out that the Swedish ritual 'moved quite closely to the parallel Danish ritual'. Whether the Danish precedent was consciously copied remains unknown, but since 'ceremonial was an international affair', this is possible.¹³¹ Although the Swedish–Danish political relations were not as close as the family ties of the royal families, the Danish orders could well have acted as cultural models for the foundation of an order of knighthood.

Many of the monarchical orders of knighthood, which came in one class only, restricted their membership to a fairly closed circle of high nobility only. In comparison to the Order of St Louis, the number of knights of the so-called sovereign orders remained very limited indeed. During the two decades that Charles XII ruled Sweden, there were 37 appointments into the Danish Order of the Elephant and 31 to that of the Garter.¹³² The Order of Dannebrog was given somewhat more liberally: there were approximately four appointments per annum. The founder of the Order, Christian V, appointed 116 Knights of the Dannebrog during his reign (1670–99) while his successor Frederick IV made 78 appointments during the period 1701–20.¹³³

¹²⁸ For the early history of the Order of the Dannebrog, see Andersen, 'Os og Voris Hof til støre lustre', 44–48.

¹²⁹ Olin, *Karolinska porträttet*, 111–113.

¹³⁰ Jørgen Pedersen, *Riddere af Elefantordenen 1559–2009* (Odense, 2009), 88.

¹³¹ Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, 'Ceremonial Interaction across the Baltic around 1700: The "Coronations" of Charles XII (1697), Frederick IV (1700) and Frederick III/I (1701), *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 28 (2003), 244, 246.

¹³² Pedersen, *Riddere af Elefantordenen*, 83–101; Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 367–368.

¹³³ Jespersen, 'For dyd, tro tjeneste og mandige bedrifter', 89–90.

The first regnal year was not the right time for Charles XII to reward the established high nobility, which was suspected of disloyalty. Rewarding upstart counsellors, who wholeheartedly supported the crown's policy, would have been bound to arouse animosity among the traditional elite, just as d'Avaux mentioned. Nor was it time for Charles XII to appear as *primus inter pares* with his high nobility in an order of knighthood. Instead, he wished to demonstrate his absolute superiority. As Robinson later wrote to Gilbert Burnet: 'There were those about him that magnifyd his Understanding as his Authority and insinuated that he neither needed advice nor could submit his affaires to the deliberation of others, without some diminution to his own supreme Power.'¹³⁴

Although d'Avaux had attempted to conceal his role as the originator of the discussion on the 'revival' of the Swedish orders, it is unlikely that his position would have remained unknown. At the same time the French 'corruption' in Sweden, where d'Avaux played the central role of the distributor, became a highly topical political issue.¹³⁵ In January 1698, a legal prosecution began against Count Nils Bielke (1644–1717) for treason on several counts, the most serious of which 'in the eyes of contemporaries was the accusation of having received a pension from France'.¹³⁶ While gratifications were frequently disapproved of, they were, to some extent, regarded as a 'part of the system', and thus distinct from outright bribes. As Gyldenstolpe put it, gratifications could be regarded acceptable 'as long as you do not receive money from both sides'.¹³⁷ Ragnhild Hatton, who studied gratifications,¹³⁸ wrote in 1968 that a 'case can be made for [...] money-gratifications' being

the equivalents of the orders and honours which foreign governments nowadays bestow on deserving individuals of another country; but this argument ignores the real distinction which contemporaries certainly made between varying methods of gratification, some acceptable to the code of honour, some not.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Quoted in Pleijel, 'Ett engelskt ögonvittne om Karl XII', 99.

¹³⁵ For gratifications presented by d'Avaux to leading Swedish politicians, see Brulin, *Sverige och Frankrike*, 17ff.

¹³⁶ Ragnhild Hatton, 'Presents and pensions: a methodological search and the case study of Count Nils Bielke's prosecution for treason in connection with gratifications from France', in Phyllis Mack & Margaret C. Jacob (eds), *Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of H. G. Koenigsberger* (Cambridge, 1987), 110.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 109.

¹³⁸ For a historiographical discussion on Ragnhild Hatton's concern with 'corruption', see Robert Oresko, G. C. Gibbs & H. M. Scott, 'Introduction', in eidem (eds), *Royal and Republican Sovereignty in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of Ragnhild Hatton* (Cambridge, 1997), 25–28.

¹³⁹ Ragnhild Hatton, 'Gratifications and Foreign Policy: Anglo-French Rivalry in Sweden during

In any case, such a legal proceeding may have affected d'Avaux's position in Stockholm. This also in a way affected the chances of success of his proposal in regard to an order of knighthood. Charles XII's decision to decline the Garter before it had been offered and not to institute an order of knighthood may be seen in the context of Anglo-French rivalry in Sweden and the young king's attempt to balance his position in this situation.

Adlerfelt's peregrination

After having completed his studies at home, Adlerfelt embarked on a peregrination in August 1696 thus following the ideal aristocratic curriculum.¹⁴⁰ He visited the courts of Denmark and Gottorp, resided at Kiel, then returned to Hamburg and saw the court of Berlin before settling 'to study under the celebrated Thomasius' at the University of Halle,¹⁴¹ which had been founded in 1694 under the influence of Philipp Jacob Spener. Besides being known as the 'Father of Pietism', Spener has also been called the founder of the scholarly study of heraldry owing to his heraldic *magnum opus*, which was published in two parts in 1680 and 1690.¹⁴²

During the negotiations of the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, Adlerfelt acted as an assistant to the Swedish ambassador Nils Lillieroot.¹⁴³ Although princes could, on occasion, attend diplomatic conferences incognito in order to dismiss the precedence disputes, such occasions remained characteristically 'ceremonial spaces'¹⁴⁴, and were used in showcasing various aspirations and status, often in a symbolic manner. Orders of knighthood, too, played their role in the symbolic

the Nine Years War', in Ragnhild Hatton & J. S. Bromley (eds), *William III and Louis XIV: Es-says 1680–1720 by and for Mark A. Thompson* (Toronto, 1968), 69. Hatton's comparison between gratifications and modern orders derives from Brulin, *Sverige och Frankrike*, 17.

¹⁴⁰ Niléhn, *Peregrinatio academica*, *passim*.

¹⁴¹ [C. M. E. Adlerfeld], 'Preface', ii. Adlerfelt did not matriculate at the University of Halle. Thimon, *Stockholms nations studententer*, 184.

¹⁴² Philipp Jacob Spener, *Historia insignium illustrium seu operis heraldici pars specialis/Insignium theoria, seu operis heraldici pars generalis* (Francofurti ad Moenum, 1680–90). See also Ludwig Biewer, 'Philipp Jakob Spener als Heraldiker: Ein kleiner Beitrag zu dem 300. Todestag eines großen Theologen, *Der Herold*, N.F. 17–18 (2005), 493–501; Ludwig Biewer, 'Wissenschaftliche Heraldik in Deutschland von 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert: Einige biografische Skizzen', in Friedrich Beck & Eckart Henning (eds), *Von Nutz und Frommen der Historischen Hilfswissenschaften* (Neustadt a. d. Aisch, 2000), 84–86.

¹⁴³ [C. M. E. Adlerfeld], 'Preface', iii. For the role of Sweden in the negotiations, see Werner Buchholz, 'Zwischen Glanz und Ohnmacht: Schweden als Vermittler des Friedens von Rijswijk', in Heinz Duchhardt et al. (eds), *Der Friede von Rijswijk 1697* (Mainz, 1998), 219–255.

¹⁴⁴ For the concept, see Juliusz Chrościcki, 'Ceremonial Space', in Allan Ellenius (ed.), *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation* (Oxford, 1998), 193–216.



15. The Duke of Berwick wearing the star of the Order of the Garter. His arms in the oval frame are encircled by the Garter. Engraving by Pierre Drevet after Benedetto Gennari, 1693. © Trustees of the British Museum. For details of the print, see Richard Sharp, *The Engraved Record of the Jacobite Movement* (Aldershot, 1996), 137.

communication of diplomacy. It was rumoured that the eighth Earl of Pembroke had 'solicited for' the Garter, 'and may be might expect it before, or soon after his embassy' as the first plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Ryswick.¹⁴⁵ However, the peace was more of a compromise than a victory to William III,¹⁴⁶ and Pembroke had to wait for his Garter until 1700.

From the Netherlands Adlerfelt continued his tour to Paris, where he spent about year and a half between June 1698 and July 1700, making trips around France and spending a month in London.¹⁴⁷ He kept a journal of his travels, which was later in his son's possession, but its present whereabouts are unknown.¹⁴⁸ Adlerfelt's son emphasised that the Duke of Berwick (Illust. 15), 'who,

¹⁴⁵ James Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, 9 February 1697. James Vernon, *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III. from 1696 to 1708: Addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, ed. G. P. R. James (3 vols, London, 1841), I, 209.

¹⁴⁶ Wout Troost, *William III, the Stadholder-King: A Political Biography*, transl. J. C. Grayson (Aldershot, 2005), 252, n. 91.

¹⁴⁷ [C. M. E. Adlerfeld], 'Preface', iii.

¹⁴⁸ Bring, 'Inledning', VIII. It is also conceivable that Adlerfelt would have kept an *album amicorum*, which were often furnished with painted coats of arms, and had become *de rigueur* among the grand touring German and Nordic noblemen during the sixteenth century. Lotte Kurras, 'Vita peregrination: Bildungsreise und Stammbuch', in Rainer Babel & Werner Paravicini (eds), *Grand Tour: adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert: Akten der internationalen Kolloquien in der Villa Vigoni 1999 und im Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris 2000* (Ostfildern, 2005), 485–495; Lotte Kurras & Eva Dillman, *Die Stammbücher der Königlichen Bibliothek Stockholm: Handschriftenkatalog* (Stockholm, 1998).

not content with inviting him frequently into his parties of pleasure, introduced him likewise to the most illustrious families'.¹⁴⁹ Berwick was the illegitimate son of King James II, who had been elected a Knight of the Order of the Garter in September 1688, but never installed as such – due to the English Revolution of 1688 – whereby his election was considered to have become void in the Williamite England.¹⁵⁰

In his preface to *The Military History of Charles XII*, Adlerfelt's son gave the following summary list of the acquaintances his father had made in Paris: 'Mess. Despreaux, Cassini, Ozanam, Jaillot, Perrault, Bulteau, Hosier, Chevillard, and Sanson, with the greatest part of whom he continued a correspondence by letter'.¹⁵¹ They can be presumably identified and three of them in particular – 'Hosier', Bulteau and Chevillard – are relevant in regard to Adlerfelt's heraldic-genealogical interests.¹⁵² The historian and the king's secretary Charles Bulteau (1626–1710) was the author of *Traité de la préséance des rois de France sur les rois d'Espagne* (1674) while 'Hosier' can be identified as being the great armorist Charles-René d'Hozier (1640–1732, Illust. 16), Royal Genealogist, Knight of the Savoyard Order of SS Maurice and Lazarus, who had succeeded his blinded elder brother Louis-Roger (1634–1708) as *juge d'armes* in 1675. As *garde général*, d'Hozier was also in charge of the newly established *Armorial général de France* in which all armigers were required to record their arms in accordance with an edict issued in 1696.¹⁵³ Jacques Chevillard was royal genealogist and historiographer of France.

¹⁴⁹ [C. M. E. Adlerfeld], 'Preface', iv.

¹⁵⁰ Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 106. The Duke of Saint-Simon, who generally despised bastards, accepted Berwick owing to his military competence and courage. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Saint-Simon, and the Court of Louis XIV*, transl. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 2001), 104–105.

¹⁵¹ [C. M. E. Adlerfeld], 'Preface', iv.

¹⁵² Cf. Bring, 'Inledning', IX. The others are presumably the poet Nicolas Boileau-Despreaux (1636–1711), the astronomer Giovanni Domenico Cassini (1625–1712), the mathematician Jacques Ozanam (1640–1718), the cartographer Alexis Hubert (1632–1712) and the author Charles Perrault (1628–1703). Sanson is probably either Guillaume (1633–1703) or Adrien (c. 1630–1708) of the cartographic dynasty. Edvard and Carl Gyldenstolpe, who began their peregrination in December 1697 and stayed in Paris for almost two years from August 1698, were also acquainted with Bulteau, Ozanam and Sanson. Lewenhaupt, *Karolinen Edvard Gyldenstolpe*, 42, 47, 52–53, 69.

¹⁵³ Baron du Roure de Paulin, *Le Juge d'Armes de France et les Généalogistes des Ordres du Roi* (Paris, 1908), 23–26. Relating to the establishment of the *Armorial général de France*, there was a short parenthesis in the office *juge d'armes*, which was abolished in 1696, but re-established in 1701. See also Chantal Grell & Mathieu Da Vinha, 'Les généalogistes, le roi et la cour de France, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles', in Markus Völker & Arno Strohmeyer (eds), *Historiographie an europäischen Höfen (16.–18. Jahrhundert): Studien zum Hof als Produktionsort von Geschichtsschreibung und historischer Repräsentation* (Berlin, 2009), 265. (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung, Beiheft 43.)



The courtier-chronicler

16. Charles d'Hozier (1640–1732), Royal Genealogist, wearing the badge of a Knight of the Order of SS Maurice and Lazarus of Savoy. Engraving by Gérard Edelinck after Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1691. © Trustees of the British Museum.

At the end of his tour, Adlerfelt arrived 'at Stralsund, where he embarked on board the same yacht with' Frederick IV, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, 'brother-in-law of Charles XII. and Generalissimo of the Swedish armies in Germany'.¹⁵⁴ Through the influence of Count Johan Gabriel Stenbock, Chief Marshal of the royal household, and Princess Hedvig Sofia, the wife of Frederick IV and favourite sister of Charles XII, Adlerfelt was appointed a gentleman of the court (*hovjunkare*) soon after his return in 1700. However, he was prevented by illness from joining the campaigning court of Charles XII until after the crossing of the Düna in 1701. In the table of ranks a *hovjunkare* was placed between captain and lieutenant, i.e. held the same rank with lieutenant of the guards. The court

154 [C. M. E. Adlerfeld], 'Preface', iii.

of Charles XII remained more firmly aristocratic than his army, but there were more *parvenus* among his court nobility than there had been during the reigns of his predecessors. Adlerfelt fulfilled many of the typical characteristics used as arguments for recruitment: *merita parentis*, studies, peregrinations and language skills.¹⁵⁵

Although Adlerfelt is misleadingly styled as ‘Chambellan du Roi’/‘Chamberlain to the King’ on the title pages of the French and English editions of his journal, he never attained the rank of *kammarherre*, which was placed between lieutenant colonel and major in the table of ranks. His promotion, although, was contemplated in 1707 when it was reported that ‘he has many friends and is well liked by His Majesty’. It was understood also that Adlerfelt had in mind the office of judge advocate general (*generalauditör*),¹⁵⁶ who was, among other duties, responsible for the compilation of the official war diary.

History and genealogy also remained Adlerfelt’s ‘favourite studies’ during the time he was in royal service.¹⁵⁷ He had at least part of his library with him during the campaigns of Charles XII. Major General Arvid Horn borrowed from him the works of Molière and a history of Louis XIV. Among the books Adlerfelt borrowed from others was *Don Quixote*.¹⁵⁸ It may well have been Adlerfelt’s aspiration to become one day an official court historian, but he was never appointed a ‘historiographer royal’, although even Ragnhild Hatton incorrectly styled him as such.¹⁵⁹ The position of *historiographus regius* belonged to Adlerfelt’s supervisor Lagerlööf from 1695 until his death in 1699. Thereafter, the position went to Professor Olof Skragge,¹⁶⁰ who was ennobled with the name Hermelin in 1702, appointed secretary of state in 1705 and disappeared at the Battle of Poltava.

¹⁵⁵ At the outbreak of the Great Northern War, Charles XII had six *hovjunkare*, whose salary was 700 *daler*, that of four *kammarherre* being 1,000 *daler*. The pay of the head of the royal household, the *överste marskalk* (later *riksmarskalk*), was 14,700 *daler*. Sven Grauers, ‘Med Karl XII i fält under de första krigsåren’, *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1964), 120; Persson, *Servants of Fortune*, 94, 96–97, 105, 142–144, 213–214.

¹⁵⁶ Persson, *Servants of Fortune*, 121 quoting Nils Reuterholm’s letter to Jakob Cronstedt, 10 September 1707, from Lydia Wahlström, ‘Nils Reuterholm till Jakob Cronstedt 1706–1707’, *Personhistorisk Tidskrift*, 10 (1908), 170.

¹⁵⁷ [C. M. E. Adlerfeld], ‘Preface’, v.

¹⁵⁸ Bring, ‘Inledning’, XIV. As a curiosity, it can be mentioned that Henry Fielding, who later translated Adlerfelt’s *Military History of Charles XII* from French into English, authored the work *Don Quixote in England: A Comedy* (London, 1734).

¹⁵⁹ Hatton, *Charles XII*, 238.

¹⁶⁰ Bo Bennich-Björkman, *Författaren i ämbetet: studier i funktion och organisation av författarämbeten vid svenska hovet och kansliet 1550–1850* (Stockholm, 1970), 211–214.

The somewhat complicated editorial and publishing history of Adlerfelt's journal must be taken into account when considering the texts published under his name.¹⁶¹ *Warhaffter Entwurff der Krieges-Thaten Carls XII* was published anonymously in 1707. The French Amsterdam edition, edited by his son, was published in 1740 and was followed by another French edition (Paris, 1741), two English editions and one German edition. Compared with the 1707 edition, information on orders, medals and genealogical details is abbreviated or omitted in the later editions,¹⁶² which, on the other hand, contain many posthumous additions. The surviving part of Adlerfelt's original manuscript, covering the period until December 1706 with a fragment of his journal from November 1708 until two days before the Battle of Poltava, was published in 1919.¹⁶³ Adlerfelt's son edited his father's notes into a narrative form also using other sources when compiling the account of the Russian campaign. Adlerfelt was well informed, but despite the claim made in the posthumous editions of his work that it was 'Written by the express Order of his Majesty', his journal was no more official than those of the others.

Any important events?

The idea that the foundation of an order of knighthood should coincide with some important event or that orders founded in conjunction of such events were more honourable than others, endured relatively long. Writing in 1752, the fourth Earl of Chesterfield looked down on the numerous new German orders partly because they were 'not dated, indeed, from any important events, or directed to any great object'.¹⁶⁴ An important event could be, for instance, a marriage or a coronation, as in the case of the foundation of the Order of the Black or Prussian Eagle in 1701.¹⁶⁵ It was also argued that the Order of the St Andrew of Russia was born into this type of celebratory atmosphere. According to La Motraye, Peter I

¹⁶¹ Bring, 'Inledning', XVIII–XIX; Hans Villius, *Karl XII:s ryska fälttåg: källstudier* (Lund, 1951), 236–249.

¹⁶² C. Hallendorff, 'Anmärkningar öfver G. Adlerfelts Histoire Militaire de Charles XII', *Historisk Tidskrift*, 19 (1899), 179, 189, 195–196.

¹⁶³ Adlerfelt, *Karl XII:s krigsföretag*.

¹⁶⁴ Chesterfield to his son Philip, 6 February 1752 OS. *The letters of Philip Stanhope 4th Earl of Chesterfield*, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (6 vols, London, 1932), V, 1827.

¹⁶⁵ Père Anselme's *Le Palais de l'honneur* was quoted in *Equites* in regard to that the emperors, kings and princes had instituted orders on the occasion of their marriages and coronations. Lagerlööf (præs.) – Adlerfelt (resp.), *Equites*, 13.

designed it to be the Epoque or Date of those Projects he had in view, and which the World has since seen him put in Execution. He had just then concluded a glorious Peace with the Turks, and thereby intended to honour those who had distinguished themselves in his Service during the Wars, or who were most in his Favour; and to rouse the Emulation of others to merit the same Honour, for which he had then prepared fair Opportunities and Prospects of Success.¹⁶⁶

In regard to the foundation of the Order of St Catherine, the English writer John Mottley explained: 'The Occasion of erecting this Order being to perpetuate the Memory of the *Love* and *Fidelity* of that Princess to his Majesty, in his distressful Condition on the Banks of the River *Pruth*' in 1711.¹⁶⁷

The first major victory of Charles XII was the Battle of Narva in November 1700. As Daniel Defoe put it two decades later: 'In a Word, the Victory was so compleat [...] Honour [...] redounded to the King, to have at seventeen Years of Age, and for his first Essay, performed an Atchievement worthy to immortalize the Memory of the most experienced Captain.'¹⁶⁸ Owing to its geographical position on the border between East and West, especial symbolic significance was attached to the city of Narva. Much of the celebratory iconography – including that of the thanksgiving service of 5 February 1701, staged by Court Marshal Nicodemus Tessin the Younger – was classical,¹⁶⁹ but a part of it was evoked from the early Vasa period. In the arms granted to the city by King John III in 1585, the straight European swords stand for Narva and the Russian sabre for Ivangorod.¹⁷⁰ One medal, which was struck after the Battle of Narva in Nuremberg, was inscribed with the legend TANDEM BONA CAVSA TRIVMPHAT.¹⁷¹ The same inscription, accompanied with a stone relief depicting the Gothic lion armed with the straight Western sword trampling on a Russian fur hat and fighting the Slavonic dragon,

¹⁶⁶ La Mottraye, *Voyages and Travels*, III, 47.

¹⁶⁷ [John Mottley], *The History of the Life of Peter the First, Emperor of Russia* (London, 1739), 203.

See also Igor Fedyukin & Ernest A. Zitser, 'For Love and Fatherland: Political Clientage and the Origins of Russia's First Female Order of Chivalry', *Cahiers du monde russe*, 52 (2011), 5–44; Lindsey Hughes, 'Catherine I of Russia, Consort to Peter the Great', in Clarissa Campbell Orr (ed.) *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge, 2004), 138–139, 142.

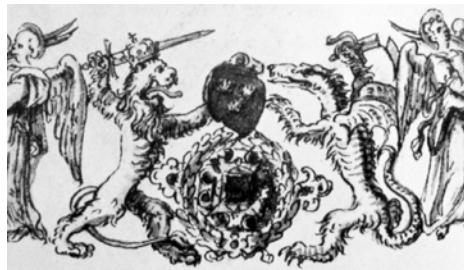
¹⁶⁸ Scots Gentleman in the Swedish Service [Daniel Defoe], *The History of the Wars, Of his late Majesty Charles XII. King of Sweden* (London, 1720), 62.

¹⁶⁹ Adlerfelt, *Karl XII:s krigsföretag*, 59; Snickare, *Enväldets riter*, 147–177.

¹⁷⁰ Leif Tengström, 'Muscovites ... Turks icke olijk': ryssattribut, och deras motbilder, i svensk heraldik från Gustav Vasa till freden i Stolbova (2 vols, Jyväskylä, 1997), II, 126–127.

¹⁷¹ Bror Emil Hildebrand, *Sveriges och svenska konungahusets minnespenningar, praktmynt och belöningsmedaljer* (2 vols, Stockholm, 1874–75), I, 503 no. 45.

17. Detail of the collar of the Order of the Saviour. Lenk, 'Johan III:s Salvator och Agnus Dei', 38.



18. Allegorical engraving of the Battle of Narva in 1700 in Lars Stierneld, *Krigs-Skalder och Lyckönskan öfwer Den Stormäktigste Konungs och Herres, Konung Carl den XI:tes, Sveriges, Göthes och Wändes &c. &c. &c. Allernådigste Konungs Århåldne stora och oförljikelige Seger emot des trolösa Fiender å den lijfländska Sijdan* (Reval, 1701). The Royal Library – National Library of Sweden.



had been added to the old Stockholm Palace by John III. The same beasts, with the dragon's sabre broken, also appeared in the collar of the Order of the Saviour as modified by John III (Illust. 17).¹⁷² An engraving in Lars Stierneld's congratulatory poem (1701) conveyed a similar iconographic message (Illust. 18). The Gothic lion is holding a standard with the inscription 'Med Gudz Hielp' (*With the Help of God*), the war-cry of the Swedish troops during the Battle of Narva, and trampling on both the Russian fur hat and the Russian coat of arms, which has been charged besides the double headed eagle with a crescent moon, thus making the argument that the Muscovite is 'not unlike the Turk', as King Gustavus Vasa had written to King Christian III of Denmark in 1556.¹⁷³

¹⁷² Tengström, 'Muschoviten ... Turcken icke olijk', II, 49–63, 195–199.

¹⁷³ Ibid., I, 180–181.

Although such pieces were products of the propaganda machine of Charles XII, unlike some of his predecessors he appears to not have been especially interested in this kind of ‘programmic, and propagandistic, heraldry’.¹⁷⁴ Charles XII was a man of many titles,¹⁷⁵ but he did not show interest in their use as tools of foreign policy. In his personal letters to his commanders he was, however, punctilious in the use of correct form of address.¹⁷⁶

Although numerous medals that bore the image of Charles XII and celebrated his victories were struck during his reign, none of these appears to have been officially given as a decoration. Of special interest among these is the commemorative medal worn by the Swedish officers, who took part in the Battle of Narva (Illust. 19). The reverse bears the inscription MED GVDZ HIELP and the legend QVI · M' · HONORE · ME · PORTE. Unfortunately, no substantial information is available about this medal.¹⁷⁷ According to Karl Löfström, who does not cite his sources, it was struck only after the death of Charles XII.¹⁷⁸



19. Commemorative medal of the Battle of Narva, 1700. The Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., II, 414.

¹⁷⁵ Ulf Löfquist, ‘Karl XII:s titlar: Något om deras upprinnelse och bakgrund’, *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1972), 81–90.

¹⁷⁶ Sven Grauers, ‘Karl XII:s personlighet: försök till en analys’, *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1969), 14.

¹⁷⁷ Hildebrand, *Sveriges minnespenningar*, I, 506–507 no. 52; Ernst E. Areen, *De nordiska ländernas officiella belöningsmedaljer, heders- och minnestecken från 1500-talet till våra dagar* (Stockholm, 1938), 58, 131 n. 71; Per Sandin (ed.), *Peter den store och Karl XII i krig och fred* (Stockholm, 1998), 107, no. 190.

¹⁷⁸ Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar*, 216.



20. Colour of the Russian Life Guards captured at Narva. The Swedish Army Museum (AM.082287, ST 22:159,1).

Even though Charles XII did not have an order of knighthood of his own, the imagery of orders was present even during his campaigns. After the Battle of Narva in 1700, Charles XII received Russian 'regiments, who threw their colours and standards at his feet'.¹⁷⁹ Among these were colours of Russian Life Guards (Illust. 20), which displayed the badge of the Order of St Andrew suspended from a simple chain, which encircled the central emblem. However, at least the Swedish official responsible for recording the Narva trophies did not recognize that the badge was part of the insignia of the Order of St Andrew. An account of the trophies, which was printed in 1701, includes a mere visual description: 'a golden ring [...] under the palm leaves there is a man on a white cross bound in chains'.¹⁸⁰

Caroline simplicity – What kind of men? What kind of honours?

In a series of portraits painted by David von Krafft, currently in Drottningholm Palace, the generals of Charles XII are depicted wearing the simple Caroline uniform and a cuirass. Apart from the commander's batons and swords, there is

¹⁷⁹ Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, I, 55.

¹⁸⁰ 'en förgylt ring [...] vnder palmqwistarne är en man på hwit kårss medh kädior fastbundin'.

Quoted in T. J. Petrelli & A. Lagrelius, *Narvatroféer i statens trofésamling* (Uppsala, 1907), 15. See also, T. J. Petrelli & A. Lagrelius, *Tillägg till Narvatroféer i statens trofésamling: ryska gardesfanor* (Uppsala, [1907]) and Tom C. Bergroth, 'Heraldic motifs', in Fred Sandstedt et al. (eds), *In hoc signo vinces: A Presentation of The Swedish State Trophy Collection* (Stockholm, 2006), 125.

nothing to indicate the specific rank or achievements of the person: no insignia of orders, no medals. The conception of the Caroline simplicity (*den karolinska enkelheten*), which aimed at uniformity, as a specifically Swedish phenomenon, has been questioned in recent research.¹⁸¹ Indeed, some of the generals of the Caroline army were portrayed in the 'classical' pose of a military commander wearing antiquated full armour – the use of which was outdated – and being flanked by a collection military colours takes as trophies.¹⁸²

Charles XII's decision not to establish an order of knighthood has sometimes been explained by arguing that orders were a strange idea for 'the Carolinian spirit' and that owing to the contemporaries' 'austere Lutheranism', such outward decorations were regarded as a bad thing.¹⁸³ While this evidently tells part of the truth, it is not an entirely satisfactory explanation by its own.¹⁸⁴ For instance, among the nobility there appears not to have been any dislike of extravagant aristocratic heraldic display at funerals. Although there was a marked decline in the number of armorial funeral achievements prepared during this period due to the financial hardship and for other reasons,¹⁸⁵ the era still belonged to their golden age. During the first years of the Great Northern War, the Caroline army and court buried some of its men with considerable pomp. After Adjutant General Knut Leijonhufvud (1674–1700) was killed in the Battle of Narva, an elaborate funerary achievement was prepared, and Charles XII paid for his funeral. A similar type of achievement was also prepared for Charles XII's chamber page Carl Bernhard Klinkowström (1682–1704), who was buried in Stralsund. There was an armorial achievement for the above mentioned Professor Gustaf Lillieblad, who died in 1710, and an exceptionally elaborate one for Field Marshal Count Nils Bielke.¹⁸⁶ In addition, the high nobility marked its position

¹⁸¹ Olin, *Karolinska porträttet*, 11–16, 227, 236–237, 242, 249–250.

¹⁸² For the portrait of Count Adam Ludvig Lewenhaupt, see Sandin (ed.), *Peter den store och Karl XII*, 115 no. 217. For comparison, see Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 329–330.

¹⁸³ Areen & Lewenhaupt, *Nordiska ländernas riddarordnar*, I, 4–5.

¹⁸⁴ This was pointed out by Nils Ludvig Rasmussen in his review of Areen's and Lewenhaupt's work, 'Nordiska ordnar och utmärkelsestecken', *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, 10 (1942), 109–110. Referring to the reports by d'Avaux, Robert Södermark wrote in 1907 that Charles XII 'was not initially hostile to the idea to establish an order'. Robert Södermark, *Kungl. svenska rid-dareordnarna jämte Konung Oscar II:s jubileums-minnestecken: personhistoriskt praktverk* (Lund, 1907), 26.

¹⁸⁵ Inga von Corswant-Naumburg has in her Ph.D. thesis, which covers only the achievements within the borders of present day Sweden, identified 335 funerary achievements from the years 1690–1709 and 140 during the following twenty-year period 1710–30. von Corswant-Naumburg, *Huvud-baner och anvapen*, 249.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 241, 249–250, 253, 258–259.

by a specific type of armorial funerary flag (*länsfana*), which had emerged around 1670, the use of which was restricted to counts and barons.¹⁸⁷



21. Medallion depicting the crowned monogram of Charles XII and the Polar Star. The Royal Armory, Stockholm.

There are some surviving artifacts, which seem to suggest that the court culture of Charles XII was not as hostile to outward decoration as has been generally held. In the collections of the Royal Armoury there is an enamelled medallion (Illust. 21), which has the appearance of a royal gift. The crowned monogram of Charles XII is accompanied by the Polar Star and a motto scroll bearing the inscription 'Nescito Occasum'. The Polar Star had made its appearance to the royal imagery at the end of the reign of Charles XI as his personal device. It appears, for instance, in the coat of arms of Charles XII's governor Professor Anders Nordenskiöld and is blazoned as such (*Nordstiernan*) in his grant of arms.¹⁸⁸ Heribert Seitz considered it possible that the medallion was given by the king, as did Karl Löfström. However, since the provenance of the medallion is unknown, it is impossible to say for what purpose or to what extent these medallions were used.¹⁸⁹ What is significant is that when the Swedish orders were finally established on a permanent basis in 1748, the Polar Star was already a firmly established royal emblem.

Although the long-standing campaigning court of Charles XII was quite a special institution, it was not isolated from the general influences of European court culture. The miniature portrait of Charles XII (Illust. 22), painted by Axel Sparre in 1701, which belongs to the Swedish Royal Collection, is a good piece of evidence of this. The portrait is surrounded by a gold and silver wreath frame set with emeralds, originally with other stones as well, and crowned by a royal crown. It is possible that this miniature was sent from Bauska, Courland – where it was painted – as a gift to a member of the Swedish royal family.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Cecilia Candréus, *De härdangångnas heraldik: en studie av broderade begravningsfanor ca 1670–1720* (Hedemora, 2008).

¹⁸⁸ Heribert Seitz, 'Nordstjärnan, symbol för fosterland och snille', *Fataburen* (1938), 96, 104. See also Johannesson, *I polstjärnans tecken*, 123–125; von Corswant-Naumburg, *Huvudbaner och anvapen*, 48–50; Olin, *Karolinska porträttet*, 120.

¹⁸⁹ Seitz, 'Nordstjärnan', 112, 114; Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar*, 216.

¹⁹⁰ I thank Dr Merit Laine, Curator of the Swedish Royal Collections, for information on the miniature. This portrait has often been discussed, but appears not to have been previously set into the context of diamond portrait badges. See e.g. N. Sjöberg, 'Några Karl XII-porträtt', *Personhistorisk Tidskrift*, 14 (1912), 121–122; Strömbom, *Svenska kungliga porträtt*, 355; Peter Ericsson, 'Bilden av suveränen', in Stellan Dahlgren, Anders Florén & Åsa Karlsson (eds), *Makt & vardag: hur man styrde, levde och tänkte under svensk stormaktstid* (Stockholm, 1993), 156–157.



22. Miniature portrait of Charles XII by Axel Sparre, 1701. The Swedish Royal Collections, HGK Skattkammarsamlingen 258. © Kungl. Hovstaterna. Photograph Alexis Daflos.

Royal diamond portrait badges of this type, which had become popular throughout Europe,¹⁹¹ did not much differ by their function from the insignia of orders of knighthood and, indeed, sometimes served as their substitutes. The diamond portrait badge, which Baron Thure Bielke (1656–1717) received from Louis XIV in 1699 was a result of a gift-exchange and it was reported that this particular type of award was chosen because Bielke could not receive a Catholic order of knighthood due to his religion.¹⁹² Bielke was at the time in the French service, but returned to Sweden in 1709, becoming a colonel in the Swedish army. In regard to other royal presentation gifts, it can be mentioned as a curiosity that Robert Bigsby, the eccentric English antiquary with literary ambitions, was invited to write in 1851 that Adlerfelt bequeathed a gold snuff-box bearing the royal arms – which had been given to him, according to Bigsby's fictional account, by Charles XII – to an imaginary Danish 'Professor Jule Dánskiölldr'.¹⁹³

While the prospect of a relatively easy ennoblement was one factor which drew foreigners to pursue a military career in the Swedish army, some were simply 'fascinated by the commanding personality of one the most extraordinary monarchs the world has ever seen'.¹⁹⁴ Even some members of princely houses joined the Caroline army. Prince Maximilian Emanuel von Württemberg-Winnenthal (1689–1709) entered the Swedish service at the age of fourteen in 1703. Adlerfelt became a gentleman-in-waiting to the young prince.¹⁹⁵

The duchy of Württemberg was one of the German princely states, where new orders were established during the period under discussion. Maximilian Emanuel's cousin Duke Eberhard Ludwig had founded the Order of St Hubert or of the Hunt 'to raise the prestige of the Württemberg hunt' in 1702.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Isabelle Richefort, 'Présents diplomatiques et diffusion de l'image de Louis XIV', in Lucien Bely (ed.), *L'invention de la diplomatie: moyen âge – temps modernes* (Paris, 1998), 268; Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset, 'Présents du Roi: An Archive at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris', *Studies in the Decorative Arts*, 15 (2007), 14–17; Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm, *The Russian Imperial Award System during the Reign of Nicholas II 1894–1917* (Helsinki, 2005), 149–153. Charles XI had given his portrait miniatures as some kind of decorations already in the 1670s, but these appear not to have been set with diamonds. Olin, *Karolinska porträttet*, 44–45.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 51–52.

¹⁹³ Robert Bigsby, *Old Places Revisited or the Antiquarian Enthusiast* (3 vols, London, 1851), III, 45. Bigsby was 'Knight of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem' and 'Chevalier d'honneur de l'Ordre Souverain du Temple'.

¹⁹⁴ George A. Sinclair, 'The Scottish Officers of Charles XII', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 21 (1924), 178.

¹⁹⁵ Bring, 'Inledning', XIII.

¹⁹⁶ Peter H. Wilson, *War, State and Society in Württemberg, 1677–1793* (Cambridge, 1995), 127.

Another young man, Count Thure Gabriel Bielke (1684–1763) – son of Nils Bielke – who joined the Life Regiment of Horse in 1704, was according to Peter Englund ‘a rather typical representative of his class: a high aristocrat, a count, a knight of the Prussian order De la Générosité. In his childhood he had been given a whole company of soldiers’¹⁹⁷ in a regiment which was commanded by the above mentioned Johan Gabriel Banér. The Order of the Generosity (*Ordre de la Générosité*), which Bielke had received in 1695,¹⁹⁸ was ‘known as the *Gnadenkreuz*, [the Cross of Grace]’ and was, ‘according to its Denomination’, ‘conferred without any Regard to Merit’.¹⁹⁹

Compared with Bielke, Olof Törnflycht (1680–1737) – son of a wealthy merchant and ship-owner, and ennobled in 1699 – was a *parvenu*. Törnflycht began his own *cursus honorum* early on being created a Papal Count Palatine and Knight of the Golden Spur during his Grand Tour on 31 October 1701. His aulic career began with his appointment as Vice Master of Ceremonies in 1703. Törnflycht received the Order of the Generosity in 1705, but while his honours were accumulating, his hopes to be promoted to a *kammarherre* in 1706, were not realized. However, in due course he completed the family’s rise in ranks with his promotions to that of a baron in 1719 and a count in 1731.²⁰⁰ When Törnflycht was created a baron, he received an additional crest to his armorial bearings, the badge of the Order of the Generosity was placed between a pair of eagle’s wings (Illust. 23), which derived from the original family arms.²⁰¹

The man walking beside Charles XII in Mignieret’s engraving after Schnetz (see Illust. 1 on p. 12) is depicted wearing a breast star, which appears to be that of the French Order of the Holy Ghost. King Stanislaus I of Poland did not become a knight of that order until 1725, but in 1704 Charles XII, on a couple of occasions, encountered Prince Alexander Sobieski, who – along with his brother Constan-



23. Additional crest granted to Olof Törnflycht on his promotion to baron in 1719, showing the badge of the Prussian Order of the Generosity between a pair of eagle’s wings. From Törnflycht’s comital armorial plate (1731). The Swedish House of Nobility.

¹⁹⁷ Englund, *Battle of Poltava*, 104.

¹⁹⁸ Uppsala University Library, MS F 465, no. 8.

¹⁹⁹ W. H. Dilworth, *The Life and Heroick Actions of Frederick III. King of Prussia* (London, 1758), 13. The title of Dilworth’s work referred to Frederick as the third king in Prussia. He became king of Prussia in 1772.

²⁰⁰ Georg Gezelius, *Försök til et Biographiskt Lexicon Öfver Namnkunnige och Lärde svenska Män* (4 vols, Stockholm, 1778–87), III, 310; Persson, *Servants of Fortune*, 118–120.

²⁰¹ Although there was a dramatic change of character between the Order of the Generosity and its successor the Order *Pour le Mérite* (1740), there also was a clear sense of continuity since the insignia remained virtually identical. Stephen Thomas Previtera, *Prussian Blue: A History of the Order Pour le Mérite* (Richmond, 2005), 11, 16–17.

tin – had been appointed a Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost in 1700.²⁰² In September 1706, on the occasion of his arrival in the neighbourhood of Prussia, Charles XII was congratulated by the Prussian Baron Marquard Ludwig von Printzen,²⁰³ who was the first foreign recipient of the Russian Order of St Andrew (1701) and who had been appointed a Knight of the Prussian Order of the Black Eagle in January 1706.²⁰⁴ Despite such occasional glimpses of shining breast stars and knights of lesser orders, the appearance of the Caroline army remained, on the whole, austere. However, it must be stressed that Charles XII's simplicity in dress and his concern for his subjects of lesser birth were not 'expressions of personal character', but 'conscious acts with a political communicative meaning', as Peter Ericsson has argued.²⁰⁵

The Order of the White Eagle

A modern work of political theory argues that 'politics is expressed through symbolism'.²⁰⁶ It was even more so in the *ancien régime* societies and orders of knighthood were one medium frequently employed in the field of symbolic politics. It was, indeed, not only the moments of victory that incited monarchs to establish orders of knighthood. In his journal Adlerfelt mostly refrained himself from commenting on political issues, concentrating instead on chronicling the military campaigns. Adlerfelt's flair for ceremonial is, nevertheless, evident from his description of the coronation of Stanisław Leszczyński as King Stanislaus I of Poland on 24 September/4 October 1705. Alas, orders of knighthood were not among the insignia mentioned in Adlerfelt's account of the coronation.²⁰⁷

According to *The Military History of Charles XII*, 'It was at Grodno that King Augustus instituted the order of the white eagle, worn upon a blue riband, and having for a motto, *Pro Fide, Rege & Lege*; which he conferred on many of the Polish grandees, to attach them more firmly, and likewise on some of the Russian

²⁰² Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, I, 297; II, 62.

²⁰³ Ibid., II, 263; Adlerfelt, *Karl XII:s krigsföretag*, 327.

²⁰⁴ С. С. Левин, *Орден Святого апостола Андрея Первозванного (1699–1917): Орден Святой Великомученицы Екатерины (1714–1917): Списки кавалеров и кавалерственных дам* (Москва, 2003), 5; Jeannette Falcke, *Studien zum diplomatischen Geschenkwesen am brandenburgisch-preussischen Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2006), 212.

²⁰⁵ Peter Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarat: Karl XII och det ideologiska tilltalet* (Uppsala, 2002), 291.

²⁰⁶ David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven, 1988), 2.

²⁰⁷ Adlerfelt, *Karl XII:s krigsföretag*, 271–277, 385–386; Adlerfelt has been identified as the author of the 16-page long Swedish relation of the coronation. Bring, 'Inledning', XXXIII–XXXIV.

Generals.²⁰⁸ The note in Adlerfelt's original manuscript dated on 3/13 October is briefer, but claims that Augustus had brought the order from Saxony.²⁰⁹ Although there had not been any such old Saxon order,²¹⁰ Adlerfelt's comment is interesting since the Order had already been conferred twice before its 'revival' was announced and its first Polish knights were appointed in Tykocin in 1705. Ivan Mazepa, Hetman of the Left-bank Ukraine, had received it in 1703 and Georg Benedict Ogilvy, Russian General of Scottish extraction, in 1704.²¹¹

The kingdom of Poland was, in fact, an aristocratic republic, where the idea of equality had been highly priced. Owing to this equalitarian ethos, King Wladislaus IV Vasa had had to renounce the foundation of the Order of Immaculate Conception of Holy Virgin Mary in 1638. Later Wladislaus was appointed, however, a Knight of the Swedish Order of the Amaranta. By his own example, Augustus II – a cousin to Charles XII – was leading way to a more positive approach towards orders. Besides his own Order of the White Eagle he belonged to no less than five orders: to two Brandenburgian ones as well as to those of the Elephant of Denmark (1686), the Golden Fleece (1697) and St Andrew of Russia (1712). Following the usual custom, the foundation of the Order of the White Eagle was represented as a revival of an old order. According to an early history of the Order, it had been established in 1325.²¹² A later commemorative medal declared Augustus II to have been RESTAVRATOR ORDINIS AQVILAE ALBAE.²¹³ The cross of the Order as well as its light blue ribbon were closely modelled after those of the French Order of the Holy Ghost, thus revoking the memory of the foundation of that order by Henry III in 1578 in commemoration of his election as king of Poland on Pentecost 1573.

As Jacek Staszewski has put it, it was only after the dethronement of Augustus II and the election of Stanisław Leszczyński as king of Poland that 'the

²⁰⁸ Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, II, 172.

²⁰⁹ '... urdeelte een från Saxen medbracht riddareorden af hwijta örnen'. Adlerfelt, *Karl XII:s krigsföretag*, 280. 'theilete auch zugleich einen neuen aus Sachsen mitgebrachten Ritter-Orden des weissen Adlers aus'. [Adlerfelt], *Warhaffter Entwurff*, 292.

²¹⁰ Dieter Weber, Paul Arnold & Peter Keil, *Die Orden des Königreiches Sachsen* (Offenbach, 1997), 12.

²¹¹ The latest research findings on the Order of the White Eagle are collected in the articles of the exhibition catalogue *Za Ojczyznę i Naród – 300 lat Orderu Orła Białego: Wystawa w Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie, 9 listopada 2005–31 stycznia 2006* (Warszawa, 2005) and a list of its knights in Marta Męclewska (ed.), *Kawalerowie i statuty Orderu Orła Białego 1705–2008* (Warszawa, 2008).

²¹² Jan Fryderyk Sapieha, *Adnotationes Historicae de Origine, Antiquitate, Excellentia, Heroici ac Celeriberrimi in Regno Poloniae ordinis Equitum Aquilae Albae* (Coloniae apud Adamum Cholinum, 1730), 160–162, 233.

²¹³ *Za Ojczyznę i Naród*, 161 cat. no. 58.

Order began to play its appropriate part: the overthrown King used it to reward those whose loyalty to him during this difficult period remained unshaken'.²¹⁴ Writing in 1731, Voltaire considered the Order of the White Eagle having been Augustus's 'weak Inducement to draw over to his Interest certain *Polish* Lords, who were more desirous of real Advantages than a vain Honour, which becomes ridiculous, when derived from a Prince, who is a King only in Name'.²¹⁵ Indeed, the foundation of the order has been considered as having been 'part of a plan of self-preservation' on Augustus's behalf.²¹⁶

It was agreed in the articles of the 1707 Treaty of Altranstädt that Augustus II 'may retain, during his life, the title and honours of King, provided, nevertheless, that he do not ascribe to himself the arms or title of the King of Poland'.²¹⁷ Augustus II promised to deliver the 'crowns of Poland and other ensigns of royalty [...] to the King immediately after the ratification of this peace'.²¹⁸ Likewise Augustus promised to return all 'colours, kettle-drums, cannons, and all other things of the like nature, which have been taken from the Swedes, and may be used as trophies'.²¹⁹ In due course 'the trophies taken from the Swedes during the war' were returned 'in pursuance of the treaty'; 'they consisted of three standards, and two pair of kettle-drums'.²²⁰ Despite this great concern for the symbolic aspects politics, nothing was said of the Order of the White Eagle.

After resigning the Polish crown in 1709, Stanislaus kept his royal style, which played a part in the European politics during his interregnum.²²¹ The idea of rival branches of an order of knighthood was far from uncommon: as the father-in-law to Louis XV since 1725, Stanislaus resided in France, where the Stuart claimants had made appointments to the Order of the Garter and the Thistle until 1716.²²² However, during its early history, the Order of the White Eagle was considered a 'house order' of the Wettin kings to the extent that Stanislaus never made any claim to it, not even during his second reign as king of Poland in 1733–36. In

²¹⁴ Jacek Staszewski, 'Poland and the Origins of the Order of the White Eagle', in *Za Ojczyznę i Naród*, 58.

²¹⁵ Voltaire, *The History of Charles XII. King of Sweden* (London, 1732), 118.

²¹⁶ Rafal Heydel-Mankoo, 'Order of the White Eagle', in Stair Sainty & Heydel-Mankoo, *World Orders of Knighthood & Merit*, I, 438.

²¹⁷ Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, II, 273.

²¹⁸ Ibid., II, 275.

²¹⁹ Ibid., II, 277.

²²⁰ Ibid., II, 308.

²²¹ Stig Jägerskiöd, 'Stanislaus Leszczyński som hertig i Lothringen', *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1989), 139–140.

²²² Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 211–220.

regard to its exclusivity, the Order of the White Eagle can be placed between the ‘sovereign orders’, such as the Garter and the Elephant.²²³

The Caroline ennoblements, promotions and gratifications

Since Charles XII did not have orders of knighthood at his disposal, it is necessary to consider what kind of means to honour and reward he did have. The kings of the Vasa dynasty had dubbed knights, but this tradition had been broken after the death of Gustavus II Adolphus in 1632. The Caroline honours system proper consisted only of ennoblements and promotions within the ranks of nobility. During his twenty-one-year reign Charles XII created 18 counts, 53 barons and 304 untitled noblemen either *de novo* or by naturalization. A considerable number of them did not seek introduction to the House of Nobility (table 1). Thus, on an average year some 14 families gained untitled nobility.

It was not an especially exclusive dignity as it could be attained even by officers with a captain’s or lieutenant’s modest rank. If the number of ennoblements was considerable, so too was that of the loss of lives. At the Battle of Poltava, over a hundred noblemen lost their lives.²²⁴

Table 1. Number of ennoblements by Charles XII

	Counts	Barons	Untitled noblemen	Total
Introduced nobility	16	33	249	298
Unintroduced nobility	2	20	55	77
Total	18	53	304	375

Source: Fahlbeck, *Sveriges adel*, I, 459, 467.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the Swedish nobility was that ‘more or less all’ noblemen ‘were in government service’.²²⁵ In 1700, 600 out of the 1 000 officer vacancies in the Swedish army were filled by noblemen.²²⁶ However, after the initial ennoblement, further honours were forthcoming only in a fairly limited scale. Before the outbreak of the Great Northern War in 1699, all four field marshals of the Swedish army were counts and sixteen out of eighteen general officers were barons.²²⁷ Indeed, major generals were the most typical group to be

²²³ Męclewska (ed.), *Kawalerowie i statuty Orderu Orła Białego*, 137–147.

²²⁴ von Konow, *Sveriges adels historia*, 182.

²²⁵ Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarat*, 283.

²²⁶ von Konow, *Sveriges adels historia*, 168.

²²⁷ James Cavallie, *De höga officerarna: studier i den svenska militära hierarkien under 1600-talets senare del* (Lund, 1981), 190–191.



24. Portrait of Count Arvid Horn af Ekebyholm (1664–1742) in the robes of a royal counsellor, by Lorens Pasch the Elder (NMGrh 1029). © Photograph Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

promoted to barons during the absolutist era,²²⁸ but Charles XII also raised some colonels to the baronial status. Therefore, a middle-ranking honour, which could have taken the form of a military order of merit, would have arguably been useful during the long war years since there were no honours available for officers below the rank of colonel who had inherited their noble status.

²²⁸ Ulf Sjödell, *Riksråd och kungliga råd: rådskarriären 1602–1718* (Lund, 1975), 24.

In his promotion principles, Charles XII did not put emphasis on birth or theoretical education, even members of the titled nobility were supposed to begin their military careers as rankers. Rather, Charles XII emphasized on the years of military service, war experience, and having been wounded as an additional merit.²²⁹ Indeed, Ville Sarkamo has argued that combat wounds were the highest marks of honour.²³⁰ In his personnel policy Charles XII favoured great simultaneous promotions with the exception of the rank of field marshal, which in most cases required a signal victory. Charles XII promoted only four generals to field marshals: Carl Gustaf Rehnskiöld (1651–1722) after the Battle of Fraustadt in 1706, Nils Karlsson Gyllenstierna af Fogelvik (1648–1720) after having occupied Hamburg in 1709, Count Magnus Stenbock (1663–1717) after the victory of Gadebusch in 1713 and Carl Mörner af Morlanda (1658–1721) in 1717.

Although there was no Swedish order of knighthood, there was a body which became increasingly honorific in the course of the formation of Caroline absolutism and bore a close *de facto* resemblance to the so-called sovereign orders of knighthood: the royal council. The honours policy of Charles XI and Charles XII has been regarded as ‘a desire to establish a new aristocracy within the service nobility’.²³¹ This is also evident in regard to this former state council, which had been re-named in 1682. During the absolutism, the appointment to the royal council became the crown of one’s career,²³² but preceded the promotion to count,²³³ as seen in table 2 on p. 67, which charts the careers of 18 counts created by Charles XII, who appointed a total of 22 royal counsellors.

Even this kind of top-ranking appointments tended to come in groups. As it was put in *The Military History of Charles XII*: ‘Some days after [the king’s birthday, 17 June 1706], his Majesty made one of the greatest promotions that ever was upon record, either in the reign of Charles XI. or his own: Creating eight Senators, or Counsellors of State [i.e. royal counsellors], which is the first dignity in the kingdom.’²³⁴ The royal counsellors formed with family ties a

²²⁹ Göran Göransson, *Virtus militaris: officersideal i Sverige 1560–1718* (Lund, 1990), 138–140.

²³⁰ Ville Sarkamo, *Karoliinien soturiarvot: kunnian hallitsema maailmankuva Ruotsin valtakunnassa 1700-luvun alussa* (Jyväskylä, 2011), 74.

²³¹ Sjödell, *Riksråd och kungliga råd*, 23.

²³² Ibid., 80.

²³³ In the case of Carl Gustaf Mörner af Morlanda only by two days: he was appointed a royal counsellor on 8 June 1716 and created a count on 10 June 1716.

²³⁴ Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, II, 240; Adlerfelt, *Karl XII:s krigsföretag*, 315.

small closely-knit elite,²³⁵ in a way, an order of their own. Those descendants of the royal counsellors who were not counts or barons belonged to the second knightly class (*riddareklassen*) of the House of Nobility. The distinctive scarlet, ermine-lined, robes gave a 'ducal air' to the royal counsellors (Illust. 24), as Henning von Platen has put it.²³⁶ This type of institution being in existence, Charles XII may have felt that there was no need to a traditional type of monarchical order of knighthood.

Beside these regular honours and promotions, there were some *ad hoc* honours and gratifications. The era of actual swords of honour did not begin in Sweden until the late eighteenth century,²³⁷ but in practice even a sword of ordinary type carried by the king and presented to a deserving soldier could fulfil the same function. For instance, in the Swedish Royal Armory there is a sword which was given – according to a later inscription – by Charles XII to Arvid Horn, Captain Lieutenant of the *Drabants* Corps, during the Battle of Narva in 1700.²³⁸

In the financial accounts of the Swedish army there are entries for benefits and gratifications for persons who have been honoured by the king.²³⁹ Considerable sums were used for both collective rewards and individual gifts.²⁴⁰ The oft-attested generosity of Charles XII extended even to enemies. Adlerfelt recounts how a Saxon lieutenant, who was escorted by thirty troopers, was rewarded after having returned Swedish prisoners of war on the order of King Augustus II. Charles XII 'made the Officer a present of fifty ducats, ten to each non-commision Officer, two to every trooper' and presented to a certain major Opeln 'a fine horse out of his own stable, with all his caparison, and a sword of the Swedish fashion'.²⁴¹ The fact that the symbolic aspects of warfare, such as military colours, played an important role even for Charles XII is confirmed, for instance, by the following account of the Battle of Malatitze in 1708: 'The King of Sweden gave an hundred crowns to a single soldier, who cast himself into the bog and

²³⁵ Åsa Karlsson, 'Enväldelets politiska elit: släkt- och äktenskapsband inom rådskretsen 1680–1718', *Historisk Tidskrift*, 117 (1997), 590–619.

²³⁶ Sandin (ed.), *Peter den store och Karl XII*, 130, no. 254. For the collective visual representation of the royal counsellors, see Olin, *Karolinska porträttet*, 229–234.

²³⁷ Lena Nordström, *White Arms of the Royal Armoury* (Stockholm 1984), 102ff.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 131.

²³⁹ 'Beneficier och Gratialer, som af Kongl. Maj:t är förrårade'. Sven Grauers, 'Den karolinska fälthärens underhåll 1700–1703', *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1968), 131.

²⁴⁰ Grauers, 'Karl XII:s personlighet', 19.

²⁴¹ Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, I, 173.

Table 2. The *cursus honorum* of the counts created by Charles XII during his reign 1697–1718

	1697	1698	1699	1700	1701	1702	1703	1704	1705	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714	1715	1716	1717	1718		
Piper	RC	B C																						
Polus	RC	B C																						
Liljeroth					RC		C																	
Gyllenstierna af Fogelvik		Gen							RC	C			FM											
Frölich			B LtGen					Gen	RC	C														
Rehnskiöld		B Lt Gen						Gen		RC	C FM													
Vellingk			Gen						RC	C														
Posse			Maj Gen					Lt Gen		RC	C													
Stromberg								Lt Gen		RC	C													
Nieroth			Maj Gen					Lt Gen	RC	B C														
Horn af Ekebyholm			Maj Gen B					Lt Gen	RC	C														
Cronhielm af Flosta													RC		C									
Spens		Maj Gen			Lt Gen			Gen					RC		C									
von Fersen						Maj Gen							Lt Gen		RC	C								
Meijerfeldt					Lt Col	Col		Maj Gen	B				Lt Gen	Gen		RC	C							
Reenstierna															B	RC		C						
Tessin			B												RC		C							
Mörner af Morlanda				Maj Gen				Lt Gen						Gen					RC C	FM				

Abbreviations: B=Baron, C=Count, FM=Field Marshal, Gen=General, LtGen=Lieutenant General, MajGen=Major General, RC=Royal Counsellor (*kungligt råd*). Only military promotions and appointments as Royal Counsellors are included.

killed a Russian officer that had taken a pair of Swedish colours; and afterwards advanced him on the first opportunity.’²⁴²

As John P. Spielman has put it, ‘In the [early modern] world of honor and privilege, money mattered, but symbols of status also served as the coin of the realm.’²⁴³ Therefore it is somewhat surprising that Charles XII relied so heavily on money as a means of gratification instead of exploiting the potential of the ‘symbolic capital’.

Altranstädt 1707

25. The Duke of Marlborough wearing the star and the ribbon of the Order of the Garter, after Sir Godfrey Kneller. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

The English regarded Charles XII something of a loose cannon wanting to ensure that his interests would be directed eastwards and, if possible, to bring him to the Grand Alliance against France. The Duke of Marlborough (Illust. 25) distrusted him, but wrote in February 1707 that ‘we would leave no stone unturned to satisfy the King of Sweden’.²⁴⁴

Marlborough received orders to meet Charles XII and set out to Altranstädt, where he met the king on 17/28 and 18/29 April 1707. ‘The impetus to the Duke’s visit was no doubt the rumours of closer relations between France and Charles’, as Ragnhild Hatton has put it.²⁴⁵ Referring to a remark in the later editions of Voltaire’s *Charles XII*, Sir Winston Churchill wrote that Charles XII thought ‘that Marlborough in his scarlet uniform and Garter star and riband looked less like a soldier than he himself in his austere dress’.²⁴⁶

According to Karl Löfström, Marlborough had been instructed by Queen Anne to ‘offer the Order of the Garter’ to Charles XII, which he would have declined. Löfström speculated that ‘behind this extraordinary step was probably also an idea of an own order’.²⁴⁷ Löfström does not cite his sources, but the story seems to derive from a book published by Magnus Lagerberg, a Swedish courtier

²⁴² *Ibid.*, III, 39.

²⁴³ John P. Spielman, ‘Status as Commodity: The Habsburg Economy of Privilege’, in Charles W. Ingrao (ed.), *State and Society in Early Modern Austria* (West Lafayette, 1994), 112.

²⁴⁴ Quoted in Andrew Rothstein, *Peter the Great and Marlborough: Politics and Diplomacy in Converging Wars* (Basingstoke, 1986), 74.

²⁴⁵ Ragnhild Hatton (ed.), ‘Captain James Jefferyes’s Letters to the Secretary of State, Whitehall, from the Swedish Army, 1707–1709’, *Historiska Handlingar*, 35 (1954), 14 n. 5.

²⁴⁶ Winston S. Churchill, *Marlborough: His Life and Times* (4 vols, London, 1933–38), III, 224. Cf. ‘He even thought, as I have been told, that the dress of this great man was too fine and costly: and that his air had in it too little of a soldier.’ Voltaire, *The History of Charles XIIth King of Sweden* (London, 1780), 99.

²⁴⁷ Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar*, 214.



and numismatist, in 1915.²⁴⁸ Subsequently the same claim has been repeated by others.

Commenting a less accurate portrayal of Charles XII wearing a chain of an order of knighthood, Wilhelm Odelberg wrote in 1949 that 'It is known that Charles XII, albeit from other motives than the radicals of the twentieth century, notoriously refused to accept the insignia of orders from other sovereigns.' Odelberg referred to the instructions Count Bonde had received for his 1698 mission as well as to that 'when Marlborough on behalf of Queen Anne offered this order in 1707, the answer was negative'.²⁴⁹

However, neither Marlborough in his account of the negotiations, written 'with all the exactness' to the Earl of Godolphin,²⁵⁰ nor the English minister resident to Charles XII, the Rev. John Robinson – who acted as an interpreter during the meeting – in his letters to Robert Harley referred to any such offer, or to Charles XII's declining it.²⁵¹ If the French ambassador d'Avaux was aware of Bonde's secret instructions by December 1697/January 1698, it must be assumed that Robinson, who was in Stockholm at the time, had learned about it at an early stage as well.

Marlborough was more than an experienced player in the 'honours game', and his wife was the powerful Mistress of the Robes to Queen Anne. In 1702, Marlborough had been first appointed a Knight of the Garter after having coveted the honour for years, and then created a duke.²⁵² After the death of his son and heir, Marlborough managed to obtain a revised remainder in December 1706, which enabled his dukedom to be inherited through the female line, but was struggling to achieve a similar settlement in regard to his imperial principality of Mindelheim.²⁵³ Having heard of this, Baron Heinrich von Huyssen, Peter I's envoy in Vienna, came up with the idea that Marlborough could be offered a Russian title

²⁴⁸ Magnus Lagerberg, 'Engelska strumpebandsorden buren af fyra svenska konungar', in *id., Stormän som jag mött jämt annat: minnen och intryck* (Stockholm, 1915), 138.

²⁴⁹ Wilhelm Odelberg, 'Bokvandring bland Charles XII-upplagor', *Ord och Bild*, 5 (1949), 204–205. The story is also mentioned in Birger Steckzén, *Svenskt och brittiskt: sex essayer* (Uppsala, 1959), 76 n.

²⁵⁰ The Duke of Marlborough to the first Earl of Godolphin, 28 April/9 May 1707. *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, ed. Henry L. Snyder (3 vols, Oxford, 1975), II, 757.

²⁵¹ A. E. Stamp, 'The Meeting of the Duke of Marlborough and Charles XII. at Altranstadt, April 1707', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N.S. 12 (1898), 113–116.

²⁵² Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 133.

²⁵³ Peter Barber, 'Marlborough as Imperial Prince, 1704–1717', *British Library Journal*, 8 (1982), 46–79.

in order to win him over to their side. Peter I drafted a reply in January–February 1707: ‘promise him whichever of three he desires – Kiev, Vladimir or Siberia [...] we shall from that principality every year of his life unfailingly give 50,000 silver thalers, also a ruby (of which a model will be sent) of a size such as there are none in Europe or very few, and also the Order of St Andrew’. It is not clear if this was ever even proposed to Marlborough, but shortly before meeting Charles XII, he received a diamond portrait badge from Peter I.²⁵⁴

Unlike William III, Queen Anne did not appoint any stranger-Knights of the Garter although there was certainly no shortage of potential candidates.²⁵⁵ When Marlborough wrote to Godolphin on 28 August/8 September 1707 that the Garter should be ‘of some use’ to the Queen’s ‘business’, he meant its use in foreign policy. He argued that Britain should make a treaty with Charles XII, and ‘that might be a proper time for him to desire it, and her Majesty to give it’.²⁵⁶ The following day Robert Harley wrote to Robinson: ‘why should it not be for his advantage to come into the Grand Alliance’.²⁵⁷ When Godolphin read to Queen Anne what Marlborough had written about giving the Garter to Charles XII, ‘she sayd she understood that the King of Sweden had never shown the least inclination to have one’.²⁵⁸ Marlborough admitted that that was the case, but still hoped that ‘when he shal enter into stricter friendship with the Queen [...] he will have a mind, as also the King of Denmark’.²⁵⁹

Given the fact that Marlborough proposed giving the Garter to Charles XII in autumn 1707, it seems unlikely that he would have offered it to Charles XII already in April. Furthermore, since Queen Anne was aware of that Charles XII was not interested in receiving the Garter, it was evident that nothing could have been achieved by offering it to him. In the words of Sir Winston Churchill,

²⁵⁴ Rothstein, *Peter and Marlborough*, 76–77.

²⁵⁵ Some of them were listed by Sir Harris Nicolas: ‘It is remarkable, that the Order was not conferred by Queen Anne upon the Emperor, nor upon any of the other Sovereigns with whom she was for many years confederated against France. Nor did Her Majesty bestow it upon King Charles the Third of Spain who arrived in England in December 1703, nor upon Prince Eugene [of Savoy] (though when she presented him with a sword worth £ 5000, on taking his leave in March 1712, there were seven vacant Ribbands), nor any of the great Commanders of the Allied Armies, who under the Duke of Marlborough, gained [...] splendid victories’. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire* (4 vols, London, 1842), II, 275.

²⁵⁶ Marlborough to Godolphin, 28 August/8 September 1707. *Marlborough–Godolphin Correspondence*, II, 894.

²⁵⁷ Robert Harley to John Robinson 29 August/9 September 1707. *British Diplomatic Instructions 1689–1789: Volume I – Sweden 1689–1727*, ed. James Frederick Chance (London, 1922), 36.

²⁵⁸ Godolphin to Marlborough, 1 September 1707. *Marlborough–Godolphin Correspondence*, II, 899.

²⁵⁹ Marlborough to Godolphin, 8/19 September 1707. *Ibid.*, II, 906.

Charles XII was ‘a knight-errant pursuing glory though all hazards, at all costs, and irrespective of reward’.²⁶⁰ Rather than being interested in diplomatic niceties, which could have included exchange of orders with fellow monarchs – had he established an own one – Charles XII directed his energy toward attempts to dethrone them. In regard to subsequent English connections, it is worth noting that in England Charles XII ‘was popularly regarded as likely ally of [the Jacobite King] James III even before Queen Anne’s death’ in 1714. Later, Charles XII became something of a Jacobite hero and Scottish officers in Charles’s service, who had Jacobite connections, provided further links, which culminated in the 1716–17 Swedish-Jacobite Plot.²⁶¹

As Marlborough put it in his report of the meeting in Altranstädt, Charles XII did ‘not allow of any foraine ministers following him into the field’, but ‘as a particular mark of their respect for the Queen’, Robinson’s secretary James Jefferyes was allowed to accompany the Swedish army as a volunteer,²⁶² in fact, as an undercover agent, who reported to the English secretary of state. Captain James Jefferyes (1677–1739) was born in Sweden to a probably Swedish mother and educated at the University of Dublin.²⁶³ The honours received by his father, Sir James Jefferyes (d. 1719), who had also served in the Swedish army, and eventually rose to the rank of brigadier general in the English service, provide a good example of what kind of honours an international soldier could come by in the days before the proliferation of the military orders of merit. On 4 February 1676, Sir James Jefferyes had been created a knight by King John III of Poland, who ‘also granted him certain additions to his Armorial Bearings; these Honours to be continued to his Posterity for ever as a recompense for his Services done in War’. Sir James Jefferyes is said to have lost ‘much blood against the Tartars’ and the Tatars/Turks, who have lowered their swords, and serve as supporters to his arms (Illust. 26), are reminiscent of the Polish-Ottoman War 1672–76.²⁶⁴



26. Armorial bearings of Sir James Jefferyes, granted by King John III of Poland in 1676. Genealogical Office, Dublin, MS 183 Lords’ Entries, Vol. I, p. 169. Courtesy of the National Library of Ireland.

²⁶⁰ Churchill, *Marlborough: His Life and Times*, III, 224.

²⁶¹ Niall MacKenzie, *Charles XII of Sweden and the Jacobites* (London, 2002), 11, 13.

²⁶² Marlborough to Godolphin, 28 April/9 May 1707. *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, II, 759.

²⁶³ Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke’s Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, Clan Chiefs, Scottish Feudal Barons*, 107th edn (Wilmington, 2003), I, 864.

²⁶⁴ Captain James Jefferyes’s son, James St John Jefferyes, had the augmentation recorded both with the College of Arms in London on 22 June 1765 and with Ulster King of Arms in Dublin on 30 November 1765. College of Arms, Record MS, I.32, p. 24; Genealogical Office, Dublin, MS 183 Lords’ Entries, Vol. I, p. 169. ‘The date on which Sir James Jefferyes [...] was knighted’ was not known to Ragnhild Hatton. Hatton (ed.), ‘Captain James Jefferyes’s Letters’, 8 n. 4. For the later career of Sir James, see Hatton, ‘Sir James Jefferyes in the Army’, 105–116.

The way to and out of Poltava

The appointments made by Peter I were obviously of interest to the Swedish camp, but the information they received was not always correct. According to an account of the Battle of Malatitze (Dobroe) in August/September 1708, which was published in the 1740 edition of Adlerfelt's *Military History of Charles XII*, the Russians 'loudly proclaimed, that they had got the advantage; and to impose on the publick, the Czar honoured the Knez [Anikita] Repnin with the Order of St. Andrew'.²⁶⁵ However, Repnin was not appointed a Knight of St Andrew until 27 June 1709.²⁶⁶

The defection of Mazepa, a Knight of St Andrew, to the Swedish side in autumn 1708 has been called 'perhaps the most embarrassing episode of the entire Northern War'.²⁶⁷ As it was put in a relation published in the 1740 edition of Adlerfelt's journal, Mazepa 'quitted this Order, when he went to meet the King of Sweden'.²⁶⁸ The statutes of some of the sovereign orders, such as that of the Garter, included provisions for degrading knights on the account of treason, and degradation ceremonies could be rather elaborate events.²⁶⁹ In the absence of statutes, Mazepa's degradation from the Order of St Andrew took even more dramatic form. In an *ad hoc* ceremony Mazepa's life-size effigy 'drest in the blue string of the Order of St. Andrew was first stript of that Order, then thrown down, and afterwards hanged by the common hangman'.²⁷⁰ Furthermore, the Russians created a mock order of Judas, a silver medal which depicted hanged Judas, which was intended, as Ernst A. Zitser has suggested, 'as a humiliating replacement for the cross and sash of the order of St. Andrew, of which Mazepa had been stripped in absentia'.²⁷¹

Whether Charles XII ever discussed orders of knighthood with Adlerfelt can only be speculated. In his 1897 novel *Karolinerna (Charles Men)*, Verner von Heidenstam dramatized Charles XII to ask after the Battle of Poltava: "Where is Adlerfeldt, the chamberlain?" [...] Those who stood around him answered,

²⁶⁵ Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, III, 39.

²⁶⁶ Левин, *Орден Святого апостола Андрея Первозванного*, 6.

²⁶⁷ Ernest A. Zitser, *The Transfigured Kingdom: Sacred Parody and Charismatic Authority at the Court of Peter the Great* (Ithaca, 2004), 94.

²⁶⁸ Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, III, 75 n. y.

²⁶⁹ The last ceremonial degradation of a Knight of the Garter was made in 1717. Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 140.

²⁷⁰ Adlerfeld, *Military History of Charles XII*, III, 75. See also Zitser, *Transfigured Kingdom*, 95–96.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 97–107, quotation 100.



27. The meeting of the three kings – Augustus II of Poland, Frederick I of Prussia and Frederick IV of Denmark – in Potsdam, 1709. Attributed to Samuel Theodor Gericke. Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten.

“He fell by a cannon-shot close to Your Majesty’s litter.”²⁷² Adlerfelt can be said to have belonged to the lost generation of the Great Northern War. Both of the Counts Gyldenstolpe, who had congratulated Adlerfelt with poems in his thesis, died as captains of the Caroline army in Ukraine. Captain Jefferyes was taken prisoner at Poltava, but served later as the British resident/minister to Charles XII at Bender, Adrianople and Stralsund. He later became minister resident to Peter I, 1718–21.²⁷³

At the time of the Battle of Poltava, King Augustus II of Poland, King Frederick I of Prussia and King Frederick IV of Denmark met in Potsdam.²⁷⁴ In the portrayal of this meeting (Illust. 27), the monarchs are depicted in a regal splendour, which offers a sharp contrast to the portraits of Charles XII. To further the contrast, the kings are also wearing their orders: the White Eagle of Poland, the Black Eagle of Prussia and the Elephant of Denmark.

Two weeks after the Battle of Poltava, Jefferyes reported to the British secretary of state for the Northern Department ‘that Svedes have had an entire defeat’

²⁷² Verner von Heidenstam, *The Charles Men*, transl. Charles Wharton Stork (2 vols, New York, 1920), I, 216.

²⁷³ D. B. Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1689–1789* (London, 1932), 112, 141.

²⁷⁴ For the meeting, see Vinzenz Czech, *Das Potsdamer Dreikönigstreffen 1709* (Göttingen, 2008).

and that 'Severalls were made Knights of S:t Andrew's Cross as Gen:ll [Baron Ludvig Nicolaus von] Allart [Hallart], [Samuel] Rensell [von Rentzel], [Yakov Vilimovich] Bruce and the Under Chancell:r [Peter Pavlovich] Shaffirow'.²⁷⁵ Jefferyes's information was not entirely correct since Shafirov was not appointed a Knight of St Andrew until 1719 and two further appointments had been made on 27 June 1709: Repnin and Count Jacob Heinrich von Flemming (1667–1728), whose extradition Charles XII had demanded after the Treaty of Altranstädt in 1706, arguing that on the account of his estates in Swedish Pomerania he was a Swedish subject. Until the death of Charles XII, 33 Knights of the Order of St Andrew are known to have been appointed.²⁷⁶ Thus, in regard to its exclusivity, it can well be equated with the Orders of the Garter and the Elephant.

The Rev. John Robinson, who had lately resided at Hamburg, left for England in August 1709²⁷⁷ and became Dean of Windsor and Register of the Order of the Garter (Illust. 28) in November 1709.

Although the war was far from over, contemporaries perceived the Battle of Poltava as its turning point.²⁷⁸ This was marked by a number of symbolic actions. Charles Whitworth, the British envoy to Russia, was promoted to ambassador extraordinary by the credentials dated on 26 August 1709.²⁷⁹ In his *Account of Russia as it was in the Year 1710*, Whitworth wrote that Peter I 'designs by degrees to introduce the title of Barons and Knights; he has already instituted an Order of Knighthood in honour of St. Andrew, who wear a blue Ribband and Star in imitation of the Garter'.²⁸⁰ In the same year, the first book on orders of knighthood in Russian was published.²⁸¹ This work by Adriaan Schoonebeek was translated from its 1699 French edition, which had already been dedicated to Peter I, 'Tres-Illustre, Tres-Puissant et Tres-Invincible Empereur Pierre Alexewits'.²⁸²



28. Portrait of Bishop John Robinson wearing the badge of Register of the Order of the Garter, by John Vertue after Michael Dahl (1712). © Trustees of the British Museum.

²⁷⁵ Jefferyes to Henry Boyle, 13 July 1709, in R. Hatton (ed.), 'Captain James Jefferyes's Letters', 76–77.

²⁷⁶ Левин, *Орден Святого апостола Андрея Первозванного*, 5–7.

²⁷⁷ Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives*, 140.

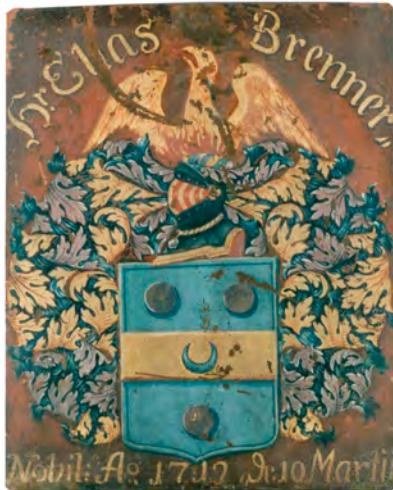
²⁷⁸ Paul Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great: The Struggle for Power, 1671–1725* (Cambridge, 2001), 291.

²⁷⁹ Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives*, 110.

²⁸⁰ Charles Lord Whitworth, *An Account of Russia as it was in the Year 1710* (Strawberry Hill, 1758), 35.

²⁸¹ Адріана Шхонбека [Adriaan Schoonebeek], *Історія о Ординахъ ілі Чинахъ воинскихъ паче же Кавалерскіхъ* (Московской, 1710).

²⁸² Adrien Schoonebeek, *Historie de tous les Ordres militaires ou de Chevalerie* (2 vols, Amsterdam, 1699).



An order, decorations or statues?

29. Armorial bearings granted to Elias Brenner in 1712. The Swedish House of Nobility.

As seen, despite the tendency for ‘Caroline simplicity’, there was no aversion towards heraldic display and allegorical medallic art. On the contrary, their importance was recognized by the ennoblement of Elias Brenner on 10 March 1712. The three plates (*3 besantiner af silfver*, i.e. *bezants d’argent*)²⁸³ in his arms (Illust. 29) were a clear allusion to numismatics. While Peter I was contemplating on the introduction of the Western-type nobiliary hierarchy in Russia, Charles XII had quite different ideas in developing his own honours system. In an often-quoted letter dated at Bender on 12 December 1712, which discussed mainly Charles XII’s views on architecture and statues,²⁸⁴ Count Casten Feif wrote to Count Nicodemus Tessin the Younger that ‘Otherwise, His Majesty has discussed about an order of knighthood or several decorations, with which those who have done some special exploits as well as in war as in other tasks.’ Feif continued by noting that Charles XII ‘likes nothing as much’ as the habit of the old Romans to posthumously raise a statue ‘in honour and commemoration’ of deserving individuals ‘proportioned according to the quality of the excellent exploits of each and every’.²⁸⁵ According to Karl Löfström the fact that Charles XII returned to the topic of orders even in Turkey testifies of ‘fairly great interest in the question’.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ Aspelin, *Elias Brenner*, 134.

²⁸⁴ The aesthetic aspects of Feif’s letters have been discussed in Olin, *Karolinska porträttet*, 18–19.

²⁸⁵ *Handlingar ur v. Brinkman’ska archivet på Trolle-Ljungby*, ed. Gust. Andersson (2 vols, Örebro, 1859–65), II, 167.

²⁸⁶ Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar*, 215.

Alas, nothing further appears to be known on Charles XII's plans to establish an order of knighthood.²⁸⁷

On the basis of Feif's letter, Bernhard von Beskow argued in the 1860s that: 'The character of Charles XII seems to conform to giving preference to statues over the enamelled decorations of the orders.'²⁸⁸ As Martin Olin and others have shown, the conception of Charles XII as an aesthetic 'minimalist' is partly a later conception.²⁸⁹ Nevertheless, it is evident that he wished to appear as a *sui generis* among European monarchs, branding himself as a new type of monarch. To this role also fits his contemplative idea of using statues as part of the honours system instead of orders.

The orders of knighthood were a means for 'symbolic communication'. The traditional monarchical orders of knighthood, which came in one class only, directed their message to the high nobility with the aim of creating a bond of loyalty to the sovereign. In such orders the monarch often appeared as *primus inter pares* among the knights, and in some cases a specific oath was required on the sovereign's part before taking up his position in the order.²⁹⁰ On the other hand, the reach of the message of the new-type military orders of merit, such as that of St Louis, could stretch up to thousands of officers. The fact that, in the end, Charles XII did not establish an order of knighthood may partly be explained by that he did not direct his primary 'ideological address' either to the high nobility or to his officer corps. Instead, as Peter Ericsson has put it, Charles XII 'identified himself with his army' becoming thereby an object of identification for the common soldiers. He presented himself as the 'king of the people', not as the king of the aristocracy.²⁹¹ In order to support the Swedish war effort, which relayed heavily on the shoulders of peasantry, he 'increasingly favoured' the peasants 'at the expense of the persons of rank' after the Battle of Poltava.²⁹²

²⁸⁷ I thank Professor Gunnar Artéus, Lars-Olof Skoglund, Archivist of the Swedish Royal Orders of the Knighthood, and Åsa Karlsson for their affirmative comments on this point.

²⁸⁸ Beskow, *Karl den tolfe*, 106 n.

²⁸⁹ Olin, *Karolinska porträttet*, 18–19.

²⁹⁰ Matikkala, *Orders of Knighthood*, 322. For instance, Louis XIV was constituted 'Head and Sovereign Grand Master' of the French orders in a ceremony where he swore, vowed and promised, 'touching the Holy true Cross, and the Holy Ghospel', to observe the statutes of the Order. [Nicolas] Menin, *An Historical and Chronological Treatise of the Anointing and Coronation of the Kings and Queens of France*, transl. anon. (London, 1723), 163–165.

²⁹¹ Ericsson, 'Bilden av suveränen', 169–170.

²⁹² Ericsson, *Stora nordiska kriget förklarat*, 293.

The end of an era, and its legacy

During the last years of the reign of Charles XII, the Holsteinian Georg Heinrich von Görtz, Baron of Schlitz (1668–1719), became almost everything else in Sweden but a Swedish subject. In practice, he emerged as Charles's chief minister. After having concluded a complicated treaty with Prussia in summer 1713 – which involved questions regarding the position of Stettin and the Swedish succession – Frederick William I decorated von Görtz with the Order of the Black Eagle.²⁹³ In a near-contemporary engraving of Charles XII and Görtz (Illust. 30), the latter is depicted wearing the breast star of this order. The imagery of orders was thus present at the court of Charles XII, also through von Görtz.

If the death of Charles XII was dramatic, so was the downfall of Görtz, which led to his decapitation in February 1719. The death sentence was given by a court composed of commissioners of the four estates of Sweden.

This Court [...] commanded him to deliver up the Order of the Black Eagle, which had been conferr'd on him by the King of Prussia, alledging, that the Regard they had for his Prussian Majesty, would not permit them to proceed criminally against a Person who actually wore that Mark of his Royal Favour: The Baron insisted that he had not receiv'd that Badge of Honour from the Throne of Sweden, it not being in the Power thereof to bestow it; and consequently they had no Right to deprive him of it: This Argument, tho' strong, avail'd him nothing; for he was divested of the Emblems of it in Court, and they were sent to his Relations.²⁹⁴

Thus a Swedish court of justice symbolically degraded a Holsteinian subject from a Prussian order. When Queen Ulrika Eleonora was informed about the trial proceedings, she reminded the commissioners that the 'Order must be unstitched from all Görtz's clothes'. The queen was told that this had already been done.²⁹⁵ According to the contemporary custom, Görtz had had an embroidered star of the Order of the Black Eagle attached to several of his coats.²⁹⁶

²⁹³ Hj. Lindeberg, *Görtz: ett offer för enväldet, politisk studie* (Stockholm 1925), 24; Jan Berggren, *Rikets mest hatade man: Georg Heinrich von Görtz* (Stockholm, 2010), 44.

²⁹⁴ *The Historical Register, Containing an Impartial Relation of all Transactions Foreign and Domestick* (23 vols, London, 1717–38), IV, 174–175.

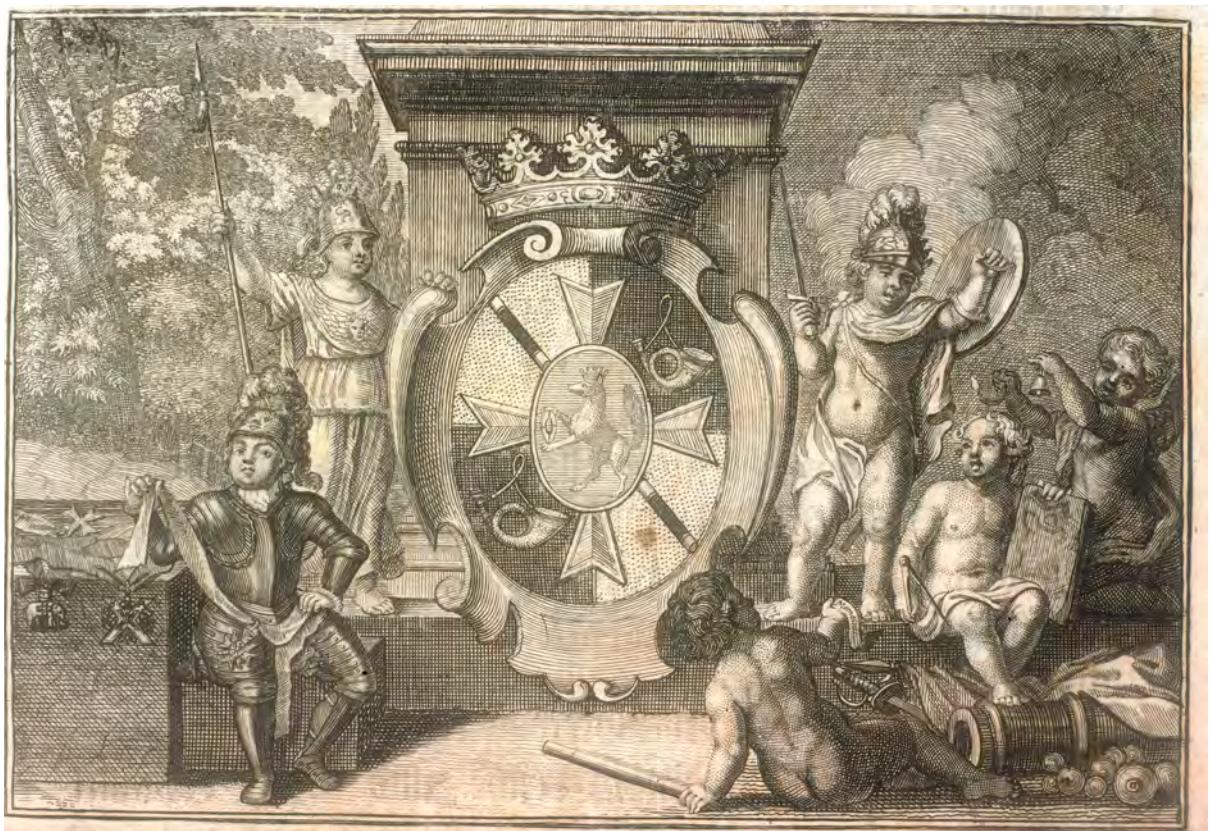
²⁹⁵ 'Sedan påminne Hennes Maj:t att Konungen i Preussens Orden måtte sprättas af alla Görtz's kläder.' P.G. Cedersjöld, *Svenska Riksdagarne imellan åren 1719 och 1772: första riksdagen år 1719 med ett bihang: Bihang till Riksdagen i Stockholm år 1719, innehållande protokoller och handlingar hörande till actionen emot Baron v. Görtz* (Stockholm, 1825–6), 279.

²⁹⁶ For the embroidered stars of the Order of the Black Eagle, see Jan René Westh, *Broderede kors og stjerner til de kongelige danske ridderordener* ([København], 2001), 84–85.



30. Charles XII and Baron Görtz wearing the breast star of the Prussian Order of the Black Eagle. Engraving by R. Smithson from A. de la Motraye's *travels through Europe, Asia, and into part of Africa with proper cutts and maps* (2 vols, London, 1723), II. The Royal Library – National Library of Sweden.

31. Allegorical engraving depicting the armorial bearings of Field Marshal Count Jacob Heinrich von Flemming. A putto knight holding the cross of the Order of the White Eagle of Poland is flanked by the insignia of other orders – the Elephant of Denmark, St Andrew of Russia and St John (*Johanniterorden*) – received by von Flemming. Johann Christian Lünig, *Theatrum Ceremoniale Historico-Politicum, Oder Historisch-und Politischer Schau-Platz Aller Ceremonien* (2 vols, Leipzig, 1719–20), I, sig. 4. © British Library Board, 16.d.12.



At the death of Charles XII the anti-Swedish alliance had the upper hand strategically. As seen earlier, the allied were also better off in regard to the orders of knighthood. In 1719, Johann Christian Lünig dedicated the first volume of his great ceremonial compendium *Theatrum Ceremoniale Historico-Politicum*²⁹⁷ to Görtz's former friend and patron Field Marshal Count Jacob Heinrich von Flemming,²⁹⁸ a familiar figure from Adlerfelt's account of the Livonian campaign. In addition to being a Commander of the Order of St John (*Johanniterorden*), Count von Flemming was a Knight of the Orders of St Andrew of Russia (1709), the Elephant of Denmark (1713) and the White Eagle of Poland (1717).²⁹⁹ The insignia of all these orders were depicted on the accompanying allegorical engraving (Illust. 31).

General Bernhard Joachim von Mörner (d. 1741), who had been in Danish service since 1701 and been taken a prisoner of war by the Swedes in the Battle of Gadebusch in 1712, was appointed a Knight of the Order of the Dannebrog on 21 March 1719.³⁰⁰ Although he was distantly related to the Swedish branch of the family – a fourth cousin once removed to Field Marshal Count Carl Mörner af Morlanda – the relationship was heraldically clear. The Swedish untitled noble family Mörner and its two baronial branches used their old ancestral charge on a *gules* (red) shield. However, when Charles XII created Carl Mörner af Morlanda a count in 1716, he interestingly reverted to using the old family arms – as an inescutcheon of his comital arms – in the same original form on an *or* (gold) shield³⁰¹ as used by Bernhard Joachim von Mörner as a Knight of the Dannebrog (Illust. 32).



32. Armorial bearings of General Bernhard Joachim von Mörner as Knight of the Order of Dannebrog. The Chapter of the Danish Royal Orders of Knighthood, *Dannebrogordenens Ridderbog*, tome I. Photograph Ronny Andersen.

The Adlerfelt family had a relatively modest Southern Finland civil servant background, but some of its offspring embarked on very successful careers. One of the brothers of Gustaf Adlerfelt, Pehr, rose to the rank of a major general and was raised to the dignity of baron in 1720. Another of his brothers, Carl, became a

²⁹⁷ Miloš Vec, *Zeremonialwissenschaft im Fürstenstaat: Studien zur juristischen und politischen Theorie absolutischer Herrschaftrepräsentation* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), 63–79.

²⁹⁸ Helge Almquist, *Holstein-Gottorp, Sverige och den nordiska ligan i den politiska krisen 1713–1714* (Uppsala, 1918), XLII.

²⁹⁹ Левин, *Орден Святого апостола Андрея Первозванного*, 6; Pedersen, *Riddere af Elefantordenen*, 97; Męclewska (ed.), *Kawalerowie i statuty Orderu Orła Białego*, 145.

³⁰⁰ The Chapter of the Danish Royal Orders of Knighthood, *Dannebrogordenens Ridderbog*, tome I. I thank Ronny Andersen, Danish Royal Herald Painter, for this reference.

³⁰¹ *Or, issuant from a stump [i.e. a log] in fess three leaves vert (trenne gröna blad, upväxande utur en liggande stubbe uti gult felt)*. The Archives of the Swedish House of Nobility, *Skölddebrevsavskrifter* 6:40.

Swedish chamber gentleman (*kammarherre*) in 1713 also serving at the court of King Stanislaus. Gustaf Adlerfelt's son, Carl Maximilian, was in the service of Duke Charles Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp since 1723 and became a governor to his son, Charles Peter Ulrich, the future Emperor Peter III of Russia,³⁰² who founded the Order of St Anne in 1735.

The first three permanent Swedish orders of knighthood were not established until 1748, but the question was debated already ten years earlier during the 1738 parliament, which marked a beginning of French-orientated politics and ousted Count Arvid Horn, who has been regarded as an opponent to the foundation of orders of knighthood, from power.³⁰³ A fairly detailed proposal was drafted by Johan Friedrich (Fredrik) von Kaulbars (1689–1762),³⁰⁴ who had witnessed the death of Charles XII and escorted his body to Stockholm.

As a curiosity, which demonstrates how small and interconnected the circles of the upper echelons of the Swedish society were, it can be mentioned that von Kaulbars's son Lars Fredrik (1734–1815) married Ulrika Sofia Adlerfelt, Gustaf Adlerfelt's granddaughter, in 1769. Count Carl Gustaf Tessin, who was the *pri-mus motor* behind the foundation of the Swedish orders, owned a manuscript copy of Adlerfelt's 'Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles XII' written in the hand of Adlerfelt's son.³⁰⁵

In 1942, Sten Lewenhaupt referred to the Caroline dislike of orders of knighthood by mentioning 'how many of these old Caroleans with certain astringency refused to accept the new decorations'.³⁰⁶ Commenting on the lists of the first knights of the Swedish orders, Karl Löfström replied to this argument in 1949 by stating that the 'numerous presence of the old Caroleans shows, that their much debated opposition to the orders does not appear to have been so very strong'.³⁰⁷ A search in the minutes of the Secret Committee during the early months of 1748 seems to confirm that the nominees who declined the membership of the new orders did so on grounds related to the political questions of the

³⁰² Carl Maximilian Adlerfelt attended the coronation of Empress Catherine I in 1724. H.[arald] W.[ieselgren] (ed.), 'Taflor från krigs- och olycksåren efter Carl XII:s död, 1719–21: tecknade af Justus van Effen och Carl Adlerfelt', *Historisk Tidskrift*, 13 (1893), 174.

³⁰³ Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar*, 227.

³⁰⁴ Bergroth, "En egen Svensk Riddare=Orden", 7–10.

³⁰⁵ C. Hallendorff, 'Anmärkningar öfver Adlerfelts Histoire Militaire', 182.

³⁰⁶ Areen & Lewenhaupt, *Nordiska ländernas riddarordnar*, I, 5.

³⁰⁷ Löfström, *Sveriges riddarordnar*, 379.



33. Portrait of Count Thure Gabriel Bielke wearing the ribbon and the star of the Order of the Seraphim. Attributed to Martin van Meytens the Younger (NMGrh 1059). © Photograph Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

day rather than for the desire to remain undecorated in the spirit of the ‘Caroline simplicity’.³⁰⁸ The old Count Johan August Meijerfeldt (1664–1749) declined the Order of the Seraphim on the account of this old age.

The young recipient of the Prussian Order of the Generosity, Count Thure Gabriel Bielke (Illust. 33), who had acted as a decoy impersonating Charles XII during his epic ride from Turkey to Stralsund in 1714, was among the first Commanders of the Order of the Sword and Knights of the Order of the Seraphim appointed in 1748.³⁰⁹ In accordance with the statutes of the Swedish orders of knighthood, every knight was required to write his *curriculum vitae*. The one written by Bielke is one of the few surviving autobiographies of the Knights of the Seraphim.³¹⁰

As this essay has demonstrated, behind the development leading to the foundation of the Swedish orders of knighthood in 1748, there was a long history of political and cultural orientation towards France beginning not only in 1738 but already in 1697. When the process was finally completed in 1748, the emulation of the French example was more than evident: in the Order of the Seraphim was the Swedish *cordon bleu*, the black-ribboned Order of the Polar Star the equivalent of the Order of St Michael, while the Order of the Sword could be equated to the Order of St Louis.³¹¹

³⁰⁸ The Archives of the Swedish Royal Orders of Knighthood (*Kungl. Maj:ts Orden*), Sekreta utskottets protokoll (transcript), 8 and 29 February and 8 April 1748. I am grateful for Tom C. Bergroth for this information.

³⁰⁹ Per Nordenvall (red.), *Kungliga Serafimerorden 1748–1998* (Borås, 1998), 98.

³¹⁰ Uppsala University Library, MS F 465, no. 8; Bennich-Björkman, *Författaren i ämbetet*, 319. Lars-Olof Skoglund, ‘Kunglig Majestäts Orden och dess arkiv’, in Kerstin Abukhanfusa (red.), *Av kärlek till arkiv: festskrift till Erik Norberg* (Stockholm, 2002), 289.

³¹¹ I would like to thank Dr Ambrogio Caiani, Göran Mörner, Genealogist of the Swedish House of Nobility, Dr Tuukka Talvio, Carl Szabad, Dr Leif Tengström, Dr Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm, and Robert Yorke, Archivist of the College of Arms, for their kind help, useful references and illustrations.



Friherre Peter Kalling General Lautnant
och Överstförsör för Närke och Värmlands Regemente
Samt Commandeur af Kongl. Kårs Ordens Soerne
m Sva Rikes Kås och Ridder af Kjærliga
Rysha St. Andreas Orden. Grifte av 1771. Fod
av 1700. i Härnanom fälgen affornad den
3^{de} Marsi 1795.

FROM THE COMMON HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN AND THE SWEDISH ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD

Staffan Rosén

IN THE MIDDLE of the eighteenth century, the Kingdom of Sweden was one of the very few countries in Europe not in possession of an official system of orders and decorations. In fact, in 1747 only Sweden, Switzerland and the Netherlands lacked a system of state orders. This does not mean that there had been no interest in orders in Sweden before this period. Leaving aside the more or less mythological information about the existence of Swedish orders during the Middle Ages, we do know for sure that decorations similar to orders were worn by some of the Swedish monarchs during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These 'orders', however, were never formally established or provided with any officially promulgated statutes. In most of the cases they were manufactured in only one copy or a very limited number of copies. Examples of such 'stillborn' orders are the Order of the Saviour (*Salvatorsorden*) worn by King Eric XIV (r. 1560–1568), the Order of the Agnus Dei worn by King John III (r. 1568–1592), the Order of Jehova worn by King Charles IX (r. 1604–1611) and the Order of the Name of Jesus worn by King Charles X Gustavus (r. 1654–1660). In 1653 Queen Christina (r. 1632–1654) made a slightly more successful attempt at creating an official Swedish order. Her Order of the Amaranta seems to have flourished as something in between an official order and a private social amusement organization at the royal court. With Queen Christina's abdication in 1654 the order ceased to exist. In 1744, the consort of King Adolph Frederick (r. 1751–1771), Queen Lovisa Ulrika (1720–1782), sister of King Fredrick the Great of Prussia, formally instituted an order of the court called *l'Ordre de l'Harmonie*, although this too ceased to exist after a few years.

After the Swedish debacle at Poltava in 1709, and the death of Charles XII in 1718, royal autocracy no longer could be sustained and was eventually abolished

1. Count Per Kalling wearing the Russian Order of St Andrew together with the Swedish Order of the Sword (1765). Reproduced by permission of Count Johan Kalling. Photograph Christer Vallstrand.

and substituted by rule of a parliament structured around the traditional four estates (nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants). This period in Swedish history is called the Age of Liberty and was characterized by a fierce struggle between the two political parties Hats and Caps. During this period, royal power and prestige were at an extremely low point. The parliament (*riksdagen*) and the Privy Council (Council of the Realm) even deprived the king of the right to sign documents of state, instead using a wooden stamp with a facsimile of the king's signature. This state of affairs prevailed until the *coup d'état* of King Gustavus III in 1772 for all practical purposes restored royal autocracy in the country, although the new form of government prescribed a division of power between the king and the four estates.

The intense party intrigues during the Age of Liberty created a political climate which constituted a fertile soil for various kinds of pressure and machinations on the part of foreign powers eager to have a say in Swedish politics. Sweden was a comparatively poor country and money was an effective means of acquiring political influence. The fact that Sweden lacked indigenous orders and decorations naturally constituted another temptation for Swedish politicians and officials. The fairly stern and barren atmosphere, even in the capital, made it easy for the representatives of foreign powers to pander to the human vanity of the Swedes, thus creating secret bonds and loyalties, which might prove to be politically very valuable sometime in the future. One of the most accomplished players of this game was Russia and her diplomatic representatives in Stockholm. In the continuous party struggle, both Russian money and Russian orders were skilfully put to work through various Swedish recipients.

It was against this background that some highly placed persons found the time ripe to establish an indigenous Swedish system of orders. A first proposal made in 1738 by Baron Johan Friedrich von Kaulbars was turned down by the parliament, but one decade later a similar proposal carried the day, and King Frederick I (r. 1720–1751) in 1748 became the 'Lord and Master' of three royal orders, the Order of the Seraphim, the military Order of the Sword in three classes, and the civil Order of the Polar Star, in two classes. This time the driving force behind the proposal to the parliament was Count Carl Gustaf Tessin (1695–1770). However, for tactical reasons he never signed the proposal, which in the end was formulated by his friend Baron Anders Johan von Höpken (1712–1789) and formally signed by Baron Carl Hårleman (1700–1753).

Tessin was one of the leading officials of the country at the time, who had returned home from Paris in 1747, where he had spent almost ten years as Swedish ambassador to France. There is no doubt that his time in France had made him very well informed about the highly developed French system of orders, and also increased his understanding of the diplomatic and economic advantages that an indigenous full-fledged system of orders might provide. Structurally, the Swedish orders established in 1748 follow their French models closely. The Order of the Seraphim corresponds to the *Ordre du Saint Esprit*, the Order of the Sword equals the *Ordre de Saint Louis*, while the Order of the Polar Star corresponds to the *Ordre de Saint Michel*. Even the colours of the ribbons of two of the Swedish orders closely follow those of their French models.¹

Although the authority of Count Tessin and his friends finally brought the Swedish orders into existence, the positive decision of the parliament did not come easily. In the proposal to the parliament many of the standard arguments for the establishing of orders had to be put forward in as eloquent a form as possible. It is interesting to note that one of the heaviest arguments presented in the proposition had to do with Russia. In the memorial it is stated:

Furthermore there is the pressing task of preparing for His Royal Highness, when he ascends the throne, a good reason to show himself in a Swedish Order of Knighthood rather than a Russian one, the laying aside of which without beginning to wear a Swedish one, might invoke coldness and other things from our neighbour. It would cause the realm worries unsuitable at a time of change of government, and would keep us responsible for not easily having prevented such a situation. Besides, it is unfortunately well known that both general Lüders and the present Imperial Russian minister have at their disposal several ribbons and orders by which they have the intention to tie up some of our people – especially in those cases where they have found them coveting such a distinction.

It was well-known to the top officials of the country that the old King Frederick I was seriously ill and had been suffering from bad health for a long time. There was an obvious risk that the king might pass away at any moment. Since the king had no official offspring, Sweden had been forced – under strong pressure from Russia in the person of Empress Elizabeth Petrovna (r. 1741–1762) – to elect a

¹ For an excellent and comprehensive account of the creation of the Swedish orders, see Tom C. Bergroth, “En egen Swensk Riddare=Orden”: Kring instiftandet av ett ordensväsende i Sverige år 1748, *Livrustkammaren*, (1997–98), 2–90.

hereditary prince from Germany, a candidate totally in the taste of the Empress.

The ill-advised and badly managed war with Russia that Sweden had started in 1741 led to severe losses on the Swedish side, and eventually forced Sweden to sign the peace agreement of Åbo (Turku) in 1743. As a consequence of this Sweden was pledged to elect the Prince-Bishop of Lübeck and *Landgraf* of Holstein-Gottorp, Adolph Friedrich (Swedish form of the name: Adolf Fredrik), as the new crown prince. Prince Adolph Friedrich was an elder relative of the Russian Empress' nephew, the future Emperor Peter III of Russia (r. 1762), and Empress Elizaveta Petrovna obviously nourished ideas of being able to pacify her belligerent little neighbour by royal family ties between the two countries. Already as Prince-Bishop of Holstein-Gottorp and as an imperial Russian relative, Prince Adolph Friedrich had received the Russian Order of St Andrew the First-Called.

From the Swedish horizon in 1747 there was an imminent danger that a Sweden without any orders of its own at any moment might have to witness how a German prince wearing the Russian Order of St Andrew might ascend the throne. It was obvious to anybody that such a scenario would make Sweden look like a weak subaltern governed from Russia. For diplomatic reasons it was unthinkable that the new king ascended the throne without any orders at all, since that would have been an insult to the big and powerful neighbour. Only a national Swedish order would create a tenable diplomatic excuse for not wearing the Order of St Andrew during the coronation ceremonies. It is therefore likely that the 'Russian argument' played an important, if not decisive, role when the decision to establish the Swedish orders was taken in 1748. When Adolph Friedrich finally ascended the throne on 25 March 1751 he did so wearing only the new Swedish orders and consequently did not have to worry about any diplomatic troubles with Russia.

Russian interest in Swedish domestic politics also continued during the reign of King Adolph Frederick. When the member of the Council of the Realm Baron Per Kalling (1700–1795), who was one of the most prominent representatives of the Cap party, felt that he had been passed over in the appointments as Knight of the Order of the Seraphim, he contacted the Russian Ambassador Osterman in Stockholm and suggested that the conferral of the Order of St Andrew on him would be most welcome. Since Baron Kalling was not only a member of the state council but also a general and a member of the pro-Russian Cap party, the Russian authorities considered his immodest demands with sympathy, and he

eventually got his revenge on his countrymen in the form of the Russian blue ribbon of St Andrew.² His formal request to the Chancery of the Royal Orders to be allowed to wear his Russian decoration probably constituted the sweetest moment of his revenge.

The request triggered a lengthy and heated debate within the Chancery – a debate which was taken down almost word by word and included in the protocol, which is still available in the archives of the Chancery of the Royal Orders.³ One of the most embarrassing and controversial issues in the Chancery was whether Count Kalling should be allowed to wear the Russian order together with the insignia of Commander of the Swedish Order of the Sword, which he had received much earlier. At that time the insignia of the Commander of the Order of the Sword was worn on a ribbon over the right shoulder – in the same manner as the Order of St Andrew. During the debate on 13 March 1766 (Illust. 2),⁴ it is clear that the possible political implications of this delicate case were constantly held in mind by the participants – although such implications, with one exception, were not directly alluded to. The Chancellor of the Orders, Count Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm, started the debate by describing the background to the situation:

During the usual conference with the foreign representatives on Saturday 1 March the Imperial Russian envoy Count Osterman⁵ informed us that Her Imperial Majesty had sent to him a *Cordon bleu*, by which she had wished to remember His Excellency the Counsellor of State Baron Kalling. He imagined that there would be no difficulties in this, since the former Counsellor of State Count Cedercreutz had been provided

2 The bestowal of the Order of St Andrew on Per Kalling in 1765 probably did not pay off as expected. As a stern critic of the court he was dismissed from the Council of State in 1769, recalled in 1771, and raised to the dignity of Count. In connection with the *coup d'état* of King Gustavus III in 1772 he was arrested and then withdrew to private life. He never received the Order of the Seraphim.

3 Kungl. Maj:ts Ordens Arkiv, *Utdrag ur ordensprotokoll 1756–1823*.

4 The meeting of the Chapter of the Orders was presided over by the King, and 28 members were present, including the Crown Prince, the future Gustavus III, and his brother Prince Carl, the future Charles XIII. The king asked each of the members present to state their personal opinion on the case of Baron Kalling's Russian *cordon bleu*.

5 Ivan Andreevich Osterman (1725–1811) served as Russian envoy in the Swedish capital 1766–1774. Obviously, he was a skilled player in the Swedish power game of the time. For a Russian reader it might be of interest to read what the leading Swedish encyclopaedia *Svensk Uppslagsbok* (Vol. 22, col. 59, Malmö, 1952) has to say about him: 'I. A. Osterman in 1760 became Russian minister in Stockholm, and at the side of the leader of the "Cap party" took part in the party strife during the parliaments (*riksdag*) of 1765/66, 1769/70 and 1771/72 in such an energetic way that he in fact appeared to be the head of the party. This was mainly due to the considerable amount of money which Catherine II put at his disposal for corruptive purposes. The Empress having grown tired of this, Osterman as a powerless onlooker was forced to let the *coup d'état* have its course.'

2. The first page of the 'Kalling protocol' in the Archives of the Chapter of the Royal Orders of Knighthood.

1766. den 13. Marti.

Hans kongl. Maj:t behagade i näder yttra sig fästnads Rörad som förantälit
Mig ab ju övanlig tid sammankalla Capulletet, är det till mig föddes anmäl-
lende om St. Andre Ordem, hertiken Ryska kejsarinan. Rörel hafva tilåt-
nat Riksrådet Kalling och hvarom Riks Rådet Lövcentjolm kan vidare
berätta omständigheterne. Men som det är, sedan Svenska Ordens senare
införklinge den första handelse, som angår en Svensk man och under
fätare, hertiken sonet varit med en inhemsk Orden förseedd, ja är frågan
på hvarfått Denne främmande Orden skall båras, utan att kränka
Svenska Ordens värdighet. Det åligger mig som Ordens mästare, att
bebehålla Ordens värdighet, hertiken med min Egen och Rikets høghet
så nära gemenskap har. Och churu det vid till Mitt Eget afferande
hören, ja vill jag dock vid detta tillfälle förmimma Capulletstankar och
till den ändan ifskundar jag at hvar och en sig forskelt yttrar.
Hans Excellencie Ordens bantolteren gjorde derefter Denne berättelse.
At den vanl. conferenzen med Ulrikes Ministerne Lördagen den 1.
Marti anmälte Ryska kejsert Envoyen Grefve Osterman at Hennes
Kejsert. Maj:t tillsändt honum en Cordon bleu, hvarmed han velat
ihogkomma hans Excellencie Riks Rådet. Baron. Kalling: han fö-
stalte sig at den icke fä mycket mindre läre möta någon värdighet
som framf. Riks Rådet. Grefve Gederercurt varit med samma Orden
förseedd och Riks Rådet. Baron Hamilton, även med Danskta Ste-
phanter Orden. Flågare dagar derefter frågade mig bemt Envoye
under en afslagd Visite ju väntigt fätt om jag ännu hade at gifva
honum något behageligt svar angec det anmälte ärsidet rörande
St. Andre Ordem, som hennes kejsert Ryska Maj:t hetsaut och är,
nat dersedt heder. Hans Excellencie Baron. Kalling? Och då jag svar-
rade at för många anira høgt angelägna mäl. kongl. Maj:t
icke fätt rödrum ofver det ärenhet. Sig at flutet yttra, utlät sig
Envoyen at det ankommer på hans Maj:t vilbehag när han be-
hagadesig derom utlata; men at Envoyen ej haurt misstydas om
han frågar derefter, emedan posten dagen efter skulle ja och han
gerna ville derom afferma berättelse, fordeles som kejsarinan
icke läre kunna föreställa sig, at vid samma ärende läre up-
komma någon värdighet. Enär jag då sade mig förmoda, at ingen

with the same order, and the Counsellor of State Baron Hamilton also had been given the Danish Order of the Elephant. A few days afterwards the said envoy asked me in a friendly manner during a visit whether I had any agreeable answer yet concerning the *Order of the St Andrew*, which H.I. Majesty had sent here in order to honour His Excellency Baron Kalling? When I answered that His Majesty, due to many other highly urgent matters, had not yet had any time for consideration of this case, the envoy said that it is all dependent upon the pleasure of His Majesty when he deigns to say something about it. But the envoy assumed that he would not be misunderstood if he asked about it, since the post would be sent the next day, and he would like to send a report, especially since the Empress could hardly imagine that in this same case any difficulties might occur lest His Excellency Kalling receives permission to accept the order in question. [...] However, since he [Kalling] had previously had the Commander of the Swedish Order of the Sword bestowed on him, it seems to become necessary to establish rules as to the wearing of the orders. Count Osterman said that he assumed that this no longer could be an issue, since just as the *Order of St Andrew* was the foremost Russian order, held in high esteem at all European courts, and fully comparable to the Swedish *Order of the Seraphim*, he was convinced that it would be possible to wear the *Order of the Sword* in the same manner as it is worn by Knights of the *Order of the Seraphim*, who concurrently are Commanders of the *Order of the Sword*. He believed this so much more since he was informed that the Swedish statutes of the orders in no way forbade any official of His Royal Majesty to receive, and according to etiquette wear, a foreign order. Since such is the case, it should hardly be possible to detract from the order the consideration and dignity which it has with the reigning Prince who bestows it. Her Majesty the Empress of Russia was too firmly convinced of His Majesty's friendship to her and about his 'equite' in all respects, to be able to assume that some law or other institution concerning this case would now be written or initiated and thus imply neglect or diminished consideration towards Her Imperial Majesty's foremost order in comparison with the *Order of the Sword*. Even more so, since Her Imperial Majesty is a member of the *Order of the Seraphim* and His Majesty and His Royal Highness both have the *Order of St Andrew*. Thus, Her Imperial Majesty believes that the fact that she now wishes to honour one of His Majesty's highest officials, will be perceived as yet another token of her shining friendship towards His Majesty.

This discussion between the Russian ambassador and Chancellor Löwenhielm clearly illustrates the diplomatic and political importance attached to the case. Although steeped in agreeable and friendly language, the conversation still reveals some of the undisguised language of force used by Count Osterman: If the Swedes do not comply or if they make trouble, the Empress of Russia will be displeased. In diplomatic terms this of course was a serious warning to the Swedish authorities concerned. It should not be forgotten that this case was handled on the highest possible level. Not only did it involve the Russian ambassador

and the Swedish Chancellor of Orders, but also the two sovereigns themselves. Count Osterman seems to have been well prepared by Baron Kalling, since it is obvious that he knew perfectly well where problems might arise. Through his well-formulated conversation he wished to prevent these problems from materializing – a plan that was crowned with complete success.

The outcome of the debate was that Kalling was allowed to wear his Russian order together with the Swedish one, provided he wore the insignia of the Order of the Sword in a ribbon around his neck (Illust. 1 on p. 84) in the same manner as the Order of the Seraphim was worn at that time. As a matter of fact, this was a decision in the spirit of compromise. Most of the members of the Chapter of Orders had spoken in favour of a much harsher solution: Baron Kalling would be allowed to wear his St Andrew only on the day of its instituting and wear his Order of the Sword all other days of the year. The compromise solution was suggested by Crown Prince Gustaf (later Gustavus III), who was present at the meeting, where he was one of the last speakers. Although this solution of wearing the Order of the Sword around the neck together with the Order of St Andrew was definitely a concession to the Russians, at the same time it offered a way out of the problem without any serious loss of face on either side.

As a matter of fact Baron, and later Count, Kalling was rather an exception than a rule. He seems to have been the only Swede who received such a high distinction as the Russian blue ribbon for obvious domestic party-strife reasons. Many others were decorated for similar reasons, but in these cases the Russian authorities utilized lower-level decorations, which comfortably also allowed the distinction of several classes within the same order.

Since King Adolph Frederick, all Swedish monarchs and most of the princes of the royal house of Sweden have received the Order of St Andrew. According to Russian practice they also automatically received the ‘minor’ Russian orders of St Alexander Nevskii, St Anne and the White Eagle.

During its existence between 1698 and 1917 the Order of St Andrew was given to only 10 non-royal Swedish citizens against 26 non-imperial Russian recipients of the Order of the Seraphim. The first Swedish person to receive the order was the member of the Council of the Realm, Baron Josias Cederhielm, who received it in 1726. He had by that time served as Swedish ambassador in St Petersburg for a couple of years. A person with a similar career, Count Herman Cedercreutz,

was the second person to receive the blue ribbon when he left St Petersburg in 1745. After Per Kalling's appointment in 1765, Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt (1757–1814), who after a brilliant and stormy career finally left Sweden and went into Russian service, received the order in 1789.

After that the Order of St Andrew was used exclusively for protocol reasons between the two countries. Two further Swedish ambassadors in St Petersburg received this high honour: Johan Kristoffer Toll in 1799 and Count Bogislaus von Stedingk in 1801. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Gustaf af Wetterstedt, received the Order in 1826, and when the Tsarevich Aleksandr Nikolaevich paid an official visit to King Charles XIV John in Stockholm in 1838 two high officials were favoured by the Russian guest: the Prime Minister Count Mattias Rosenblad and the Marshal of the Realm, Count Magnus Brahe.⁶

It would take 70 years before another – and this time the last – Swedish subject received the order. When King Gustavus V visited St Petersburg in connection with the wedding between his son Prince Wilhelm (1884–1965) and Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna (1890–1958) he appointed the Minister of the Imperial Court, Baron Vladimir Borisovich Freedericksz (1838–1927), Knight of the Order of the Seraphim. It was in response to this appointment that the Swedish Marshal of the Realm, Baron Fredrik von Essen (1831–1921) – the Swedish counterpart to Baron Freedericksz – received the order, when the Russian Imperial couple paid a visit to Stockholm in the following year.⁷

The reign of Gustavus III (1771–1792) brought with it many fluctuations in Swedish-Russian relations. Both the king and the empress were brilliant people, each in his or her way trying to manipulate their sovereign counterpart. King Gustavus paid an official visit to St Petersburg in 1777 and personally met Empress Catherine once more in Fredrikshamn on Russian territory in 1783. King Gustavus was eager to receive the empress's approval for his *coup d'état* in 1772 and for the new political order in Sweden. However close the two sovereigns appeared to be, Gustavus never succeeded in obtaining Catherine's approval.

⁶ The official visit by the Tsarevich Aleksandr Nikolaevich in 1838 provided the Swedish hosts with a great and pleasant surprise. When the Tsarevich and his suite had left the Russian ship, anchored at the roadstead in front of the Royal Palace, and entered the Palace for a meeting with the king, a lonely figure in a dark cloak was seen leaving the ship and hurrying up to the palace. It turned out to be Emperor Nicholas himself, who had decided to pay the ageing king a surprise visit *incognito*. This gesture on the part of the emperor was much appreciated and contributed to strengthening relations between the countries for the rest of the king's life.

⁷ Cf. Karl Löfström, *Sveriges Riddarordnar* (Stockholm, 1949), 62–68.

Nevertheless, the Russian empress had become a member⁸ of the Order of the Seraphim already in 1763. As a ‘female knight’ she was even asked on occasion to perform the dubbing ceremony, on behalf of the king of Sweden, upon a Russian citizen who had been appointed Knight of the Order of the Seraphim.

During the meeting in Fredrikshamn Gustavus III wished to manifest his good relations with the empress by decorating her favourite Aleksandr Dmitrievich Lanskoi (1758–1784) with the Commander of the Order of the Polar Star. He obviously did so in an attempt to make the empress ‘retaliate’ by decorating his own favourite, Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt, with a Russian order. The fact that Armfelt never received any Russian mark of favour at that time clearly shows that Catherine held the upper hand in the diplomatic game.

In spite of the war between Russia and Sweden in 1808–1809, ending with the Russian capture of Finland, the official relations between the two ‘arch-enemies’ were mended surprisingly quickly. After the *coup d'état* in 1809, when the young King Gustavus IV Adolphus (r. 1792–1809) was deposed – mainly in retaliation for the disastrously handled war – the pro-Russian features of Swedish foreign policy became more and more evident. The military and political manœuvring of Napoleon also made European politics more complicated and strongly contributed to bringing Sweden and Russia closer to each other. When the first Bernadotte ascended the Swedish throne as King Charles XIV John in 1818, the rapprochement with Russia on the whole was an established political doctrine, and in fact continued to be so until the Crimean War. From the time of Catherine the Great all Russian sovereigns have been Knights of the Order of the Seraphim.

At the time when Emperor Paul I was helped into a better world in 1801, Swedish contacts with the Russian court were relatively limited. From the point of view of orders, Paul’s flirting with the Catholic Order of Malta hardly contributed to raising his shares in the arch-Protestant Sweden, which looked with great suspicion on all manifestations of ‘papal paraphernalia’. Considering the dramatic events surrounding the demise of Emperor Paul, it stands out as some-

⁸ According to the statutes of 1748, women were not supposed to receive any Swedish orders. In the same manner priests could not become *knight*s since that was considered to be detrimental to their spiritual occupation. When a priest received a Swedish order he therefore became a *member* (*ledamot*) of the order – not a *knight*. For similar reasons priests also could not wear a collar (chain) of an order, but had to use a broad ribbon around the neck instead. When – in spite of the spirit of the original statutes – women did receive Swedish orders they were, just like the clergy, called *members*.

what callous from the side of the Swedish Court that an official demand for the return of the dead emperor's insignia of the Order of the Seraphim was sent to the Russian Court only a few months after the funeral. In a protocol of the Chapter of Royal Orders, dated 22 November 1802, King Gustavus IV Adolphus informs the Chapter that, after a second reminder to the Russian Court, he had received assurances that the insignia would be returned 'in compliance with His Majesty's wish and in concordance with the dignity of the order'. In St Petersburg, however, the court officials must have had other priorities, and at the regular meeting of the Chapter of Orders six months later (22 April 1803) a slightly irritated king declares that, in spite of promises given by the Imperial Russian Court, the order had not been returned. Unfortunately, the documents do not reveal the outcome of this storm in a teacup, but most probably the insignia eventually were sent back, and the irritated young king could calm down.

As already mentioned, the emergence of Napoleon on the European scene contributed to a surprisingly quick mending of the sore relations between Sweden and Russia. The loss of Finland in 1809 was a terrible blow to the kingdom, which lost half of its territory to its big neighbour. It took the authority and skills of the Crown Prince Elect and one of Napoleon's former Marshals, Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, later King Charles XIV John, to make his new countrymen overcome their traditional 'russophobia' and establish a new and Russia-friendly policy. These intensified relations were also reflected in the exchange of orders between the two countries. Since for obvious reasons many of the issues dealt with at this time were of a military nature, the Swedish Order of the Sword became an important factor in Swedish-Russian relations. Although a complete list of Russian recipients of this order will remain a target for future research to establish, we may safely state that a large number of 'Swords' – from Grand Crosses to Knights – were given to Russian military men of all ranks during the reign of Alexander I.

Concerning the Order of the Sword, it might not be out of place here to include a few words about the unusual structure of this order. When it was created in 1748, allegedly as a 'revival' of an older order with its roots in the Baltic Order of the Knights of the Sword, it had two classes: Commander and Knight. From 1772, the number of classes was extended to three: Grand Cross, Commander and Knight. Sixteen years later, in 1788, Gustavus III created yet another and unique class: Knight Grand Cross. This was to become the highest and most



exclusive distinction within the Order of the Sword – so exclusive indeed that not even the king himself was allowed to wear it, unless he had fulfilled the stipulations saying that ‘a Swedish monarch may never accept or wear the insignia of this class of the Order until the Swedish army under his command has won a victory either in battle or through conquests’.⁹ In fact, this construction was unique, not only in a European but in a worldwide perspective. King Gustavus obviously was aware of this fact, and with his well-known sense of beauty and drama he created for this class of the order very unique and beautiful insignia, the most important of which was a simple upright sword in silver, worn directly under the top breast star on the left side of the breast. Originally, this class was intended only for Swedish military men, but the extreme degree of exclusiveness made this a distinction of such high prestige that it soon came to be given also to highly placed foreigners.

During the Napoleonic Wars, Crown Prince/King Charles XIV John honoured the allied monarchs of Russia, Austria and Prussia as well as a long series of foreign princes and generals. Thus, Emperor Alexander I received his Knight Grand Cross in 1814 together with his Austrian and Prussian colleagues. The same year four more Russians were honoured: General Count Langeron, Field Marshal Count Bracay de Tolly, the Russian heir to the throne Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich and General Count Bennigsen. If we also include the Russian General Baron Wintzingerode, who strangely enough had already been given the order in 1813, we have here a complete list of all Russian recipients. Emperor Alexander seems to have liked his Swedish order very much. On many paintings after 1814 he is seen proudly sporting the silver sword on his uniform (Illust. 3).

The year 1814 was a productive one for this distinction: no fewer than 21 persons received the silver sword(s). However, in 1815 and 1816 no one received any sword. In 1817, a single bestowal was made (to a Swede), and then we have to wait until 1823 when again one single bestowal was made (to a German prince). In the long time span between 1824 and today only two persons have been honoured in this way: in 1861 the French Emperor, Napoleon III, was appointed Knight Grand Cross. The appointment was made by King Charles XV (r. 1859–1872) in

3. Portrait of Emperor Alexander I wearing the upright silver sword of a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword immediately below the star of the Russian Order of St Andrew entwined with the English Order of the Garter. Private collection.

⁹ In spite of its uniqueness even this class was divided into two ‘subclasses’. The insignia of the first class were the cross worn around the neck, and an upright silver sword worn on the breast. The second class was identical, except that the silver sword was replaced with two crossed silver swords. The strict rules for attaining this class pertained equally to both sub-classes.

connection with his state visit to France in 1861, and reportedly it was the unplanned but concrete outcome of an obviously very nice dinner in the splendid state rooms of Versailles. Planned or not, the bestowal was much appreciated by the French host, and just like his older Russian colleague Alexander I, Napoleon often wore the little silver sword on his uniform. The last person – thus far, and probably for ever – to receive the silver sword was the Marshal of Finland, Baron Gustaf Mannerheim (1867–1951), who received it at his headquarters in 1942. The insignia were handed over to him by the Swedish Hereditary Prince Gustaf Adolf (1905–1947), who was sent on this mission by his grandfather, King Gustavus V, in order to express in this truly exceptional way the king's respect and admiration for the Baron and his heavy duties.

The acme of Swedish–Russian exchange of orders occurred during the two state visits which took place in 1908 and 1909. In order to strengthen the dynastic relations between the Romanovs and the Bernadottes it had been decided – as already mentioned above – that a marriage between the son of the Swedish King, Prince Wilhelm (1884–1965), and Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna (1890–1958) of Russia would be suitable. When the marriage was concluded in Tsarskoe Selo in 1908, large portions of the royal family of Sweden and relevant court officials were present. The emperor and his family paid a return visit to Stockholm the following year. Both these visits had a very formal and official character. The number of orders exchanged during these two visits was very high by any standard. During the 1909 visit the Russian side made about 400 bestowals of orders (not counting the medals involved), while the Swedish side gave roughly 70 orders (excluding all medals).¹⁰ It is quite normal that the 'incoming party' hands out three to four times more orders than the 'receiving party'.

During the 1908 visit to St Petersburg, three Russian Grand Dukes (Mikhail Aleksandrovich 1878–1918, Dmitrii Pavlovich 1891–1942 and Nikolai Mikhailovich 1859–1919) and three other high-placed persons (Counts Freedericksz, Stolypin and Izvolskii) were created Knights of the Order of the Seraphim. During the return visit in 1909, only one Order of the Seraphim was given – this time to the Tsarevich, Alexei Nikolaevich.

Before the revolution put an end to the exchange of orders between Imperial Russia and Sweden, two more Russians were decorated. In 1912, the Russian

¹⁰ Cf. Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm, *The Russian Imperial Award System 1894–1917*. (Helsinki, 2005), 473–485.

Minister for Foreign Affairs A. Izvolskii received his blue ribbon when the emperor and the king had an unofficial meeting on a ship in the Swedish archipelago, and in the same year Stockholm was visited by Grand Duke Kirill Vladimirovich (1876–1938) in connection with the opening of the Olympic Games. Kirill Vladimirovich thus was the last person in the splendid row of Russian Knights of the Order of the Seraphim.

Epilogue

All new Knights of the Order of the Seraphim are required to supply the Chancery of the Orders with necessary information concerning the coat of arms the new Knight wishes to use, and which device should be attached to it. In due time – normally a few years – the special ‘Seraphim Coat of Arms’ is then painted on a copper panel showing the coat of arms surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Seraphim, and with the recipient’s motto written on the top of the shield. These shields are then kept in the Apartments of the Orders at the Royal Palace until the recipient passes away. On the day of the funeral the coat of arms is moved to the church of the order, *Riddarholmskyrkan*, where a small ceremony is held while the large bell of the church will ring for one hour. After the ringing, the coat of arms is ceremoniously hung on its place in the church among the rest of the Knights who have passed away since 1748. The carnage and bloodshed of the members of the Russian imperial family in 1918–1919 tragically led to the situation that their coats of arms were not ready at the time of their death, and it would take many years before the empty spaces in the church of the order could be filled up. The shield of Emperor Nicholas II was painted in 1993, and that of Tsarevich Alexei Nikolaevich in 2003. The armorial panel of Grand Duke Kirill Vladimirovich (Illust. 4) was completed in 2007.

It is the irony of fate that the splendid old Russian orders – so badly treated by the forces of history – are now rising again from the ashes one by one, while the beautiful old orders of Sweden have been mutilated by a society able to appreciate neither historical traditions nor the need for an effective system of rewards.¹¹

¹¹ According to a decision of the Government the law was changed to the effect that from 1975 it is no longer permitted to bestow Swedish orders on Swedish citizens. Only foreign nationals can receive Swedish orders. To make these absurd rules even stranger, it was at the same time decided that only two of the Swedish orders – the Order of the Seraphim and the Order of the Polar Star – should be used. The Order of the Sword and the Order of Vasa were declared as ‘dormant’ and have not been bestowed since 1975.

Perhaps it is still possible to turn the tide. The Swedish Order of the Sword and the Order of Vasa are not formally abolished – only ‘dormant’. With modernized criteria for the bestowal of orders – also to its own citizens – Sweden still has the chance to once again join the community of states having a full-fledged system of orders and decorations at its disposal. In that discussion Sweden might once again turn to Russia – this time not looking for bribes, but for inspiration.

4. Armorial panel of Grand Duke Kirill Vladimirovich (1876–1938) of Russia as a Knight of the Order of the Seraphim. Painted by Leif Ericsson in 2007. The Royal Orders of Knighthood. Photograph Alexis Daflos.



THE ROYAL ORDER OF CHARLES XIII – THE FIFTH SWEDISH ORDER

Tom C. Bergroth

The Swedish Order of Freemasons

FREEMASONRY CAME TO SWEDEN from France and the first Swedish lodge was established in Stockholm in 1735. During the 1740s and 1750s, new lodges were formed in Sweden and a National Grand Master was elected in 1753. Additional chapter degrees were organised as the Grand Chapter in 1759 and the Grand Lodge of Sweden was established the following year.

In 1774, Prince Carl, Duke of Sudermania, later King Charles XIII (1748–1818), became the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge and established the IX Province in 1780, which was renamed the Swedish Order of Freemasons in 1937. Under his leadership the Swedish Rite developed into its modern form of a logical, continuous system of Christian freemasonry finally consisting of ten degrees. Although the first non-noble Swedish freemasons had been made during the 1750s, for a long period, non-noble members could not advance beyond the ninth degree. For the most senior Grand Lodge officers the rank of Masters of the Temple was introduced in 1777 and they are officially addressed as Most Enlightened Brethren and Knight Commanders of the Red Cross.

The chivalric theme came to Swedish freemasonry mainly from the German Masonic system known as the Strict Observance, which claimed to be an heir to the medieval Order of the Knights Templars. King Gustavus III's (1746–1792) interest in the history of this order was of great importance to him in the negotiations concerning the election of his brother, Prince Carl, as head of the Strict Observance. The romantic passion for medieval chivalry had in fact a real political significance. The higher Swedish Chapter became 'a secret order' – the Order of the Knights Templars – in which the cloak and sword of the knight replaced the apron and trowel of the mason. This allusion to a medieval order of knight-

hood attracted many members of the upper echelons of society and enhanced the pleasure they took in the antiquity of freemasonry. In fact, there was no connection whatsoever between the Order of the Knights Templars, dissolved in 1314, and the Masonic chapter degrees within the Swedish Rite.

The Royal Order of King Charles XIII

On 27 May 1811, King Charles XIII instituted a royal order which carries his name in order to commemorate the initiation of Crown Prince Carl Johan as a freemason in the Swedish Order of Freemasons and his appointment as Pro Grand Master of the Order the previous year.¹ However, the idea was not new. Already in June 1809, as newly crowned king, Charles XIII had proposed the founding of an Order of Jesus Christ of the Temple based upon the knightly Chapter degrees of the Swedish Order of Freemasons. The insignia was to be the Red Cross of the Knight Commanders.

Both the Royal Council and the Supreme Council of the Masonic Order opposed the suggestion. When the question was raised whether the Red Cross was to be made a public order, it was strongly opposed by the high officials of the Order. Since no official Masonic decorations existed anywhere else, reactions of foreign Masonic bodies could be detrimental to the good name of the Swedish Rite. Owing to the politically uncertain times the question was dropped, only to be taken up again two years later. The main reason for the delay was the matter of the line of succession to the Swedish throne as the royal couple of the Holstein-Gottorp family was childless. This, along with Sweden's role in the Napoleonic wars and the loss of Finland to Russia in 1809, caused the matter to be laid aside. When the French Marshal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte (1763–1844) was finally adopted as crown prince in autumn of 1810, King Charles XIII proceeded with his project. The same members of the cabinet who had opposed the idea two years earlier were now ready to accept the proposal for the new order of knighthood.

¹ A more detailed discussion of the order is Tom C. Bergroth, *Kungliga Carl XIII:s Orden: 'til upp-muntran och belöning för medborgerliga och välgörande bemödanden til nöddlidandes och allmänt gagn'* 1811– (Åbo, 2002). See also, by the same author, 'L'Ordre Royal de Charles XIII', *Renaissance Traditionnelle*, 133 (2003), 20–29. A French translation of the statutes of the order was published in *Acta Latomorum, ou Chronologie de l'histoire de la Franche-Maçonnerie française et étrangère* (Paris, 1815), II, 61–67.



The insignia, uniform and mantle

The insignia consists of the ruby-coloured cross paty which is worn around the neck on a red ribbon (Illust. 1). The white-enamelled centre medallion depicts the founder's mirror-monogram. On the reverse of the medallion there is a golden letter B within an equilateral gold-edged triangle. The cross is surmounted by a closed royal crown. When the cross is worn in public the royal monogram is visible. In 1832, a breast cross of red broadcloth was added to the insignia of the order. From the 1860s, it has usually been a red-enamelled gilded cross paty.

There are three main types of the neck cross. The first series of crosses, surmounted by a very small royal crown, was manufactured by the court jewelers Michael & Benedicks in 1811. The monogram and emblem in the centre medallions were flat. The glass pieces were plain on the obverse and bevelled on the reverse. In the 1840s, when these crosses were repaired, the crowns were replaced with larger ones. When seven foreign vacancies were created in 1852, a new, second type was manufactured by the jewellers R. Brieskorn and C. Hammer. In these crosses there is a small golden ball between the crown and the upper cross arm, and the monogram and the letter B within a triangle

1. The Cross of the Order of Charles XIII (obverse and reverse). Manufactured in 1811 with a later crown c. 1845. Private collection. Photograph Per Johan Lundsten.

2. King Charles XV in the uniform of the Order of Charles XIII. Copy after the original painting by Johan Fredrik Höckert in 1861. The king also wears the Order of the Seraphim with Collar, and the Cross of the Order of Charles XIII is worn with the monogram outwards. The Swedish Order of Freemasons. Photograph Göran Schmidt & Nina Heinz.



are in relief. The glass pieces in the arms are convex-cut. The third and present type followed in the early 1860s, manufactured since then by the court jewelers C. F. Carlman. The crown is of the same type as in all other crosses of the Swedish orders of knighthood and the glass pieces are bevelled on both sides. Older crosses have frequently been repaired and altered through the years, especially with regard to the crown. Very few crosses of the older types have been preserved.

The uniform of the order (Illust. 2), which is based on that of the Order of the Sword, was introduced in 1822. It is still in use, although the corresponding uniforms of the other Swedish orders of knighthood have not been worn since 1844. In the early 1970s, it was questioned whether the uniform should be abolished, but the then Grand Master, Prince Bertil, decided in 1975 that it should remain in use. The uniform is worn only on the Grand and Provincial Lodge Annual Festive Days.

A white woollen mantle with a large red (temple) cross is worn over the uniform. The use of the white silk sash, previously worn on the right shoulder, was discontinued in the early years of the twentieth century. A black top hat, similar to that of the other orders, with a cockade and plumes on the side, was worn until the late nineteenth century when it was replaced by a white cap. In 1929, efforts were made to reintroduce the hat, but it did not come back into use until 2000. Thus, this is one of the old traditions maintained by the order into the twenty-first century.

The position of the order and appointments

A royal order which can be conferred only upon freemasons is unique in the whole world. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that the order is in a constitutional sense not an award bestowed by the Swedish state. It is merely a royal prerogative to reward freemasons for services to mankind, beneficence and humanism. The Order of Charles XIII was not included in the changes made in 1974 which ended the bestowal of state orders of knighthood to Swedes. The Department of Finance stated in its report that the order has its own statutes and own organization, and its matters are handled without the involvement of governmental agencies.

It is a prerogative of the king to be the Grand Master of the Order. Second in command was the heir to the throne; at the time Sweden had an agnatic order



3. The baptismal ribbon with the Cross of the Order of the Seraphim and the rosettes of the Orders of the Sword, the Polar Star and Charles XIII, introduced in 1826. This example is from the mid-nineteenth century. The Royal Armoury. Photograph Alexis Daflos.

of succession. Princes of the blood would not automatically receive the order; it was up to the king to decide when the time had come for them to be dubbed. However, in connection with the christening ceremonies a special blue baptismal ribbon (Illust. 3) with the Cross of the Order of the Seraphim and rosettes of the Orders of the Sword, the Polar Star and Charles XIII was used since 1826.² Since then Swedish princes have been regarded as having been born as Knights of the Order, but they do not wear its insignia until having attained the highest dignity of the Swedish Order of Freemasons, Knight Commander of the Red Cross.

The Order has its own Chapter of Knights. The first knights were all appointed by King Charles XIII personally. In 1821, his successor, King Charles XIV John, decided that to fill a vacancy, names of candidates should be proposed and voted on, and the prospective member elected by a majority vote of the members of the Chapter of the Order. A knight to be elected is thus proposed by knights of the Order. In 1932, King Gustavus V changed the procedure by deciding that there should be three nominations for each vacancy since he wished to make his personal choice among these. This procedure was followed until 1972 and the king personally, as Grand Master of the Swedish Order of Freemasons, made his selection. He did not necessarily have to follow the proposal of the knights but normally did so.

With few exceptions the king personally attended and presided at the meetings with the knights. Since 1979, the Chapter has made the proposals, which are forwarded by the Chancellor of the Order to the king for his final approval. Currently it is customary that only one name is forwarded for each open vacancy. Formally the king still appoints all new Knights of the Order. Only one knight has ever been expelled from membership of the order and the Swedish Order of Freemasons and three appointed knights have died before having been dubbed and invested with the insignia.

The appointments are announced on the name day of Charles (Carl), 28 January, and the dubbing of a knight takes place on the Annual Festive Day of the Grand Lodge, that is, on 22 March. A Knight of the Order should have reached the age of 36 upon being proposed. The number of knights was originally restricted to thirty, three of whom should be clergymen. Royal knights are not included in this figure. In 1858, three vacancies were added for Norwegian knights belong-

² The current baptismal ribbon, revived in 2012, is without the rosettes.

ing to the Norwegian Freemasons' Province, which became independent in 1891 as the Norwegian Order of Freemasons. Norwegian freemasons appointed to the Order after 1905 are counted as foreign knights.

The number of knights remains today thirty secular and three clerical members. The number of vacancies has never been increased, although from time to time there have been extra knights appointed owing to ceremonial duties within the Order of Freemasons. From 1974 onwards the holders of high offices within the Swedish Order of Freemasons have had to retire upon reaching the age of 75. Thus, there is today a surplus of Knight Commanders over and above the originally planned thirtythree only. It also means that not every Knight Commander of the Red Cross can be appointed a Knight of the Order of Charles XIII.

In the order of precedence, the Knights of the Order are placed after the Commanders 1st Class of the Royal Orders of the Sword, of the Polar Star and of the Vasa. However, for about a century, there was a considerable overlap between the membership of this order and the highest echelon of the Swedish state honours system, that is to say, the Order of the Seraphim. This connection is vividly illustrated by Per Krafft the Younger's painting (1826) of the coronation of King Charles XIV John in 1818, which depicts thirteen Knights of the Order of Charles XIII, of whom six are in the immediate vicinity of the newly-crowned king. One of the first knights was Baron Lars von Engeström, Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs, who added the Cross of the Order as a charge on his shield (Illust. 4) after he was promoted to count in 1813.

Eight non-royal Knights of the Order of the Seraphim appointed during the Gustavian era before 1809 became Knights of the Order of Charles XIII. One of them was additionally Commander Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword, six were Commanders of the Order of the Polar Star and two Commanders Grand Cross of the Order of Vasa. Most of the early Knights of the Order of Charles XIII were prominent court and state officers, such as cabinet ministers, presidents of the fiscal courts of appeal, high-ranking military officers and archbishops. Out of the total 110 Knights of the Order of the Seraphim appointed between the foundation of the Order of Charles XIII (1811) and the accession of King Oscar I (1844) 22 were or became knights of the latter order.³ In comparison, out of the total 285 Knights of the Seraphim appointed during the reigns of

³ Royal princes who were born but not dubbed Knights of the Order of Charles XIII have not been included in these figures since they were not entitled to wear the insignia of the order.



Oscar I, Charles XV and Oscar II in 1844–1907 18, that is to say 6 per cent, were or became Knights of the Order of Charles XIII. Out of the 204 Knights of the Seraphim appointed by Gustavus V and Gustavus VI Adolphus between 1907 and 1973 9, i.e. 4 per cent, were or became Knights of the Order of Charles XIII.

The last non-royal Swedish Knight of the Order of the Seraphim, who was also a Knight of the Order of Charles XIII, was Johan Nilsson (1873–1963), County Governor of Kristianstad and Speaker of the Parliament, who was appointed in 1928. The thus far last Swedish royal Knight of the Order of the Seraphim, who was entitled to wear the insignia of the Order of Charles XIII, was Prince Bertil (1912–1997, illust. 5). Having been born as a knight of both of these orders, he was initiated in the Craft in 1947 and invested as Knight of the Order of Charles XIII in 1949. The only foreign commoner knight of both of these orders has been Ásgeir Ásgeirsson (1894–1972), President of the Republic of Iceland.

4. Armorial bearings of Count Lars von Engeström. The fourth quarter is charged with the Cross of the Order of Charles XIII. The Swedish House of Nobility. Photograph Karl-Henrik Stiernspetz.

5. Armorial panel of H.R.H.
Prince Bertil as a Knight of the
Order of the Seraphim with
the insignia of all five Swedish
orders of knighthood. Painted
by David Friefeldt in 1965. The
Royal Orders of Knighthood.
Photograph Alexis Daflos.



Foreign knights

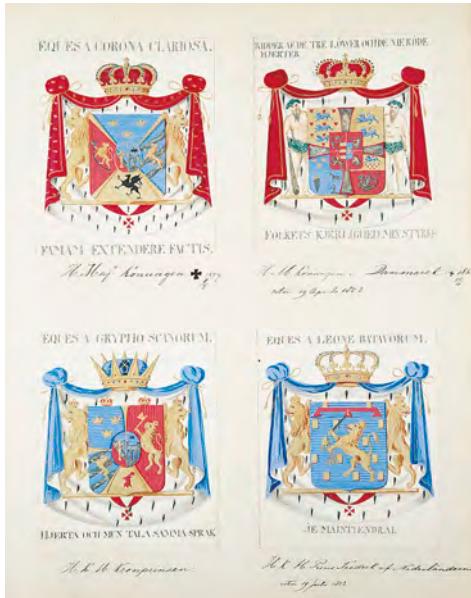
The Swedish Order of Freemasons had very good relations with English freemasonry from the late 1790s and with German freemasonry beginning from 1819. However, the recognition of other foreign grand lodges was not common until the mid-nineteenth century. In 1852, the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the Grand Orient of the Netherlands approached Sweden suggesting contacts on a regular basis and appointing representatives. In connection with this, following the suggestion of Crown Prince Carl, King Oscar I made the following amendment to the statutes of the Order on 28 April 1852: in addition to the original number of knights the king could admit up to seven foreign men into the order. Freemasonry was a rapidly growing institution on a European level, and the Crown Prince's idea was to strengthen the alliances between the Grand Masters with this instrument.⁴ Since the orders of knighthood have in modern times been a means for the ruler to demonstrate his pleasure with a person's services to the nation or the public good in general, this additional quota of three to seven foreign knights provided further possibilities in this regard. The number of foreign knights was expanded to ten in 2008.

The first foreign knight, Prince Willem Frederik Karel of the Netherlands (1797–1881), was appointed in conjunction with the introduction of the exchange of representatives in 1852. He was Grand Master of the *Grootosten der Nederlanden* and father-in-law of King Oscar's oldest son, Crown Prince Carl (XV), who had married Princess Louise of the Netherlands in 1850. In 1853, Prince Wilhelm Friedrich of Prussia, the future King William I of Prussia and later Emperor of Germany (1797–1888), who was protector of the Prussian grand lodges, and King Frederick VII of Denmark were admitted (Illust. 6).

The king of Denmark and the Crown Prince of Sweden were very close friends and Frederick VII had expressed a wish to introduce the Swedish Rite in Denmark in 1852.⁵ The king was initiated to the chapter degrees of the Swedish Rite in summer 1852 personally by the Crown Prince at Frederiksborg Castle. The king

⁴ Crown Prince Carl pointed out in the meeting of the High Council on 2 April that awarding the Order of Charles XIII to foreigners besides Swedish freemasons would strengthen the reputation of the Swedish Order of Freemasons. This was approved with the amendment that foreign knights were to be initiated in the Swedish Rite as Knight Commanders before being entitled to wear the insignia of the order. However, the only ones to have actually been initiated were Willem Frederik Karel (1852), Frederick VII (1853) and Frederick III (1858).

⁵ See Tom C. Bergroth, 'Det svenske systems indførelse i Danmark', *Acta Masonica Scandinavica*, 8 (2005), 9–29.



6. Arms of King Oscar I of Sweden, King Frederick VII of Denmark, Crown Prince Carl (XV) of Sweden and Prince Willem Frederik of the Netherlands in the new Armorial of the Order of Charles XIII, which was begun in 1858 and continued until 1868. The Swedish Order of Freemasons.

wore the insignia for the first time in Elsinore on 24 June 1853, when he introduced the Swedish Rite to Denmark as Grand Master of the Danish order. After these initial appointments, a number of Royal Grand Masters with connections to the Swedish Order of Freemasons were appointed knights of the order. Crown Prince Frederik, the future King Frederick VIII of Denmark (1843–1912), was appointed in 1871, King Christian X of Denmark (1870–1947) in 1912 and Prince Harald of Denmark (1876–1949) in 1927. All of them served as Grand Masters of the Danish Order of Freemasons. King Frederick VIII was also a relative owing to his marriage to Princess Louise, daughter of Charles XV of Sweden. Prince Hans of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksborg (1825–1911) was knighted in 1877 as Pro Grand Master of the Danish Order of Freemasons.

The first non-royal foreign knights were General Carl Friedrich von Selasinsky (1803–1860), Grand Master of the *Grosse Landesloge der Freimaurer von Deutschland*, in 1853 and titular Privy Counsellor Christian Jacob Brastrup (1789–1870), Grand Master of the Danish Order of Freemasons in 1865. Following him four Danish Grand Masters were appointed knights between 1952 and 1998. The Norwegian Order of Freemasons was established in 1891.⁶ Between

6 The Xth Masonic Province changed name to the present one in 1937.

1923 and 2002 nine Norwegian Grand Masters were appointed knights. Seven Grand Masters of the Icelandic Order of Freemasons, established in 1951, were appointed knights between 1959 and 2002. One of them was the president of the Republic of Iceland, Ásgeir Ásgeirsson. As a sign of friendship and historical connections between the Swedish Order of Freemasons and *Grosse Landesloge der Freimaurer von Deutschland* five German non-royal Grand Masters became knights of the order between 1853 and 1926. Royal Grand Master were Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, the future Emperor Frederick III (1831–1888), who became a knight in 1858, and Prince Friedrich Leopold of Prussia (1865–1931),⁷ who became a knight in 1893.

The English connection is of some interest. The first member of the United Grand Lodge of England to be made a knight of the order was Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, the future King Edward VII (1841–1910).⁸ The Prince of Wales was invested with the insignia on 21 December 1868. The day before, he had been admitted into the Swedish Rite in a private Grand Master's Lodge at the Royal Palace in Stockholm.⁹ On 21 December, he was conferred the degrees VII–X. At a state dinner given in his honour that night, the Prince of Wales wore the Order of Charles XIII for the first time.

No records are available to cast light on any discussions that the king of Sweden and Norway and his royal English guest may have had. However, there is some circumstantial evidence about what must have been in the minds of the two main actors. About a month later King Charles XV visited the Norwegian capital Christiania.¹⁰ The king had mentioned to a group of freemasons the happy occasion that had taken place in Stockholm the previous month. One young Norwegian brother, Ernst Frölich, who indicated that he had some personal experience of English masonry, was invited to Stockholm to continue the conversation.¹¹ A few weeks later, in March 1869, he was introduced at the Royal Palace

⁷ He resigned as a mason in 1918.

⁸ James W. Daniel indicates in his article 'An intimate and permanent tye: Anglo-Swedish Masonic relations 1868–1870' (*Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, 1996, 109) that the fact that both the Prince of Wales's brother-in-law, Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, and his father, Prince Wilhelm Friedrich of Prussia, had been knights of the Order of Charles XIII since 1858 and 1853 respectively had influenced his decision to seek admission into freemasonry in Sweden.

⁹ The Lodge was opened by King Charles XV, but probably owing to his poor health, the actual degree work of the first six degrees was conducted by his younger brother, the Pro Grand Master, Hereditary Prince Oscar, the future King Oscar II.

¹⁰ Renamed Oslo after the independence of Norway in 1905.

¹¹ Ernst Frölich, *Mina Frimurare-Minnen* (Stockholm, 1891).

in Stockholm to the Secretary of the British legation, Audley C. Gosling, an active member of both English and Swedish lodges. The king asked Frölich to assist Gosling in his task of translating Swedish rituals into English for the Prince of Wales. In October 1869, Frölich travelled to London with the translations in a tin box¹² charged to hand them over to the Prince of Wales. A few days later he had received a letter from the prince's equerry, Herbert Fisher, with the following message: 'The Prince of Wales having been informed that it is proposed to form in England a Masonic Lodge after the Swedish Ritual, has commanded me to inform you that it will give much pleasure to His Royal Highness to act as Patron of it.' The following year, 1870, the king sent Frölich again to England in order to prepare an invitation for a delegation from the Supreme Council of the 33° of the Ancient and Accepted Rite for England and Wales to visit the king in Stockholm, where they could acquaint themselves with the Swedish Rite. The invitation was accepted, but on 19 July the Franco-Prussian War broke out and the visit was postponed. By the time of the death of King Charles XV in 1872 the plans were abandoned. However, there was a possibility that the Swedish Rite might have been introduced in England.

The second Englishman to receive the order was the brother of the Prince of Wales, Arthur William Patrick Albert, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn (1850–1942), who was appointed in 1905. The eldest son of King Gustavus V, Prince Gustaf Adolf (1882–1973) married the duke's eldest daughter, Princess Margaret, on 15 June 1905. Thus, the British and Swedish royal families became closely related. In 1905, when the Duke of Connaught visited Sweden he was the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England and was accordingly decorated by King Oscar II with the order.¹³ For many years to come there were no official contacts between the Swedish and English Grand Lodges. In 1932, King Gustavus V invited the Duke of Connaught to visit Sweden.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the duke suffered from ill health and could not head the English delegation. Instead, he entrusted the task to his Pro Grand Master, Sir Arthur Oliver Russell, Lord Ampthill (1869–1935). In his report of 7 December 1932, Lord Ampthill reported

¹² The tin box with the translation of the Swedish rituals he left behind was rediscovered in 1996 by the Librarian and Curator in the archives of the United Grand Lodge of England.

¹³ There are no records in the Swedish Grand Lodge archives about the details of the investiture.

¹⁴ The idea of the visit had originated in private conversations between the Duke of Connaught and his son-in-law, Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf, who then was Pro Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Sweden.

that 'there are but few Grand Officers, Masonic distinctions being rewarded by progress to the higher degrees. A brother attends a Lodge in any degree wearing the insignia in the highest degree he has attained, while great value is attached to Masonic study and to lectures. In conclusion, from our observations, it is probably true to say that freemasonry in Sweden plays a much greater part in the life of the average member than is the case in England, and this is probably because it is more concentrated in the large towns, and not spread so widely over the country as is the case here.'¹⁵

The following English freemasons to receive the order were all Grand Masters: Richard Walter John, 6th Earl of Donoughmore (1875–1948) in 1934 and Sir Lawrence Roger Lumley, 11th Earl of Scarborough (1896–1969) in 1966.¹⁶ In 2000, the present Grand Master, H.R.H. Prince Edward, Duke of Kent (b. 1935) was appointed a Knight of the Order in conjunction with the commemoration of the unofficial bicentenary anniversary of the Swedish–English Masonic relations.

Conclusion

As this paper has demonstrated, the Order of Charles XIII occupies a completely unique position among orders of knighthood. Although it is a royal order and the reigning sovereign is always its Grand Master, it is not a part of the Swedish state honours system. Yet, in the order of precedence, its knights are ranked immediately after Commanders 1st Class of the other royal orders.

During its early history, the membership of the Order of Charles XIII overlapped considerably with that of the Order of the Seraphim. One fifth of the Knights of the Order of the Seraphim appointed between the foundation of the Order of Charles XIII and the accession of King Oscar I in 1844 were or became knights of the latter order. Gradually this correlation diminished, being 6 per cent among the Knights of the Seraphim appointed during the following three reigns in 1844–1907 and 4 per cent during the next two reigns 1907–1973.

Internationally, the Order of Charles XIII has played a symbolically significant role in Masonic diplomacy. This highlights the fact that the Swedish Rite is practised not only in Sweden and Swedish-speaking parts of Finland, but also

¹⁵ See Bo Åkerrén, *The Swedish Royal Order of King Carl XIII, for Freemasons only* (The Lodge of Research No. 2429 Leicester, Transactions 1997, Loughborough, 1998).

¹⁶ The investiture took place on 14 April 1966 in conjunction with the appointment of King Gustavus VI Adolphus, Grand Master of the Swedish Order of Freemasons, as Honorary Past Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England.

in Denmark, Iceland and Norway. It also exists in a German variant, practised in *Grosse Landesloge der Freimaurer von Deutschland* (The German Order of Freemasons).¹⁷ In total two foreign emperors, four kings, five royal princes and one president of a republic have been members of the Order of Charles XIII. Currently, the only member of a royal family entitled to wear the insignia of the Order is H.R.H. the Duke of Kent.

Even today the order maintains traditional formalities which have been abolished in many other orders. The Chapter of Knights elects new members after which the nomination is submitted to the king for final approval. Whereas the uniforms of other Swedish royal orders have not been worn after 1844, the uniform and the mantle of the Order of Charles XIII are still worn on the festive days of the Swedish Order of Freemasons. The tradition of painting the coats of arms of the Knights of the Order continues as well, and these are displayed in the Knight's Hall in the Bååth Palace, the Masonic Hall of the Swedish Order of Freemasons in Stockholm (Illust. 7).¹⁸

7. The Knight's Hall in the Bååth Palace, the Masonic Hall of the Swedish Order of Freemasons in Stockholm. The shields of the Knight Commanders and Knights of the Order are displayed in the High Choir. The Swedish Order of Freemasons acquired the building in 1874 and the interior was designed by Professor Fredrik Wilhelm Scholander. Photograph Ronny Carlsson.



¹⁷ For further reading, see Tom C. Bergroth, 'Freimaurerei, ein Ideal in der Zeit – Frimureri, ett ideal i tiden', in *In gold und himmelblau – Iguld och himmelsblått* (Turku, 1993), 7–28.

¹⁸ The heraldic practice of the order is discussed in greater detail in Tom C. Bergroth, 'The Royal Order of Carl XIII', in André Vandewalle, Lieve Viaene-Awouters & Luc Duerloo (eds), *Genealogica & Heraldica: Proceedings of the XXVI International Congress for Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences* (Brussels, 2006), 100–104.

ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD AS
INSTRUMENTS OF DIPLOMACY

II

IN SOLO DEO SPES MEA



FRIDERICVS SECUNDVS. DEI GRATIA. DANIAE,
NORVVEGIAE, WANDALORVM, GOTHORVM, REX
DVX SLESVICI, HOLSATIAE, STORMARIAE. AC.
DIE T MARSIAE, COMES IN. OLDENBURG. ET. DEL.
MENHORST. 1578

FOREIGN ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD BESTOWED ON DANISH KINGS AND CITIZENS UNTIL THE NAPOLEONIC ERA

Nils G. Bartholdy

THE FOUNDATION OF the chivalric orders in Denmark was duly influenced by foreign traditions. It is therefore relevant to compare foreign orders of knighthood with the Danish ones. There can be no doubt that orders of foreign princes, like those of the kings of Denmark, were used as political and diplomatic tools from the beginning.

King Eric VII, in Scandinavia called 'of Pomerania', because he was born a duke of Pomerania, married Princess Philippa, daughter of King Henry IV of England in 1406. That accounts for his being nominated a Knight of the Garter in 1404. Henry IV considered the alliance with the king of the Scandinavian Union to be advantageous to his own position.¹ The heraldic achievements of the king of Denmark were placed above his stall in St George's Chapel in Windsor,² though his stall plate does not exist there anymore. There is no certain knowledge that he received the robes of the Order, but the illustrations in William Bruges' Garter Book painted around 1430 give an impression of the appearance of the robes of the order at the time.³ Robes were apparently also provided for Queen Philippa as a Lady of the Garter in 1408.⁴

In 1419, the German King Sigismund awarded King Eric the Order of the Dragon.⁵ This order was connected with Hungary, and the badge – a dragon,

1. Stall plate in St George's Chapel, Windsor, for Frederick II, Knight of the Garter 1578. With acknowledgement to the Dean and Canons of Windsor.

1 Hugh E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348–1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), 156, 160, 162ff., 179ff.

2 Peter J. Begent & Hubert Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter 650 Years* (London, 1999), 179f., 311; Edmund H. Fellowes, *The Knights of the Garter 1348–1939: With a Complete List of the Stall-Plates in St. George's Chapel* (London, 1939), 69.

3 Ottfried Neubecker & Nils G. Bartholdy, *Heraldik. Kilder, brug, betydning* (Copenhagen, 1979), 21.

4 Fellowes, *The Knights of the Garter*, 107.

5 *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck* (Lübeck 1881), VI, 128, no. LXXXV.

symbolizing Evil, writhing under the Christian Cross – reflects Sigismund's struggle against heresy as well as his fight against the Turks. Sigismund's need for political support from the Northern European princes was behind the bestowal of the Order of the Dragon on his cousin King Eric.

King Eric himself was also head of an order of knighthood. A Flemish nobleman, Guilbert de Lannoy, was offered it in 1413 when he visited the king in Denmark on his way back from the service of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. However, he declined to accept it because King Eric was an opponent of the Teutonic Order.⁶

In 1421, the Teutonic Order expressed misgivings about the considerable number of Livonian noblemen who wore the king of Denmark's order.⁷ The king evidently used his order for political ends. Precisely when this order was founded and what its insignia was, is not known. Possibly the insignia consisted of a collar of wyverns/dragons with a wyvern/dragon as a pendant badge, which appears in a sandstone relief made after 1473 together with other chivalric badges in the cloister of Himmelkron in Upper Franconia.⁸ The insignia is attributed to King Christopher, called 'of Bavaria', Eric's successor on the throne, but might properly have been an Order of King Eric.⁹ There is no evidence that King Christopher used his predecessor's order. It is highly probable that it disappeared at the latest with King Eric's dethronement in 1439.

The royal house of Denmark had not always been opposed to the Teutonic Order. Estonia, which had been conquered by the king of Denmark in 1219, was sold to the Order in 1346. In this context King Valdemar IV's elder brother, Otto, joined the Teutonic Order, but seems to have died shortly after. After the sale of Estonia, King Valdemar went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he had himself dubbed at the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁰

⁶ *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum* (Leipzig, 1866), III, 444.

⁷ *Liv-, Esth- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten* (Riga, 1867), V, col. 712.

⁸ 'Kreuzgang im Kloster Himmelkron', in R. Stillfried (ed.), *Alterthümer und Kunstdenkmale des Erlauchten Hauses Hohenzollern* (Berlin, 1867), new series vol. 2, with lithographs; Helmuth Meissner, 'Der Klosterkreuzgang Himmelkron', *Archiv für Geschichte von Oberfranken*, 54 (1974), 5ff.

⁹ Louis Bobé – in *De kongelige danske Ridderordener og Medailler* (Copenhagen, 1950), I, 11 – imagined that King Sigismund's Order of the Dragon had been bestowed on King Christopher, but that is a misinterpretation of the character of the insignia in the cloister of Himmelkron. This mistake has been repeated by D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325–1520* (Woodbridge, 2000), 352. Louis Bobé's supposition (p. 12), that King Christian III is wearing the Order of the Dragon in a portrait attributed to Jost Verheiden is untenable, as the order did not exist in the sixteenth century.

¹⁰ Kai Hørby, 'Tiden fra 1340 til 1523', in Aksel E. Christensen et al. (ed.), *Danmarks Historie* (Copenhagen, 1980), II, 32f.

Since 1440, the Elector of Brandenburg bestowed on noblemen and noblewomen an order of knighthood officially named *Gesellschaft Unser Lieben Frau* (Companionship of Our Dear Lady, the Holy Virgin), but normally called the ‘Order of the Swan’. King Christian I of Denmark and Queen Dorothea are named in a list of companions dating from 1464–1465,¹¹ but no record reveals when the order was bestowed on them. However, it is evident that Dorothea, daughter of Margrave John the Alchemist of Brandenburg, was quite aware of the Hohenzollern order when she arrived in Denmark in 1445. Elisabeth, a daughter of King Hans, who in 1502 married Joachim I, Elector of Brandenburg, was also a member of the ‘Order of the Swan’.¹²

There can be no doubt that in the 1450s Queen Dorothea took an active part in the foundation of the Danish Order of St Mary, which much later after its renewal was called the Order of the Elephant. The insignia of the Danish order and the Hohenzollern order are comparable in every detail. They were both Orders of Our Lady composed according to the same scheme: the emblem displaying the Virgin and Child pendent from a loop trefoil or three rosettes; the swan symbolizing the crucifixion of Christ is a parallel to the instruments of the Passion expressed by the nails and crown of thorns of the Danish insignia; the martyred heart’s humble mortification and the unblemished cloth correspond to the attributes of chastity and purity, sometimes symbolized by elephants. There seems to be good reason to assume that the Companionship of Our Dear Lady in Brandenburg was the principal source from which the Danish royal couple drew inspiration when founding its own Companionship.¹³

The choice of tower-bearing elephants for the collar of the Danish Order may have been influenced by an event which took place at the splendid feast given at Lille in 1454 by Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy. In a great ceremony, at

¹¹ S. Haenle, ‘Urkunden und Nachweise zur Geschichte des Schwanen-Ordens’, *Jahresbericht des historischen Vereins für Mittelfranken* (1873 & 1874), 43. It is not very likely that Queen Dorothea’s first husband, King Christopher, who died in 1448, was included in the list from 1464–1465. In Holger Kruse, Werner Paravicini & Andreas Ranft (eds), *Ritterorden und Adelsgesellschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 336ff., ‘the King and Queen of Denmark, Sweden and Norway’ are identified as Christopher and Dorothea, but most probably it was Christian I, Queen Dorothea’s second husband.

¹² Ibid., 337.

¹³ Nils G. Bartholdy, ‘Broderskab – selskab – ridderorden: Ordenernes ældste historie’, in Mogens Bencard & Tage Kaarsted (eds), *Fra Korsridder til Ridderkors: Elefantordenens og Dannebrog-ordenens historie* (Odense, 1993), 31ff.; Nils G. Bartholdy, ‘The Swan of Stormaria – a Myth in the Danish Royal Arms’, in *Genealogica et Heraldica St Andrews MMVI: Proceedings of the XXVII International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences St Andrews 2006* (Edinburgh, 2008), I, 18off.



2. Arms of King Hans, Knight of the Garter 1493, with the shield encircled by the Garter. Detail of the king's copy of the statutes. The National Archives of Denmark.

which the Holy Church was personified by a woman in a tower on the back of an elephant, Duke Philip and his Knights of the Golden Fleece vowed to wage war against the Turks.¹⁴

The Danish order was bestowed on the king's counsellors of state and other members of the nobility, including ladies, and on foreign princes too. One of them was King Henry VII of England.¹⁵ Since 1467, Danish privateers had waged a war against England because English merchants encroached Iceland. This came to an end in 1490. King Hans concluded a peace treaty with King Henry, which gave the English certain privileges in Denmark as well as in Iceland in order to

¹⁴ Per Hougaard, 'Den danske elefant: Dens baggrund, betydning og brug', *Heraldisk Tidsskrift*, 43 (1981), 153–185; Per Hougaard, 'The Elephant and its Rôle in the National Symbolism of Denmark', in *Genealogica & Heraldica. Report of The 14th International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences in Copenhagen 1980* (Copenhagen, 1982), 57–71.

¹⁵ Frederik Münter, *Undersøgelser om de danske Ridderordeners Oprindelse* (Copenhagen, 1822), 112 ff.

offset the influence of the Hanseatic League.¹⁶ It was no doubt a result of this alliance that the two kings gave each other their orders of knighthood. King Hans was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1493, and a magnificent copy of the statutes was sent to him around 1499 (Illust. 2).¹⁷ The 190 cm-long piece of parchment with French text and lavish illuminations also contains the coat of arms of King Hans encircled by the Garter. It is preserved in the National Archives of Denmark.¹⁸ According to an account by Pierre Briçonnet, dated on 8 July 1484, King Hans was also a Knight of the French Order of St Michael, but more detailed information about his possible appointment is lacking.¹⁹

Frederick, the brother of King Hans, still as Duke of Schleswig and Holstein pursued a foreign policy of his own which was probably directed against his nephew King Christian II, who received support from his brother-in-law, the mighty Emperor Charles V. Duke Frederick concluded a treaty with King Francis I of France in 1518. In 1527, when Frederick had already taken the Danish throne as King Frederick I, Francis appointed him a Knight of the Order of St Michael.²⁰ Many years later, in 1540, the same Order was given to Frederick's son, King Christian III, as part of the negotiations that resulted in a Danish-French alliance in 1541.²¹ After the dethronement of Christian II in 1523, Frederick became king of Denmark and Norway. In a posthumous portrait painted in 1539, King Frederick I is wearing the collar of the French order (Illust. 3). Among the deceased king's property in 1533 was not only his collar of the Order of St Michael but also the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece.²² They had belonged to his dethroned nephew Christian II and had been taken from him after his arrest in 1532.

¹⁶ Erik Kjersgaard, 'Fyrstealliancer', in John Danstrup & Hal Koch (eds), *Danmarks Historie*, (Copenhagen, 1970), V, 95.

¹⁷ Begent & Chesshyre, *Order of the Garter*, 62, 189.

¹⁸ Rigsarkivet, E. England. – Cf. Peter J. Begent, 'A Note upon the Practice of Encircling Arms with the Garter', *The Coat of Arms*, N.S. VII, 144 (1989), 189.

¹⁹ *Recueil historique des chevaliers de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel*, ed. Jean François Louis d'Hozier, publ. Michel Popoff (3 vols, Paris, 1998–2003), I, 75; Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, 444, assumes, but without any reference, that King Christian I and King Hans accepted membership in the Order of St Michael.

²⁰ *Recueil historique des chevaliers de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel*, I, 164.

²¹ Karl-Erik Frandsen in *Dansk udenrigspolitiks historie* (Copenhagen 2001), I, 283; *Recueil historique des chevaliers de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel*, I, 199.

²² 'Fortegnelse over Kong Frederik den Förstes Efterladenskab af Guldkiæder, Klenodier, Guld, Sølv og rede Penge. 1533', *Nye Danske Magazin*, 6 (1836), 66: 'Eine gulden kede, dar Suncte Michaelis bilde inne hanget, vnd is de gesellschop welche Ko: Mat: van frankkrych mynen gnedigsten Heren Koninge frederichen lofflicher gedechnisse schenckedes. ... Item noch eine guldene kede mit deme gulden fluesse de koning Christierne gehoret hefft.'



3. Frederick I (1523–1533) with the Order of St Michael, bestowed on him in 1527. Painting attributed to Jacob Binck, 1539. Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg, Hillerød.

At the chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1519 in Barcelona, the Sovereign of the Order, Charles, then still King of Spain and not yet Emperor, succeeded in having his brother-in-law, Christian II, elected a Knight of the Order. Christian had in 1514 married Charles' sister Isabella of Habsburg. His election had been proposed already in 1516, but the other knights did not accept him, because Christian II was then living openly with his mistress Dyveke, who died suddenly in 1517. Charles, who in 1519 tried to get elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, was personally interested in making Christian a Knight of the Golden Fleece. In the same letter from Barcelona in which Charles informed Christian II about his nomination, Charles asked him to support his candidature with the electors. The presentation of the insignia took place the following year.

In 1520, Christian II conquered Sweden and was thereby able to re-establish the Scandinavian Union. During his coronation in Stockholm as King of Sweden, he arranged for the imperial ambassadors to place the collar around his neck. It became a matter of prestige for him to show the world that he was allied with the emperor. No portrait is known of Christian II wearing his own Danish order, but he is often depicted with the Golden Fleece. After his dethronement in 1523, he fled to the Netherlands. In pamphlets of defence he appears wearing the Golden Fleece.²³ Christian II also had the Fleece engraved on his armour (Illust. 4).

In 1532, Christian II attempted a comeback, but he was arrested and became a state prisoner – albeit a very comfortable one – for the rest of his life. He died in 1559. At the chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in the same year, a memorial plate with his coat of arms encircled by the collar was hung up together with fifty other plates with the arms of the then living or newly deceased knights in St Baaf's Cathedral in Ghent, where they can still be seen today.

In 1560, Duke Adolf of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp, a younger son of King Frederick I, proposed to Queen Elizabeth I of England. She declined to marry Adolf, giving him an annual pension and appointing him a Knight of the Gar-



4. The Golden Fleece engraved on the armour of Christian II, elected a Knight in 1519. Tøjhusmuseet, Copenhagen.

²³ Nils G. Bartholdy, 'Die Wappen eines nordischen Vlies-Ritters im ausgehenden Mittelalter – König Christian II. (1481–1559)', in *Las armerías en Europa al comenzar la edad moderna y su proyección al nuevo mundo: Actas del VII Coloquio Internacional de Heráldica Cáceres 1991* (Madrid, 1993), 37–53; Nils G. Bartholdy, 'Christian II's våbener og Den gyldne Vlies', *Heraldisk Tidsskrift*, 69 (1994), 397–412 with many references.

ter.²⁴ In an imposing portrait from 1586 Adolf is wearing the Garter under his left knee, and the Garter encircles his coat of arms.

Duke Adolf's nephew, King Frederick II, was nominated a Knight of the Garter in 1578.²⁵ His coat of arms encircled by the Garter appears on his stall plate in St George's Chapel in Windsor Castle (Illust. 1 on p. 118).

It was not until 1582 that Frederick II received the Garter. In a letter dated 27 June 1582, which bears her characteristic signature, Queen Elizabeth I notified the king of Denmark that she had authorized Lord Willoughby and Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms, to present the insignia of the Order of the Garter to him.²⁶ It took place at Kronborg Castle at Elsinore on 13 August. The English delegates had to agree in advance with the Danish royal court how the ceremony should be conducted. The king accepted to put on the Garter and the collar, but not the robes. He also refused to take the oath. In 1520, Christian II, too, had insisted on certain exceptions when about to receive the Golden Fleece. Such reservations had also been made by other monarchs.

Orders of knighthood presuppose that the members are absolutely loyal to the sovereign of the order. Fundamentally they must be the sovereign's subjects. Bestowal or exchange of orders of knighthood among monarchs as a manifestation of mutual respect and friendly relationship was therefore slightly problematic, because monarchs had to uphold their own sovereignty.

The presentation of the insignia of the Garter in 1582 was not the only mission of the delegates. Queen Elizabeth had directed her deputies to complain of the raised sound tolls that affected English merchants. These problems were solved in the following years. In the papers concerning the Garter, it appears that Frederick II had received the French Order of St Michael years earlier, in 1561.²⁷

After the Reformation in 1536, the Danish order of knighthood disappeared, most likely because its associations with the cult of the Virgin Mary became problematical. Thus the king of Denmark for many decades had no chivalric

²⁴ Lars N. Henningsen, 'Hertugerne af Gottorp', in Carsten Porskrog Rasmussen, Inge Adriansen & Lennart S. Madsen (eds), *De slesvigske hertuger* (Aabenraa, 2005), 123; Malte Bischoff, 'Gottorf und Hessen', in *Gottorf im Glanz des Barock: Kunst und Kultur am Schleswiger Hof 1544–1713* (Schleswig, 1997), I, 61; Begent & Chesshyre, *Order of the Garter*, 316.

²⁵ Ibid., 317.

²⁶ Rigsarkivet, TKUA, England, 63–69.

²⁷ 'Bidrag til Historien af det Gesandtskab, som Dronning Elisabeth 1582 sendte til Danmark, for at bringe Kong Frederik II. den engelske Hosebaandsorden', *Nye Danske Magazin*, 4 (1823), 249–267; *Recueil historique des chevaliers de l'Ordre de Saint-Michel*, II, 5.

order of his own. Possibly the bestowals of foreign orders on him made Frederick II feel the need for a Danish order. In any case, in 1580, he revived the old order but in a new form, designed by Melchior Lorck, making one of the ancient collar's elephants the badge of the order.²⁸ Henceforth it became the Order of the Elephant. The symbolism of the elephant, and the tower signifying God's stronghold, proved to be of service to a Protestant ruler. The king had already in 1572 commissioned a silver-gilt tower-bearing elephant as a gift to his bride, Sophie of Mecklenburg, designed by the Hamburg goldsmith Jacob Mores.²⁹ Frederick II's personal specimen of his order is still kept at Rosenborg Castle.³⁰

Christian IV was nominated a Knight of the Garter in 1603, a few months after his brother-in-law, King James VI of Scotland, had become King of England as James I.³¹ King James' motive in nominating him was not only the family relation, but also the close political co-operation with the Nordic monarch, whose power in the beginning of the seventeenth century was still at its highest. Christian IV visited England twice, in 1606 and 1614, and on both occasions was portrayed wearing the 'lesser George' around his neck and the Garter under his left knee.

Just like his father Frederick II, Christian IV received the insignia of a Knight of the Garter at Kronborg Castle. Today they are kept at Rosenborg Castle.³² By the time of his death in 1648, his nephew Charles I had been taken prisoner by Oliver Cromwell, who made England a republic. The insignia were therefore never returned.

Christian IV's Garter mantle of purple velvet with a shield bearing the cross of St George within a Garter embroidered on the left shoulder has also been preserved. It is the earliest surviving Garter mantle. In his pocket diary from 1614, which he brought with him to England, Christian IV noted that 25 July was St James' Day, and on that day he was in church with King James wearing around his neck a ribbon belonging to the Order of the Garter.³³

Christian IV's younger brother, Duke Ulrik, was nominated a Knight of the Garter in 1605, presumably for family reasons only, as he was politically insig-

²⁸ Den kgl. Kobberstiksamling, 900a, 22.

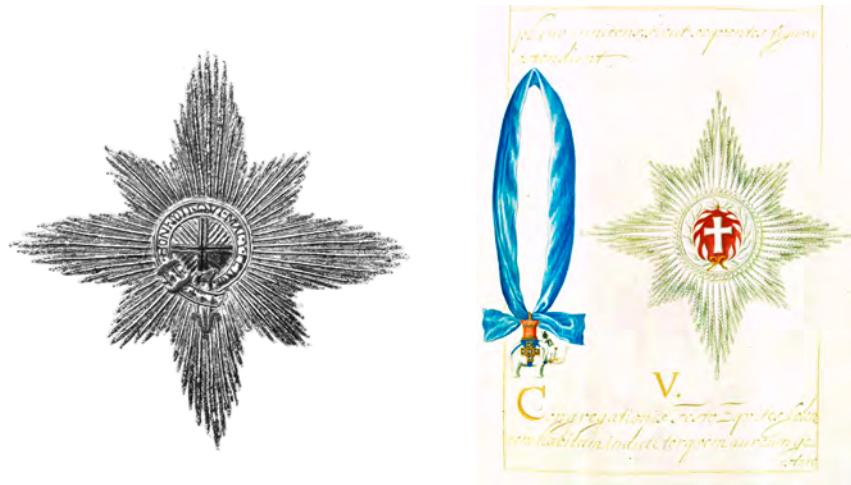
²⁹ *Gottorf im Glanz des Barock*, I, 431, 577.

³⁰ Jørgen Hein, *The Treasure Collection at Rosenborg Castle* (Copenhagen 2009), II, 22.

³¹ Begent & Chesshyre, *Order of the Garter*, 317.

³² Hein, *Treasure Collection at Rosenborg Castle*, II, 32ff.; Hein, *The Treasure Collection at Rosenborg Castle* (Copenhagen 2009), III, 36ff.

³³ Rigsarkivet, Christian IV, 3, skrivekalender 1614: 'war S: Jacobi dag och war wij ij kierken och motthe haffue ted halssebond om som hører till ordningen aff hossebondit'.



nificant.³⁴ In a portrait he is wearing the 'lesser George', which is still kept at Rosenborg Castle, and has St George and the dragon on both sides.³⁵

Crown Prince Christian (later King Christian V) was solemnly admitted to the Order of the Garter in Whitehall in 1662, during a stay in England. His relative, King Charles II, who had restored the monarchy of the Stuarts in 1660, put the blue ribbon with the 'lesser George' around his neck, and other Companions fastened the Garter and invested him with the mantle.³⁶ A large star of the Order of the Garter kept at Rosenborg Castle derives in all probability from his investiture.

In 1683 his younger brother, Prince George, married the English Princess Anne, who later became Queen Anne. In 1684, Prince George was appointed a Knight of the Garter, and the English considered that he could no longer wear the Order of the Elephant. The king of Denmark gave his brother permission to wear only the Garter in England and was of the opinion that George was still a Knight of the Elephant.³⁷ When King Christian V later gave his own Order of the Elephant statutes in 1693, the English star served as a model for the shape of the Danish star (Illust. 5 & 6).³⁸

³⁴ Begent & Chesshyre, *Order of the Garter*, 317.

³⁵ Hein, *Treasure Collection at Rosenborg Castle*, II, 28ff.

³⁶ Begent & Chesshyre, *Order of the Garter*, 319; Hein, *Treasure Collection at Rosenborg Castle*, II, 37f.

³⁷ Antti Matikkala, *The Orders of Knighthood and the Formation of the British Honours System, 1660–1760* (Woodbridge, 2008), 191, 239.

³⁸ Rigsarkivet, originale ordensstatutter.

5. The star of the Order of the Garter, probably given to Crown Prince Christian (V) in 1662. De Danske Kongers Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg.

6. The insignia of the Order of the Elephant in the statutes from 1693. The English star had served as a model. The National Archives of Denmark.

The important work *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the most Noble Order of the Garter*, (1672) by Elias Ashmole, also influenced the Danish statutes. The collar and the badge are presented in the statutes like those of the Garter in Ashmole's book. Ashmole dedicated his work not only to King Charles II but also to foreign princes, among them King Christian V, who sent a gold medal to the author.³⁹ Ashmole is depicted in a portrait by John Riley (1689) wearing the medal.

The Republic of Venice could also award a knighthood, the Order of St Mark, which was combined with a medal. It was bestowed on three Danish subjects. The first was a physician, Dr Niels Benzon (1609–1674), in 1638. He made a brilliant career at the University of Padua, which belonged to Venice at the time. In a copper engraving from the eighteenth century his coat of arms is encircled by the collar.⁴⁰ The second recipient was the naval officer Cort Adeler (1622–1675) in 1659. He was born in Norway and had been in Venetian service for about ten years, fighting successfully against the Turks. In addition to the Order of St Mark, Cort Adeler received several gold medals from *La Serenissima*. When he returned to Denmark he was appointed admiral in the Danish Navy, ennobled in 1666, and became a Knight of the Dannebrog, when this Order was founded in 1671. He was a shining example of a man of non-noble birth who climbed the new social hierarchy during the absolute Danish monarchy. In a copper engraving from 1731 he appears proud and conscious of his position (Illust. 7).⁴¹ The third one was the naval officer Moritz Hartmann (1657–1695). He served in the Dutch and the French navies; he fought for Venice against the Turks from 1684 and was awarded the Order of St Mark and several gold medals in 1685, after having asked for them himself. In 1688, he became a governor of Tranquebar, a Danish colony in India.⁴²

In 1713, Peter the Great of Russia and King Frederick IV personally gave each other their orders of knighthood when they met in Husum in Southern Schleswig.

³⁹ Jørgen Steen Jensen, 'Elias Ashmole og Christian V's guldmedaille', *Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad*, 4 (1985), 68–71.

⁴⁰ Louis Bobé, *Stamtabler over Slægten Benzon* (Copenhagen, 1938), XIII.

⁴¹ In Peter Benzon Mylius, *Den vidt-berømte Søe-Heltes, Herr Cort Sivertson Adelers, Liv og Levnets Beskrivelse* (Copenhagen, 1740).

⁴² Louis Bobé, *Moritz Hartmann ... Dansk og venetiansk Orlogskaptajn Ridder af San Marco og Gouverneur i Trankebar* (Copenhagen, 1933), 69–80.



The emperor became a Knight of the Order of the Elephant. His coat of arms was therefore painted in the armorial of the order.⁴³ Frederick IV became a Knight of the Order of St Andrew. A brilliant-cut specimen of the Russian order at Rosenborg Castle is considered to be the badge which was given to the king of Denmark (Illust. 8). The exchange of orders between the two monarchs reflects the fact that they had been allies since the defeat of King Charles XII of Sweden at Poltava in 1709. Having received information about the Emperor's decease in 1725, Vincens Lerche, Secretary of the Royal Danish Orders of Knighthood,

7. Cort Adeler, Knight of the Order of St Mark 1659. He wears the Venetian order together with the Order of the Dannebrog (1671). Copper engraving by Christian Fritzschi, 1731.

⁴³ Jørgen Pedersen, *Riddere af Elefantordenen 1559–2009* (Odense, 2009), 96.



8. The badge of the Order of St Andrew, probably bestowed on Frederick IV in 1713. De Danske Kongers Kronologiske Samling på Rosenborg.

suggested to King Frederick IV that the Danish ambassador in Russia should ask for the restitution of the insignia. Lerche also intimated that the King ought to return the Russian order.⁴⁴

Denmark's relation to Sweden improved temporarily in the middle of the eighteenth century when Adolph Frederick of Gottorp, successor to the Swedish throne, on behalf of his branch of the family renounced his right to the Gottorpian part of Schleswig. In connection with the enthronement of Adolph Frederick in 1751, Carl Juel, Danish ambassador extraordinary concluded an arrangement in which the new king's son, Crown Prince Gustaf (later Gustavus III), would in the future marry Princess Sophia Magdalena, the eldest daughter of King Frederick V. The royal engagement would be marked by an exchange of orders between the two monarchs.

The correspondence of Carl Juel with the Danish minister of foreign affairs, Johan Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff, sheds light on some details. Bernstorff wrote that the king of Denmark up until now did not like to receive foreign decorations, but because of the blood relation, common interests and especially the sincere affection the king had for His Swedish Majesty, he had decided not only to accept the Swedish order but to send his own similar mark of friendship.⁴⁵ Juel was asked to arrange with Count Carl Gustaf Tessin on which days and how the two kings would wear the badges of the foreign orders. Bernstorff wrote later that it would be sufficient if the kings wore the badges on the festival days of the respective orders.⁴⁶

During his stay in Stockholm, Juel gained an insight into the circumstances under which the Swedish honours system functioned and informed the king of Denmark about it in his dispatches. Lastly, he described his farewell audience on 12 May 1752. On that occasion King Adolph Frederick bestowed the Order of the Seraphim on him.⁴⁷ In a portrait painted in 1758, Juel is wearing the Order of the Dannebrog which he had received in 1742, whereas the insignia of the Order of the Seraphim are placed on a table. His armorial panel, painted on a

44 Rigsarkivet, TKUA, Realia, 3-006, Ceremonialia.

45 Rigsarkivet, TKUA, Sverige, 78-296, ordrer til dels med bilag, 11 November 1751: 'Il est vrai que jusques ici le Roi n'a pas aimé recevoir ces decorations étrangères, mais comme la proximité du sang, l'union des intérêts et sur tout l'amitié sincere qu'il porte à Sa Majesté Suedoise, Sa Majesté S'est déterminée, non seulement à accepter l'Ordre de Sa Majesté Suedoise, mais encore à Lui rendre la même marque d'amitié qu'Elle réçoit d'Elle, en Lui envoiant le Sien.'

46 Rigsarkivet, TKUA, Sverige, 78-296, 28 May 1752.

47 Rigsarkivet, TKUA, Sverige, 78-301, C. Juels kopibog.

copper plate, in *Riddarholmskyrkan* was not executed until 1782, with a date of nomination which must be a mistake and a coat of arms belonging to another family – Juul af Rysensteen.⁴⁸

King Frederic V's armorial panel in *Riddarholmskyrkan* was also painted as late as 1782.⁴⁹ At his funeral in 1766, the insignia of the Order of the Seraphim were placed on his coffin, beside the two Danish royal orders.⁵⁰

That was also the case in 1808 at the funeral of King Christian VII, who had been nominated a Knight of the Order of the Seraphim after the wedding of Crown Prince Gustaf (III) and the king's sister Princess Sophia Magdalena in 1766. His armorial panel in *Riddarholmskyrkan* was not painted until 1785 – unfortunately with too many lions in the field of Schleswig.⁵¹

Adolph Siegfried von der Osten, Danish ambassador to Russia 1755–1761, to Poland 1761–1763 and again to Russia 1763–1765, had formed an intimate link between Empress Catherine the Great and her lover Stanislaus Poniatowski, who became King of Poland in 1763. When von der Osten left Russia in 1765, they bestowed the Russian Order of St Alexander Nevskii and the Polish Order of St Stanislaus on him – apparently as signs of their gratitude. In 1768, King Stanislaus also made him a count.⁵² The foreign chivalric dignities do not seem to have formed an obstacle to his appointment to a Knight of the Order of Dannebrog in 1766, of the Order *de l'Union parfaite* in 1768 and of the Order of the Elephant in 1783.

According to the 1693 statutes of the Order of the Elephant, a Danish Knight of the Elephant had to cease to wear all other orders he might have been awarded, including the Order of the Dannebrog. A Danish Knight of the Order of the Elephant was not allowed to accept a foreign order of knighthood without the permission of the king of Denmark, and as long as the knight was staying in the realm of his sovereign he could only wear the Order of the Elephant.⁵³ Corresponding formal restrictions are lacking in the statutes of the Order of the

⁴⁸ Per Nordenvall, *Kungliga Serafimerorden 1748–1998* (Borås, 1998), 120f., no. 41.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 120f., no. 42.

⁵⁰ Nils G. Bartholdy, 'Leichenbegägnisse dänisch-norwegischer Könige in heraldisch-vexillologischem Licht', in *Genealogica & Heraldica: Report of The 20th International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences in Uppsala 9–13 August 1992* (Stockholm, 1996), 106.

⁵¹ Nordenvall, *Kungliga Serafimerorden*, 136f., no. 73.

⁵² *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* (Copenhagen, 1982), XI, 67f.

⁵³ The statutes – and the statutes of the Order of Dannebrog as well – are published in Johannes Madsen (ed.), *De Kgl. Danske Ridderordener* (Copenhagen, 1903).

Dannebrog. The attitude towards holding several orders of knighthood simultaneously was still ambivalent in the eighteenth century. Since 1808, both Danish orders of knighthood may have been worn simultaneously.

It could be problematic to be a knight in relation to more than one sovereign. Baron Carl Heinrich von Gleichen, Danish ambassador in Paris 1763–1770, was awarded the French Military Order of St Louis in 1768, undoubtedly due to the personal favour of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Duke of Choiseul, although von Gleichen was neither a Catholic nor an officer. That same year the king of Denmark made him a Knight of the Order of Dannebrog. The Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Johan Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff, from whom von Gleichen had enquired how to wear this *cordon rouge*, answered that the king felt that a return of this order would cause some trouble and therefore allowed him to wear it, but only as a secondary order *en Collier* – around his neck – and *sans Broderie*, without the star.⁵⁴

Two prominent French artists, the sculptor Jacques-François-Joseph Saly (1717–1776) and the architect Nicolas-Henri Jardin (1720–1799), held offices in Denmark since the 1750s. Saly created one of the finest equestrian statues in the world, that of King Frederick V, and Jardin introduced neo-classicism into Denmark. On the recommendation of Bernstorff, who had very good relations with France, King Louis XV nominated Saly and Jardin Knights of the Order of St Michael in 1768. In consequence they also became French noblemen.⁵⁵ The Order had since the end of the seventeenth century been given especially to artists. The black ribbon of the Order appears in a portrait of Saly painted by Jens Juel in 1772.

Caspar Wilhelm von Munthe af Morgenstierne (1744–1811) was an officer in Russia in 1769 when he became a Knight of the Order of St George.⁵⁶ Later, as an author and a civil servant in Denmark, he defended the monarchy in 1793 in the light of the French Revolution. In a portrait painted in 1790, he wears the

⁵⁴ Rigsarkivet, TKUA, Frankrig, 305, 9 April 1768: *'Je Vous demande Pardon de ne pas avoir repondû plusôt à ce que Vous m'avés chargé de demander au Roi par rapport à Vôtre Cordon Rouge. Sa Majesté qui sent, que le Renvoy de cet Ordre pourroit Vous causer quelque Embarrâs, Vous en dispense, et consent que Vous continuïés de le porter, pourvû que ce soit en second Ordre, c'est à dire en Collier et sans Broderie.'*

⁵⁵ Benoît de Fauconpret, *Les Chevaliers de Saint-Michel 1665–1790: le premier ordre de mérite civil* ([Paris], 2007), 178–179; Ulla Kjær, *Nicolas-Henri Jardin: en ideologisk nyklassicist* (Nationalmuseet, 2010), II, 921ff.

⁵⁶ *Danmarks Adels Aarbog* (1915), 328.

Russian decoration. When he was appointed a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Dannebrog in 1808, this decoration was inserted in the portrait where his hairstyle appears as being out of fashion.

The Swedish painter Carl Gustaf Pilo (1711–1793) came to Denmark in 1741, was appointed court painter in 1747, and became a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen the following year. He painted numerous portraits. In 1772, King Gustavus III of Sweden made him a Knight of the Order of Vasa, which was founded in the same year. Pilo was given permission to receive the order but the Hereditary Prince Frederick, who was in power in those years, reacted negatively as Pilo did not instantly send him a copy of the oath he had taken to the Swedish ambassador in Copenhagen. Pilo was ordered to leave the country within a few weeks. In letters to his ambassador, King Gustavus III sharply criticised the ungenerous treatment Pilo was subjected to. Pilo returned to Sweden where he later became director of the Swedish Academy of Fine Arts.⁵⁷

The naval officer Ernst Wilhelm Stibolt (1742–1796), who was also a ship designer, was decorated in France with the Order of Military Merit in 1781 after having served there since 1778.⁵⁸ This order was a counterpart of the Order of St Louis, with a blue ribbon, and reserved for non-Catholics.

The Danish Department for Foreign Affairs dealt with applications for permissions to wear foreign orders of knighthood. Files in the archives of the Department illustrate this phenomenon, but they have not been preserved in their totality.

In 1781, a Danish consul in Nice, Gabriel Veillon, was permitted to receive a Polish order, *l'Ordre de la Providence Divine*. Count Heinrich XLIII of Reuss (1752–1814) was allowed to wear the Polish Order of the White Eagle in 1782.⁵⁹ He considered himself to be a Danish subject as son of Count Heinrich VI, who was a civil servant in Denmark for many years.

In 1783, the Department received from the Admiralty the Russian Order of St Anne and the French Order of Military Merit that had been worn by the

⁵⁷ F. Meldahl & P. Johansen, *Det kongelige Akademi for de skjønne Kunster 1700–1904* (Copenhagen, 1904), 86.

⁵⁸ T. A. Topsøe-Jensen & Emil Marquard, *Officerer i den dansk-norske Søetat 1660–1814 og den danske Søetat 1814–1932* (Copenhagen, 1935), II, 556.

⁵⁹ Rigsarkivet, Departementet for udenlandske Anliggender, Gruppeordnede sager: Ordener 1776–1810, parcel no. 1106.

newly deceased naval officer Christian Carl Basballe (1732–1783).⁶⁰ They had been bestowed on him in 1775 and 1763 respectively.



9. Armorial panel in Riddarholmskyrkan, Stockholm, painted in 1787 for Crown Prince Frederick (VI), Knight of the Order of the Seraphim in 1786. The coronet was changed to a royal crown in 1810 after he had become king in 1808. The Royal Orders of Knighthood. Photograph Alexis Daflos.

In 1786, the Department had to deal with the Order of the White Eagle worn by Count Heinrich Christoph Baudissin (1709–1786), who had been an officer in Saxony, but was considered to belong to the Danish nobility. His son received permission to wear it, if the King of Poland offered it to him, which he expected. In 1793, the Department procured permission for Ambassador Edmund Bourke (1761–1821) to wear the same order. But as the king of Poland had not personally presented him with the insignia, and had not asked the king of Denmark to do so, Bourke was only allowed to wear it after he had left Copenhagen for Naples. In his recommendation to the king the Minister for Foreign Affairs, A. P. Bernstorff, mentioned that similar permissions had earlier been given with regard to the wearing of the Order of the White Eagle to Armand François Louis de Mestral de Saint-Saphorin (1738–1805), Danish ambassador to Poland 1765–1773, and to Ernst Albrecht Bertouch (1745–1815), Danish ambassador to Poland 1777–1780, with regard to the Order of St Stanislaus.⁶¹

In 1795, Count Ludwig Achatz Brockdorff (1760–1820) received permission to wear the Order of the Lion bestowed on him by the Elector of Bavaria.⁶²

The Swedish Order of the Seraphim was bestowed on Crown Prince Frederick (VI) in 1786 for political reasons, when he visited King Gustavus III in his military camp in Scania. The Crown Prince had since 1784 governed the monarchy on behalf of his mentally disturbed father. His armorial panel in Stockholm is not quite correct; the field of Schleswig should have been placed in the main shield.⁶³ The rank coronet, probably that of a crown prince, was changed into a royal crown in 1810 (Illust. 9). His uncle, the Hereditary Prince Frederick, became a Knight of the Order of the Seraphim at Fredensborg Castle in 1787 during King Gustavus III's unexpected visit to Denmark. His armorial panel with a princely coronet was painted with the same heraldic mistake as in his nephew's.⁶⁴

A few days after the Order of the Seraphim had been given to the Hereditary Prince, Johan Bülow, who had brought up Crown Prince Frederick, was

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., and Forestillinger 1786, parcel no. 19, and 1793, parcel no. 26.

⁶² Rigsarkivet, Departementet for udenlandske Anliggender, Gruppeordnede sager: Ordener 1776–1810, parcel no. 1106.

⁶³ Nordenval, *Kungliga Serafimerorden*, 160, no. 111.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 162, no. 114.

nominated a Commander of the Swedish Order of the Polar Star. The insignia were presented to him by the Hereditary Prince Frederick. In his diary Bülow describes how it happened. From a conversation afterwards between him and the Crown Prince, it was evident that the latter was not particularly happy about the bestowal.

Gustavus III had arrived unexpectedly in Denmark to ask for Danish neutrality, because he was planning an attack on Russia. Denmark, however, had a treaty of alliance with Russia.⁶⁵ The king of Sweden's bestowal of orders on the Danish royal family and on Crown Prince Frederick's teacher was done from ulterior motives. Catherine the Great of Russia also wanted to exert an influence on the Danish court. Johan Bülow writes in his diary that the Russian ambassador told him in 1788 that the empress intended to give him a Russian order and her portrait as well. Since the crown prince did not wish to see Bülow being decorated with a Russian order, the proposal came to nothing.⁶⁶ In a portrait painted by Jens Juel in 1790, Bülow appears with the Swedish order as well as with that of the Dannebrog (Illust. 10).

Count François Xavier Joseph Løvendal, who was acknowledged as a Danish count in 1786 with the name Danneskiold-Løvendal, being a descendant of a natural son of King Frederick III, served as an officer in the French army and became a Knight of The Order of St Louis in 1771. When in 1787 he received a Danish grant of arms, the Cross of St John, deriving from his father's membership of Balley Brandenburg, was inserted between the main shield and an inescutcheon (Illust. 11 on p. 137).⁶⁷ Thereby the king of Denmark indirectly recognized the Order of St John. The father, Ulrich Friedrich Woldemar Løvendal, later became a Catholic and therefore seceded from the Order of St John. The Order's cross, however, remained in the family arms. After the French Revolution, his grandson Count Carl Woldemar, like his father, served in the

⁶⁵ Ole Feldbæk in *Dansk udenrigspolitiske historie* (Copenhagen, 2002), II, 408f.

⁶⁶ Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ny kgl. Saml., 1827, folio, IV.

⁶⁷ Rigsarkivet, Danske Kancelli, A 111, Christian VIIIs grevelige patenter: *som er fæstet paa Stiernen af Johanniter Ordenen, hvoraf Kanterne kan sees.*



10. Johan Bülow as a Commander of the Order of the Polar Star (1787) and a Knight of the Order of Dannebrog (1784). Painting by Jens Juel, 1790. Det Kongelige Akademi for de skønne Kunster, Copenhagen.

emigrant army of the Prince of Condé. Later both of them became Danish officers. In 1792, the young Count Carl Woldemar's mother, a natural daughter of Charles de Bourbon, Count of Charolais, applied to the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs for a recommendation to the Grand Master of the Order of Malta so that her son could obtain the cross of this order. But as the status of Malta was rather precarious at that time, the Danish government temporarily postponed the matter.⁶⁸ It was not until 1803 that the king of Denmark recognized the Order of Malta.⁶⁹

In 1793, the French Republic sent Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle (1758–1806) as its ambassador to Copenhagen. It was he who a few months earlier had announced the death sentence to King Louis XVI. It is told that the king of Denmark greeted him with the following words: *Et comment se porte le Roy votre maître? – Je m'excuse, la République, votre maîtresse?*⁷⁰ In the beginning, the general sentiment among Danish cultural personalities was sympathetic towards the French Revolution, but it cooled off, especially after the execution of Louis XVI in 1793. But still in 1794, a young lady wore a tricolour sash at a ball in Copenhagen.

In France, the republic abolished the royal orders of knighthood. In 1798, Grouvelle wanted the Danish government to suppress the use of the former royal orders. In a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs he specified them: the Order of the Holy Ghost, the Order of St Michael, the Order of St Lazarus, the Order of St Louis and the Order of Military Merit. The Danish government actually complied with the French wishes.⁷¹ In a letter Count Bernstorff informed *citoyen* Grouvelle that the prohibition did not affect travellers and persons in the service of a foreign power.⁷² But French emigrants sojourning in the states of His Danish

68 Rigsarkivet, Departementet for udenlandske Anliggender, Gruppeordnede sager: Danneskjold, parcel no. 732, and Forestillinger 1792, parcel no. 25.

69 Rigsarkivet, Departementet for udenlandske Anliggender, Topografisk ordnede sager: Malta, parcel no. 2325.

70 Thorkild Kjærgaard, *Danmark og den franske revolution: Le Danemark et la révolution française* (Copenhagen, 1989), 78.

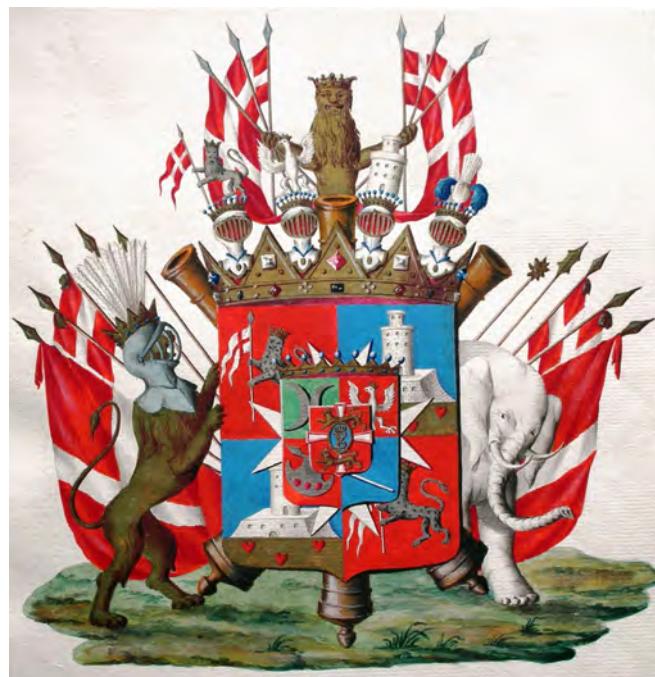
71 Rigsarkivet, Departementet for udenlandske Anliggender, Forestillinger 1796–1799, parcel no. 29, 9 March 1798.

72 Rigsarkivet, Departementet for udenlandske Anliggender, Gruppeordnede sager: Ordener 1776–1810, parcel no. 1106, 12 March 1798: *'que le Roi pour offrir à la République françoise un nouveau témoignage de son amitié, a pris la résolution de ne plus permettre que les décorations, appartenantes à l'ancien gouvernement monarchique en France, soient portées dans ses états, et que les ordres nécessaires pour les faire disparaître ont déjà été donnés. Pour prévenir à cet égard tout mal-entendu le Soussigné croit devoir observer que cette mesure s'étendra sur tous ceux, qui ou sujets du Roi, ou domiciliés dans ses états se trouvent sous la juridiction naturelle de S: M.; mais qu'elle ne pourra pas*

Majesty were not allowed to wear their decorations. The decision was communicated to the Danish authorities, but was never published.

Grouvelle left Copenhagen in 1800. A few years later, the situation changed completely. During the Napoleonic era and afterwards, new orders of knighthood were founded in France and some of the old ones were reintroduced. For instance, in 1818, Frederick VI became the only king of Denmark ever to be appointed Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost.

The exchange of orders between the states increased, and they were bestowed on a much broader base than before.⁷³



11. Arms of Count François Xavier Joseph Danneskiold-Løvendal granted in 1787, with the Cross of the Order of St John, Balley Brandenburg, inserted between the main shield and an inescutcheon. The National Archives of Denmark.

s'appliquer sur les étrangers, qui traversent le pays en voyageurs, ou qui sont attachés au service de quelque autre puissance.

⁷³ Cf. Nils G. Bartholdy, 'Les échanges d'ordres entre la France et le Danemark à l'époque de Napoléon/Udveksling af ordener mellem Frankrig og Danmark på Napoleons tid', in Tage Kaarsted (ed.), *La Légion d'Honneur et l'Ordre du Dannebrog: Æreslegionen og Dannebrogordenen* (København, 1982), 61–72.

THE ORDERS OF THE ELEPHANT AND OF THE DANNEBROG, AND THEIR ROLE IN DIPLOMACY

Ronny Andersen

IN THIS ESSAY I will consider the diplomatic use of the two Danish orders of knighthood, the Order of the Elephant and the Order of the Dannebrog in two sections, namely before and after 1808, when the Danish honours system was reformed to its modern form. The more extensive use of the orders as a tool of diplomacy is very much a phenomenon of the modern post-1808 orders, as will be seen later. My aim is to give an overview of the diplomatic use of the Danish orders of knighthood, and to focus on the somewhat different ways in which the two orders have been and still are used in diplomatic relationships with other nations.

The origins of the Danish Order of the Elephant are to be found in the mid-fifteenth century when King Christian I founded a religious confraternity called The Society of the Mother of God. We know that in 1457 the king honoured two Italian men with 'the chain, he used to wear on his own shoulders and give to knights and nobles as a sign of his grace'. In 1462, the brotherhood is mentioned in a papal letter under the name 'The Holy Trinity, Our Lord Jesus Christ's Sufferings and the Holy Mary'. A chapel of the Three Holy Kings was erected for the brotherhood at the cathedral in Roskilde. The insignia of this society is known from the gravestone of King Hans, the son of Christian I, and from a few other sources.¹

The insignia consisted of a chain of elephants each with a tower on its back between roses, spurs or other ornaments. From this chain was suspended a badge

¹ The most comprehensive study of the early history of the Order of the Elephant is Nils G. Bartholdy, 'Broderskab – selskab – ridderorden: Ordenernes ældste historie', in Mogens Bencard & Tage Kaarsted (eds), *Fra Korsridder til Ridderkors: Elefantordenens og Dannebrogordenens historie* (Odense, 1993), 9–55.

with the Holy Virgin with the infant Jesus in a crescent surrounded by rays and underneath another badge with the three nails and the crown of thorns of Christ encircled by the words: *Vere filius Dei erat iste*. The insignia, and thus membership of the society, is said to have been given to knights and nobles, including women and to foreign princes and their envoys. The bestowal of the insignia on foreigners is attested in several instances.² The diplomatic use of what would later become the Order of the Elephant is in other words an early feature, as is the tradition of returning the insignia on the death of a knight, which was practised from no later than 1474.³

After the Reformation in 1536 the order fell into disuse. The Catholic symbolism of the order was, of course, problematic after the Reformation. The order was dormant for about fifty years until the reign of King Frederick II, who revived the order around 1580 into the still existing Order of the Elephant.

From having been a secondary symbol of the insignia, the elephant became the central element. The insignia now consisted of a gold elephant with a tower on its back and on one side a portrait of the king and on the other side the royal cypher. The insignia was worn on a simple gold chain.⁴ The successor to Frederick II, Christian IV, continued to use and award the order, but also introduced a new order, the Mailed Arm, in 1616. Later, the king would combine the insignia of the Mailed Arm and the Order of the Elephant.⁵ The Mailed Arm was only awarded in the reign of Christian IV, which also saw the introduction of wearing the Order of the Elephant on a blue ribbon *en sautoir* and during the reign of his son, Frederik III, it became customary to wear the order on a sash from the left shoulder to the right hip. In 1663, a breast star was introduced for the order.⁶

King Frederick III introduced the absolute and hereditary monarchy in Denmark in 1660–1661, and under the reign of his son, Christian V – the first king to inherit the throne – the Order of the Elephant was reorganized into the modern order we know today. It was also Christian V who founded a new order, the Order of the Dannebrog.

² Ibid., 16–17.

³ Ibid., 14.

⁴ Ibid., 36–40; Lars Stevnsborg, *Kongeriget Danmarks ordener, medaljer og hæderstegn* (Odense, 2005), 29–30.

⁵ Ibid., 30–32, 65–71; Jørgen Hein, ‘Christian IVs arm: Symbol og identitet’, *Heraldisk Tidsskrift*, 90 (2004), 447.

⁶ Stevnsborg, *Kongeriget Danmarks ordener*, 32, 53; Jørgen Hein, ‘En elefant af purt guld: Ordens- tegnernes historie’, in Mogens Bencard & Tage Kaarsted (eds), *Fra Korsridder til Ridderkors: Elefantordenens og Dannebrogordenens historie* (Odense, 1993), 187–188.

In 1679, the Order of the Elephant received its first statutes. These were later replaced in 1691, and finally on 1 December 1693, the final statutes of the order were granted (see Illust. 6 on p. 127 in Nils G. Bartholdy's paper).⁷ The statutes have a few articles on the admission of foreigners into the order; in article eight it is stated, that 'All of those who are accepted into this excellent order, must be obliged to assert the dignities, the respect and supremacy of the Sovereign of the Order, the King of Denmark and Norway, to defend the servants of the word of the Lord and the true evangelical faith ...'⁸ This article might have proved difficult for some foreign knights to uphold. In article eleven it reads: 'Hereafter should only into this excellent order be accepted foreign potentates and lords of the Evangelical religion, the Privy Counsellors of the Sovereign of the Order, high cabinet ministers, generals and knights of the Order of Dannebrog ...' In one of the final articles it says: 'Kings, Prince Electors and Princely individuals can be accepted into this excellent order without being obliged to comply with any of these articles; but the Sovereign of the Order presumes that they will keep good friendship and confidence with him, enforce the evangelical faith and let the dignity of this excellent order be crucial to them.'

The religious aspect of the order is obviously important in the statutes, as the command for enforcement of the true Evangelical faith is repeated several times. In the practical politics of diplomatic relations with other nations, this was not always observed. However, in 1694 Friedrich, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Wiesenburg, was not sent the printed version of the statutes, as he had converted to Catholicism. Furthermore, he was not to be counted as a knight of the order. He was not, however, required to hand in the insignia of the order, as he was a prince of the Oldenburg dynasty.⁹

The wearing of other orders is also touched upon in the statutes; article 17 reads: 'When anyone by the Sovereign of the Order has been accepted into this excellent order, he must be obliged to renounce all other orders he could have been

⁷ Stevnsborg, *Kongeriget Danmarks ordener*, 22; Nils G. Bartholdy, 'Ordensridderheraldikken i Danmark', in id. (ed.): *Kongelige Ordener* (exhibition catalogue), Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg (Hillerød, 1980), 17.

⁸ The 1693 statutes of the Order of the Elephant are reproduced in Stevnsborg, *Kongeriget Danmarks ordener*, 24–27, from where I will generally quote. Translation into English by the author.

⁹ Ordenskapitlet, Vincents Lerches Protokol, 15. Vincents Lerche (1666–1742) was Secretary of the Royal Orders from 1690 to 1740, and his protocol with notes on the daily administration of the orders is kept in the archives of the Chapter of the Royal Orders. His successors continued the protocol until 1808.

bestowed with, and wear this order only.' In the following article it is stated, that a knight of the order should never accept or wear another order unless the Sovereign of the Order has given his permission. Other orders must not be worn by a knight of the Elephant in the realm of the Sovereign of the Order. Another statute foresees a situation where the king of Denmark would have to wage war upon another prince who might have knights of the Elephant among his subjects. In such a situation the knight of the Elephant shall not be condemned for fighting against the king of Denmark and fellow knights. However, if a foreign prince who might have knights of the Elephant among his subjects imposes war on the king of Denmark, the knight should do his utmost not to participate in the war. If that is impossible, the knight must excuse himself in a sealed letter to the king of Denmark. These articles of the statutes make it clear that the concept of bestowing the order on foreigners was not unfamiliar and indeed, when these statutes were granted, several foreigners were already knights of the order and many had been in the past.

The statutes also specified the insignia of the order in its new reorganized form. The insignia consisted and still consists of a golden white-enamelled elephant with a blue representation of a cloth studded with diamonds in the shape of a cross and on the elephant's back a tower and a moor holding an arrow or a spear. It was to be worn on a blue silk riband on a daily basis, and on a collar of gold elephants and towers alternating at more festive occasions. The breast star of the order is an eight-pointed silver star, in the middle is a silver cross on a red background. A ceremonial robe was also created for the knights; it was last used in 1840.¹⁰

The junior Danish order of knighthood, the Order of the Dannebrog, was founded in 1671 by King Christian V. It received its final statutes on the same day as the Order of the Elephant, 1 December 1693.¹¹ The foundation of the order must be seen in connection with a series of measures taken by the – at that time – new absolute monarchy to consolidate itself.

¹⁰ Katia Johansen, 'En aura af historisk magt og pragt: De danske ordensdragter', in Mogens Ben-
card & Tage Kaarsted (eds), *Fra Korsridder til Ridderkors: Elefantordenens og Dannebrogordenens
historie* (Odense, 1993), 313. For information on the insignia and robes, see Stevnsborg, *Kongeriget
Danmarks ordener*, 54–64; Hein, 'En elefant af purt guld'; Tom Bergroth, 'Ordensdräkter för Ele-
fant- och Dannebrog-ordenen', in Nils G. Bartholdy (ed.): *Kongelige Ordener* (exhibition catalogue),
Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg (Hillerød, 1980), 21–24.

¹¹ Stevnsborg, *Kongeriget Danmarks ordener*, 74.

The natural opponent of the absolute monarchy was the nobility, which had lost almost all of its political influence with the introduction of the hereditary and absolute monarchy. The Order of the Dannebrog was created with the same aim as the creation of the titled nobility – as well as the creation of an order of precedence in the same year, where service as a royal official guaranteed a high status – namely to divide the old nobility and to reward loyalty to the new absolute monarchy.¹²

The statutes of the order also reveal the propaganda surrounding the new order. The official history of the order set the date of its foundation at 1219, the founder being King Valdemar II the Victorius.¹³ Officially the order was thus ‘restored’ by Christian V, which was also represented on the breast star, an eight-pointed silver star with the cross of the order on which the word RESTITUTOR was written along with the royal cypher.¹⁴ The cross of the order was a Latin cross patty of white enamelled gold with red edges. The riband of the order is white with red edges and the collar consists of crosses between the alternating royal cyphers of Valdemar II and Christian V. Ceremonial robes are also created for knights of this order.¹⁵

The statutes¹⁶ have fewer articles concerning foreign knights, but there is no mention of princely knights. There are articles similar to those in the statutes of the Order of the Elephant about honouring the Sovereign of the Order, and about participating in war against the king of Denmark and fellow knights. In comparison to the statutes of the Order of the Elephant it is clear that the Order of Dannebrog is a lesser order, designed primarily for domestic use.

However, the first knight of Dannebrog was actually a foreigner, a German nobleman in the service of the Elector Palatine, Georg Christoph von Hammerstein (Illust. 1 on p. 145).¹⁷ In 1671, he accompanied the electoral prince of

¹² Knud J. V. Jespersen, ‘For dyd, tro tjeneste og mandige bedrifter: de danske ridderordener og enevældens rangdelte samfund’, in Mogens Bencard & Tage Kaarsted (eds), *Fra Korsriddere til Ridderkors*, 64.

¹³ For more on this subject, see Bartholdy, ‘Broderskab – selskab – ridderorden’, 40–52; Nils G. Bartholdy, ‘Dannebrogkorsets form og visionære baggrund’, *Heraldisk Tidsskrift*, 64 (1991), 168–182.

¹⁴ Bartholdy, ‘Broderskab – selskab – ridderorden’, 51.

¹⁵ Stevnsborg, *Kongeriget Danmarks ordener*, 128–134; Johansen, ‘En aura af historisk magt og pragt’, 275–276, 279–282.

¹⁶ The statutes of 1693 of the Order of Dannebrog are printed in Stevnsborg, *Kongeriget Danmarks ordener*, 76–79, from where I will generally quote. Translation into English by the author.

¹⁷ Regarding knights of the Order of Dannebrog, I will in the following generally refer to the armorial of the order, *Dannebrogordenens Våbenbøger I–XI*, Ordenskapitlet, and the register of

the Palatine, Charles, to Denmark where he was betrothed to the king's sister. The prince was made a knight of the Elephant.¹⁸

The statutes of both orders stipulated that every knight should deliver a painting of their coat of arms with a motto to the secretary of the order, who was responsible for having the arms painted in the register and on a metal shield for display in the Chapel of the Orders in the church of Frederiksborg Castle. Frederiksborg Castle was also the location for the orders' planned annual celebration as well as the place for the anointment of the absolute king. The armorial traditions of the orders are still very much alive, which means that there is a unique collection of the coats of arms of the knights of both orders from the late seventeenth century until the present day.

In short, the function of the two orders was the following: the Order of the Elephant was the highest and most distinguished order given primarily to princes of the royal house, foreign princes and dignitaries and some of the highest officials of the government. The Order of the Dannebrog was primarily designed to be a domestic order, conferred to loyal officials, and was very much a result of a focused policy of the absolute monarchy.

The purposes of the orders are also illustrated by Christian V in his will from 1683, in which he left instructions to his son and successor: 'And We do remind that Princely individuals and those who are of the royal house, as well as the highest and most qualified cabinet ministers of the King should be honoured with the Order of the Elephant; but the Order of the Dannebrog can be awarded more generously, both to military personnel and to Privy Councillors and others, who have done good service.'¹⁹

We now turn to the diplomatic use of the orders from the reign of Christian V until 1808, and begin with foreign knights of the Elephant. As mentioned above,

knights of the Dannebrog until 1808; Albert Fabritius, 'Hvide Riddere: Riddere af Dannebrog-ordenen 1671–1808', in id. & E. Zinklar Zinglersen (eds), *De kongelige danske ridderordener og medailler* (København, 1965), 41–71. Biographical information is generally from *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* (DBL), available online at: [//www.denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon](http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon) (data retrieved 24 January 2012).

¹⁸ Regarding knights of the Order of the Elephant, I will in the following generally refer to the armorial of the order, Elefantordenens Våbenbøger I–IV, Ordenskapitlet.

¹⁹ J. J. Worsaae (publ.), *Kong Christian den Vtes Testamenter som Tillæg til Kongeloven* (København, 1860), 17.



the electoral prince of the Palatine became a knight of the Elephant on the occasion of his betrothal to the sister of the Danish king. We find many foreign knights of the Elephant with family ties to the Danish royal family.

In 1666, the Prince Elector of Saxony Johan Georg III married as electoral prince the daughter of King Frederik III, Anna Sophia. The day after the betrothal in 1663, the prince became a knight of the Elephant.²⁰

The queen of Christian V, Charlotte Amalie, was the daughter of the landgrave of Hesse-Kassel and her two brothers were created knights of the Elephant the day after the wedding in 1667.²¹

²⁰ Elefantordenens Våbenbøger I, DBL: Anna Sophie, kurfyrstinde af Sachsen.

²¹ Elefantordenens Våbenbøger I, DBL: Charlotte Amalie, dronning.

1. The arms of Georg Christoph Hammerstein. Photograph Ronny Andersen.

2. The arms of Augustus Frederick, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp. Photograph Jørgen Pedersen.

Customarily, the order was often given to the dukes of Schleswig-Holstein, who were princes of the Oldenburg dynasty, and in the case of the brothers Christian Albrecht and Augustus Frederick (Illust. 2), Dukes of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp, the order was given in connection with the marriage of Christian Albrecht to another daughter of Frederick III, Frederikke Amalie, in 1667, which immediately followed a settlement between the Danish king and the Duke of Gottorp.²² The relationship between the dukes of Gottorp and the Danish kings was for generations hostile in nature.

Many German princes were awarded the Order of the Elephant. This was in line with the policy of Christian V as expressed in his will, where he had urged his son to steadily seek alliances among the German princes. This line was followed by Frederick IV, especially during the years of the Great Nordic War. The painting of the meeting of three kings in Potsdam in 1709 (see Illust. 27 on p. 74 in Antti Matikkala's paper) is an expression of this. There Frederick IV met with Augustus the Strong of Saxony and Poland and Frederick I of Prussia.²³ Both Augustus the Strong and Frederick of Prussia were knights of the Elephant and had been so since the reign of Christian V. The Great Nordic War also saw the alliance between Denmark and Russia, which was also illustrated through the bestowal of the Order of the Elephant to Russians.

The hostile relationship between Denmark and Sweden in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries meant that the kings of Sweden did not receive the Order of the Elephant until the late eighteenth century. Although Frederick I of Sweden had been made a knight of the Elephant, this happened in his capacity as the son and heir of the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel in 1700.²⁴ The first king of Sweden to be awarded the Order of the Elephant in his Swedish regal capacity was Adolphus Frederick in 1752.²⁵ He received it in connection with the betrothal of his son, the later Gustavus III, to Sophia Magdalena, a daughter of Frederick V. Likewise Frederick V was bestowed with the new Swedish Order of the Seraphim.²⁶

²² Elefantordenens Våbenbøger I, DBL: Frederikke Amalie, hertuginde af Gottorp, DBL: Frederik 3., hertug af Slesvig-Holsten-Gottorp.

²³ Thomas Lyngby, Søren Mentz & Sebastian Olden-Jørgensen, *Magt og pragt: Enevælde 1660–1848* (København, 2010), 216.

²⁴ Elefantordenens Våbenbøger, I.

²⁵ Vincents Lerches Protokol, 200.

²⁶ Per Nordenwall (ed.), *Kungliga Serafimerorden 1748–1998* (Stockholm, 1998), 120.



The arms of Adolphus Frederick were never painted in the armorial of the Order of the Elephant; in a letter to the king of Denmark the secretary of the order described the difficulties in obtaining details of the Swedish arms as well as the customary fee payable to the secretary. The same scenario apparently repeated itself when Crown Prince Gustaf was awarded the order in 1766 on the occasion of his marriage to Sophia Magdalena.²⁷ Their son, however, had his arms painted in the armorial (Illust. 3) when he became a knight of the Elephant in 1786 as crown prince of Sweden.²⁸

²⁷ Vincents Lerches Protokol, 202, 224.

²⁸ Elefantordenens våbenbøger, II.

3. The arms of Gustaf Adolf, crown prince of Sweden. Photograph Jørgen Pedersen.

4. The arms of Baron Carl Otto Hamilton. Photograph Jørgen Pedersen.

In the eighteenth century some non-princely foreigners were also given the Order of the Elephant. A few of them will be mentioned here. Jacob Heinrich von Flemming, Count of the Holy Roman Empire (see Illust. 31 on p. 79 in Antti Matikkala's essay), who was in the service of Augustus the Strong received the order in 1713, probably as a token of appreciation for his services as general in the Great Nordic War.²⁹

Christian Albrecht von Wolfstein, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, was made a knight of the Elephant in 1728.³⁰ He was related to Sophia Magdalena, crown princess of Denmark, who was married to the future Christian VI. On the birthday of Sophia Magdalena in 1738, when she was queen of Denmark, two other German counts were made knights of the Elephant, Charles Ludwig Count of Hohenlohe and Gleichen and Ernst Casimir, Count of Ysenburg and Büdingen.³¹ A diplomat to the Holy Roman Empire, Frederick Heinrich, Count of Seckendorff received the order in 1732, and the first Swedish non-princely recipient was Baron Carl Otto Hamilton in 1763 (Illust. 4).³²

The diplomat Caspar von Saldern was from the part of the Duchy of Holstein controlled by the Duke of Gottorp. When the Duke of Gottorp became Emperor of Russia, Saldern came into his service, and played a central role in the exchange of land in Holstein between the Russian emperor and the king of Denmark that was finally concluded in 1773, with a good result for the king of Denmark. Apparently Saldern was demanding substantial sums from the Danish government for his work, and the bestowal of the Order of the Elephant, as well as his elevation to a Danish count the same year, could well have been parts of his payment for services provided.³³

As outlined earlier, the Order of the Dannebrog was very much a domestic order and a tool for the absolute monarchy to minimize opposition and secure loyalty. This becomes obvious when we look to whom the order was bestowed between 1671 and 1808. A total of 780 knights of the Dannebrog were created and only 7.1 percent of them were foreigners, 56 in total.³⁴

²⁹ Elefantordenens våbenbøger, I; Vincents Lerches Protokol, 124.

³⁰ Elefantordenens våbenbøger, I; Vincents Lerches Protokol, 143.

³¹ Elefantordenens våbenbøger, I; Vincents Lerches Protokol, 168.

³² Elefantordenens våbenbøger, I; Vincents Lerches Protokol, 136, 217–218.

³³ Elefantordenens Våbenbøger, I; DBL: Caspar v. Saldern.

³⁴ Jespersen, 'For dyd, tro tjeneste og mandige bedrifter', 95.



We do not know much about these early foreign recipients of the Order of the Dannebrog. Presumably most of them were involved in diplomatic activities, or in some way earned a personal reward from the king. In some cases it is possible to attribute the bestowal of the order to the complex system of alliances.

A privy counsellor to the king of Poland, Augustus the Strong, was made a knight of the Order of Dannebrog in 1700,³⁵ and this was probably in connection with the alliance between Frederick IV and Augustus the Strong. The Lord Chamberlain of the king of Poland was also awarded the Order of Dannebrog in 1709.³⁶ The Great Nordic War was probably also the reason for the bestowal of the order on two Russians, Andreas Petrovitj Ismailov (Illust. 5) and Count Alexander Golovskin, in 1708 and 1715 respectively.³⁷

5. The arms of Andreas Petrovitj Ismailov. Photograph Ronny Andersen.

6. The arms of Charles François Luce, Baron de Didelot. Photograph Ronny Andersen.

³⁵ Wolf Dietrich von Beuchlingen, Dannebrogordenens Våbenbøger, I; Fabritius, 'Hvide Riddere'.

³⁶ Philipp Ferdinand von Reybold, Dannebrogordenens Våbenbøger, I; Fabritius, 'Hvide Riddere'.

³⁷ Dannebrogordenens Våbenbøger, I: Fabritius, 'Hvide Riddere'.

The diplomatic relations to the king could also be mixed with more personal relations. The Prussian ambassador in Copenhagen, Adam Otto von Viereck, was awarded the Order of the Dannebrog in 1704.³⁸ He was not only an ambassador, but also father of the mistress of Frederick IV, Elisabeth Helene von Vieregg, whom the king supposedly married morganatically in 1703, making her a countess in the same year. It caused some scandal when a letter from the father to a friend was published and it revealed that he was fully in favour of the relationship. The countess herself died shortly after giving birth to a son, who soon after followed his mother.³⁹

The pattern of the foreign recipients of the Order of the Dannebrog follows very much and quite obviously the pattern of foreign knights of the Elephant. The ambassadors or high officials of German princes were the most usual recipients of the order, and the connections to Russia and Poland and Saxony were maintained, as well as the connection to Prussia. Interestingly, there are no Swedish knights of the Dannebrog from this period.

The eighteenth century and the Napoleonic era saw many changes in the Danish honours system and, indeed, in the political situation of the country. Not long after his accession to the throne in 1808, Frederick VI – who had been the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom since 1784 – reformed the Order of the Dannebrog after the model of the French Order of the Legion of Honour to an order of merit with several classes. A special and very exclusive class was and is the Grand Commander, which was followed by the Grand Cross which corresponded to the former knights of Dannebrog. The rank of Commander was split into two classes in 1864 and finally the new lower rank of knight of the Dannebrog, which was split into two classes in 1952. The so called Cross of Honour, or Silver Cross, was also created in 1808. On the administrative side, the Chapter of the Royal Orders was established as well.⁴⁰

During the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries it became increasingly popular to receive and wear orders from other states and consequently

³⁸ Dannebrogordenens Våbenbøger, I; Fabritius, 'Hvide Riddere'.

³⁹ DBL: Elisabeth Helene von Vieregg.

⁴⁰ Stevnsborg, *Kongeriget Danmarks ordener*, 79–87, 93, 134–167; Tage Kaarsted, 'Et udvortes tegn på erkendt borgerværd: Ordensvæsenets udvidelse', in Mogens Bencard & Tage Kaarsted (eds), *Fra Korsridder til Ridderkors*, 103–177; Tom Bergroth, 'Dannebrogordenens udvidelse 1808 med Æreslegionen som forbillede', in Tage Kaarsted (ed.), *Æreslegionen og Dannebrogordenen* (København, 1982), 49–60.



to bestow orders on foreigners.⁴¹ This was also the case in Denmark, and in contrast to the 56 foreigners that received the order of Dannebrog during the period 1671–1808, the corresponding Grand Cross of the Order was awarded to 2 147 foreigners between 1808 and 1993, an increase in the annual average from 0.4 during the first period to 11.8 during the latter.⁴²

The increase is also evident by looking at the growth in volumes of the armorial of the Order of the Dannebrog order. The armorial covering the years 1671–1808 is in three volumes, while the period from 1808 to the present day

7. The arms of Jerome Napoleon, king of Westphalia. Photograph Jørgen Pedersen.

8. The arms of Prince Hardenberg. Photograph Jørgen Pedersen.

⁴¹ Nils G. Bartholdy, 'Udveksling af ordener mellem Frankrig og Danmark på Napoleons tid', in Tage Kaarsted (ed.), *Æreslegionen og Dannebrogordenen* (København, 1982), 61.

⁴² Kaarsted, 'Et udvortes tegn på erkendt borgerværd', 174.

comprises eight volumes. It should be noted that since 1961 the coats of arms of foreign recipients of the Grand Cross have been painted only in very special circumstances.

The more exclusive nature of the Order of the Elephant is also revealed by its armorial. The knights from 1660 to the present day are recorded in four volumes. However, the exclusiveness of the Order of the Elephant after 1808 is more significant for the Danish recipients than the foreign ones. From 1808 until 1993 an annual average of 0.6 Orders of the Elephant was awarded to Danes, while an annual average of 2.2 was awarded to foreigners.⁴³

Thus, the foreign policy of Frederick VI can more or less be traced heraldically in the armorials of both royal orders. For instance, following the Battle of Copenhagen in 1801 and the Bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807, Denmark joined forces with Napoleon in the Napoleonic wars. This resulted among other things in a whole series of exchange of orders between Denmark and France.

The last person to be decorated with the Order of the Dannebrog in its old form was the French ambassador in Copenhagen, Charles François Didelot, who was bestowed the order in May 1808 (Illust. 6 on p. 149).⁴⁴ In May 1808, the Order of the Elephant was bestowed on the emperor Napoleon himself, while in the same month Frederick VI was made a *Grand Aigle* of the Legion of Honour.⁴⁵

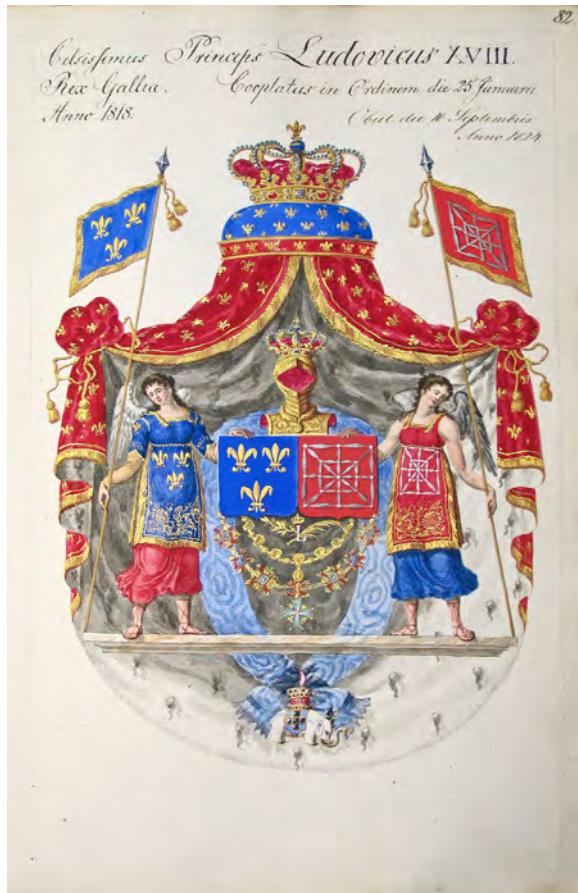
The brother of Napoleon, Louis, King of Holland, was also made a knight of the Elephant in 1808, as well as Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, later King Charles XIV John of Sweden. At the time Marshal Bernadotte was commander of the French troops in Denmark, and two of his generals were given the Grand Cross of the Dannebrog. Apparently there was no shortage of Elephants when it came to the relationship between Frederick VI and Napoleon. In 1811, Frederick sent three Elephants to Napoleon for his disposal – the king had indicated that he would like to see one of the Elephants bestowed on the Duke of Cadore. However, Napoleon instead bestowed the orders on two of his ministers and his aide-de-camp. Another of Napoleons brothers, Jérôme, king of Westphalia, was given the Elephant in 1811 (Illust. 7 on p. 151) and several more Elephants as well as Grand Crosses of the Dannebrog went to France.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Dannebrogordenens Ridderbøger, III.

⁴⁵ Kaarsted, 'Et udvortes tegn på erkendt borgerværd', 116; Hein, 'En elefant af purt guld', 212; Bartholdy, 'Udveksling af ordener', 64–65; Elefantordenens Ridderbøger, II.

⁴⁶ Kaarsted, 'Et udvortes tegn på erkendt borgerværd', 116–117; Bartholdy, 'Udveksling af ordener', 65–71; Elefantordenens Ridderbøger, II, Dannebrogordenens Ridderbøger, IV.



The orders were an integral part of the foreign policy in this crucial time for Denmark. When Napoleon fell, Denmark had to concede to the terms of the victors at the Congress of Vienna. Also here Frederick VI used the royal orders as symbolic gestures in the foreign policy. Before he left for Vienna, he bestowed the Grand Cross of the Dannebrog on the British ambassador in Copenhagen, Sir Augustus Foster.⁴⁷

Some Grand Crosses along with lower classes of the Order of the Dannebrog were bestowed at the Congress of Vienna, and no less than twelve Elephants were bestowed on foreign princes and other key figures. Among the recipients were the chief negotiator of Prussia, Prince Hardenberg (Illust. 8 on p. 151), Emperor

9. The arms of Francis I, emperor of Austria. Photograph Jørgen Pedersen.

10. The arms of Louis XVIII of France. Photograph Jørgen Pedersen.

47 Dannebrogordenens Ridderbøger, IV.

Francis I of Austria (Illust. 9), and his foreign minister, Prince Metternich, the French foreign minister Prince Talleyrand, the Prince Regent of Great Britain, the later King George IV and, of course, the Duke of Wellington. In 1818, Louis XVIII was made a knight of the Elephant, as the first king of France (Illust. 10).⁴⁸

The aim of this paper has been to give an overview of the historical use of the Danish orders of knighthood in diplomacy, and as an integrated part of the foreign policy, not least in the years after 1808, with the era around the Napoleonic wars and the Congress of Vienna as the most illustrative example.

Today, the Danish orders of knighthood have their natural role in diplomatic relations, as part of the protocol in the maintenance of contacts with other states. Foreign ambassadors are usually awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of the Dannebrog, while the exclusive Order of the Elephant is reserved for foreign heads of state and usually conferred during state visits.

In conclusion, we find that the use of the Danish orders of knighthood as a diplomatic tool has existed in varying degrees throughout their existence, and that the direct political use of orders, which peaked in the beginning of the nineteenth century, has given way for a more protocolary use, which is governed by diplomatic practice and custom recognized in most parts of the world.

⁴⁸ Elefantordenens Ridderbøger, IV.

THE DIPLOMATIC ORDERS OF GUSTAF MAURITZ ARMFELT

Tuukka Talvio

SEVERAL BIOGRAPHIES have been published on G. M. Armfelt (1757–1814), most recently by Stig Ramel in 1997.¹ In 2008, they were complemented with a large illustrated catalogue of the ‘Armfelt Collection’ in the National Museum of Finland.² Even his orders and decorations have been the subject of an earlier study.³ The purpose of this essay is to highlight certain aspects concerning his diplomatic orders and their insignia, how they are depicted in his portraits and other documents, and what is left of them today.

Armfelt was born in Finland, the son of a general and provincial governor. A career in the army seemed natural, and in the early 1770s we find him serving in the Life Dragoons in Stockholm. It is difficult to know what may have been expected of him, but nobody can have guessed how eventful his life would be. In 1780, at the age of twenty-three, he met King Gustavus III at Spa in Belgium. Three years later, the former lieutenant held a court rank equal to a lieutenant general, in addition to a number of posts like being director of the Royal Theatre.

He was decorated for the first time in 1787, when the king of Denmark bestowed on him the Order of the Elephant. This was, of course, a remarkable honour, for according to a British author writing in 1802, only the Order of the Garter was more celebrated than the Elephant: ‘The Princes of the Blood, foreign Princes, or Noblemen of the highest Quality, are alone entitled to aspire to it.’⁴

1 Stig Ramel, *Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt 1757–1814* (Stockholm, 1997).

2 Jouni Kuurne, *Gustaf Mauritz Armfeltin perintö* (Helsinki, 2008).

3 Tuukka Talvio, ‘G. M. Armfelt som ordensriddare’, *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland*, 82 (1997), 336–348.

4 [Levett Hanson], *An Accurate Historical Account of All the Orders of Knighthood at Present Existing in Europe* (2 vols, London, [1802]), II, 76.

The story of how Armfelt received his Elephant has been told several times.⁵ Towards the end of 1787, Gustavus III paid an unexpected visit to Copenhagen in order to persuade the king of Denmark to abandon his alliance with Russia. This did not happen, however, and the Swedes had to be content with general assurances of goodwill on the part of Denmark. It has been suggested that Gustavus III arranged the decoration of his favourite courtier in order to give the impression that his political efforts had been successful. Most likely he also wanted to elevate Armfelt's position as a 'nobleman of the highest quality'. Recently Nils G. Bartholdy has pointed out that the fact that the Swedish Order of the Seraphim was at the same time bestowed on Crown Prince Frederick of Denmark made it necessary that someone from Sweden was decorated with the Elephant.⁶ However, the Danes do not seem to have been quite happy with the young and still relatively little-known Baron Armfelt being chosen for the honour, and the insignia were delivered in a sealed packet, to be given to Armfelt later, in connection with the birthday of the king of Sweden. But Gustavus III did not want to wait, and Armfelt was invested with the insignia in November 1787.

In a well-known portrait by Adolf Ulrik Wertmüller we see Armfelt with the star of the Elephant and the pale blue sash, and the frame is crowned with his coat of arms surrounded by the collar (Illust. 1). The dating of the portrait is not quite clear,⁷ but it seems reasonable to suppose that Armfelt commissioned it mainly in order to commemorate his appointment as a Knight of the Elephant. In the portrait he also wears the breast badge of the Swedish Order of the Sword which he received in 1789, but it may have been added afterwards. For Armfelt, the Danish knighthood must have been a dramatic confirmation of his newly-acquired status. He also celebrated it by ordering a dinner service decorated with the collar of the Elephant from the British firm Wedgwood.⁸

The pale blue ribbon was, and still is, a symbol of some of the highest orders, including the Swedish Order of the Seraphim. Wearing it in war could be dangerous, as Armfelt was to experience in Finland in 1788, when he became the

⁵ Torsten Hartman, *De tre gustavianerna* (Helsingfors, 1899), 15; Elof Tegnér, *Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt* (3 vols, 2nd edn, Lund, 1893–1894), I, 169–173; Carl v. Bonsdorff, *Gustav Mauritz Armfelt* (4 vols, Helsingfors, 1930–1934), I, 88; Erik Lönnroth, *Den stora rollen: Kung Gustaf III spelad av honom själv* (Stockholm, 1986), 130–136.

⁶ Nils G. Bartholdy, in a letter to Antti Matikkala 24 September 2009. I am grateful to Mr Bartholdy and Dr Matikkala, who has made this information available.

⁷ Kuurne, *Armfeltin perintö*, 33–35.

⁸ Ibid., 36–41.



special target of enemy fire. 'It is because of your *cordon bleu*', the king wrote to him, 'they have taken you for me or my brother', and he requested Armfelt to avoid such situations in the future.⁹

Two years after this incident, in August 1790, the war ended with the Peace of Värälä. Armfelt was the main negotiator on the Swedish side, and in addition to various presents, Empress Catherine II rewarded him with the Russian Order of St Andrew, another order with a pale blue sash. At the same time he also received, as was customary at the time, the insignia of the Orders of St Alexander Nevskii and of St Anne. Three months later, in November 1790, the Order of the Seraphim was also bestowed on him.¹⁰ The king created five Knights of the

1. G. M. Armfelt wearing the Danish Order of the Elephant and the Swedish Order of the Sword. A. U. Wertmüller, painted in Paris in 1788 or 1789. Photograph National Board of Antiquities/M. Haverinen.

⁹ Quoted in Tegnér, *Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt*, I, 197–198. Original in French.

¹⁰ v. Bonsdorff, *Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt*, I, 148; Per Nordenvall, *Kungliga Serafimerorden 1748–1998* (Stockholm, 1998), 162–165.

Seraphim on the same day and Armfelt's name was the first on the list. The Russian negotiator at Värälä, Count O. H. Igelström, was also included.

Until now, Armfelt's star had risen steadily but he had also made many enemies. His misfortunes began when Gustavus III was murdered in 1792. Soon thereafter Armfelt was appointed Swedish envoy at Italian courts, with his residence in Naples.

Having arrived in Naples he soon established good relations with the royal family. He also became acquainted with local celebrities like Lord and Lady Hamilton and Admiral Nelson. However, he conspired with some of his old friends against the new Swedish regime, without realizing that his letters were being intercepted. The result was that he was accused of high treason, and in 1794 he was condemned to death in absentia. By then he had already fled to Russia, where he was officially a non-person, calling himself Apothecary Brandt and living in the provincial town of Kaluga.

Armfelt was rehabilitated five years later, in November 1799, on the birthday of King Gustavus IV Adolphus. Still having many enemies in Stockholm, he was happy to re-enter the diplomatic service, this time as Swedish envoy in Vienna. Because of the Swedish opposition to Napoleon's policy, he was, however, called home in 1804. After all the years as a diplomat (and an 'apothecary') he now returned to military service as a general of the infantry.

Before returning to Sweden, Armfelt had his portrait painted in Dresden by Joseph Grassi (Illust. 2).¹¹ In this portrait he wears the Order of the Seraphim together with the star of St Andrew, St Alexander Nevskii as a neck badge and the Order of the Sword below it. The star of the Elephant is not, however, included, for after his trial he was in 1794 excluded from the Danish official directory until 1803, to his great irritation. It must also have been annoying that when he arrived in Russia in 1794, he could not wear his Russian orders there, being a fugitive without official status. Already when entering Russia he had to lie when the customs official asked why Mr Brandt had so many high orders in his trunk.¹² Only in 1798, when he was finally able to leave Russia, could he begin wearing his Russian orders again, but not yet the Swedish ones.

His service in Vienna was not rewarded with an Austrian order, but there was still one equestrian honour awaiting him: In 1805 he became a Knight of

¹¹ Kuurne, *Armfeltin perintö*, 161–163.

¹² Tegnér, *Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt*, II, 239–240.



the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta. Only a few years earlier, in 1798, the Knights of St John had been exiled from Malta. In the same year Emperor Paul of Russia was elected their new Grand Master despite his Russian Orthodox religion. In 1806, King Gustavus IV Adolphus of Sweden, a Protestant, offered them Gotland as a replacement of Malta, but nothing came of this curious idea.¹³

The background for Armfelt's becoming a knight of the original, Roman-Catholic branch of this order was his stay in Naples as a Swedish envoy in 1792–1793. He became a personal friend of Queen Maria Carolina, whom he had met for the first time in 1784. They also met after 1793, and in 1801 he helped the Queen, who was a sister of Emperor Leopold II, to transport a part of her wealth from Vienna to Hamburg, to be deposited in the banks of that city.¹⁴ Armfelt's words to his wife concerning his new dignity in a letter from April 1805 are very characteristic of his style: 'So I can get a commandery; and as the Queen writes to me, it is all that the King wishes, to give me this token of his friendship. Dear God, if the world were *tranquille*, and I had a commandery in Italy – how indescribable would my happiness be, but in real life I will never be happy.'¹⁵ Naples was a Grand Priory within the Order of Malta. Armfelt's earlier biographers described his new status as 'Grand Cross and Grand Bailli', but there seems to be no modern archival research on this point.¹⁶

Armfelt certainly did not acquire a *pied-à-terre* in Italy, but apparently he received a so-called family commandery, and as a result he could arrange knight-hoods or similar honours for his sons Gustav Magnus and Alexander, his daughters Augusta and Vava, his son-in-law A. A. Piper and his friend J. A. Ehrenström.¹⁷ Such commanderies had also been founded in Russia during Paul I's short period as Grand Master, but they were suppressed in Russia in 1817, and this must also have been the end of the Armfelt commandery.

¹³ Valery Durov, *Orders of the Russian Empire* (Moscow, 2002), 163–177; Nils E. Ihre, 'L'offre du Roi Gustave IV Adolphe de Suède de l'île de Gotland à l'Ordre S.M. de Malte', *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte*, 21 (1963), 69–75.

¹⁴ Tegnér, *Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt*, II, 374–377.

¹⁵ v. Bonsdorff, *Gustav Mauritz Armfelt*, II, 216; Tegnér, *Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt*, 51–52.

¹⁶ Luigi G. de Anna, 'Gustaf Mauritz Armfelt, the First Finnish Knight of Malta', *Traditio Melitensis: Bulletin för den Skandinaviska associationen Suveräna militära och hospitaliära Orden av Malta*, 1 (1999), 9–12.

¹⁷ v. Bonsdorff, *Gustav Mauritz Armfelt*, II, 216 n.; S. J. Boëthius (ed.), *Statsrådet Johan Albert Ehrenströms efterlemnade historiska anteckningar* (2 vols, Uppsala, 1883), II, 567–568.

When most of the movable property of the Armfelt manor at Åminne in Halikko was donated to the National Museum of Finland in the 1920s, the donation included a badge of the Order of Malta. It can, however, also have belonged to Gustaf Mauritz's son Gustav Magnus Armfelt, who became a knight of Malta in 1807, at the age of fifteen. There is also a sword with the cross of the order on the hilt.¹⁸

Shortly before leaving Sweden for Finland in 1811, Armfelt had a new portrait of himself painted by Karl Fredrik von Breda.¹⁹ It shows him as a private person, without direct indications of rank, standing by a bust of Gustavus III. Armfelt was soon to start a new career in Russia, where in 1812 he was appointed a member of the Emperor's retinue. Although he was already ailing, he was able during his remaining two years to make a remarkable impact on the administration of Finland. He is also briefly mentioned in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*.²⁰ When in 1845 the University of Helsinki commissioned a posthumous portrait of Armfelt, its former chancellor, the painter, Johan Erik Lindh, used a copy of Breda's work as his model, but he depicted Armfelt in all his glory as a Russian general-adjutant, and with a bust of Alexander I (Illust. 3). All his orders and medals are shown in this painting, including his last decoration, the small silver medal issued in memory of the Patriotic War of 1812.

Being painted more than thirty years after Armfelt's death, and based on a copy of another painting, this is obviously only a kind of pictorial reconstruction, but there are nevertheless interesting details. For example, the bust of Alexander I is obviously the same that the university acquired in 1815, the year after Armfelt's death, but Armfelt actually owned a plaster copy of the same bust, which is now in the National Museum.²¹ As regards the orders on his chest, one of his Russian uniform coats has survived,²² and it seems very likely that Lindh has used it as a model. It is not identical with the one in the painting, but it is very similar, and the three metallic stars – St Andrew, the Seraphim, and the Elephant, together with the Cross of Malta and a small silver sword marking a special class of the Swedish Order of the Sword – are still attached to it.

¹⁸ Kuurne, *Armfeltin perintö*, 218–221.

¹⁹ Ibid., 296–297.

²⁰ *War and Peace*, book 9, chapter 6.

²¹ Kuurne, *Armfeltin perintö*, 290.

²² Ibid., 254–257.

3. The posthumous painting by J. E. Lindh, commissioned by the University of Helsinki in 1845, is a reconstruction: there is no portrait of Armfelt with all these decorations from his lifetime. Photograph University of Helsinki.



Finally, some words about the surviving insignia. The collars and most of the badges were apparently returned after Armfelt's death, but the embroidered stars made of cloth were, of course, not returned. The donation from the 1920s includes several of them.²³ Some of them are attached to ceremonial robes, others are loose, like a star of St Andrew with the signature A. S. Sergell on the reverse

²³ Ibid., 95–100, 104–107.

(Illust. 4). Anna Sibylla Sergell was daughter of the court embroiderer Christoph Sergell and sister of the sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel. The silver stars on the general's uniform must have been privately made, and so they too did not need to be returned.

Only one is left of Armfelt's Russian orders – a beautiful badge of St Alexander Nevskii, made of gold and red glass, and probably the same that was bestowed on him by Empress Catherine II in 1790 (Illust. 5). Another cross that for some reason escaped being returned is a badge of the Swedish Order of the Sword, which he did not get for diplomatic merits.²⁴ Perhaps the two orders had simply been misplaced and were not found in time.

It is a pity that we do not have Armfelt's Cross of St Anne. When he received it in 1790 it was still an order with one class only and it was rather different in appearance in the nineteenth century, when it was divided into four classes. It is not shown on his portraits, with the exception of the posthumous one from 1845, but here the badge is of the usual post-1815 type. This, I think, is actually the only obvious anachronism in Lindh's painting.

Armfelt's portraits do not show him wearing the collar of an order. Collars were typical of the exclusive orders, but at that time they did not yet form a special class above the Grand Cross, as in certain cases today. They can, however, be seen around his coat of arms on various objects, like his signet ring.²⁵ Such depictions are usually small and inaccurate, and in one case – his *ex libris* – even erroneous.²⁶ One interesting object is a leather satchel of the type known as *sabretache*, be-



4. An embroidered star of the Order of St Andrew, signed on the reverse by A. S. Sergell (Stockholm, 1790s). Note the word *VERNOST* with a Latin S. Photograph Coin Cabinet/R. Träskelin.

5. The Order of St Alexander Nevskii was bestowed on Armfelt in 1790. Coin Cabinet/R. Träskelin.

²⁴ Illustrated in Kuurne, *Armfeltin perintö*, 94 (with a later ribbon and wrongly identified as a Grand Cross. The original ribbon is shown in Talvio, 'Armfelt som ordensriddare', 341.)

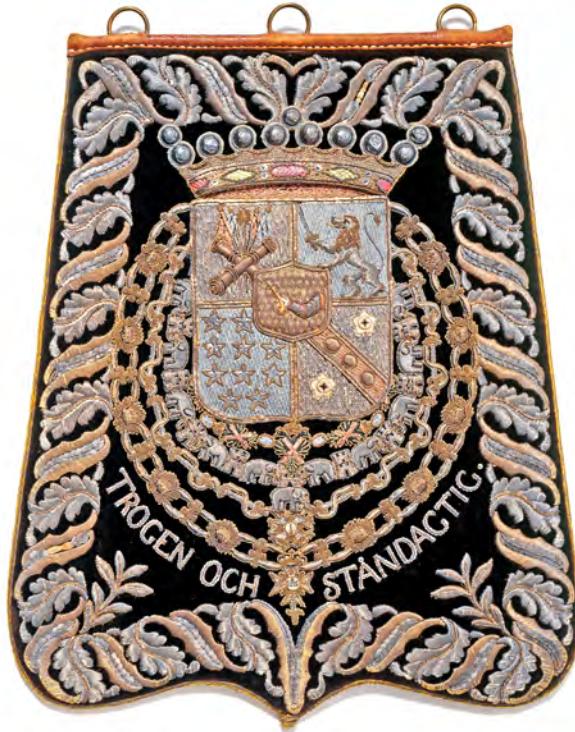
²⁵ Kuurne, *Armfeltin perintö*, 75–76.

²⁶ Ibid., 228; Tuomas Hyrsky & Antti Matikkala, Kunniamerkit henkilövaakunoiden yhteydessä, in Antti Matikkala & Wilhelm Brummer (eds), *Henkilö – ja sukuaakunat Suomessa* (Helsinki, 2011), 173–180, at 174.

longing to the equipment of hussars.²⁷ The explanation is that in Vienna, Armfelt apparently had two footmen dressed as hussars (so-called *Kammerhusaren*) and they displayed Armfelt's arms on their sabretaches (Illust. 6). Here we see a relatively accurate rendering of all his four collars: (from below) the Seraphim, the Sword, the Elephant and St Andrew. Below the Seraphim a small upright sword can be seen, the badge of a special grade of the Order of the Sword, something that could be compared with the Mannerheim Cross in independent Finland.²⁸

It may nevertheless seem odd that there is no picture of Armfelt himself with a collar, although he clearly liked to commission portraits of himself. The explanation may be that collars were only worn on certain festive occasions, and Armfelt apparently wanted to be remembered as a man of action, as well as of contemplation.

6. A sabretache with Armfelt's arms, Vienna, c. 1803. Photograph National Board of Antiquities/M. Haverinen.



²⁷ Kuurne, *Armfeltin perintö*, 204–206.

²⁸ Talvio, 'Armfelt som ordensriddare', 340–342.

THE RUSSIAN, SWEDISH, AND
NORWEGIAN ORDERS OF THE RUSSIAN
ENVOYS IN SWEDEN 1721–1917

Sergei S. Levin

THIS LIST CONTAINS thirty-six persons and, additionally, Otto Igelström who was not a diplomat. The orders which were directly related to diplomatic activities in Sweden have been marked in bold.¹

BESTUZHEV-RIUMIN, Mikhail Petrovich (1688–1760)
Count, Actual Privy Counsellor, Envoy to Austria 1748–1752, France
1756–1760
1721–1724 Minister
1724–1725 Envoy Extraordinary
1732–1741 Envoy Extraordinary
✉ The Order of St Alexander Nevskii (3 August 1740), the Order of St Andrew (25 April 1742)

DOLGORUKOV, Vasily Lukich (1672–1739)
Prince, Senator, Envoy to Denmark 1707–1720 and France 1720–1723
1726–1727 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
✉ The Order of the White Eagle (1711)

GOLOVIN, Nikolai Fedorovich (1695–1745)
Count, Chief Master of the Horse, Admiral, Senator, President of the Admiralty Board 1733–1745, commander of the Baltic Fleet 1743–1745
1725–1732 Envoy Extraordinary

¹ The information on the Swedish orders has been verified by Tom C. Bergroth, and the dates are given as they appear in the records of the Swedish Royal Orders of Knighthood.

¤ The Order of St Alexander Nevskii (9 April 1732), the Order of St Andrew (10 November 1740)

24 July 1741, Sweden declares war on Russia.

7 August 1743, conclusion of the Peace Treaty of Åbo (Turku).

KEITH, James Francis Edward (Vilimovich) (1696–1758)

General of the Infantry in the Russian service, Field Marshal in Prussian service 1747

1743, 1744 Envoy

¤ The Orders of St Alexander Nevskii and of St Andrew (7 December 1742)

VON LUBERAS, Johann Ludwig Pott (1687–1752)

Baron, General

1743–1744 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

¤ The Order of St Alexander Nevskii (14 February 1740), the Order of St Andrew (30 July 1752)

PUSHKIN, Aleksei Mikhaïlovich (c. 1700–1775)

1744–1746 Envoy

¤ The Order of St Anne (May 1745), when sent to Sweden

VON KORFF, Johann Albrecht (1697–1766)

Baron, Privy Counsellor, President of the Academy of Sciences 1734–1740), Envoy to Denmark, 1740–1746, 1748–1766

1746–1748 Envoy Extraordinary

¤ The Order of St Anne (1743), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (15 July 1744)

PANIN, Nikita Ivanovich (1718–1783)

Count, Grand Chamberlain, Actual Privy Counsellor First Class, Tutor of Grand Duke Paul Petrovich 1763–1781

1748–1760 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

¤ The Order of St Anne (2 June 1748), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (1757), the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class (23 October 1782), the Order of St Andrew (22 May 1762)

OSTERMANN, Ivan Andreevich (1725–1811)
Count, Actual Privy Counsellor, Actual Privy Counsellor
1760–1774 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
¤ The Order of St Anne (1764), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (9 March 1772), the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class (23 October 1782), the Order of St Andrew (2 February 1784)

SIMOLIN, Ivan Matveevich (Jonas Mattias) (1720–1799)
Baron, Envoy to Denmark 1773–1775, Great Britain 1780–1784, France 1787–1792
1775–1778 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
¤ The Order of the White Eagle (1776), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (1784)

MUSIN-PUSHKIN, Aleksei Semenovich (1729–1817)
Count of the Holy Roman Empire (1779), Privy Counsellor
1780–1783 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
¤ The Order of St Anne (22 September 1785)

MORKOV, Arkady Ivanovich (1747–1827)
Count, Actual Privy Counsellor, Envoy to France 1801–1803, Member of the Council of State
1785–1786 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
¤ The Order of St Vladimir 3rd Class (1784), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (30 August 1793), the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class (19 October 1793), the Order of St Andrew (16 October 1803)

RAZUMOVSKII, Andrei Kirillovich (1752–1836)
Serene Prince, Privy Counsellor of the 1st Class, Senator
Envoy to Naples 1777–1784, Denmark 1784–1786, Austria 1792–1799, 1801–1807
1786–1788 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
¤ The Order of St Alexander Nevskii (22 September 1793), the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class (24 December 1795), the Order of St Andrew (22 February 1799), the Order of St Andrew with diamonds (8 May 1801)

21 July 1788, Swedish attack on Russia, without a declaration of war.

8 March 1790, conclusion of the Peace Treaty of Värälä.

IGELSTRÖM, Otto Heinrich (Iosif Andreevich) (1737–1823)

Count, General of the Infantry, Governor-General of Kiev, Chernigov and Novgorod-Seversky

1793–1794, Plenipotentiary at the negotiations of the Peace Treaty of Värälä

✉ The Order of St George 3rd Class (22 September 1770), Gold Sword for Bravery (8 September 1790), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (1 January 1784), the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class (22 September 1787), **the Order of St Andrew (30 August 1790)**

The Order of the Seraphim (22 November 1790, knighted by Empress Catherine II in St Petersburg on 28 April 1791)

STACKELBERG, Otto Magnus (1736–1800)

Count, Actual Privy Counsellor, Envoy to Spain 1766–1772, Poland 1772–1790

1791–1796 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

✉ The Order of the White Eagle (26 April 1773), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (23 June 1775), the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class (22 September 1783)

RUMIANTSEV, Sergei Petrovich (1755–1838)

Count, Privy Counsellor, Senator, Member of the Council of State

1793–1794 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

✉ **The Order of the White Eagle (12 October 1793), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (5 April 1797)**

BUDBERG, Andreas Eberhard (Andrei Iakovlevich) (1750–1812)

Baron, Privy Counsellor, Minister of Foreign Affairs 1806–1807

1796–1803 Envoy Plenipotentiary

✉ The Order of St Anne (8 October 1795), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (20 August 1796 for the successful negotiation of marriage of Alexandra Pavlovna to Gustavus IV Adolphus), **the Order of St Alexander Nevskii with diamonds (15 September 1801), the Order of St Andrew (22 July 1807)**

The Order of the Seraphim (17 December 1800 during the visit of King Gustavus IV Adolphus to St Petersburg)

ALOPEUS, (Frans) David Maksimovich (1769–1831)

Count (1809), Actual Privy Counsellor, Envoy to Naples 1810, Württemberg 1811–1813 and Berlin 1813, 1815–1831, Governor of Lorraine 1814–1815 1803–1808 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

✠ The Order of St Alexander Nevskii (15 May 1814), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii with diamonds (6 December 1814), the Order of the White Eagle (14 April 1818), the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class (14 April 1829)

2 September 1808, Russia begins military operations against Sweden.

5 September 1809, conclusion of the Treaty of Hamina (Fredrikshamn).

SUCHTELEN, Jan Pieter van (Peter Kornilievich) (1751–1836)

Count, General of the Engineers, State Counsellor

1810–1813 Charge d'affaires

1814–1836 Envoy Extraordinary

✠ The Order of St Alexander Nevskii (2 May 1803), the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class (30 March 1808), the Order of St Andrew (22 August 1826), the Order of St Andrew with diamonds (5 December 1834)

The Order of the Seraphim (30 December 1813, collar 28 April 1815)

NICOLAI, Paul Andreevich (1777–1866)

Baron, Actual Privy Counsellor, Envoy to Denmark

1811–1812 Charge d'affaires

✠ The Order of St Vladimir 3rd Class (29 April 1811), the Order of St Anne 1st Class (1818), the Order of the White Eagle (17 April 1837), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (16 April 1841), The Order of the Polar Star, Knight (29 September 1811)

STROGANOV, Grigory Aleksandrovich (1770–1857)

Baron, Count 1826, Privy Counsellor, Grand Chamberlain, Member of the State Council, Envoy to Spain 1805–1810, Turkey 1816–1821

1812–1816 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

☒ The Order of St Anne 1st Class (1812), the Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class (3 May 1815), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (17 April 1817), the Order of St Andrew (25 March 1839)

BODISKO, Aleksandr Andreevich (1786–1854)

Privy Counsellor, Counsellor in the legation in Sweden 1820–1836, Envoy to the United States 1837–1854
1836–1837 Charge d'affaires

☒ The Order of St Anne 2nd Class (1814), the Order of St Anne 2nd Class with diamonds (1817), the Order of St Vladimir 3rd Class (1830), **the Order of St Stanislaus 2nd Class with star (12 May 1834)**, the Order of St Anne 1st Class (21 April 1847), the Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class (24 February 1850)

The Order of the Polar Star, Knight (16 January 1814), Commander (12 June 1838)

POTOCKI, Leon (Lev Severinovich) (1789–1860)

Count, Privy Counsellor, Grand Chamberlain, Member of the Council of State

1836–1839 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

☒ The Order of St Anne 1st Class (30 May 1833), **the Order of the White Eagle (11 July 1838)**, the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (27 November 1845)

The Order of the Polar Star, Commander (20 August 1830), Grand Cross with diamonds (30 May 1838)²

MATUSHEVICH, Adam Fadeevich (1796–1842)

Count, Privy Counsellor, Chamberlain, Envoy to Great Britain 1830

1839–1842 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

☒ The Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class (1826), the Order of St Stanislaus 2nd Class (1826), the Order of St Anne 1st Class (1829), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (25 June 1832)

² The award with diamonds is not listed in the records of the Swedish Royal Orders of Knighthood, as was usually the case since the orders with diamonds were private gifts of the king. The information about the award with diamonds is based on Д. Н. Шилов & Ю. А. Кузьмин, *Члены Государственного совета Российской империи, 1801–1906: биобиографический справочник* (Санкт-Петербург, 2007), 642.

GLINKA, Dmitri Grigorievich (1808–1883)

Privy Counsellor, Counsellor 1836–1841, Envoy to Brazil 1857–1871 and Portugal 1871–1883

1841–1844 Charge d'affaires

✉ The Order of St Anne 2nd Class with the Imperial Crown (1844), the Order of St Stanislaus 1st Class (1855), the Order of St Anne 1st Class (1860), the Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class (1866), the Order of the White Eagle (26 April 1875)

KRÜDENER, Georg Aleksandr Sergeevich von (1786–1852)

Baron, Actual State Counsellor, Chamberlain

1843–1852 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

✉ The Order of St. Anne 2nd Class with diamonds (1844), the Order of St Vladimir 3rd Class (26 April 1847)

DASHKOV, Iakov Andreevich (1803–1872)

Privy Counsellor, Director of the Asian Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1848–1852

1852–1872 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

✉ The Order of St Anne 1st Class (1852), the Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class (1856), the Order of the White Eagle (30 August 1860), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (1870)

The Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross (4 August 1868)

GIERS, Nikolaus von (Nikolai Karlovich) (1820–1895)

Privy Counsellor, Secretary of State, Director of the Asian Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1875–1882, Minister of Foreign Affairs 1882–1895, Senator, Member of the Council of State

1872–1875 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

✉ The Order of the White Eagle (16 April 1872), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (13 April 1875), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii with diamonds (15 May 1883 and 14 August 1884), the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class (3 October 1888), the Order of St Andrew (1 January 1894),

The Order of St Olav, Grand Cross (20 July 1873), the Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross (19 July 1875), the Order of the Seraphim (15 February 1892)

OKUNEV, Grigorii Nikolaevich (1823–1883)
Privy Counsellor
1875–1883 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
¤ The Order of St Anne 1st Class (1875), the Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class (1883)
The Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross (6 June 1882)

SHISHKIN, Nikolai Pavlovich (1830–1902)
Actual Privy Counsellor, Envoy to the United States 1875–1880, Greece 1880–1884, Secretary of State, Member of the Council of State, Minister of Foreign Affairs 1896–1897
1884–1891 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
¤ The Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class (14 April 1886), the Order of the White Eagle (1 January 1890), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (30 August 1893), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii with diamonds (9 June 1898)
The Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross (4 July 1889), the Order of St Olav, Grand Cross (3 September 1891)

ZINOVIEV, Ivan Alekseevich (1835–1917)
Privy Counsellor, Senator, Member of the State Council, Envoy to Turkey, Director of the Asian Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1883–1891
1891–1897 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
¤ The Order of the White Eagle (13 April 1886), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii (1 April 1890), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii with diamonds (30 April 1899), the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class (1 April 1901), the Order of St Andrew (13 May 1909)
The Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross (7 September 1889), the Order of St Olav, Grand Cross (1898)

BÜTZOW, Eugen (Evgenii Karlovich) (1837–1904)
Privy Counsellor, Envoy to Japan 1865–1873, China 1873–1883, Greece 1884–1889, Persia 1889–1897
1897–1904 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
¤ The Order of the White Eagle (1 April 1892), the Order of St Alex-

ander Nevskii (3 April 1897), the Order of St Alexander Nevskii with diamonds (30 April 1902)

The Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross (29 November 1902)

BUDBERG, Fedor Andreevich (1851–1916)

Privy Counsellor, Chamberlain

1905–1909 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

✉ The Order of St Stanislaus 1st Class (1905), the Order of St Anne 1st Class (1911)

The Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross (12 May 1908), with collar (26 June 1909)

SERGEIEV, Vasily Sergeevich (1832–1910)

Actual Counsellor of State, Chamberlain

1909–1910 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

✉ The Order of St Vladimir 3rd Class (1905), the Order of St Stanislaus 1st Class (1908)

NARYSHKIN, Kirill Mikhailovich (1855–1921)

Actual Counsellor of State, Chamberlain

1910–1911 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

✉ The Order of St Anne 1st Class (1909)

The Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross (5 December 1911)

SAVINSKII, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (1868–1931)

Actual Counsellor of State, Director of the Office of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs 1901–1910

1912–1913 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

✉ The Order of St Vladimir 3rd Class (1908), the Order of St Stanislaus 1st Class (1913), the Order of St Anne 1st Class (1915)

The Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross (12 May 1908), with collar (5 July 1912)

NEKLUODOV, Anatolii Vasilievich (1856–1943)

Actual Counsellor of State, Chamberlain, Secretary of the Embassy in France 1911

1914–1917 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary

¤ The Order of St Anne 1st Class (1909), **the Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class (1913)**

The Order of the Polar Star, Grand Cross (8 June 1917)

MATERIALITY OF HONOURS

III



PURVEYORS TO THE CHAPTER OF THE RUSSIAN ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD 1797–1917

Sergei S. Levin

THIS PAPER IS DEVOTED to the jewellers-purveyors of the Chapter of the Imperial and Royal Orders 1797–1917. The main purveyors during this period were:

1797–1802	P. Teremin
1802–1820	A. Panov
1820– (active until) 1836	I. Pannash
1836–1854	I. V. Keibel and G. V. Kemmerer (Kämmerer)
1854–1862	I. V. Keibel
1862–1882	Yu. Keibel
1882–1905	A. Keibel
1905–1917	the firm 'Eduard'
1914–1917	the firm 'D. Osipov'

Until today, the history of the making of the insignia during the first years after the establishment of the Chapter of the Russian Orders of Knighthood by Paul I in 1797 has remained pretty much unexplored. It was during these years (1797–1825) that notes were written into the account books of the Chapter of the Russian Orders of Knighthood, and these notes now constitute an extremely valuable source for the history of decorations in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The statistical information presented in this paper about the insignia of orders, stars and ribbons delivered to the Chapter has been excerpted from 28 cases of the archive of the Chapter of Orders for a period of 28 years, with the exception of the year 1818, for which information for some reason is lacking in the archive.¹

¹ RGIA (Russian State Historical Archive), f. 496, op. 2, delo no. 2217.

1. The Order of St Alexander Nevskii, by I. Pannash, 1820s.

2. The Order of St Anne 1st Class, by I. Pannash.

For the first time we find information about the purveyors to the Chapter of the Russian Orders of Knighthood during the years 1797–1825: the goldsmith P. Azhi, better known as a bronze caster, the goldsmith P. Teremin (Termen),² the first purveyor to the Chapter in 1797–1802, and the main purveyor of insignia of orders between 1802–1820 the goldsmith Afanasi Panov. In my opinion, the most important finding is the discovery of such an important name as Afanasi Panov, who served as purveyor to the Chapter for a period of nineteen years. He can be put in the same line with the already well-known purveyors to the Chapter, Pannash, the Keibel family and the firm 'Eduard'. A very interesting fact is that eight pieces of the Order of St Catherine were made for the Chapter in 1806–1808 by Otto-Samuil Keibel, the founder of the most famous jewellers' dynasty of the Russian Empire and purveyors to the Chapter for a period of seventy years.

It is important to note that A. Panov worked in times that were very difficult for makers of insignia of orders. Suffice it to say that it was he who started to produce the insignia of the Orders of St George and St Vladimir in 1802, after a five-year break in 1797–1801 – a break caused by the Emperor Paul's ignoring of these orders. Panov took part in the changing of the outer appearance of the insignia of the Orders of St Anne in 1815, of St George and St Vladimir in 1816, as well as in the modification of the insignia of the Order of St Alexander Nevskii in 1819. Moreover, during these years Russia was involved in a number of wars, which was reflected in a direct way in the increase in the number of insignia delivered.

The information that P. Teremin in 1797–1798 and A. Panov in 1804 and 1807–1813 produced side-arms with the insignia of the Order of St Anne 3rd Class is especially interesting. Of course, this does not mean that they produced the whole of the side-arms but, apparently, only their golden parts: 'hilts, screws, rings and end-pieces' as later on in 1877, in the agreement with the Chapter, the responsibilities of the purveyors Julius Keibel and his son Albert were defined.

Likewise we find for the first time information about the purveyors of the stars and ribbons (sashes) of the orders during the years indicated. Of these I would like to single out the St Petersburg merchant Dmitriev, who in particular delivered stars of the Order of St Andrew in their new form in 1800; Titular Counsellor Chernyshev, who died in 1808 and his widow, who evidently owned an atelier for golden embroidery in St Petersburg; the most prominent supplier

² RGIA, f. 496, op. 2, delo no. 60, l. 2: '17 March 1800 5 stars of the new model were delivered to H.M. the Empress, 1 to Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich, 2 to Grand Dukes Nikolai and Mikhail Pavlovich, 1 to the military governor of Moscow, and 4 to the room of His Majesty.'

of ribbons and sashes during these years, the Moscow merchant Mikulin; the Vospitatel'nyi Dom (Foundling Hospital); Prince Yussupov's Kupavinsky silk factory and others, whose names are given below in alphabetical order. All in all among the purveyors we have found twenty-eight family names and five institutions – the Kupavinsky factory, the Milyutin factory, Gostinnyi Dvor, Vospitatel'nyi Dom and the State Factory for Officers' Equipment.

Goldsmith Termen (1797–1802):

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 13 collars, 1 repair; 26 crosses, 1 repair; 1 knob for the staff of the Master of Ceremonies 2 batons, 2 infantry small swords for heralds.

The Order of St Catherine – 10 crosses of the 1st Class; 15 crosses of the 2nd Class; 2 knobs for the baton of the Grand Master of Ceremonies and Master of Ceremonies, 2 batons for the heralds, 2 infantry small swords for the heralds.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 94 crosses; 2 knobs for the baton of the Grand Master of Ceremonies and Master of Ceremonies, 2 batons for the heralds, 2 infantry small swords for the heralds.

The Order of St George 1st–2nd Class – 1 cross.

The Order of St George 3rd–4th Class – 8 crosses.

The Order of St Vladimir 1st–2nd Class – 4 crosses.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd–4th Class – 9 crosses.

The Order of St Anne 1st–2nd Class – 368 crosses with aquamarines and 32 crosses with roses; 1 knob for the baton of the Grand Master of Ceremonies and 1 knob from (?) a baton of black wood with a golden frame for the Master of Ceremonies, 2 batons for the heralds, 2 infantry small swords for the heralds.

The Order of St Anne 3rd Class (1798) – 60 infantry small swords, 125 cavalry small swords, 75 sables.

The Order of St John of Jerusalem – 2 batons for Grand Master of Ceremonies and Master of Ceremonies.

Altogether he delivered 13 collars and 567 crosses and repaired 1 collar and 1 cross, 7 knobs for the staffs of the Masters of Ceremonies, 8 batons for heralds and 8

³ Teremin (Theremin) Pierre-Etienne (1764–1848). From 1793 in St Petersburg. In 1800–1801 master (alderman) of the foreign guild of jewellers. Left for Geneva in 1803. In 1799 he made the crown, sceptre and sable for Tsar Georgy of Georgia and Kartelia. Probably made the insignia of the Order of St Andrew with diamonds for the coronation of Paul I and Alexander I (hallmark: 'PT').

infantry small swords for heralds, 2 staffs for the Grand Master of Ceremonies and the Master of Ceremonies, 60 infantry small swords, 125 cavalry small swords, 75 sables.

Silversmith Bergstrem (Bergström) (1797)⁴

On 7 September 1797 delivered a newly made case for the keeping of the Imperial Statutes.

Goldsmith Dyuval' (Duval) (1797)⁵

Delivered 10 crosses of the Order of St Catherine 2nd Class.

3. The Order of St Andrew, by Keibel-Kemmerer. The Moscow Kremlin Museums.

4. The Order of the White Eagle, by Keibel-Kemmerer, 1840.

5. The Order St Alexander Nevskii, by Keibel-Kemmerer, 1839.

Erodior Kenel' (1797)⁶

Delivered 11 bows embroidered in silver for the Order of St Catherine.

The St Petersburg merchant Mikhailov (1797)⁷

Delivered 500 arshin/351 metres of ribbon for the insignia of the Order of St Anne 1st Class.

The St Petersburg merchant Serebryakov (1797)⁸

Delivered 100 arshin/71 metres of ribbon for the Order of St Anne 1st Class.

The gold embroiderer Esterreikh (Österreich?) (1797)⁹

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 6 stars for knights and 2 large stars for officials of the order.

⁴ Gold- and silversmith Jona Bergström (Bergstrem) (1740s–after 1816). Born in Sweden. Studies in Stockholm, accepted as master by the foreign guild on the 12 December 1764. Delivered to the Court Office. He was still alive in 1816. Hallmark: 'IB'. (Cf. Фелькерзам, Алфавитный список С.-Петербургских золотых и серебряных дел мастеров ювелиров, граверов и проч 1714–1814, appendix to the journal *Старые годы*, 1907).

⁵ Obviously Jacques-David Duval (1768–1844), the oldest son of the Swiss jeweller Louis-David Duval (1726–1888), from 1787 jeweller and evaluator at the Cabinet of H.I.M. (His Imperial Majesty). On the 12 March 1797 he became 'private (?) Imperial jeweller'. He made the great majority of all insignia of orders with diamonds for the Imperial Court and the Cabinet of H.I.M. in 1787–1803. He left Russia in 1803.

⁶ No information about this master has been found.

⁷ The address book of St Petersburg for 1809 includes several merchants with the name Mikhailov.

⁸ The address book of St Petersburg for 1809 includes the merchant of the 3rd guild Serebryakov, living in his private house at Fontanka B, close to house no. 283

⁹ The address book of St Petersburg for 1809 includes the gold embroiderer Maria Esterreikh, living at Novyi Pereulok, in Bollin's house no. 77 (The goldsmith Frank lived in the same house, cf. note 14 below).



The Order of St Catherine – 12 bows embroidered in silver, 1 semicircle (?) for the hat of the master of ceremonies, 2 semicircles (?) for the hat of the heralds and 5 semicircles (?) for the secretary, 2 large stars for the garb of the officials, 4 large stars for the tabards of the heralds.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 26 stars for knights, 2 large stars for the garb of the officials and 4 large stars for the heralds.

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – 26 stars for knights, 2 large stars for the garb of the officials and 4 large stars for the heralds.

Delivered in all 78 embroidered stars, 8 semicircles for the hats of officials and 12 bows embroidered in silver.

*St Petersburg merchant Barmin (1798, 1805–1807)*¹⁰

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 4 stars.

The Order of St Catherine – ribbon 40 arshin/28.5 metres.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – ribbon 102.5 arshin/73 metres.

The Order of St George 4th Class – ribbon 126 arshin/89.5 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 1st Class – 7 stars; ribbon 38.75 arshin/27.5 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd Class – ribbon 117 arshin/83 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 4th Class – ribbon 231 arshin/164 metres.

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – 5 stars; ribbon 70 arshin/49 metres.

The Order of St Anne 2nd Class – ribbon 243 arshin/172.5 metres.

Delivered in all 16 stars and 957 arshin/679.5 metres of ribbon.

Gold embroiderer Libershi (1798–1799)

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 18 stars.

The Order of St Catherine – 2 stars.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 38 stars.

The Order of St Anne – 72 stars.

Delivered in all 130 embroidered stars of the orders.

¹⁰ In the address book of St Petersburg for 1809 is included the merchant of the 3rd guild Barmin, Il'ya Emelyanovich, living in a private house, no. 39, on the Ital'yanskaya Ulitsa.

Merchant Stolyarov (1798–1799)¹¹

Delivered 6 arshin/4.2 metres of ribbon of the Order of St Andrew the First-Called for the heralds of the order, as well as 100 arshin/71 metres of ribbon of the order of St Anne 1st Class.

Goldsmith Azhi (Agis) (1799–1802)¹²

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 7 collars, repaired 2; 26 crosses, repaired 4.

The Order of St Catherine – 5 crosses 2nd Class.

The Order of Alexander Nevskii – 7 crosses, repaired 9.

The Order of St Anne 1st–2nd Class – 12 crosses, repaired 1.

Delivered in all 7 collars and 50 crosses, repaired 2 collars and 14 crosses.

Gold embroiderer Zhuravleva (1799)

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 12 stars.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 22 stars.

Delivered in all 34 embroidered stars.

Engraver Koshkin (1799)¹³

Delivered 63 engraved plates for the Statutes of the Russian Order of Knighthood.

The St Petersburg merchant Dmitriev (1800–1809)

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 61 stars (among them 12 stars of the old type, from before 1800); ribbon 56 arshin/40 metres.

The Order of St Catherine – 3 stars; 2 crosses 2nd Class; 10 bows.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 24 stars; ribbon 40 arshin/28 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 1st–2nd Class – 30 stars.

¹¹ In 1809 we have evidence about the merchant of the 3rd guild, Ivan Petrovich Stolyarov, living in the Moskovskaya part of the city, in Kamenshchikov's house no. 729 (Gryaznaya Ulitsa 108).

¹² Agis (Azhi), Pierre-Louis (1752–1828) – ornamental sculptor, founder and master chaser. From 1784 taught sculpture at the Academy of Art. From 1800 academician of ornamental sculpture. With his atelier as a basis a bronze founding factory was opened, producing bronze items for the fountains at Peterhof, the Mikhailov Palace, the Kazanskii cathedral etc. Freemason, member of the Palestina Lodge in 1817–1821.

¹³ Elisei Ivanovich Koshkin (1761–1836). Engraver, academician at the Academy of Art.



The Order of St Vladimir 4th Class – ribbon 90 arshin/64 metres.

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – 120 stars.

The Order of St Anne 2nd Class – ribbon 22.25 arshin/18 metres.

Delivered in all 2 crosses of the Order of St Catherine, 10 bows, 238 embroidered stars and 211.25 arshin/150 metres of ribbon.

Goldsmith Frank (1800)¹⁴

Delivered 1 cross of the Order of St Alexander Nevskii.

Gold embroiderer Polushkina (1801–1802, 1805)

The Order of St Catherine – 4 stars and 15 bows.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 13 stars.

The Order of St Anne – 16 stars.

6. The Order of St Anne for non-Christians, by Keibel–Kemmerer.

7. The Order of St Vladimir for non-Christians, by W. Keibel.

Delivered in all 33 embroidered stars and 15 bows.

Vospitatel'nyi Dom (1802–1809, 1811–1818, 1824)

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 11 stars.

The Order of St Catherine – 5 stars and 127 bows.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 22 stars.

The Order of St Anne – 91 stars.

Delivered in all 129 embroidered stars and 127 bows.

Merchant Lengaro (1802)¹⁵

Delivered 2 crosses 1st Class and 1 cross 2nd Class of the Order of St Catherine.

¹⁴ Frantz Jacob Franck (Frank) (?–1819) – born in St Petersburg, son of a Danish official in Russian service. Goldsmith and master chaser from 1790. In 1801 assistant, in 1802 and 1803 companion of the master and in 1804 master of the guild. Purveyor to the Cabinet of H.I.M. in 1819. His widow, Sofia Charlotta, continued to keep her husband's atelier, and in 1820 asked the guild for permission to stamp the works from her atelier at the Mint Department. Her apprentice, C. G. Lindeus, finished his apprenticeship in 1822 (Cf. Фелькерзам, in *Старые годы*, 1907).

¹⁵ This is possibly in reference to Jean Claude Legros – diamond master, who in 1791 lived at Milionnaya Ulitsa, 78, and in 1793 at Konyushennaya Ulitsa, in the house of Tikhomilov.

*Goldsmith Panov (1802–1820)*¹⁶

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 1 collar, repaired 12; 49 crosses, repaired 11.

The Order of St Catherine – 13 crosses 1st Class, repaired 5; 70 crosses 2nd Class, repaired 7.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 175 crosses, repaired 42.

The Order of St George 1st–2nd Class – 52 crosses, repaired 2.

The Order of St George 3rd–4th Class – 1 780 crosses, repaired 417.

The Order of St Vladimir 1st–2nd Class – 338 crosses, repaired 213.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd–4th Class – 10 097 crosses, repaired 641.

The Order of St Anne 1st–2nd Class – 2 897 crosses (model of 1797), repaired 291; 253 crosses 1st Class (model of 1815) and 1 695 crosses 2nd Class (model of 1815).

The Order of St Anne 3rd Class (on weapons, model of 1797) – 37 crosses in 1814, as well as 2 347 infantry small swords, repaired 46 (1804, 1807–1813); 369 cavalry small swords (1804, 1807–1808, 1812–1813); 141 uhlans sables (1807–1809, 1811–1813); 251 cossack sables (1808, 1812–1813); 75 hussar sables (1812–1813); 20 naval sables (1811); 502 white sables (1804, 1807–1810); 225 yellow sables (1804, 1807–1808).

The Order of St Anne 3rd Class (model of 1815) – 1 928 crosses.

Delivered in all 1 collar and 19 264 crosses, as well as 3 930 copies of cold arms (with the cross of the order of St Anne 3rd Class); repaired 1 627 crosses and 12 collars.

Moscow merchant Mikulin (1802, 1810–1821)

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – ribbon 127.5 arshin/90.5 metres; ribbons for the officials 61.25 arshin/43.5 metres; ribbons for the medal ‘For the crossing to the Swedish shore’ – 3 723.5 arshin/2 643.5 metres; ribbons for the medal ‘For bazardzhik’ – 3 185 arshin/3 185 arshin/2 261.5 metres; ribbons

¹⁶ In the account books only the family name Panov is indicated. His name Afanasiy was discovered on a receipt for 1 379 roubles received for insignia of orders made and repaired in 1802 (the account book of the Chapter of the Russian order of Knighthood for 1802 – RGIA, f. 496, op. 2, delo no. 81). The name stamp of A. Panov is unknown, but it is possible that he had the stamp ‘AP’ in Latin letters, which have been attributed to the master chaser of the beginning of the nineteenth century, A. Paskevich. Taking into account the high frequency with which insignia of orders with the stamp ‘AP’ occur at auctions, it is reasonable to assume that only insignia made by the biggest producer at the time could have been preserved in such large numbers. A. Panov was a producer of that calibre.



for the medal 'To the memory of the war 1812' – 60 275.25 arshin/42 782.6 metres.

The Order of St Catherine – ribbon 102 arshin/72.5 metres.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – ribbon 400.5 arshin/284.5 metres.

The Order of St George 2nd Class – ribbon 130.5 arshin/92.5 metres.

The Order of St George 3rd–4th Class – ribbon 2 621.5 arshin/1 861.5 metres; ribbon for the badges of honour of the Order of St George 15 145.5 arshin/10 753.5 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 1st Class – ribbon 167.75 arshin/119 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class – ribbon 328 arshin/233 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd–4th Class – ribbon 6 961.5 arshin/4 942.6 metres.

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – 6 stars; ribbon 1 204 arshin/854.8 metres.

The Order of St Anne 2nd Class – ribbon 4 071.75 arshin/2 891 metres.

The Orders of St Anne 3rd Class – ribbon 3 408.25 arshin/2 420 metres.

Badges of honour of the Order of St Anne – ribbon 1 831.5 arshin/1 300.5 metres.

Delivered in all 6 embroidered stars and 103 745.25 arshin/73 659.1 metres of ribbon (73 kilometres and 659.1 metres!).

Goldsmith Keibel (1806–1808)¹⁷

Delivered 8 crosses of the Order of St Catherine 2nd Class.

Titular Counsellor Chernyshev (1808) and his widow

Chernysheva (1808–1809; 1811–1821, except 1818, 1823–1825)¹⁸

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 69 stars.

The Order of St Catherine – 17 stars and 4 bows.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 240 stars.

The Order of St George – 60 stars.

The Order of St Vladimir – 368 stars.

The Order of St Anne – 674 stars.

Delivered in all 1 428 embroidered stars and 4 bows.

¹⁷ Keibel, Otto Samuil (1768–1809). From 1797 goldsmith guild master and jeweller in St Petersburg.

In 1807–1808 alderman of the foreign guild. He lived 'at the Krasnyi Most' (on Moika at Gorokhovaya Ulitsa, no. 183), in the house of the merchant Menschikov.

¹⁸ In 1809, there is evidence of a retired titular counsellor Petr Stepanovich Chernyshev, living at Bol'shaya Morskaya Ulitsa, no. 150.

The Kupavinsky factory, belonging to Prince N. B. Yusupov

(1798, 1807–1808, 1812–1813, 1823)¹⁹

1. The shop of the Kupavinsky factory, belonging to Prince N. B. Yusupov (1807–1808, 1812–1813, 1823).

The Order St Andrew the First-Called – ribbon 56 arshin/39.7 metres.

The Order of St Catherine – ribbon 16.5 arshin/11.7 metres.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – ribbon 113 arshin/80 metres.

The Order of St George 3rd–4th Class – ribbon 922 arshin/654.5 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class – ribbon 35 arshin/25 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd–4th Class – ribbon 1 067.5 arshin/758 metres.

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – ribbon 145.25 arshin/89 metres.

Delivered in all 2 355.25 arshin/1 672 metres of ribbons.

2. The Commissioner of the Kupavinsky factory, Aleksei Figurin (1821–1825)

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – ribbon 100 arshin/71 metres.

Ribbon for the medal ‘For the taking of Paris’ – 20 249 arshin/14 377 metres.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – ribbon 24 arshin/17 metres.

The Order of St George 4th Class – ribbon 199 arshin/141 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 1st Class – ribbon 200 arshin/142 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 2nd Class – ribbon 44 arshin/31 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd Class – ribbon 202 arshin/143.5 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 4th Class – ribbon 528 arshin/375 metres.

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – ribbon 328.75 arshin/233.5 metres.

The Order of St Anne 2nd Class – ribbon 1 277.25 arshin/907 metres.

Delivered in all 23 152 arshin/16 438 metres of ribbon.

¹⁹ The silk-weaving mill in Kupavna was founded by Danila Yakovlevich Zemskoi in 1717. Thereafter the Kupavna mill was transferred from one owner to another. In the 1770s and 1780s the mill was owned by Prince Grigorii Aleksandrovich Potemkin-Tavricheskii. But Potemkin did not own the mill for long, and in 1789 it returned to the state in the form of the administration of a manufacture-college. While the mill was in the hands of Potemkin, the only clock factory in Russia was founded in Kupavna. In 1804, the silk-weaving mill in Kupavna, together with the clock factory, were taken over by N. B. Yusupov. Over 700 people worked in Yusupov's silk-weaving mill. They developed silk tapestry, velvet, six kinds of brocade, satin cloths and ribbons for orders. Beginning in 1819, Yusupov started producing broadcloth, which went to the needs of the state, for delivery to the army and for export, especially to China. In 1833, the Babkin brothers, Petr and Il'ya Semenovich, became owners of the factory. They abandoned the silk production and increased the production of broadcloth.

3. Salesman of the shop of the Kupavinsky factory, merchant Galochkin (1807–1808)

The Order of St George 4th Class – ribbon 852 arshin/605.9 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd Class – ribbon 124.5 arshin/88.5 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 4th Class – ribbon 766 arshin/54.8 metres.

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – ribbon 186.5 arshin/132.6 metres.

The Order of St Anne 2nd Class – ribbon 317 arshin/225.5 metres.

Badges of honour of the Order of St Anne – ribbon 6 000 arshin/4 267.2 metres.

Delivered in all 8 246 arshin/5 854.5 metres of ribbon.

Moscow merchant Sheikin (1808)

The Order of St George 4th Class – ribbon 917 arshin/651 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd Class – ribbon 234 arshin/166 metres.

The Order of St Vladimir 4th Class – ribbon 2 561.25 arshin/1 818.5 metres.

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – ribbon 40 arshin/28.5 metres.

Delivered in all 3 712.25 arshin/2 635.5 metres of ribbon.

Gold embroiderer Sperling (1810–1811)²⁰

The Order of St Catherine – 3 stars.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 12 stars.

The order of St Vladimir – 24 stars.

The Order of St Anne – 75 stars.

Delivered in all 114 embroidered stars.

Merchant Pistolov (1811)

Delivered 56 crosses of the 1st and 2nd Classes of the Order of St Anne.

Gostinnyi Dvor (1812–1814; 1816)

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 1 star.

The Order of St Catherine – ribbon 7 arshin/5 metres for bows.

The Order of St George 3rd Class (model of 1816) – ribbon 5 arshin/3.5 metres.

²⁰ Sperling, Ekaterina Dar'ya, lived in 1809 at Malaya Konyushennaya Ulitsa, no. 19, in Shvert's house.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd–4th Class – ribbon 15 arshin/10.5 metres.

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – ribbon 31 arshin/22 metres.

Delivered in all 1 embroidered star and 58 arshin/41 metres of ribbon.

St Petersburg merchant Lobov (1812)²¹

Delivered 434.5 arshin/308 metres of ribbon for the badge of honour of the Order of St George.

St Petersburg merchant Kuzmentsov (1812)

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – ribbon 28.5 arshin/20 metres.

The Order of St Anne 2nd Class – ribbon 49.25 arshin/35 metres for the crosses of the 2nd Class.

Delivered in all 77.75 arshin/55 metres of ribbon.

The State Factory for Officers' Equipment (1812–1813)

Delivered 695 arshin/493.5 metres for the badges of honour of the Order of St George.

Sword maker Zonderman (1814–1816)

Delivered 810 badges of honour of the Order of St Anne.

Jeweller Yantsen (1817)²²

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 2 collars with crosses, in cases.

Engraver D. Shli(e)pper (1818–1819)

Delivered 4 engraved copper plates for 1 269 official documents.

²¹ Lobov, Pavel Nikitich (1764–1814); St Petersburg merchant of the 3rd guild; lived in the house of the merchant Bochkov, on the left embankment of Fontanka, no. 478.

²² Iantzen (Yantsen), Christian Andreas was born in Pomerania. In 1794, accepted as apprentice by the master Pragst. In 1807, became silversmith (master) of the foreign guild. In 1824, assistant of the master and in 1826 master (*starosta*) of the guild. Worked several times for the Imperial Court. Known until 1846 (hallmark: Iantzen, 'CI').



Jeweller Kokhendorfer (1818, 1820–1821)²³

The Order of St Catherine – repaired 2 crosses 1st Class.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd–4th Class – 29 crosses.

The Order of St Anne 2nd Class – 4 crosses.

The Order of St Anne 3rd Class – 14 crosses.

The Order of St Anne 4th Class (on weapons) – 570 tombac crosses.

Goldsmith Immanuil Pannash (1820–1830)²⁴

The Order of St Andrew the First-Called – 29 collars, 35 crosses, repaired 2.

The Order of St Catherine – 59 crosses 2nd Class, repaired 2 crosses 1st Class.

The Order of St Alexander Nevskii – 147 crosses (Illust. 1 on p. 176).

The Order of St George 1st–2nd Class – 60 crosses.

The Order of St George 3rd–4th Class – 1 158 crosses.

The Order of St George 4th Class, 'For 25 years' – 305 crosses, repaired 2.

The Order of St Vladimir 1st–2nd Class – 307 crosses.

The Order of St Vladimir 3rd–4th Class – 7 373 crosses.

The Order of St Vladimir 4th Class, 'For 35 years' – 350 crosses, repaired 12.

The Order of St Anne 1st Class – 583 crosses (Illust. 2 on p. 176).

The Order of St Anne 1st Class with crown and star – 152 crosses and stars.

The Order of St Anne 2nd Class – 3 770 crosses.

The Order of St Anne 2nd Class with crown – 467 crosses.

The Order of St Anne 3rd Class – 8 358 crosses.

The Order of St Anne 4th Class (on weapons) – 3 841 tombac crosses.

9. The Order of St Anne with Crown, by J. Keibel.

10. The star of the Order of the White Eagle, by Eduard, 1917.

Delivered in all 29 collars and 26 965 crosses, repaired 18 crosses, also delivered 152 stars, 14 294 Badges of honour for irreproachable service and 152 Naval badges of honour 1st and 2nd Classes.

Before 1831, ribbons for the orders were manufactured by the Kupavin factory, belonging to Prince N. B. Yussupov, and from 1831–1876 by the silk weaving mill belonging to Ya. S. Loktev and his son.

²³ Kochendorffer, Bernhardt Johann (Berngard Iogann) (1780–1865) – silversmith and jeweller from 1806 (hallmark: 'BK'). In 1809 lived at Malyi Millionnyi pereulok, no. 69.

²⁴ von Pannash, Immanuel Georg (Immanuil Georg) (1773–1836), goldsmith-enameller from 1809; member of the foreign guild; purveyor to the Chapter of Imperial and Royal Orders 1820–1836 (hallmark: 'IP').

Keibel-Kemmerer – purveyors 1836–1854 (hallmark ‘KK’)

Keibel, Johann Wilhelm (1788–1862) – goldsmith and jeweller (1837, St Petersburg, B. Morskaya 14), hereditary honorary citizen and knight, purveyor to the Court of H.I.M. and to the Chapter of Orders (1836–1862).

Kemmerer (Kämmerer), Heinrich Wilhelm (Genrikh Vil’gel’m) (1786–1854) – goldsmith and jeweller, purveyor to the Chapter of Orders from 1 December 1836 until 1854 (together with J. V. Keibel). Purveyor and evaluator (1839) of the Cabinet of H.I.M. After 1852 he worked with Konstantin Friedrich Karlovich Zeftingen (1814–1889) (in 1854 V. Kemmerer and K. F. Zeftingen were appointed Court Jewellers, Nevskii Pr., 49, beside Passage (Pasazh) in the house of Sutgof).

Judging from the available data concerning the production of insignia of orders by Keibel and Kemmerer (Illust. 3–6 on pp. 181, 184), one may suggest that the number of insignia delivered during the period 1836–1854 was around 75 000–80 000.

Embroidered stars were delivered (1839–1854) by Korovina.

Cases were in the 1830s delivered by case master Nygren (Nigren), in the 1840s and 1850s by the bookbinders Mukhin, Filippov, Dobrotvortsev, Bogdanov, Shtol’tsenberg, Koch (Kokh) and Krause (Krauze).

Johann Wilhelm Keibel – purveyor 1854–1862 (hallmark ‘WK’)

In addition to W. Keibel (Illust. 7–8 on pp. 184 below, 187) the following persons also were purveyors to the Chapter in 1855–1856.²⁵

Andreev, Pavel Andreevich (d. after 1873) – goldsmith (in 1867, St Petersburg, Bol’shaya Sadovaya, d. 9/11, kv. 24), purveyor to the Chapter 1855–1856. Between September 1855 and August 1856 he produced 1 085 crosses. Hallmark: ‘TIA’.

Arndt, Samuil (1812–1890), son of Johann-Martin Arndt (goldsmith and jeweller), 1867, St Petersburg, Gorokhovaya ul. d. 4, kv. 6). Purveyor to the Chapter (*po doverennosti* ‘Nikols and Plinke’) in 1855–1856. Between September 1855 and December 1856 he produced a total of 932 crosses, among them 125 stars of the Order of St Anne with crown (50) and without crown (75). Hallmark ‘SA’.

²⁵ RGIA, f. 496, op. 2, delo no. 1624.

Zablotni, Ivan (after 1856) – goldsmith. In 1854, E. (Egan) Zablotni was a goldsmith with a ‘haberdashery and an engraving establishment’ at the corner of B. Meshchanskaya 31 and Novyi Pereulok 34 in St Petersburg. Purveyor to the Chapter in 1855–1856. Between September 1855 and July 1856 he produced 4 310 crosses. Hallmark ‘IS’(?).

Fulda (Ful’da), Josef-Friedrich, ‘merchant of the Fredrikshamn 1st statute guild and of the 2nd provisional Moscow guild’, and goldsmith Fulda, Benedikt Gavrilovich, ‘merchant of the 3rd provisional Moscow guild’. Purveyor to the Chapter in 1855–1856. Between October 1855 and April 1856 they produced 371 crosses. Hallmarks ‘ИФ’ and ‘БФ’. In all, they delivered 6 698 crosses and 125 stars.

Taking into account these data, as well as the number of crosses and stars that Johann Wilhelm Keibel, according to the contract, was supposed to deliver to the Chapter in 1857, we can estimate that the number of insignia he delivered to the Chapter between 1854 and 1862 amounts to roughly 45 000 (plus more or less the same number of Badges of honour for irreproachable service).²⁶

Julius Keibel – purveyor 1862–1882 (hallmark ‘IK’)

Keibel, Julius (1825–1882) – merchant of the 1st guild, hereditary honorary citizen 1867, (St Petersburg, Petrogradskaya storona, Ul. B. Zelenina, 24, kv. 1.) He had a jeweller’s shop at B. Morskaya 24, in the Eliseev house. Purveyor to the Chapter and the Court of H.I.M., Knight of the Orders of Stanislaus 2nd Class and of St Anne 3rd Class.

Taking into account the number of insignia produced on average in 1871–1881 (about 10 000 per year),²⁷ one may suggest that the number of insignia (Illust. 9 on p. 192, above) delivered by him (from 1877 his son, Albert Keibel, also signed contracts with the Chapter) between 1862 and 1882 amounts to about 200 000–220 000.

²⁶ RGIA, l. 23–26 ‘the purveyor is obliged without delay to deliver insignia in the amount indicated in the order [...] 250 crosses of St Anne, St George, St Vladimir and St Stanislaus together in various classes in 1 month, and 500 such crosses during 1.5 months. 10 crosses of St Catherine 1st class, 10 of the 2nd class, 10 crosses of St Andrew, 25 crosses of St Alexander Nevskii and 25 crosses of the White Eagle in 1 month. One thousand Badges of honour for irreproachable service, and 30 forged silver stars in 1 month [...].’

²⁷ RGIA, f. 496, op. 2, delo no. 2217, l. 1–3.

From the 1870s to the end of the nineteenth century ribbons and sashes were delivered by the Moscow Ribbon Factory in Sokol'niki. The factory was owned by Afanasii Timofeevich Brychov (1799–1877), from 1875 by his son Aleksandr Afanas'evich (1827–1891), hereditary honorary citizen and Counsellor of Commerce, and from 1891 by Aleksandr Afanas'evich's widow, Agrafena Yakovlevna (b. 1846), in her second marriage A. Y. Nekrasova.

In the 1870s the cases for the insignia were delivered by the case maker Nokelain, about whom, for the time being, no further information has been found.

From the 1850s the bows for the Order of St Catherine were delivered to the Chapter by Maria Zaleman, whose embroidery atelier was founded in 1829 (Nevskii Prospekt, 32–34, in the house of the Catholic Church). '1879, February 1st. I the undersigned gold embroiderer Maria Zaleman take upon myself for the coming four years to make for the Chapter of Orders bows of the Order of St Catherine 1st–2nd Class from ribbons provided by the Chapter, with recompense to me of four silver roubles for each bow.' The atelier is referred to in 1896 (*Ves' Peterburg*). In 1905, in the same source is a reference to two ateliers of gold embroidery carrying the name Zaleman: 'Zaleman, Ekaterina' (owner A. Ya. Martini) on the address: Nevskii, 52, and 'Zaleman, Maria' (owner Luiza Alekseevna Orlovskaya) on the address: Nevskii, 34.

Albert Keibel – purveyor 1882–1905 (hallmark 'AK')

Keibel, Albert (1854–1910), jeweller, hereditary honorary citizen, purveyor to the Chapter of Imperial and Royal Orders and to the Cabinet of H.I.M. (1882–1906); from 1877 he worked together with his father Julius Keibel.

Taking into account the number of insignia produced in 1903 (about 20 000 – see the table on p. 198f.), one may suggest that the number of insignia delivered by him during the period 1882–1905 is about 320 000–350 000.

During the years of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) two other firms took part in the production of orders for the Chapter: the firm 'Eduard' (about 20 per cent of the total number of deliveries, i.e. around 12 000 crosses) and the firm 'D. Osipov' (around 4 000 crosses in 1905).

Cases for the orders and envelopes were delivered in the 1890s by Karl Geiner, about whom, for the time being, no further information is available.

Taking into account the number of crosses produced in 1905 (about 60 000),

the number of insignia delivered in 1906–1917 by the firm 'Eduard' (Illust. 10 on p. 192, below) can be estimated at about 600 000–700 000. The firm 'D. Osipov' could deliver about 200 000 crosses.

Cases were delivered in 1905–1917 by the firm of Petr Sergeevich Petrov (1917; Petrograd, Ekaterinskii Kanal, 44).

Ribbons were delivered in 1905–1917 by the commercial-industrial cooperative company 'A. and V. Sapozhnikov'. Ribbons of the Order of St Catherine, amounting to 10.5 arshin, were delivered to the Cabinet of H.I.M. by the manufacturer Zheverzheev (1908); he also delivered bows for the Order of St Catherine in 1911.

Fabergé also delivered to the Chapter. In August 1915, the firm delivered crosses of the Order of St George 1st Class for a sum of 1 600 roubles.²⁸ Taking into account that the price of a 1st Class cross was 60 roubles, we may assume that Fabergé manufactured about 30 crosses.

²⁸ RGIA, f. 525, op. 1, delo no. 129.

Account concerning the number of crosses of orders, Badges of honour and golden weapons handed out by the Chapter (1903–1906). Numbers after a slash indicate awards given to non-Christians.

Order	1903	1904	1905	1906
<i>The Order of St Andrew the First-Called</i>				
With swords	—	—	—	—
Without swords	14	3	1/1	5/1
<i>The Order of St Catherine</i>				
1 st Class (awards made through the Cabinet of H.I.M.)	—	—	—	—
2 nd Class	12	4	4	7
<i>The Order of St Alexander Nevskii</i>				
With swords	—	—	3	—/1
Without swords	38	44/8	54/7	32/1
<i>The Order of the White Eagle</i>				
With swords	—	2	10	5
Without swords	63/4	73/8	94/5	66/2
<i>The Order of St George</i> (1 st and 2 nd Classes and part of the 3 rd Class were awarded banners and standards)				
1 st Class	2	2	—	1
2 nd Class	—	2	—	—
3 rd Class	9	34/11	8	13
4 th Class	—	289/54	301/26	20
<i>The Order of St Vladimir</i>				
1 st Class with swords	—	—	—	—
Without swords	9	14	10	14
2 nd Class with swords	—	4/3	23	13
Without swords	76/1	75	112	80
3 rd Class with swords	8	49/3	116	163/2
Without swords	420/3	416/2	537/3	833/2
4 th Class with swords	15	560/5	887/52	325/6
Without swords	896/7	897/3	1 540/22	1 456/5
4 th Class for 35 years of service	452/4	419/1	429/4	1
4 th Class for 25 years of service	532/7	282/4	225/1	1
4 th Class for 18 campaigns	—	5	12	—
4 th Class for 20 campaigns	—	17	9	—
<i>The Order of St Anne</i>				
1 st Class with swords	1	16	46	48/1
Without swords	165/5	142/14	272/10	202/5
2 nd Class with swords	22	916/31	2 220/175	252/2

Without swords	1 697/11	1 510/20	3 039/80	2 409/21
3 rd Class with swords	83	2 458/26	4 392/290	606/5
Without swords	4 235/38	4 023/36	6 545/176	5 824/46
4 th Class (on cold weapons)	35	4 133/17	7 920/225	432/2
<i>The Order of St Stanislaus</i>				
1 st Class with swords	2	28	56/1	46/2
Without swords	341/9	295/9	528/10	393/6
2 nd Class with a star and swords (for foreigners)	—	—	1	—
Without swords	65/2	40/17	26/5	52/15
2 nd Class with swords	1 903/44	1 637/30	3 754/242	408/5
Without swords	2 036/32	2 083/19	4 039/124	3 185/46
3 rd Class with swords	111	3 877/38	7 435/306	433/4
Without swords	5 105/80	4 795/76	7 825/185	8 704/108
<i>Badge of honour for irreproachable service for women</i>				
1 st Class for 55 years	—	—	—	—
For 50 years	1	—	1	1
For 45 years	2	1	1	3
For 40 years	3	—	4	1
For 35 years	5	5	6	7
For 30 years	9	10	14	12
For 25 years	53	47	66	57
2 nd Class for 20 years	63	71	75	61
For 15 years	97	121	82	100
<i>Red Cross badge of honour</i>				
1 st Class	3	1	3	46
2 nd Class	7	4	20	68
For men	5	3	15	65
<i>Badge of honour for irreproachable service</i>				
40 years	211	245	232	212
50 years	29	36	33	28
60 years	2	3	—	2
70 years	—	—	—	—
Naval sabres	—	1	—	—
Cavalry swords (normal type)	1	5	3	7
Cavalry swords (Cossack type)	—	—	—	1



THE SWEDISH ORDERS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPERORS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE KREMLIN MUSEUMS

Liudmila M. Gavrilova

THE POST-1917 ACQUISITIONS from the Chapter of the Russian Imperial Orders and valuables of imperial palaces have formed the main part of the Moscow Kremlin museums' collection of orders and decorations. These valuables were brought to the Moscow Kremlin during the First World War, and after the February Revolution of 1917. Practically all the inventories of the Chapter were added to the Armoury Chamber collection. The collection consists mainly of those Russian orders of Russian emperors and empresses that after the demise of their owners had been submitted to the custody of the Chapter. However, there are also the foreign orders, which have belonged to Emperors Alexander I, Nicholas I, Empresses Elizaveta Alexeievna and Maria Alexandrovna. Usually, these are additional insignia made in Russia. The star of the Order of the Seraphim (Illust. 1), which has belonged to Nicholas I, is among them.

The case of the foreign orders from the palace household was much more complicated. The Soviet Government Decree of 3 February 1920 established the Gohran (the State Depository for Precious Metals of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic). All the valuables of gold, platinum, silver, diamonds and precious stones, except for museum collections, were in a three months' period to be accumulated in the Gohran and to be entered therein, not by the names of the objects, but by their weight and material. The whole process was in the hands of the Commission on depersonalization and classifying of valuables, which was in charge of sorting out the different materials and of separating diamonds, precious stones and pearls from metals. A study of the Commission's papers and documents has shown that a number of foreign orders (about 260 items: stars, badges and collars) of recent Russian monarchs (Alexander III, Nicholas II,

1. Star of the Order of the Seraphim, belonged to Emperor Nicholas I. 72 x 72 mm; weight 49.5 g. Moscow Kremlin Museums (inv. no. OM-2641). The emperor was decorated with the Order of the Seraphim, as a grand duke, on 4 September 1812.

Tsarevich Alexei, Empresses Maria Fyodorovna and Alexandra Fyodorovna) went to Gohran, to be depersonalized there or sold via antique shops.

It was practically impossible to stand up against the Gohran in trying to protect valuables from being demolished. Refusal to follow the orders of the Soviet government was equal to signing your own death sentence. Nevertheless, members of the staff of the Armoury Chamber managed to include about six thousand exhibit items in the collection of the museum, for instance some of the crown jewels from the Diamond Room of the Winter Palace, that is, the insignia that once belonged to the members of the imperial family. Among those are the insignia of nine European orders, two of which are the Swedish Royal Order of the Seraphim: an embroidered star (presumably that of Catherine II), and a collar which belonged to Emperor Nicholas II. The next considerably large addition to the Armoury Chamber collection of European orders came from the Gohran in 1963. The main part of it consisted of insignia transferred to Gohran in 1917–1923, when the treasures of the Palace household were sorted out.

Altogether, resulting from these acquisitions, the following insignia of the Swedish orders are now preserved in the Armoury Chamber collection: two stars and a collar of the Royal Order of the Seraphim, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of the Sword on a sash, a badge of the Grand Cross/Commander of the Royal Order of the Polar Star, and a badge of the Grand Cross/Commander of the Royal Order of Vasa. It is difficult to say to whom the latter three badges belonged.

The two stars of the Royal Order of the Seraphim came to the Armoury Chamber from the Palace household. The older one (Illust. 2), an embroidered star which used to be kept in the Diamond Room of the Winter Palace, was listed among the crown jewels in the 1894 register. Most probably, this star had belonged to Empress Catherine II. It is important to bear in mind that Russian empresses who ruled Russia single-handedly, like European queens, normally could not be decorated with any of the well-known European orders, which were reserved for men. The Order of the Golden Fleece, the Danish Order of the Elephant and the Swedish Royal Order of the Seraphim were strictly ‘for men only’. Empress Catherine II constituted the only exception to this rule.

Russia with her allies was the guarantee of the Swedish Constitution through the 1721 Nystad Peace Treaty. That is why the *coup d'état* by Gustavus III in 1772 was totally unexpected, both for Russia and for Catherine II. In order to



explain his action to the Russian empress, who was his cousin, and to defuse a crisis, Gustavus III was willing to meet her in person. However, the suggestion of such a meeting was turned down by Catherine II in 1775. The following year the king sent the Order of the Seraphim to the empress. To blandish Catherine II, the king sent another Order of the Seraphim next spring to be given to her minion Prince G. Potemkin. Finally, Gustavus III and Catherine II met twice: in April–June 1777 in St Petersburg and in 1783 in the Finnish city of Fredrikshamn.¹

In the National Museum in Stockholm, there is a painting by Cornelius Hoyer (1784) depicting the meeting. Catherine II is shown in the uniform of the Life Guards, Preobrazhensky Regiment, wearing the diamond insignia of

2. Embroidered star of the Order of the Seraphim, presumably belonged to Empress Catherine II. 110 x 110 mm. Moscow Kremlin Museums (inv. no. OM-2640).

¹ П. Сандин, 'Швеция – Россия: дипломатическая игра в XVIII веке', *От войны к миру: Россия – Швеция. XVIII век: Каталог выставки* (Санкт-Петербург, 1999), 25.

the Order of the Seraphim (the star and the badge on the sash) as well as the star of the Order of St George 1st Class and the ribbon and the badge of the Order of St Vladimir 1st Class. Gustavus III is depicted with the ribbon of the Order of St Andrew the First-Called and a diamond badge of the Order of St Alexander Nevskii. It is not clear when Catherine II had been decorated with the diamond insignia of the Order of the Seraphim. This may have happened during the meeting in Fredrikshamn.

All Russian emperors following Catherine the Great were decorated with the Swedish Royal Order of the Seraphim. According to the statutes of the order the collar was to be given only to the Swedish subjects, but in special cases it was also bestowed upon foreign knights. Emperors Alexander I, Alexander II, Alexander III and Nicholas II were all decorated with the collar of the order.

Tsarevich Nikolai Alexandrovich, the future Emperor Nicholas II, was decorated with the Order of the Seraphim on the occasion of the coronation of his father, Emperor Alexander III, on 7 May 1883. A letter from King Oscar II of Sweden and Norway, dated 15 May 1883 and addressed to the Tsarevich, mentions that he had entrusted his son Crown Prince Gustaf to convey together with the letter the insignia of the Order of Seraphim as a token of the good, sound relationship between Sweden-Norway and the Russian Empire.²

According to international etiquette, Russian knights wore the dynastic orders of European states during state visits of monarchs and members of the European ruling houses to Russia, as well as during the Russian state visits to those countries. In the memoirs of Grand Duke Gavriil Konstantinovich it is said that during the festivities in 1908 on the occasion of the wedding between the Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna (granddaughter of Emperor Alexander III) and the Swedish Prince Wilhelm (son of King Gustavus V of Sweden) the Emperor Nicholas II was wearing the uniform of the Horse Guards and the Collar of the Order of the Seraphim, while Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich wore the sash of the Order of the Seraphim and the collar of the Order of St Andrew.³

Evidently, the collar of the Order of the Seraphim (Illust. 3) was presented to Grand Duke Nikolai (II) in 1908 as a symbol of the establishment of the new

² ГАРФ (State Archives of the Russian Federation), f. 601, op. 1, delo no. 12, l. 2.

³ В. И. Федорченко, *Российский Императорский Дом и европейские монархи* (Красноярск, 2006), 517.



3. The collar of the Order of the Seraphim, belonged to Emperor Nicholas II. Length 1 550 mm. Moscow Kremlin Museums (inv. no. OM-2642).

dynastic alliance. While being transferred from the valuables of the imperial palaces to the Kremlin museum in 1922, it had a label with the date of receipt, 18 April 1908. Tsarevich Alexei was decorated with the Order of the Seraphim in 1909 during the state visit of Nicholas II to Sweden. The Order of the Seraphim is listed in the papers stating that his foreign orders went to Gohran.

It was only when Europe had been liberated from the Napoleonic troops by the Russian army that the decoration of Russian emperors with orders like the famous Order of the Garter and Order of the Golden Fleece became possible. In recognition of Russia's services, Alexander I was decorated with the Order of the Garter, the Spanish Order of the Golden Fleece, the Order of the Elephant and many other foremost European orders in 1813–1814. After the victory over Napoleon at the Battle of Nations at Leipzig on 16–19 October 1813, Alexander I was decorated with the special-class Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword (Illust. 3 on p. 96). On that occasion the Swedish Crown Prince Carl (XIV) Johan (Bernadotte) wrote to Alexander: 'A great event took place on the flatlands of Leipzig, under the walls of that city, bringing together the nations of Europe, and you, Your Majesty were the Agamemnon of that memorable battle. It is only its Sword and its gratitude that Sweden may offer you. [...] Sire, the Sword is our St George's Cross. I dare hope that Your Majesty would be pleased to accept this tribute of honour.'⁴

⁴ В. В. Рогинский, 'Россия и Кильский мир 1814 года между Швецией и Данией', *Россия и Европа: Дипломатия и культура* (Москва, 2004), III, 67.

THE SYSTEM OF ORDERS AND DECORATIONS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE TOWARDS THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Lidia I. Dobrovolskaya

THE AWARD SYSTEM of Imperial Russia included different categories. According to the decree of 1898 there were twelve distinct categories. Orders and decorations as a part of this system will be examined in this paper, with special attention to objects which are known only from archival sources.

By European standards the award system of the Russian Empire is not especially old. Towards the end of the nineteenth century eight orders existed in Russia, three of which came in one class, while the rest were divided into several classes. The foundation for the Russian system of orders was laid by Peter I, who in the 1690s instituted the Order of St Andrew the First-Called. The creation of a new award system constituted a part of his reform activity, which touched upon all spheres of life of the state and society. The old system, which included promotion in ranks (only for military men), bestowal of decorated weapons, goblets, rings, fur coats 'from the Tsar's shoulder' etc. could not efficiently serve a state that strove to be oriented towards European values. European orders with their long history served as a model for the new Russian awards.

Concurrently with the creation of a system of orders, Peter I, inspired by western standards, also carried through a reform of the government administration. This task was completed in 1722 by the promulgation of the Table of Ranks. It consisted of fourteen classes, and the knights of the Order of St Andrew were included in the 3rd class together with lieutenant generals. The eighteenth century was the period when the basic principles of the new Russian system of awards developed. Four new orders were founded: the Orders of St Catherine, St Alexander Nevskii, St George and St Vladimir. Eventually, the Order of St Anne, originally instituted in Holstein, was also included in the Russian system.

During that time, the rules for the bestowal of orders were elaborated, and legislative statutes were published in 1769 and 1782. The general statutes for the Russian orders were promulgated in 1797, followed by some further statutes of the nineteenth century. In 1831, the number of the orders of the empire was augmented through the incorporation of two Polish orders – the Order of the White Eagle (established in 1705) and the Order of St Stanislaus (established in 1765) – into the Russian award system. In the hierarchy of the Russian orders the Order of the White Eagle took precedence after the Order of St Alexander Nevskii, while the Order of St Stanislaus was placed last in the system of the Russian rewards. It was assumed that the Order of St Stanislaus would be given not only for official merits, but also for charitable activity, for accomplishments in sciences, art and in the field of enterprise.

Generally, orders were bestowed in hierarchical order from lower to higher classes. With the exception of the Order of St Andrew the First-Called, holders of orders were not necessarily equated with a fixed class of the Table of Ranks. However, the statutes of some of the orders included regulations determining the holder's precedence in official court ceremonies. Orders were bestowed in accordance with the service rank of the recipient, and also shortened the time of service necessary for reaching the next level of rank.

The aspiration for orders and rank in Russian society was strong and understandable. They constituted an avenue for lower civil servants to receive hereditary nobility, and therefore the government eventually felt obliged to try to regulate this process through the adjustment of the statutes. Until 1845, the knights of all classes of orders of St Vladimir, St Anne and St Stanislaus received hereditary nobility. This led to a rapid increase in the numbers of noblemen, including even a number of 'objectionable' persons. As a result, the bestowal of the Order of St Stanislaus on the lower classes was discontinued, and the awards within the three lower classes of the Order of St Anne carried only personal nobility. The bestowal of the lower classes of the Order of St Stanislaus, which started again in 1855, was likewise to give only personal nobility.

From 1874 the children of knights of orders, born before their fathers had received these titles, were accepted into the nobility. This again created dissatisfaction in the upper classes. In the early twentieth century, however, the acquisition of hereditary nobility became easier since this was done more often through the receipt of an order than by rank.

From 28 May 1900, hereditary nobility began to be given beginning only from the 3rd Class of the Order of St Vladimir. Merchants could receive all classes of the orders of St Stanislaus and the Order of St Anne 3rd Class, but instead of orders they often received only Hereditary Honorary Citizenship. However, in spite of all attempts to reduce the number of appointments, the amount of bestowals grew steadily, since everybody concerned received an order every few years. This fact naturally diminished the significance of orders and caused a negative reaction in some parts of society. Most rewards gradually became just the next step up the official ladder.

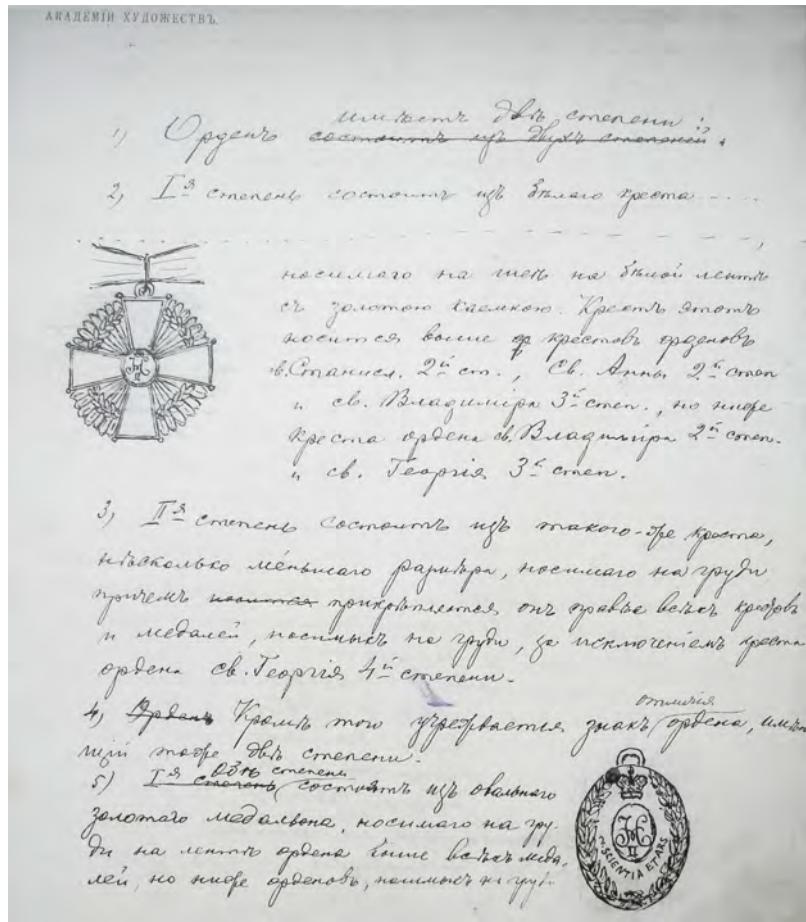
The number of awards to foreigners grew as well. The table below, based on the Chapter's documents now in the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA), illustrates this tendency with regard to the citizens of Sweden.¹

Russian Orders received by Swedes in the 19th–early 20th century

Order	Class	1814–1873	1908–1910
<i>Order of St Andrew the First-Called</i>		7	3
<i>Order of the White Eagle</i>		3	4
<i>Order of St Vladimir</i>	2 nd Class 3 rd Class 4 th Class	2 4 19	
<i>Order of St Anne</i>	1 st Class 2 nd Class 3 rd Class 4 th Class	10 46 22 1	10 20 24
<i>Order of St Stanislaus</i>	1 st Class 2 nd Class 3 rd Class	8 25 9	15 46 19

A reformation of the system of orders was under discussion at various times, and at various levels. The issue was brought up at meetings of the Special Council, formed in early 1883. The main task of that Council was to reform the system of promotion in rank. It was headed by S. A. Taneyev, Chief Steward of the Personal Chancellery of His Imperial Majesty. However, none of the suggested

¹ All data from documents in RGIA (Russian State Historical Archive), f. 496, op. 1, delo no. 884, 885, 891, 898; С. С. Левин, *Орден Святого апостола Андрея Первозванного (1699–1917): Орден Святой Великомученицы Екатерины (1714–1917): Списки кавалеров и кавалерственных дам* (Москва, 2003), 21, 24, 26, 30, 31, 38.



1. A page from I. I. Tolstoi's note on the establishment of the Order of the Emperor Nicholas II. RGIA, f. 496, op. 2, f. 2538, p. 4.

reforms of orders was accepted. In 1901, the 'Commission to Revise the Charter of the Civil Service' offered to increase the term between the awards of the higher levels of the orders, from three up to four or even five years. This initiative was not accepted either.

The ideas for reforming the system of orders were suggested by the Personal Chancellery of His Imperial Majesty. For the awards 'for non-service achievements' it was suggested to utilize either the Orders of St Stanislaus and St Anne 2nd and 3rd Classes, or to establish a new special order.² The latter suggestion was approved and the work on the development of the statutes of the 'Imperial Order

² А. Е. Шепелев, *Чиновный мир России XVIII–начало XX в.* (Санкт-Петербург, 1999), 351–353.

of Emperor Nicholas II for merits regarding service to sciences and arts' began. This award is of special interest, since there are some documents in the Historical Archives in Moscow and St Petersburg demonstrating the formation process of the statutes of this projected order.

The initiative to create this reward came from the Head of the Personal Chancery, A. S. Taneyev. On 11 June 1903, he sent to Baron Vladimir Freedericksz, Minister of the Imperial Court, a letter explaining the reason for his proposal. It was well known that actors, artists and scientists received orders (if their birth permitted this) and servants, couriers and yard-keepers received medals 'for zeal'. This state of affairs did not give 'moral satisfaction to the recipients', and at the same time did not constitute a true reward for merits. It is for this reason that Taneyev, in analogy with *Palmes académiques* and *Verdienstmedaille für Kunst und Wissenschaft* suggested the institution of a special badge or medal for artists and scientists.³

In the beginning of January 1904, a letter was sent for consideration to the Special Committee, chaired by the Marshal of the Court, S. E. Smelsky, and all office work was turned over to the Chapter of the Imperial and Royal Orders. Among the members of the Committee were the president of the Imperial Archaeological Committee, Count A. A. Bobrinsky, the Vice President of the Imperial Academy of Arts, Count I. I. Tolstoi (Illust. 1), the Head of the Ministry of the Court Chancery, general A. A. Mosolov, the director of the Imperial Theatres, V. A. Telyakovsky, the chief of administration of the Chapter of Orders, K. M. Zlobin, the head of the Imperial Orchestra, general K. K. Shtakelberg and the curator of the Imperial Hermitage, A. P. Somov. Each member of the Committee expounded his suggestions with regard to a new order and some of them made their own drafts of the awards.⁴

After a detailed study a draft of the statutes was made. It consisted of eight chapters and included 53 articles. It was assumed that the order would be awarded for outstanding achievements in science, literary, artistic and musical creativity, and for achievements in artistic activity. The awards would have been given directly by the emperor to both men and women, also to foreigners. The order would have had two classes: the 1st Class (neck badge) and 2nd Class (breast badge). In exceptional cases the 1st Class could be awarded without the previous award of

³ RGIA, f. 496, op. 2, delo no. 2394, l. 2.

⁴ Ibid., l. 5, f. 496, op. 2, delo no. 2538, l. 4–6, 32, 33.

the lower class. Knights of the 1st Class would have received hereditary nobility, and those of the 2nd Class personal nobility.⁵ Regulations for the wearing of the insignia on uniform (higher than the Order of St Anne and St Stanislaus, but below the Order of St Vladimir), and other types of clothing were also given in the statutes. Women were to wear the insignia of the Order on a bow below the left shoulder, the 1st Class to the right of the 2nd.

In addition, there was also a special Badge of Honour of the Order of the Emperor Nicholas II. It was described in the eighth and last chapter of the Statutes.⁶ The badge had two classes – gold and silver – and it would have been worn in the buttonhole on a ribbon of the colours of the order. It was to be awarded to both men and women for services in the scientific, literary, artistic, musical and theatrical fields. Foreigners could receive the award, and the practice with nobility was the same as with the order. According to the statutes, it was not possible to bestow the order in recognition of long service, therefore the Badge of Honour supplemented it in this regard. The term of service for the 1st Class was no less than ten years, and for the 2nd Class at least five years. The eighth and last chapter, devoted to the insignia, includes stipulations concerning increased periods of service for the 1st Class from ten to twenty years, and for the 2nd Class from five to fifteen years.⁷

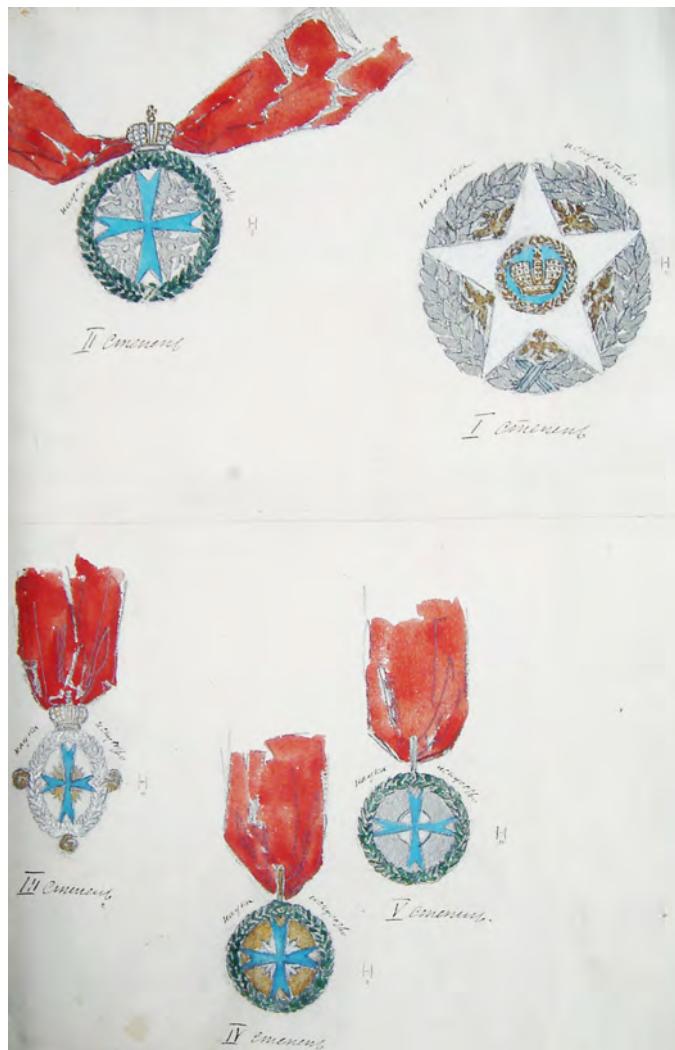
The project of the statutes was subject of further consideration, which delayed the whole process until 1914, when a revised draft of the description of the insignia of the order was put forward (Illust. 2–3). The badge of the order consists of a golden cross in light blue enamel surrounded by a green enamel chaplet. The cross is crowned by an imperial crown. The central medallion bears the monogram of the emperor, and on the reverse there is the date of the foundation of the order. The insignia of different classes of the order differs in size and in the width of the blue and orange stripes on the edges of the neck ribbon.

It was suggested to limit the number of recipients of the 1st Class to five to ten persons and of the 2nd Class to twenty-five persons. The following addition was suggested to the list of achievements to be encouraged by the order: ‘contributions to the development of technique and achievements in the area of consolida-

⁵ Ibid., f. 496, op. 2, delo no. 2394, l. 50, 52.

⁶ Ibid., l. 55–57.

⁷ Ibid., l. 64–69.



2. Draft drawings of the insignia of the Order of the Emperor Nicholas II, (in five classes, presumably by V. A. Teliakovsky). RGIA, f. 496, op. 2, f. 2538, p. 32.



3. Draft drawings of the insignia of the Order of the Emperor Nicholas II. RGIA, f. 496, op. 2, f. 2538, p. 33.

tion of peaceful coexistence'. For the recipients the order entailed only personal nobility. With regard to the Badge of Honour, it was suggested to add a motto to it, and to reduce the time restriction for the award of the higher class to ten years.⁸

In the summer of 1914, Russia entered the First World War. However, work on the creation of new orders and reformation of the existing award system continued during the first years of the war. The projects to establish rewards for merits in certain 'peaceful' areas of human activity were discontinued, and an attempt to create a new order of military merit was quickly undertaken. It was decided to use the already developed Statutes of the Order of Nicholas II, with some additions and changes for the new order, which was named the 'Order of the Sanctifier Nicholas the Wonderworker'.

In the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF) in Moscow there are a number of comments on five imperially commissioned reports on the establishment of yet another new order, and on some changes in the badges of other orders.⁹ It was expected that the new reward would be bestowed directly by the emperor 'for special acts of bravery and merits' personally known to the emperor. This order was not to be received on the basis of time in service.¹⁰

The new order was to be divided into four classes, of which the higher had a collar. According to the drafts, made by Grand Duke Peter Nikolaevich, the badges in the form of crosses were to be differentiated by size and the manner of wearing them. Furthermore, the 1st and 3rd Classes were decorated with wreathes. The ribbon was to be blue with red stripes along the edges (the Andreev and Alexander colours). The order would be bestowed in order of sequence, from the lower to the higher class. In awards for military merit swords could be attached to the badges of all classes.¹¹ The lower classes of the order, with the proper inscriptions, were designated as rewards to academics and artists.

In connection with the establishment of the new orders the question of the reduction of the number of existing rewards was brought up. Finally, it was decided that for the moment the number of orders should not be reduced, but in case it should prove necessary in the future, the Order of St Anne would be abolished, since it had originally been founded in Holstein and not in Russia.

⁸ Ibid., l. 3–5, 7, 8, 10, 21, 23.

⁹ GARF (State Archive of the Russian Federation), f. 601, op. 1, delo no. 993, l. 1–19.

¹⁰ Ibid., l. 10.

¹¹ Ibid., l. 11.

It was further suggested that if the Order of St Anne were to be abolished, this loss should be compensated by the foundation of lower classes of the Order of St Alexander Nevskii. This replacement was also considered to be quite possible as the date of the first bestowal of the Order of St Alexander Nevskii fell on the day of the marriage of Peter's daughter Anna and Carl Friedrich, Duke of Holstein, who later established the Order of St Anne. It was also decided to replace the letters in the central medallion of the Order of St Vladimir with the image of the saint. A question about the establishing of a special order for the clergy was also discussed. The lower classes of the Order of St Nicholas the Wonderworker were destined as an award for outstanding achievements in science and art.¹²

With regard to proposed orders it is necessary to mention the 'Memorandum on the draft of the Order of St Nicholas the Wonderworker in memory of the Great Patriotic War 1914–1915', which is preserved as a typewritten copy among the papers of the Chapter of the Orders.¹³ The memorandum was prepared by the military painter Petr Pershin on 9 February 1915 in Baranovichi, where the General Headquarters was located at the time. The paper consists of a preamble devoted to the current situation, which is followed by a description of the insignia of the order and its statutes. It was assumed that the new order would be bestowed for military, military-civil and military-clerical merits. According to the text, there were some pictures of the badge attached to the original of the document.

The badge of the order consisted of a gold cross in white enamel, with four griffins between the arms of the cross. In the central medallion there is an image of the saint, and on the reverse on the arms of the cross is the motto of the order – 'For unselfish fidelity and patriotic service' – and in the medallion the date, '1915'. The ribbon of the order was composed of three stripes: white, orange and black. The order was to be subdivided into three classes, and, depending on the merits of the recipient, it could have swords or a red cross on its badge. The two lower classes (the 2nd with a bow) were to be worn on the breast, while the 1st class was decorated with diamonds round the central medallion and was to be worn around the neck.

In addition it was planned to establish one more class – a 'higher' order. The insignia of this class were to be a cross, worn on a sash, and a silver star. It also was decided that it should be possible to apply swords to the badges of all classes

¹² Ibid., l. 16.

¹³ RGIA, f. 496, op. 2, delo no. 2822.

of the order. The bestowal of the order could take place only in time of war, and, as in the case of the medal for the War of 1812, it would have been given to the senior male in a family that indisputably had demonstrated its special loyalty or unselfish service to the throne for not less than ten years. Considerable donations could also give the right to receiving the order. The recipient of the order was entitled to nobility. As indicated above, this was to be done in order to fill out the thinning rows of nobility by new members who were 'deserving their privileges by life and service'. This order was not ratified in Russia during the reign of Nicholas II.

In 1920, an order with the same name, 'St Nicholas the Wonderworker', in two classes was established by General Wrangel. This award existed for a very short time, during which 337 persons received the 2nd Class. No-one was given the 1st Class.¹⁴ In 1929, during his exile in France, Grand Duke Kirill Vladimirovich founded the order 'St Nicholas the Wonderworker in Memory of the Great World War 1914–1917' (Illust. 4).¹⁵ It was bestowed to all those who during the First World War were in the Russian Imperial Army and Navy, and according to the regulations of 1936, also for those of the Allied armies. The order was hereditary, but did not entail nobility.

The badge of the order was similar to Petr Pershin's project, the only difference being that the inscription and the dates were changed. Until 1937 almost all persons having a right to this order had received it, and by the end of the twentieth century it ceased to exist. In 2001, the order was reinstated with new regulations, and now it is bestowed again.

It should be noted that the initiative for establishing orders sometimes came from individuals. One example is the unrealized project of the Order of Arkhistratig Mikhail (*Orden Arkhistratiga Mikhaile*) in three classes. The author of the project was the Staff Captain of the 5th Lithuanian Ulan Regiment, Vladimir Antipyev. The exact date of the establishment of the Order was indicated as 22 October 1871. On this day, 150 years earlier, the title 'Great, Wise, Father of the Fatherland' had been presented to Peter I. The author of the project suggested bestowing the same title on Emperor Alexander II.

¹⁴ П. В. Пашков, *Ордена и знаки Гражданской войны 1917–1920* (Париж, 1943), 26–28; А. И. Рудченко & В. А. Дуров, *Награды и знаки белых армий и правительства* (Москва, 2005), 66–72.

¹⁵ П. В. Пашков, *Ордена, знаки и эмблемы Русской эмиграции* (Париж, 1944).



The badge was a golden cross, covered with turquoise enamel with gold rays between the arms of the cross. In the middle was a red heart-shaped medallion with the image of the Arkhistratig. On the arms of the cross was the motto: 'For loyalty to the fatherland and for the love of work.' On the reverse, in round medallions, were monograms or portraits of the emperors of the reigning house, and the dates 1613–1871. The order was to have a gold star and a ribbon in blue and red with a silver border.¹⁶

Along with the orders some badges of honour were included in the award system of the Russian Empire. There was the well-known Insignia for Irreproachable Service (founded in 1827) for fifteen years' and longer service as well as the Mariinsky Insignia for Irreproachable Service for ladies. Two badges of honour of the Red Cross were instituted for women in 1878 and for men in 1899. Beside these there were other types of badges, e.g. badges for reforms, for service in the state railways, and some others.

The demand for rewards intended for a wider circle of persons lay behind the appearance of two awards, which appeared in connection with the tercentenary celebration of the Romanov dynasty. There was the 'Romanov insignia for works in agriculture' (founded 14 February 1914)¹⁷ and the Insignia of St Olga (founded 11 July 1915).¹⁸ Both were divided into three classes, and were included in the Code of Laws of the Russian Empire.¹⁹ They were provided with statutes, and administered by the Chapter of the Imperial and Royal Orders. In the same manner as the orders, these insignia were bestowed gradually from lower to higher ones. The first insignia were awarded to persons of all estates of both sexes, who were especially outstanding in their governmental, scientific or practical activities in the spheres of agriculture, stock-raising, fishery and forestry, land improvement and related areas. The first two classes of the badge (Illust. 5) consist of a gold (silver) cross with green enamel and a gold (silver) wreath of sheaves with a superimposed silver griffin inside. The cross is attached to a gold (silver) wreath of oak branches with a buckle on its reverse for the green ribbon with two black stripes along the edges. On the reverse of the cross is seen the inscription '21 февраля 1913 года за труды по сельскому хозяйству'

¹⁶ GARF, f. 652, op. 1, delo no. 218, l. 4–8.

¹⁷ *Собрание узаконений и распоряжений правительства*, no. 86 (1914).

¹⁸ *Ibid.* no. 212 (1915).

¹⁹ *Полное собрание законов Российской империи*, собрание 3. (PSZRI), XXXIII, no. 38851



(21 February 1913, For work in agriculture). The badge of the 3rd Class is a silver medal with the same green-enamelled cross in the centre and the same inscription on the reverse. It was granted from July till December of 1914. During this period fifteen persons received the 1st Class badge, 117 2nd Class and 68 3rd Class badges. Among the recipients were 25 women and 38 peasants.²⁰

The Insignia of St Olga was exclusively bestowed upon women, and was an award for merits in various spheres of governmental and community service or for self-sacrificing work for the benefit of the people. The drafts of the Badges of the Distinction of St Olga are now in the Russian State Historical Archive. The

5. The 'Romanov insignia for works in agriculture' 2nd Class. Established in 1914. Silver, enamel, 44 × 45 mm. Inv. no. PM-6497. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

²⁰ К. Калинин & Е. Лозовский, 'За труды по сельскому хозяйству', *Миниатюра*, II (1992); С. Б. Патрикеев & А. Д., Бойнович, *Нагрудные знаки Российской Империи* (Санкт-Петербург – Москва, 1995), 220.



6. Draft drawing of the Insignia of St Olga, 1st Class. RGIA, f. 496, op. 3, f. 13, p. 15.

7. Draft drawing of the Insignia of St Olga, 3rd Class. RGIA, f. 496, op. 3, f. 13, p. 12.

badge of the two highest classes (Illust. 6) consisted of a gold/silver light-blue enamelled Byzantine cross with St Olga in the centre and on the reverse the inscription 'февраля 21 дня 1613–1913' (21 February 1613–1913). The 3rd Class (Illust. 7) had the same cross but with a smaller oval medallion. All three classes were worn on the left shoulder on a white bow. It was also awarded to mothers of those heroes whose glorious deeds merited a place in the annals of the country. The only woman ever to receive this award was V. N. Panaeva, who had lost three sons in the war.²¹

In 1915, there was a project to establish one more badge of honour to be worn on a ribbon: the 'Badge of the General Council for the protection of the families of those who are mobilized, as well as of the families of wounded and killed soldiers'. It was suggested that it should come in four classes, two higher classes in the form of crosses and two lower in the form of medals, like the Romanov insignia for works in agriculture. It was to be worn after orders but before medals. In November 1915, the draft statutes in nine sections, as well as awarding instructions and an explanatory note, were presented to the Chapter of Orders.²² As a

²¹ RGIA, f. 496, op. 3, delo no. 2581; B. A. Дуров, *Ордена России* (Москва, 1993), 148, 149, 151, 152.

²² RGIA, f. 496, op. 2, delo no. 2828, l. 7–20.



result of the discussions on 22 April 1916 a badge of the General Council in two classes without ribbons was founded. The design (Illust. 8) was composed by the Master of Ceremonies at the Court, S. V. Yuriev.²³

Besides the orders and insignia, an essential part of the award system consisted of reward medals, the predecessors of which were imperial reward coins, distributed to the troops for successful campaigns in the seventeenth century. The main type of award medal, with the emperor's portrait on the obverse and a battle scene on the reverse, was formed during the reign of Peter I and the first medals were related to the Azov campaign and the events of the Great Nordic War.

In 1724, a mint which became the centre for the production of medals was opened in St Petersburg. Medals for officers were struck in gold, and for soldiers and sailors in silver. The peak of the institution of award medals during the eighteenth century was the reign of Catherine II. Her active foreign policy

8. 'Badge of the General Council for the protection of the families of those who are mobilized, as well as of the families of wounded and killed soldiers', presided over by Her Majesty Empress Alexandra Feodorovna. Established in 1916. Silver-gilt, enamel. 43 × 43 mm. Inv. no. PM-6559. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

²³ Патрикеев & Бойнович, *Нагрудные знаки*, 157.

promoted the establishment of a great number of military medals. Along with traditional round medals with a portrait, oval, lozenge-shaped and eight-square medals were struck. Sometimes these displayed the monogram of the empress instead of her portrait.

During the reign of Paul I, about one hundred medals with the emperor's portrait on the obverse and his monogram on the reverse were granted to the chiefs of nationalities of the Russian Empire and to merchants. They were struck in gold and silver, and one was even surmounted by a crown set with diamonds. These medals were worn around the neck. The tradition of awards with breast medals developed intensively during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Medals commemorating the coronation or the death of the emperors, anniversaries of victories in some battles or participation in different kinds of works were instituted at that time. Some types of medals of a universal character continued their existence during a few reigns – only the portrait of the emperor was changed.

A group of medals founded by Alexander I existed until 1917. Among them were the medals 'For Zealous Service', 'For Zeal' and 'For Usefulness' (1801), intended as awards for civil servants and merchants who had rendered beneficial service to the state. The medals were struck in gold and silver in two sizes. The large one was worn around the neck and small on the chest, and they were suspended from the ribbons of different orders.

In 1807, a medal with the inscription 'For Bravery' was instituted, and in 1809 the medal 'For Life Saving' was created. Neck and breast medals in gold and silver were granted to the inhabitants of the national outskirts of the empire, for military feats. New regulations were given in 1872, and in 1878 a medal 'For bravery' in four classes was instituted. These medals were worn on the ribbon of the Order of St George. They were awarded to non-commissioned officers, soldiers and sailors for valour in defending the borders of the Russian Empire. In 1913, this medal was incorporated into the statute of the Order of St George and its name was changed to the St George's Medal for Bravery. It became a reward both for soldiers and for civilians for exceptional acts of valour in time of war or peace. This medal existed until October 1917.

The history of Russia, so full of military events, explains the appearance of numerous award medals, both for separate battles and for whole campaigns. The

participation of Russia in a coalition with other countries in the military operations against Napoleon's France was the reason for the establishment of some rewards. In March 1807, silver medals and in September gold medals 'For the Territorial Army' were founded. However, the Patriotic War of 1812, the 1814 Campaign and the Taking of Paris only caused the creation of medals such as 'For the War 1812' in two metals, a cross for a clergy and the 'Medal for the Taking of Paris'. The last one was struck and distributed twelve years after the campaign, during the reign of Nicholas I.

In the following years, campaign medals were produced in different metals: silver and bronze. Silver medals were awarded to the direct participants of battle actions or large battles. On 26 November 1855, a silver medal for the defence of Sevastopol was founded. In August 1856, by analogy with the rewards of 1812 War, bronze medals and the Cross for Clergy were founded. Silver and bronze medals were struck for the Russo-Turkish War 1877–1878, the Russo-Japanese War 1904–1905, and campaigns in Central Asia 1853–1895.

The requirements of troubled times caused medals for Blameless Service in the Police Force, in Prison Guards and in His Imperial Majesty's Escort to be established. In 1896, medals commemorating the reigns of Nicholas I and Alexander III were instituted. Commemoration of Nicholas I, who had been the most successful emperor in strengthening the order in the empire, had an obviously propagandist character.

The magnificent celebrations of different anniversaries at the beginning of the twentieth century also contributed to the strengthening of national solidarity. A group of award medals were founded in order to commemorate such memorable events. Medals were created to mark the anniversaries of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, of the parish school, of the defence of Sevastopol, of the battles of Poltava and Hangö (Hanko), of the War of 1812, and of the Romanov Dynasty. The last in the list of award medals is the Medal for General Mobilization, instituted in February 1915.

Besides orders, insignia and medals several jettons may be included in the Russian award system. All together thirty-five jettons were included in the Code of Laws of the Russian Empire, and some of them, such as the jettons For the Escorting of the Imperial Train (Illust. 9), For Service at the Imperial Yacht *Polar Star*, For Service on the Cruiser *Admiral Makarov* and For Achievements in Shooting and Physical Exercises, can be placed at the lowest level in the hierarchy of the Russian awards.

In general terms, this was the structure of the system of orders and decorations of the Russian empire in the early twentieth century. Peaceful resolution of the problems that had arisen in society, no doubt, would have led to gradual changes in the existing system of awards. However, the First World War, and then the revolution of 1917, prevented such a development and the old system of awards was utterly destroyed. The new leaders of the country understood the necessity to award the citizens for military and civil merit, and already in the first years of their power initiated the foundation of a new award system.

9. Jetton for the Escorting of the Imperial Train. Gold, enamel, diamond. 26 x 43 mm. Inv. no. OH-B3-1456. The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.



HERALDIC COMPOSITION AS A MEANS TO EXPRESS PERSONAL MERITS

Elena A. Yarovaya

THE DEPICTING OF DECORATIONS on heraldic compositions was widely practised already during the eighteenth century, a fact evidenced, for instance, by the drawings of family seals included in A. T. Knyazev's armorial (1785). During this time, characterized by its unstable heraldic norms and a not yet finally formed system of awards, the armiger's personal whims obviously were the decisive factor when it came to the selection of the composition.

During the nineteenth century and even later, when the granting of coats of arms had become a state business and strictly regulated, the depicting of phaleristic objects around the coats of arms remained in fact a private oasis for the armiger. Thus, a strict canon of composition in this sphere was never formed. However, a few rather well-diffused scenarios for the application of awards were nevertheless formulated. The fact that these scenarios were followed for a considerable time (at least for about a century), and are characterized by a certain stability, shows that they are present on an equal basis in the two groups of monuments of material culture which have most successfully preserved the heraldic-phaleristic materials to our time – that is on personal seals and on tombs.

In this context the principles in question are not dependent on the functional purpose of the concrete monuments, irrespective of the diametrically opposed tasks that the authors of the composition had to deal with. If the motive on the seal constituted a most useful instrument for representing the living person, then the composition on a tomb served as a means to bring forth the results of a whole life and thereby constituted a non-verbal parallel to an epitaph. On the whole, the methods to declare the merits of the owner of the coat of arms are the same in both cases, which demonstrates its universality.

As models providing the key to the interpretation of the broader spheres of

the material under scrutiny, one finds the epitaphs of military persons, in relation to whom the author deliberately has at his disposal detailed biographical information and a rich iconography. Practically none of the Russian military leaders followed the example of A. V. Suvorov, whose well-known epitaph is made up only of one plain white slab with the laconic inscription 'Here lies Suvorov'. The creators of the memorial compositions strove to remind the reader of the earthly merits of the deceased, but the level of concretion of their immortalization was different from case to case. We arrive at three principles: senior order, consecutive display and axial symmetry.

The principle of the senior order

This is the most minimalistic principle, when it comes to inclusion of orders in the row of their representations. It unifies the central compositions, in which the family coat of arms is superimposed on the star of that order which depicts the most senior (within the Russian award system) of the owner's orders, and remains the only order that is a part of the composition. The more junior orders, which the owner certainly is in possession of since they are a prerequisite for the senior one, are treated as insignificant and are consciously ignored.

We may take as an example the relief on the epitaph of engineer general Kh. I. Trusson (1843, Illust. 1). Such a type of composition may also be found on sphragistic monuments/documents. The personal seal of general I. V. Gurko (Illust. 2), hero of the Bulgarian War of Liberation, is very significant here: the

1. The epitaph of engineer general Kh. I. Trusson 1843. The Smolensk Lutheran Cemetery, St Petersburg.

2. The seal stamp of General I. V. Gurko depicts his family arms on the star of the Order of St George.





background of the family coat of arms is the characteristic rhomboid star of the Order of St George, the highest military award. The possession of an order of such dignity makes it unnecessary for a soldier to refer to all the other awards that he may have.

The method of placing the coat of arms or the owner's monogram on a star of an order was also widely practised in more complicated heraldic-sphragistic compositions, in connection with the depicting of other awards.

The principle of consecutive display

In its most typical form this method may be defined as linear in its composition, strictly hierachic in its attention to the seniority of the deployed awards, and strongly exclusive in the choice of the awards to be depicted. The gilded superimposed coat of arms on the cover of the tomb of Prince M. I. Golenishchev-Kutuzov-Smolensky (1813, Illust. 3) is an example of this method. Of the field

3. The arms on the tomb of Prince M. I. Golenishchev-Kutuzov-Smolensky (1813). The Kazan Cathedral, St Petersburg.



4. The arms on the epitaph of Prince A. I. Gorchakov (1817) with the 'linear display' of the insignia of the orders. Aleksandro-Nevskaya Lavra, Museum of City Sculpture.

5. The seal with the arms of the Tatarinov family depicts the Cross of St George 4th Class and the Medal for the Caucasian Campaign. Rybinskii Historical-Architectural Museum.



marshal's many awards on the tomb, only six are arranged from left to right and surrounded by the collar of the Order of St Andrew the First-Called: there are the higher classes of the Russian awards, the awards of the allies Austria and Prussia, and also the Order of St John of Jerusalem, which is placed at the far left in the composition, and thus treated as a foreign order, thereby also being treated as the most junior award.

Adherence to the principle of 'linear display' is also evident in the example offered by the gilded coat of arms found at the epitaph of Prince A. I. Gorchakov (1817, Illust. 4). Here the stars of the highest Russian and foreign orders are arranged in a row. In order to show those awards which were important to the buried person, but of comparatively lower status (among them, as the only medal included among the orders, 'For the War of the Fatherland 1812'), an extra horizontal line was arranged under the main one in the form of a presentation sword under which the awards are hanging.

The linear application and the adherence to the seniority remain indispensable principles for this type of composition. However, as this scenario was used on a much broader level than was the case with the military leaders mentioned, the selectivity in the inclusion of awards in the depicted row becomes significantly lower. It might even happen that the whole and not very rich set of awards of a person were used – as on the seal with a coat of arms of the Tatarinov family (Illust. 5), where only the cross of St George 4th Class and the Medal for the Caucasian Campaign were included.

The principle of axial symmetry

This binds together a composition, the organizational characteristic of which is a strict axial symmetry – a fact that partly leads to the loss of the comparative dignity of the depicted insignia. An illustrative example is the slab over the tomb of the military commander of Moscow, general of the infantry I. I. Kizmer (Illust. 6). The basic message to be sent to the descendants is the striving to show the merits of the deceased as fully as possible: in perfect balance, but with complete lack of notional coordination, we have fifteen awards in all, from stars of orders and presentation weapons to medals for taking part in campaigns and badges for excellent service. The awards, except for the two stars of orders, are hung along the scabbard of two crossed presentation sabers, without strict attention to the hierarchy; thus the round badge of St Anne on the hilt of the presentation weapon seems to be treated as being of equal importance with the medals, while the badge of excellent service has as its neighbour the cross of St George 4th Class (which, indeed, has been awarded for long service).



6. The arms of general of the infantry I. I. Kizmer display the principle of axial symmetry. Vvedenskoe Cemetery, Moscow.



7. The seal stamp with arms of the barons Shtakel'berg (Stackelberg), which presumably has belonged to Baron Georgii Karlovich Shtakel'berg (1851–1913). Tver State United Museum, inv. no. KP 27317.

The principle of axial symmetry, which operates to the disadvantage of the hierarchy of the awards, can also be found on sphragistic documents. An example is the seal with a coat of arms of the barons Shtakel'berg (Illust. 7) with five awards, where the centre of gravity is the badge of the Order of St Anne with the Imperial crown (and possibly with swords), on both sides of it are two identical crosses (apparently the lower classes of St George), and on the sides are two identical medals of the 'All seeing eye'. It should be noted that such a combination of two identical medals apparently refers to the person who owns the seal, indicating that he, as a descendant of a participant in the Napoleonic Wars, in 1912 had received the centennial commemorative medal of that war, and at the same time that he is a participant in the Russo-Japanese War. The presence of the St George's Cross allows us to suggest that the person in question is Baron Georgii Karlovich Shtakel'berg (1851–1913), a direct descendant of a hero from the war in 1812, and also awarded the 4th Class of the Order of St George.

However, adherence to the axial symmetry as an organizational basis of the composition does not always lead to a loss of intellectual clearness in the heraldic-phaleristic communication.

The epitaph of Field Marshal Count I. I. Dibich-Zabalkanskii (Illust. 8) constitutes an illustrative example of a maximal informative load. Here we are dealing with a spread composition having a symbolic content constructed according to a

strict programme. In the composition with its background of a mantle crowned by a count's coronet and surrounded by the collar of the Order of St Andrew the First-Called, the following are placed: a coat of arms (not the hereditary coat of arms of the Schleswig barons Dibich, but one that the field marshal personally received when he was elevated to the rank of Count), superimposed on the 1st Class star of the Order of St George – the most prestigious military award; a garland of orders with Russian and foreign orders separated, and in a selective way, reflecting the actual set of awards (e.g. a few Prussian and Austrian orders are absent), a field marshal's baton indicating the highest military status of the deceased, three golden presentation sables as a symbol of personal military courage, and a row of medals as an allegorical reference to campaigns taken part in.

The content of this pictographic epitaph is an allegorical posthumous triumph of the military commander, who in his deeds had reached all possible heights.



8. The epitaph of Field Marshal, Count I. I. Dibich-Zabalkanskii. Volkova Lutheran Cemetery, St Petersburg.

THE OLD WORLD AND
ITS LEGACY DURING
THE FIRST HALF OF
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

IV

THE RUSSIAN–SWEDISH NAVAL EXCHANGE OF ORDERS IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Lidia I. Dobrovolskaya

THIS ESSAY IS BASED on the material relating to the Russian–Swedish exchange of orders in the early twentieth century which is now preserved in the Russian State Navy Archive (RGA VMF) in St Petersburg. Among the documents under study are official and confidential correspondence with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and naval attachés, official reports, relations, imperial edicts and the accompanying documentation. My main purpose is to show, by example of the Russian–Swedish exchange of orders and medals, how the awarding procedure with foreign countries had developed up to this time and how it functioned.

The reasons for the exchange of honours among navy personnel during peace time were the following:

- 1) state visits and meetings of monarchs and heads of the states
- 2) visits of members of government
- 3) visits of squadrons
- 4) excellent performance of official duties, also in extreme situations
- 5) various joint activities, including joint research.

Most of such awards were conferred during state visits. There were two such visits in the Russian–Swedish history during the period under study: in 1908 and 1909. About 60 sailors received Swedish decorations during the visit of the Swedish King Gustavus V to Russia.¹ For comparison: when the Swedish monarch visited St Petersburg in 1875 only 26 awards were conferred to the members of crews which took part in the reception.²

¹ RGA VMF (Russian State Navy Archive), f. 417, op. 5, f. 3106, p. 205, 221.

² Ibid., f. 283, op. 2; f. 344, p. 70.

According to the information published by Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm in her thesis, about 1 000 Swedish subjects were given imperial awards during the visit of the Russian imperial family to Sweden in 1909. Russian visitors received 63 orders, 300 medals and 9 gifts. The navy personnel received half of these orders and one third of the medals.³

In accordance with existing custom, foreign awards were bestowed directly by heads of foreign states or through the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In both cases special forms were sent for the preparation of the decree together with insignia.

Table 1. Form of certificate

Nom et prénom	Date et lieu de naissance	Qualité grade civils ou militaires	Autres décorations confiers au titulaire
• Fait àle.....19			

After documents had been filled in, they were returned through the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the country which was conferring the awards. In some countries the procedure was slightly different from the described one. Thus, the Japanese government sent the certificate simultaneously with the bestowal decree, while Turks and Bulgarians sent decrees demanding only the acknowledgement of the receipt.

The set of documents was in some cases completed with extracts from the statutes of the order, with information about the requirement to return the insignia after the death of the holder. Despite signed obligations, heirs did not hasten to return insignia or pay for them. The redemption fee for a Commander's Cross of the Danish Order of the Dannebrog was 148 Danish Crowns and 60 Crowns for a Knight's Cross. The Navy Archive has correspondence from 1912 which deals with the return of 18 crosses of this order to the Chapter of the Danish Orders. The returning process lasted for more than two years, and some insignia were never recovered.⁴

Occasionally, some mistakes took place during the awarding process because of namesakes or incorrectly written names. For instance, when two brothers

³ Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm, *The Russian Imperial Award System during the Reign of Nicholas II 1894–1917* (Helsinki, 2005), 352.

⁴ RGA VMF, f. 417, op. 5, f. 3235.

named Rodniny were serving simultaneously in the navy, one of them, Vladimir, received the insignia of the Order of the Sword, while the other one, Nikolai, received the certificate. A similar case happened with the officer Ivanov 11th, who had this number because of his many namesakes. He received the insignia of the Order of the Sword, but the documents were filled in for Ivanov 9th.⁵

It was difficult to correct these kinds of mistake because sailors were often at sea. Officers who received foreign awards applied for permission to accept them. Immediate superiors wrote to the Main Navy Staff requesting the information about the award to be included in the report of the Admiralty, in order to receive imperial permission to accept and wear the award. Thereafter the information on the award was added to the naval lists. However, sometimes the information did not arrive in time. In the case of the member of the State Council, General Admiral Arsenyev, it took four years before in 1908 he was informed that the king of Sweden had given him the collar of the Order of the Sword. This was followed by the official report about the bestowal the Order of Vasa on him.⁶

The pattern of bestowal of Russian imperial awards, implemented under the Admiralty, was the following: proposals from captains, officials or naval agents were sent to the Main Navy Staff. The Staff confirmed through the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that the recipient's country of residence did not have objections preventing the bestowal of an award. It was also determined whether the proposed award corresponded to the rank of the recipient. If everything was in order, the proposal with the supporting documents was sent to the Navy Minister to be presented to the emperor.

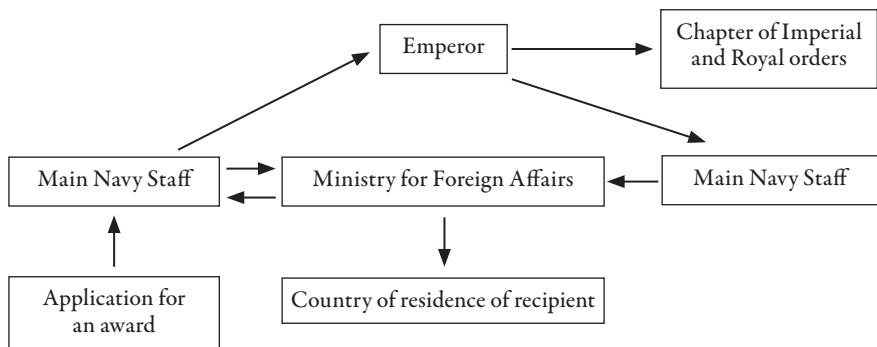
After imperial approval the Highest Decree was made to the Chapter of Imperial and Royal Orders, it sent the complete set of awards and certificates to the Main Navy Staff. From there they were transmitted to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1st or 2nd Department), and then to the recipient's country of residence.

The number of awards was arranged in preliminary consultations, especially in the case of official visits. Furthermore, requests to bestow Russian orders and medals for different duties and other merits came from Russian diplomats. Sometimes the generous awards policy caused doubts in the emperor's mind. On one of the reports about conferring Russian awards to foreigners, Nicholas II

⁵ Ibid., f. 417, op. 5, f. 3141, p. 92; f. 417, op. 5, f. 3234, p. 241.

⁶ Ibid., f. 417, op. 5, f. 3234, p. 72, 73.

Table 2. Scheme for bestowing foreigners with Russian awards (for the Ministry of the Navy).



wrote: 'I am afraid that if we decorate so many foreigners with our higher awards they will lose their value for those persons.' After this episode, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs issued a circular ordering Russian representatives abroad to observe parity in bilateral awards when considering the merits of potential recipients. As a result special regulations which fixed the correlation of ranks and awards were confirmed by the emperor on 28 October 1909.⁷

Agreements on the exchange of orders, however, were not always executed in time. One such episode was depicted in 1913 in the correspondence of Count Keller, Russian naval agent in Scandinavia, with the Chief of the Main Navy Staff. Keller paid attention to the fact that in negotiations with the Swedes it was agreed that for the delivery of the awards both parties would use any fitting occasion. The Swedish party used for this purpose the meeting of the Russian and the Swedish monarchs at the roadstead for the yacht *Standard* in summer 1912. However, the Russian side did not act upon its promises in time. Keller noticed that the 'applied awards are not from our party an indulgence to the Swedes' since the Swedes gave exactly the same number of awards to the officers of our Main Navy Staff, and the cruiser *Oleg*'. With regard to proposing awards to Swedish officers, Keller wrote that 'the created position is extremely burdensome, since the Swedes have a basis to consider themselves deceived'. As a result, thanks to Keller's activity, six Swedish officers were bestowed with Russian orders (Captains Anckers and Count Hamilton, Lieutenants Hägg, Tamm and Lilliehöök, and Count Mörner).⁸

⁷ *Ibid.*, f.417, op. 1, f. 2782, p. 2; f. 418, op. 1, f. 3928, p. 73.

⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 418, op. 1, f. 3928, p. 27.

Naval agents (or attachés) were important persons in the procedure of granting awards. The institution of navy agents began to take shape in Russia in the mid-nineteenth century. Among their central tasks were the following: official presentation of the Russian Navy, obtaining information about technical innovations in foreign fleets, and, during wartime, gaining information about their tactical plans. Such an outward-looking approach helped the heads of state to make the right conclusions and reach the necessary decisions. Attachés had to be sociable and well-informed and should use all possible means to encourage people to help them. Among these means awards and gifts occupied an important place.

Naval agents proposed Russian orders for foreigners through the Admiralty. Sometimes, persons were awarded for some special services, as was the case of five Swedish vice consuls. It is pointed out in the document that their services 'cannot be made public and therefore cannot be a cause for awarding, but they are very important for the Naval Staff. Besides, in the future the Naval Agent will address the decorated persons many times.' As a result, these five Swedish vice consuls received the following honours: Torvald Rasmussen received the Order of St Stanislaus 3rd Class, the others were given gold watches with diamond-encrusted imperial eagles worth 300 roubles each. Later money for these gifts was transferred from the Admiralty to the Cabinet of His Imperial Majesty.⁹

The personalities of the navy agents deserve special attention. During the period under study five officers occupied this position. The first two were naval agents in Germany, performing at the same time the duties of a naval agent in Sweden, Denmark and Norway. One of them, Alexander Klementjevich Polis, occupied the position until 1902. In 1905, during the Battle of Tsushima he was killed on the battleship *Emperor Alexander III*.¹⁰ The second agent, Prince Alexander Alexandrovich Dolgorukov, served in the headquarters of the Mediterranean fleet and then in the Pacific fleets, and after 1902 he was a naval agent in Germany, being side-accredited in Sweden, Denmark and Norway. Prince Dolgorukov was a knight of several Russian and foreign orders, including Commander of the Order of the Sword and the Order of the Dannebrog.¹¹

⁹ Ibid., f. 418, op. 1, f. 3928, p.80–81; f. 417, op. 5, f. 3241, p. 2, 15.

¹⁰ Список лицам, состоящим в Морском ведомстве и флоте адмиралам и штаб-офицерам и чинам по флоту СПб., 1904. С. 408 (List of Admirals and Navy officers. SPb., 1904)

¹¹ Ibid., СПб., 1910. С. 64.

In connection with the political changes that occurred in the Scandinavian countries in the early twentieth century, the emperor of Russia gave permission to establish the permanent position of a naval agent in Scandinavia in October 1906. Lieutenant Alexei Konstantinovich Petrov was sent to the Russian embassy in Stockholm and on 31 December 1908 he became Russian naval agent in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. In the Navy Archive some documents relate to the financing of a new agent, namely funds for housing, civilian clothes, furniture, and 2 000 Swedish Crowns for extraordinary expenses.¹²

Judging by the reports, Petrov was an active and sociable person. To carry out the commission, and to receive certificates and permits he had to write to the Office of the Navy Ministry, General Commandant of Stockholm and the Naval School, and he found these officials attentive and helpful. Thanks to personal contacts Petrov did not have to approach the Navy Ministry, because, as he put it 'the officials of this organization react badly and do not give direct answers to direct questions'.

'In order to maintain established relationships and to encourage other officers that may be needed in the future', Petrov asked the former Chief of the Naval School Commander Henry Fredrik Lindberg and Senior Staff Adjutant to the General Commandant of Stockholm, the Commander of the royal yacht, Commander Richard Thurdin to be awarded the Order of St Anne 2nd Class. Karl Hafström, senior military aide at the Office of the Navy Ministry, was bestowed the order of St Anne 3rd Class. It is interesting that during the visit of the king of Sweden to Russia in 1908, Petrov was given a silver medal to be presented to a person of a lower rank at his will. The medal was given to a senior clerk of the Main Navy Staff, Lazar Tvirčun.¹³

From 1911 to 1914 Count Paul F. Keller was the naval agent in Scandinavia. He had previously served in the Pacific fleet, then been commander of the submarines *Pescar* and *Kambala*. In 1913, he was appointed Commander 2nd Class of the Order of Vasa.¹⁴ In June 1912, another submariner, Lieutenant Boris Beskrovny, was sent to be at his bidding. Beskrovny had the opportunity to visit ships, the Departments of the Navy and the Danish submarine bases. All this was facilitated thanks to the assistance of the adjutant of the Danish Minister of Defence and

¹² RGA VMF, f. 418, op. 1, f. 3921, p. 6–7.

¹³ Ibid., f. 418, op. 1, f. 3922, p. 5; f. 417, op. 5, f. 3106, p. 209.

¹⁴ Ibid., f. 418, op. 1, f. 3928, p. 2.

Lecturer at the Officer School, Commander Louis Dornonville de la Cour. On the basis of the proposal made by Beskrovny he received the Order of St Anne.¹⁵

The last imperial Russian naval agent in Sweden and Norway was Vladimir Arsentjevich Stashevsky, a person with an unusual history. After 1918, he stayed in Stockholm and continued to collect information for Soviet Russia. In 1933, he became citizen of the Soviet Union, but stayed in Sweden and collected information about Nazi Germany under the pseudonym Admiral. He died in 1950.

According to the archival documents, 1912 was one of the most plentiful years with regard to Swedish awards given to Russian sailors. Most of the awards were connected with the Summer Olympic Games in Stockholm. It was decided to send the cruiser *Oleg*, the yacht *Strela* with Major General Voeikov on board, and the ship *Mongolia* with the Russian sportsmen to the Swedish capital. The yacht *Neva* with the Grand Duchess Victoria Feodorovna, wife of the Grand Duke Kirill Vladimirovich, on board joined them.

The commanding officer of this yacht, Captain 2nd rank Gregory Butakov, applied for silver medals with the ribbon of the Order of St Stanislaus to two Swedish non-commissioned officers, who on board maintained the telephone service between the harbour and the yacht. Butakov and the commanding officer of the *Strela*, Captain 2nd rank Sontsov, were awarded the Commander's crosses of the Order of Vasa and commemorative medals of the Olympic Games. Such medals were also awarded to four others. Another 54 sailors received various classes of the Swedish Orders of the Sword, of the Polar Star and of Vasa for helping to organize the Olympic Games. The commanding officer of the cruiser *Oleg*, Grand Duke Kirill Vladimirovich, was appointed a Knight of the Order of the Seraphim.¹⁶

It is interesting to note that awards such as cups were also subject to formal approval procedure. Swedish officers, who were on board the ships escorting the king during his visit to Russia in 1908 were warmly welcomed. The commanding officer, Captain Gustaf Dyrssen, led this delegation. He reported about the officers' decision to establish a challenge cup for ships of the linear squadron of the

¹⁵ Список личного состава судов флота, строевых и административных учреждений морского ведомства Спб., 1913. С. 145 (List of Admirals and Navy officers. SPb., 1913); RGA VMF, f. 418, op. 1, f. 3928, p. 18.

¹⁶ RGA VMF, f. 418, op. 1, f. 2943, p. 120; F. 417, op. 5, f. 3234, p. 90–92.

Baltic fleet. In 1912, Russian visitors presented the cup to the Swedes as a prize for the Swedish Navy boat races. As in the case of orders, the last Russian Navy Minister, Grigorovich, asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sazonov, if there were any objections preventing the establishment of the prize and then received imperial approval to award the Swedes with this cup during the Olympic Games.¹⁷

In summer 1908, a group of sailors were awarded Swedish orders and medals for piloting the Swedish fleet to sea. In the autumn of the same year, 12 sailors in the lower ranks of the battleship *Rostislav* from the Black Sea fleet received the Vasa medal.¹⁸

Altogether, in 1912 Sweden had bestowed 76 Russian sailors with orders and 6 sailors with medals. During the same period of time, Russian sailors received from other foreign countries 133 orders, 14 crosses and 250 medals. Thus, the Swedish orders made one third of all orders bestowed during this year.

For comparison, in 1901 the king of Sweden bestowed two Orders of the Sword, while Russian sailors received 329 other foreign orders. It should be kept in mind that in this case only those awards are taken into account which passed through the Admiralty. Some other awards passed through the Imperial Military office of Nicholas II.

The documents of the Award Department of the Main Navy Staff mentioned here demonstrate that in the early twentieth century the procedure of the exchange of orders between Russia and foreign countries was constantly evolving towards a well-established documentarily structured system. This system had both positive and negative aspects, which led to some mistakes and misunderstandings. It existed up to 1917 when it was discontinued together with the rest of the Russian imperial award system.

¹⁷ Ibid., f. 418, op. 1, f. 3921, p. 49; f. 418, op. 1, f. 2944, p. 61; f. 418, op. 1, f. 3982, p. 30.

¹⁸ Ibid., f. 417, op. 5, f. 3234, p. 93, 159; f. 417, op. 5, f. 3281, p. 29.

HONOURS AND FOREIGN POLITICS – THE SWEDISH EXPERIENCE DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Erik Norberg

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM of orders and decorations is a traditional and well-established system for rewarding individual contributions. It is only natural that it also reflects political interests and national loyalties. This essay is an attempt to investigate such elements in Swedish politics during the First World War, 1914–1918. For obvious reasons I have been forced to limit the study to a few countries, and I have chosen two of the main opponents, Germany and Russia, thereby also including Finland until 1917.

My earlier study concerned Swedish policy during the Second World War.¹ To a large extent that study was based on quantitative data, such as the number of orders to and from various countries during the period. It is a much more comprehensive study, but it will be used as a reference here when summing up the present study.

The debate in Sweden just before the war

Before discussing the period of the First World War, we should note that just before it broke out, the question about abolishing the entire system of orders had been brought up on the highest political level in Sweden. It was the energetic liberal politician Karl Staaff, Prime Minister 1905–1906 and 1911–1914, who had put the question on his agenda. Within the Ministry for Foreign Affairs a couple of memorandums were worked out with haste, obviously with the intention to stop any change.

¹ Erik Norberg, 'Orders and Foreign Politics: Foreign Orders to Swedish Citizens 1939–1945', in Georgy Vilinbakhov & Lidia Dobrovolskaya (eds), *Наградные системы: Россия – Скандинавия – Материалы 2-го Международного орденского симпозиума – Award Systems: Russia and Scandinavia – Proceedings of the 2nd International Symposium on Orders* (Санкт-Петербург – St Petersburg, 2012), 37–66.

The starting point for the diplomats was that all monarchies in the world had a system of orders and decorations. In the German Empire with all small states and principalities there were about 70 different kinds of orders and decorations with numerous classes, and the French republic worked with the five classes of the Legion of Honour and with about 40 different orders and medals.

In Europe only Switzerland and Portugal lacked a system of orders, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs emphasized. Different countries had developed different traditions. In France, a civil servant or an officer normally had to serve twenty years before he received the Legion of Honour. In Russia, every civil servant received a personal title or a decoration after a relatively short time, and persons who were not civil servants might be awarded for achievements in science, art or business. In Germany, orders were to great extent awarded to military personnel, whereas active politicians were not decorated in England or France, and journalists very seldom in Germany.

To be on the safe side against the novel ideas of the Prime Minister, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs also tried some more rational arguments. In relation to foreign countries a system of this kind was vital, particularly for a small country. In former times it had been the custom to give a foreign head of an embassy who ended his service a considerable sum of money. Now he was normally awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of the Polar Star, which was very much cheaper for the donor. A foreign citizen who had served for fifteen years as Swedish vice consul abroad normally received the Order of Vasa, which was even cheaper to produce.

From an economic viewpoint it was therefore better to preserve the present system. Obviously there had also been ideas to abolish the system for Swedish citizens but to maintain it for foreigners, but according to the Ministry this would have led to a decrease of value, and it might have been interpreted as a sign of contempt for foreign countries.

There was never an open debate on this topic, as the question was much too sensitive. The two memorandums which had been carefully worked out were personally handed over to the Prime Minister Karl Staaff on 16 April 1913. They were never properly registered.² But the arguments were to be brought up again some 50 years later.

² The Swedish National Archives, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1902 års dossiersystem, vol. 3572.

Swedish orders to German citizens

The exchange between Sweden and Germany was intensive. Cultural and political relations were close, and all the different German states could offer a wide choice of decorations. Germany belonged to those states with which Sweden had an intensive exchange of decorations.

Looking more closely at this exchange, we have to distinguish between awards for individual achievements on the one hand, and awards in connection with ceremonial activities on the other. Typical examples of the former were the Orders of the Sword given to two officers of a Bavarian infantry regiment, which had hosted a Swedish officer in the summer of 1914. This decision was taken before the war broke out. An example of ceremonial exchange was the rain of orders following the visit of King Gustavus V to Karlsbad and Baden in the summer of 1914. The outcome was a great number of decorations of different classes: two Orders of the Sword, ten Orders of the Polar Star, fourteen Orders of Vasa and a great number of medals. This decision was also taken just before the war broke out. It seems that the dominant attitude just after the outbreak of the war in 1914, however, was to wait and see.

In 1915, a routine for distribution became more evident. Six officers and one high-ranking medical doctor of the military health services received different classes of the Order of the Sword for having arranged study visits for Swedish military personnel.

Another category was staff members of civil authorities who had promoted relations between the two countries. Two officials of the German railway administration received awards, one the Order of the Polar Star and the other the Order of Vasa, for having supported the railway and ferry link between Trelleborg in Sweden and Sassnitz in Germany. The President of the German Public Insurance Administration (*Reichsversicherungsamt*) was awarded a Grand Cross of the Order of the Polar Star, and a less distinguished colleague was made a Knight of the Order of Vasa for having given advice to Swedish colleagues. This was particularly important as the first Swedish general pension system had been introduced in 1914.

Gradually Sweden became more and more isolated during the war. Swedish industry was dependent on continuous relations with German business, and this was the reason why the German representative for the Swedish company Separatör received the Order of Vasa. In the same way the Swedish embassy in Berlin

appreciated qualified information on German politics and German society during the war, and for this reason Otto Runge, editor-in-chief of the newspaper *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* received the Order of the Polar Star. A concrete but not unusual reason for an award was direct assistance in a case of emergency. When the Swedish steamer *Drottning Victoria* went aground outside Sassnitz it was assisted by a German torpedo boat, and the commander and his second consequently received the Order of the Sword.

Similar routines followed in 1916. Besides an Order of the Sword for a German military attaché who completed his posting in Stockholm and one Order of the Polar Star and two Orders of Vasa to persons who had arranged several study visits to the German health services, we can observe the importance of contacts of a non-military kind. Four Orders of Vasa were given to representatives for *Siemens Werke* in Berlin as soon as the work on electrifying the railway in Lapland between Kiruna and the Norwegian border had been completed. A particular interesting argument was given when Ernst Ribbert, a mine owner in Cologne, was awarded the Order of Vasa after having donated a considerable sum of money for use in the northern province of Norrbotten. The short letter simply stated that the aim of the gift was known by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, but it should not be brought to public knowledge. It may be enough to note that mining was particularly important in that province.

Finally, one Order of the Polar Star and two Orders of Vasa were given to three prominent persons linked to the German Evangelical Lutheran Church. They had in different ways promoted contacts between the Churches in Sweden and Germany, and the initiative for these awards came from the well-known Archbishop of Sweden, Nathan Söderblom.

In 1917, an important question of principles was brought up. In September of this year, Hans von Essen, newly appointed Swedish envoy in Berlin, informed the Minister for Foreign Affairs that he had received a proposal for awards to German military personnel from a Swedish regiment, which related to an arranged study visit. However, von Essen had answered that he was not willing to approve of awards to the military personnel of a belligerent country. Thereby he confirmed a policy which had been followed since the war broke out.

Nevertheless, there were borderline cases. The Swedish naval attaché in Berlin had been able to benefit from contacts with some German naval colleagues, and in this case von Essen had no doubts, obviously because it had to do with diplo-

matic representation and facilitated the task of his naval attaché. The outcome was two Orders of the Sword and one Order of Vasa to German colleagues.

Cultural interests also received some attention. Aksel Andersson, Director of Uppsala University Library, proposed an award to Paul Schwenke, Director of the Königl. Bibliothek in Berlin, and Isak Collijn, National Librarian and Director of the Royal Library in Stockholm, shortly thereafter suggested an order for Konrad Haebler, Director of the Manuscript Department of the same library in Berlin. Two Orders of the Polar Star were approved, and a third was given to the artist Wilhelm Kuhnert, who was one of the leading animal painters of his time. He had donated a gigantic oil painting showing the animal life of the East-African steppe to the Stockholm Museum of Natural History.

The total Swedish dependence on Germany for coal import was argument enough to give one Order of the Polar Star to Franz Oppenheimer, who owned the leading German coal-exporting company, and Orders of Vasa to two other businessmen who were directly involved in coal exports.

The principle not to give orders to military personnel was maintained until the last year of the war. In April 1918, it was questioned, however. The Swedish envoy in Berlin, Hans von Essen, was unofficially informed from Stockholm that it was time to reconsider the official principle, and he was not too late to adopt the new guidelines. In a letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs he warned against postponing all proposals which he had so far received. Otherwise the workload would be too heavy after the war, and he could refer to the Netherlands and Denmark. Both countries had obviously not hesitated to recompense with decorations for certain individuals who made important study visits to Germany. One might, however, look for more substantial reasons for this change in Swedish policy. One fact was that Russia was no longer in the war, and above all that Germany at this time seemed to be a guarantee for a free Finland.

Be this as it may, a dozen orders, mainly Orders of the Sword, were consequently distributed to German officers of middle or lower rank. Just as decorations had been given to Austrian military medical personnel after Swedish study visits, now seven Orders of the Polar Star and four Orders of Vasa were given to German military doctors. An important link to the Continent for Sweden was the ferry to Sassnitz. The experience had been that the German General Staff was much easier to deal with in questions concerning passports or visa than *Auswärtiges Amt*. Therefore six Orders of the Sword were given to visa personnel

of the General Staff and two Orders of Vasa to military personnel at Sassnitz.

So far, orders to military personnel had been awarded only to staff of middle or lower rank. However, in early autumn 1918 a drastic change took place and it was now the highest-ranking officers' turn. Nothing less than the Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword was in question. The three officers were General Erich Ludendorff, the Minister of War, General Hermann von Stein, and the deputy chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Freytag von Loringhoven.

A short time before, a Grand Cross of the Order of the Polar Star had been awarded to a mere Secretary of the German embassy in Stockholm; the secretary was Victor zu Wied, who was related to the royal family. He was to be ambassador in Stockholm during the Second World War, and the fact that he had already received a Grand Cross then caused the Government some concern.

Much more according to regular routine were five Orders of Vasa in connection with Queen Victoria's travels through Berlin, one Order of the Polar Star and two Orders of Vasa to staff members of the German Patent Office, and an Order of the Polar Star to Professor Brockelmann of Halle, who had been an expert in connection with the recruitment of a professor in Semitic languages in Gothenburg, and who obviously could not be recompensed in any other way.³

Table 1. Swedish awards to German citizens

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Total
<i>The Order of the Sword</i>	2	9	1	2	21	35
<i>The Order of the Polar Star</i>	10	4	2	4	10	30
<i>The Order of Vasa</i>	14	2	8	3	13	40
Total	26	15	11	9	44	105

German orders to Swedish citizens

As mentioned earlier, not much happened in this field during the first period of the war, in autumn 1914. In 1915, the Professor of Medicine and anthropologist Gustaf Retzius received the Grand Cross of the Albert Order (*Albrechts-Orden*) from the Kingdom of Saxony, after having donated a number of books to an institution in Dresden. It should be added, however, that his research as anthropologist was used at the time with great interest by German race biologists. The same order of a lower class was awarded a Mr Ramström of Stockholm, for having contributed to the international book fair in Leipzig.

³ The Swedish National Archives, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1902 års dossiersystem, vol. 3557–3559.

In the same year the Prussian Order of the Crown was awarded to Karl Wehman, who was director of the tobacco firm Rettig in Gävle, Sweden, and the Order of the Red Eagle was given to two policemen in Stockholm. It is not clear what they had done to earn this, and the decorations were sent discreetly and without a following letter to their chief, explicitly in order to avoid public attention.

Finally, the German embassy had several times sent reminders of their proposal to give the Iron Cross to Mr Nils Lago-Lengqvist. He was a journalist and had moved to Germany in 1915 as war correspondent for some Swedish newspapers. As he was proposed for the Iron Cross, he had obviously been more active than one could normally expect of a correspondent. The reaction within the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was surprise and hesitation, and the recommendation was that this case should be postponed until the end of the war.

Besides a great number of decorations given by the Red Cross in 1916, which are not included in this investigation, the German vice consul in the northern city of Luleå, Christian Jäger, was proposed for the Order of the Crown. The Governor of the province of Norrbotten who was asked about this by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, answered that he knew Mr Jäger well, that he was known to be a smart businessman, maybe a little too smart, added the Governor, but he saw no reason to speak against this award.

As usual a number of diplomats were on the list in 1917. The Swedish naval attaché in Berlin, Fabian Tamm, received the Order of the Crown, his colleague the secretary Einar Gyldén was awarded the Order of the Red Eagle, and the consul in Söderköping, Hans Jäger, received the Order of the Crown. For different kinds of services Colonel Karl Gyllenswärd was awarded the Order of the Crown, Captain Gustav Schildt the same order of a lower class, the chief of the police in Malmö, Gustav Hårléman, the Order of the Red Eagle, the military lawyer and judge August von Hedenberg and the businessman Sven Unander in the northern city of Haparanda the Order of the Crown. Three doctors in the military health services were awarded the Order of the Crown and two colleagues in the civil service the Order of the Red Eagle. As shown above, both from German and Swedish viewpoint the ferry link between Trelleborg and Sassnitz was of great importance, and the captain of the ferry *Konung Gustaf V* received the Order of the Red Eagle.

Also in 1917, the director of the Royal Library in Stockholm, Isak Collijn, and the director of the University Library in Uppsala, Aksel Andersson, had pro-

posed awards to some German colleagues, and as a token of reciprocity Collijn now received the Order of the Crown and Andersson the Order of the Red Eagle. At the same time Halvar Lagerquist, librarian at the Royal Library, received the Order of the Red Eagle of a lower class.

The cultural field had a good year in 1917. The Finnish composer Armas Järnefelt, who at this time was conductor at the Royal Opera in Stockholm, was awarded the Order of the Crown, and the botanist and explorer Per Dusén received the Order of the Red Eagle.

During the last year of the war very little happened. An exception was a proposal in May 1918 for decorations to diplomatic personnel at the Swedish embassy in Moscow. The reason was that during the war Sweden had in Russia been a protective power for Germany, which for obvious reasons had no representation of its own. This had been a dramatic period with many sensitive cases to solve. Now Envoy Edvard Brändström was awarded the Order of the Red Eagle 1st Class, Counsellor Landegren the same order 2nd Class, Consul General Asker, Engineer Hall and the two Secretaries Leo Sager (Illust. 1) and Ove Ramel the Order of the Crown.⁴

Table 2. German awards to Swedish citizens

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Total
<i>The Order of the Crown</i>		1	10	11	2	24
<i>The Order of the Red Eagle</i>		2	5	8	4	19
<i>The Albert Order (Saxony)</i>		2				2
Total		5	15	19	6	45

Swedish orders to Russian citizens

Against the background of 1913, a normal year, the number of decorations dropped drastically in 1914. A number of decorations of different kinds were given to Russian citizens who had participated in the preparations for the Baltic exhibition in Malmö 1914, with due respect for the reciprocity between the two countries. It was normally a question of lower classes of the Order of the Polar Star or the Order of Vasa. The Master of the Imperial Mews, W. J. Denisov, however, who had been president of the Russian department of the Baltic exhibition,

⁴ The Swedish National Archives, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1902 års dossiersystem, vol. 3606, 3607.



was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of the Polar Star, and the engineer Gustav Nobel, who was a Swedish citizen, but who also had been vice president of the Russian department, received the Order of Vasa.

As usual some diplomats were signed out. The First Secretary of the Russian legation M. Messojedov was made a Commander of the Order of Vasa, the Secretary Gustaf de Lerche received the Order of the Polar Star, and the military attaché, Lieutenant Prejbiano, was given the Order of Vasa.

A special case was the decorations given to two high-ranking officials of the Russian customs authorities, Sergei Antonov and Alexander Dobrotine. The background was the Swedish interests in Persia, where General Harald Hjalmarsson was chief of the Persian gendarmerie, with more than thirty Swedish colleagues by his side. The Russian customs authorities had been most helpful during the transit of Swedish equipment through Russia, and in some cases they even had gone beyond the normal routines. Consequently, Antonov was awarded the Order of the Polar Star and Dobrotine the Order of Vasa. Finally, four prominent Finnish Professors of Medicine received the Order of the Polar Star: Arthur Edvard af Forssel, J. J. Karvonen, Wilhelm Pipping and Theodor Waldemar Tallquist.

1. The mounted group of orders and medals awarded to the Swedish diplomat, Captain (res.) Leo Sager (1889–1948): Knight of the Order of the Polar Star (1945), Knight of the Order of Vasa (1931), Legionnaire of the Legion of Merit (USA), the Cross of Liberty 2nd Class (Finland, 1918), Knight of the Legion of Honour (France), Officer of the Order of St Charles (Monaco), the Order of Three Stars IV Class (Latvia, 1926), the Order of Civil Merit IV Class (Bulgaria), Order of the Crown 3rd Class (Prussia, 1918), the Red Cross Medal 3rd Class (Prussia). Private collection. Photograph Antti Matikkala.

In 1915, Mikael Ryabushinskii received the Order of the Polar Star after having donated a portrait by Alexandre Golovine to the Swedish National Museum, but this was more or less a follow up of the Baltic exhibition of 1914.

In 1917, the number of decorations increased somewhat. The Russian Ambassador to Stockholm, Anatolii Nekludov, who had to leave his post after the February revolution, was awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of the Polar Star, and the merchant Arnold Shapiro, who lived in Stockholm and had donated a considerable sum of money to the Swedish military health services, was awarded the Order of Vasa.

The same decoration was given to three persons of Finnish origin: Henning Bäärnhielm, who was a high-ranking staff member of the firm of the Nobel brothers in Baku, the St Petersburg jeweller Alexander Edvard Tillander, and Karl Östen Schauman, owner of Steninge Manor north of Stockholm, who had been a most generous host for Swedish troops during field exercises in 1917.

A very special case was the question concerning the Order of Vasa for the lawyer Wladimir Chessin, who for some years had assisted the Swedish embassy and Swedish businessmen in St Petersburg in local legal disputes. He had been proposed for an award by the Swedish government already in 1914, but the Russian government was reluctant to proceed. Possibly Mr Chessin had been too successful in his legal activities, but now the new Russian regime found him less displeasing and gave its consent.⁵

The Chessin affair was late in the autumn of 1917. With the Bolshevik revolution in Russia a new system for decorations was introduced, and from now on only citizens of the Soviet Union were to receive Soviet orders. Consequently the exchange came to an end.

Table 3. Swedish awards to Russian and Finnish citizens

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Total
<i>The Order of the Sword</i>						
<i>The Order of the Polar Star</i>	7	1		1		9
<i>The Order of Vasa</i>	4			5		9
Total	11	1		6		18

⁵ The Swedish National Archives, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1902 års dossiersystem, vol. 3543.

Russian orders to Swedish citizens

With the exception of decorations in connection with the Baltic exhibition in Malmö, and some medals to Edvard Brändström, Swedish Minister in St Petersburg, and other members of the diplomatic corps, the only award worth mentioning was the Order of St Stanislaus given to the engineer Gustav Nobel, who represented important Swedish-Russian business interests, but, as mentioned earlier, had also been vice president of the Russian department in the Baltic exhibition. His award should rather be seen in that context, and he must be regarded as fortunate as the same effort rendered him both Swedish and Russian decorations.

In 1915, the botanist Professor Hjalmar Nilsson was awarded the Order of St Anne, and in 1916 the two Russian Vice Consuls Ernst Kreuger in Kalmar and Carl Alfred Liljebäck in Haparanda received the Order of St Stanislaus. Colonel Carl Westdahl, who was serving with the police force in Persia and had advanced to the rank of general, was awarded the same order. Obviously his activities in Persia had also promoted Russian interests.

1917 saw an increasing number of awards. Most of them were given to diplomats. The diplomat Carl von Heidenstam was awarded the Order of St Anne, the military attaché Claës Wachtmeister received the same order of a lower class, and the Consul General Arfved Nordensson in Moscow the Order of St Stanislaus. Claës Wachtmeister was the same person who had closely followed the revolutionary forces around the Winter Palace in October 1917, and who immediately had sent a telegram home to Stockholm: 'It seems that the Bolsheviks probably will stay in power for a few more days.'

The police detective Ragnar Erfass had obviously promoted relations with Russia, as he was awarded the Order of St Anne, and a certain Anatole Meyer, who lived in Russia and worked with an insurance company in St Petersburg, received the Order of St Stanislaus. The reason was that for a long time he had supported a social institution, *La curatelle de dames des indigents*, which was under the protection of the Dowager Empress Maria Fjodorovna, born princess of Denmark.⁶

In 1918, for obvious reasons, no orders were given to Swedish citizens.

⁶ The Swedish National Archives, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1902 års dossiersystem, vol. 3598.

Table 4. Russian awards to Swedish citizens

	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	Total
<i>The Order of St Stanislaus</i>	1		3	2		6
<i>The Order of St Anne</i>		1		3		4
Total	1	1	3	5		10

Conclusions

It is now time to compare the result of the study concerning the Second World War with the outcome of this study.

First, did the rewards correspond to national interests of a political or cultural kind? That France as a Great Power on the European continent was of political and cultural interest until the occupation is evident. The almost total absence of Great Britain is a special story in this context. From 1940 until the last years of the war, Germany was the totally dominating counterpart in Swedish security politics and trade negotiations.

Among the Nordic countries, where the national and cultural loyalties were of old date, Norway early disappeared from the list, but Denmark was an important part in the exchange, until the German occupying forces took over in 1943. Finland, however, had a special place. The important position of Finland is not surprising, and the exchange of decorations during the Second World War was to a large extent a mirror of the political situation.

What about the First World War? It is, of course, impossible to draw too many conclusions from an investigation limited to two countries. However, the fact that many more Germans than Russian citizens were awarded must to some extent reflect the relations between the countries. The same could be said of the fact that a large number of the decorations to persons classified as Russian citizens were awarded to Finns.

Secondly, which sectors of professional, political or cultural life were given priority? A general trend is obvious. Those countries with which relations were of a continuous and deeply-rooted nature covered wide sectors of society. Examples of such countries are the Nordic countries, which gave orders to representatives from official, cultural and private sectors, but also e.g. France, Belgium and the Netherlands. The case was different with, for instance, Germany and Italy, where priority was given to the military and political fields.

Diplomats had the greatest priority, in all countries. Those on the level of per-

manent secretary could be sure of ample reward. Of special interest is that no orders during this period were given to heads of states or politicians of the highest rank, such as ministers. One obvious reason is the critical political situation and the lack of state visits or personnel exchange on the highest level during the war.

There was a great difference in this respect between the Axis powers and other countries during the Second World War. It is interesting to note that a similar difference between Germany and Russia is evident during the First World War. One-third of the Swedish decorations to Germans were awarded to military personnel, and 9 per cent of the German decorations were given to Swedish military personnel. On the other hand, no decorations were given to military personnel within the Swedish-Russian exchange. One reason is, of course, the number of personnel who went to Germany for military study purposes. This does not explain, however, the awards to high-ranking German officers, such as Ludendorff, at the end of the war.

Besides this, there seems to be an almost equivalent distribution of persons from official, cultural and private sectors, and the wish to give rewards to diplomats was just in accordance with a generally accepted international tradition.

Finally, were individual achievements or political interest the primary motive for rewards? The system during the Second World War was a mirror of both political and cultural loyalties and the military and political development. But political aims were more evident in relations with the belligerent powers. The German orders to officers or middle rank officials of Swedish railways, customs and police are evidence enough. The same was the case with the exchange between Sweden and Italy in connection with the purchase of arms.

In short, the conclusion is that individual achievement had greater weight in relations with peaceful democratic countries, and that instrumental thinking was a more important factor in dealings with totalitarian powers like Germany and Italy.

Bearing in mind the demands for reciprocity, the pattern during the First World War is similar. In most cases it was a question of individual achievements and normally there were good and understandable arguments for the awards, again with the possible exception of high-ranking German officers in 1918.



MANNERHEIM AND THE ART OF WEARING ORDERS AND DECORATIONS, 1918–1949

Tom C. Bergroth

BARON GUSTAF MANNERHEIM (1867–1951) served in the Russian Imperial Army 1889–1917. He retired as a Lieutenant General of the Russian Armed Forces in 1917 and returned to his homeland of Finland. At the outbreak of the Finnish War of Independence, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Government Forces on 28 January 1918 and was appointed to the rank of General of the Cavalry on 7 March 1918. He acted as Regent of Finland from 12 December 1918 until 27 July 1919. He recommended to the Finnish Senate the institution of the awards of the Cross of Liberty and the Medal of Liberty, which were duly founded on 4 March 1918. As Regent, he instituted the Order of the White Rose of Finland, an order of merit for military and civil service, on 28 January 1919. He confirmed the constitution of the Republic of Finland on 17 July 1919. After having been a civilian during the 1920s, Mannerheim was appointed Chairman of the Defence Council in 1931. At the outbreak of the Second World War and the Finnish Winter War, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Finnish Armed Forces in 1939. Mannerheim was promoted to Field Marshal on 19 March 1933, which created an unprecedented situation as it raised the question of new insignia of rank.¹ The appointment of a Field Marshal did not as such mean the appearance of a new military rank as it was an honorary title bestowed by the President of Finland.² He was given the title of Marshal of Finland on 4 June 1942. Mannerheim served as President of the Republic of Finland from 4 August 1944 until 12 March 1946.

1. Mannerheim as Regent of Finland in the full dress uniform of the General of the Cavalry in 1919. He is wearing the sash of the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty with swords, the Cross of Liberty 1st Class with swords (neck badge), the collar of the Grand Cross of the Order of the White Rose of Finland, the stars of the Grand Crosses and, on his medal bar, the Cross of Liberty 4th Class with swords and the Commemorative Medal of the War of Independence. Atelier Rembrandt.

¹ A new baton, designed by the artist Aarno Karimo, was given to Mannerheim on 27 October the same year by President P. E. Svinhufvud. Karimo also designed the new rank badges for the Marshal.

² Veli-Matti Syrjö, *Itsenäisen Suomen kenraalikunta 1918–1996* (Porvoo, 1998), 14–15.

Although there are numerous photographs of Mannerheim in uniform, less attention has been drawn to his wearing of orders and decorations on various occasions.³ His aesthetic sense, in combination with his personal way of following protocol and etiquette, is less well known. Indeed, he followed the regulations dictated by the various foreign protocols on the wearing of decorations. In most countries there are particular rules according to which orders and decorations are worn, and obviously Mannerheim was also influenced by the Russian traditions. In addition, already as early as in 1919, he was influenced by the British way of wearing the sash.

His method of wearing orders and decorations was very personal and based on a tradition going back to the early nineteenth century. Observing present representatives of a foreign country also reflects the courtesy towards the giver. Orders may even reflect the political situation. But above all, orders and decorations are like jewels, they are to be worn with taste and by choice selectively. It must not look as if it is overburdened and fewer decorations indicate the moment and occasion.⁴

Military uniform

During the War of Independence and later as Regent of Finland, Mannerheim wore uniform almost on a daily basis in 1918–1919. On 4 March 1918, the Finnish Senate instituted the Cross of Liberty and the Medal of Liberty as military awards which were given for meritorious services both at the front and the home front during the war. The cross came in five classes – Grand Cross and four numbered classes – and the medal in two classes.⁵ Photographs of Mannerheim

³ But see Tom C. Bergroth, 'A Life in Uniform', in Märtha Norrbäck (ed.), *A Gentleman's Home: The Museum of Gustaf Mannerheim, Marshal of Finland* (Keuruu, 2001), 61–79. Other sources used include, Tom C. Bergroth, 'The Orders and Decorations of Marshal Carl Gustaf Mannerheim', catalogue (in Swedish, Finnish, English and German) to the permanent exhibition in the Mannerheim Museum, Helsinki 1977; Tom C. Bergroth, 'Ordenstecken markerar tillfället: Marskalken av Finland och bärandet av ordnar', unpublished manuscript, 7 March 2001.

⁴ Major General Ragnar R. Grönvall (1901–1989), aide-de-camp to Marshal Mannerheim, did not leave any written information regarding how Mannerheim wore his orders and decorations during the war. His knowledge would have been invaluable to the author, who instead turned to Colonel O. R. Bäckman (1911–2007), junior aide-de-camp to Mannerheim, 1942–1946. He gave a vivid portrait of events related to the wearing of orders and decorations during the war shortly before his death. Grönvall, who continued as aide-de-camp to Presidents J. K. Paasikivi and U. K. Kekkonen, drew up the standing regulations for the wearing of orders for the President of the Republic of Finland in the 1950s. Invaluable information was given to the author by the Marshal's two housekeepers, Berta Haglind and Elsa Sundman, in the early 1970s. They both gave me a vivid picture of the Marshal and *his view* on orders.

⁵ For the history of the Cross of Liberty, see Tom C. Bergroth et al., *Vapaudentristin ritarikunta – isänmaan puolesta* (Porvoo, 1997).

taken after 15 May 1918 depict him wearing the Prussian Iron Cross 1st class on the left breast of his tunic and ribbons of the Iron Cross 2nd Class and the Medal of Liberty 2nd Class in his button hole. Irrespective of class of award, a piece of the latter ribbon was given to all recipients of the Cross of Liberty and the Medal of Liberty, during the War of Independence, because the actual insignia was not ready until autumn 1918.

After the capture of Tampere, on 6 April 1918, Mannerheim was awarded both the 1st and 4th Class of the Cross of Liberty with swords. The 1st Class was related to his rank as General of the Cavalry, while the 4th Class was an award for personal bravery, which also gave a special meaning for the other holders of this 'basic class'.⁶ After the capture of Viipuri, on 30 April 1918, Mannerheim received the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty with swords.

Mannerheim's becoming Regent of Finland in November 1918 lead to a new situation for the new state. The awarding of the Cross of Liberty and the Medal of Liberty ended in January 1919 and, on the very same day, the Order of the White Rose of Finland was instituted. As Grand Master of the new order, Mannerheim became the first Finnish holder of its Grand Cross with collar. During his regency, Mannerheim wore on full dress uniform all his above mentioned Finnish decorations and the Commemorative Medal of the War of Independence (Illust. 1 on p. 256). On the occasions when the collar of the Order of the White Rose of Finland was not worn, Mannerheim wore the Grand Cross of the White Rose of Finland as a neck decoration (Illust. 4 on p. 261) following the Russian, Swedish and German traditions.

During his regency Mannerheim made only two state visits, one to Sweden and one to Denmark. The importance of showing gratitude towards a foreign head of state for the decoration received from them was expressed in the most articulate manner at the beginning of the state visit to Sweden. Although a chilly raw morning, Mannerheim refused to wear an overcoat in order to display that he was wearing for the last time, the sash of the Order of the Sword⁷ on his tunic because he was just about to receive the Order of the Seraphim, while King Gustavus V of Sweden and his officers all were wearing overcoats (Illust. 2). Mannerheim caught a cold and had to change the course of the program of the state visit.⁸

⁶ It is to be noted that all classes of the Cross of Liberty conferred during the time of war are worn simultaneously, while only the highest class conferred during the time of peace is worn.

⁷ Awarded to him after the end of the War of Independence on 5 June 1918.

⁸ Stig Jägerskiöld, *Riksforestdandaren: Gustaf Mannerheim 1919* (Helsingfors, 1969), 73–74.



2. Regent Mannerheim during his state visit to Sweden with King Gustavus V. Mannerheim is wearing the sash of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Sword. Its star is below that of the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty. The Kim Söderström Collection.

3. General Mannerheim, flanked by Generals Wetzer and Ignatius, in the uniform of the Finnish White Guard, on 16 May 1928. Private collection.

On 2 May 1919, Mannerheim confirmed the first regulations on the wearing of Finnish and foreign orders on military uniforms.⁹ According to these regulations, when receiving representatives of foreign countries or participating in official functions in honour of foreign heads of state, the orders of the country in question should take precedence before all other foreign orders. The wearing of several neckbadges attached to the inside of the tunic next to the button row was also officially sanctioned.

In May 1928, King Christian X of Denmark made a state visit to Helsinki attending the annual commemorative parade of the War of Independence. On this exceptional occasion, which was a markedly Finnish commemorative event, Mannerheim wore the sash of the Order of the Elephant and the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty as a neck decoration attaching the Cross of Liberty 1st Class and the Grand Crosses of the Orders of the White Rose Finland and of the Sword in the above-mentioned manner which he himself had confirmed in 1919 (Illust. 3). Owing to the sash being worn from the left shoulder, Mannerheim wore only the Cross of Liberty 4th Class with swords, instead of a group of mounted medals.

⁹ *Sotaministeriön käskylehti*, n:o 36 (10 May 1919).



4. Mannerheim as Regent of Finland in the uniform of the General of the Cavalry in 1919. The combination of orders is the same as in Illust. 1 except that the Grand Cross of the Order of the White Rose of Finland is not worn with collar, but as a neck badge and the Cross of Liberty 1st Class with swords is suspended below it. Observe the pleated edge of the sash, tailored to fit the tunic correctly. Atelier Rembrandt.

In this photograph a change in the Finnish stars can be observed. Akseli Gallen-Kallela had originally designed the stars with one ray pointing downwards, a heraldic mistake, which was not officially corrected until 1936 with regard to the Order of the White Rose of Finland, and in 1939 with regard to the Cross of Liberty. Mannerheim is seen here wearing new stars, with one ray pointing upwards, which he had commissioned in 1927.¹⁰ The generals behind him are still wearing the old stars.

Mannerheim was appointed Honorary Colonel of the Finnish White Guard and the Uusimaa Dragoon Regiments in 1925 and 1928 respectively. On ceremonial occasions during the 1920s and 1930s Mannerheim wore the model 1922 uniforms of these regiments. In 1933, shortly after the presentation of the marshal's baton on 27 October 1933, a set of ceremonial photographs was taken in both of these uniforms. In these photographs (Illust. 5) Mannerheim is wearing the sash of the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty, the collar of the Grand Cross of the White Rose of Finland, the Cross of Liberty 1st Class, Grand Cross stars of the Cross of Liberty and the White Rose of Finland and also a large group of mounted medals (width of the brooch-bar 19 cm), which was completed between January 1930 and November 1932,¹¹ but probably after Mannerheim's appointment as Chairman of the Defence Council on 20 March 1931, when he returned to public life and there was a need for it at state occasions.

The group is headed by the Cross of Liberty 4th Class, the Commemorative Medal of the Capture of Tampere in gold, the Order of St George 4th Class, the Order of St Vladimir 4th Class with swords, the Iron Cross 2nd Class and the badge of the Officer of the Legion of Honour while the latter part includes, among others, all Mannerheim's Russian commemorative medals.

While the Russian orders were continuously listed in the State Calendar of Finland, the wearing of Russian orders on Finnish military uniform was exceptional, since no Finnish officer received permission to wear them, but obviously

¹⁰ See the portrait in oil painted by Hugo Backmansson in 1927.

¹¹ That is between the conferrals of the Medal of the Swedish Red Cross 1st Class (30 January 1930) and the Cross of Merit of the Norwegian Red Cross (25 November 1932). Mannerheim was photographed wearing this large medal group in the uniform of the General of the Cavalry. The author of this article, who designed the current permanent exhibition of Mannerheim's orders and decorations in the Mannerheim Museum in 1977, reconstructed the dissolved mounted group of medals to its 1933 state on the basis of photographs and the original metal bar in the Mannerheim Museum. Unfortunately, the display was incorrect, the reconstructed group of medals were spread wider than when worn.



Mannerheim did not ask anyone's permission. As is well known, Mannerheim was very proud of having received the Order of St George 4th Class,¹² and had started wearing it again in the late 1920s.¹³ By 1935, the Cross of Merit of the Norwegian Red Cross was probably added to the bar as the last decoration, following the Medal of the Swedish Red Cross 1st Class.¹⁴

For the several national and local commemorative parades and events related to the War of Independence Mannerheim devised slightly different combinations of orders and medals. He preferred to wear various commemorative medals from 1918, depending on the character of the occasion.¹⁵ They were mounted on to the uniform individually for each event. Depending on the presence of foreign guests Mannerheim wore the star of the Order of the Seraphim together with the Iron Cross 1st Class below the star of the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty.¹⁶ However, on his 70th birthday, 4 June 1937, he wore additionally the star of the Order of the Elephant (Illust. 6). A photograph taken at the 20th anniversary parade of the liberation of the city of Viipuri, the 'Lock of Karelia', is an example of a combination made for a local event (Illust. 7). Mannerheim is seen wearing the Cross of Liberty 4th Class with swords, the Commemorative Medal of the Capture of Tampere in gold, the Commemorative Medal of the War of Independence, the Rautu Cross and the Patterimäki Cross, the last two of which were related to the battles at the Karelian front in 1918. Here the decorations are not sewn on to a bar but mounted separately on the tunic for the occasion.

After the Winter War 1939–1940, Mannerheim was awarded the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty with swords and diamonds, but given the war time conditions, the star was rarely worn. After 7 October 1941, when Mannerheim received both the Mannerheim Cross 1st and 2nd Class,¹⁷ the former became the most frequently worn neck decoration in place of the Cross of Liberty 1st Class.¹⁸

¹² It is obvious that this form of the cross served as a model for the new Finnish orders.

¹³ It is depicted, alongside with the Order of St Vladimir 4th Class with swords, in the 1927 portrait by Hugo Backmansson.

¹⁴ See the portrait bust by Emil Wikström, completed in 1935.

¹⁵ On this topic, see Jukka I. Mattila, *Vapaussodan muistomitalit: The Finnish Commemorative Medals of the War of Independence 1918* (Tampere, 2001).

¹⁶ For instance, at the national 20th anniversary parade of the War of Independence on 16 May 1938 and in Vaasa on 9 July 1938.

¹⁷ In fact, Mannerheim was not awarded these decorations, but asked to receive and wear these decorations bearing his name. This proposal was made by the President of the Republic on behalf of the then seventeen holders of the Mannerheim Cross 2nd Class.

¹⁸ For numerous illustrations of Mannerheim's wearing of orders during the Continuation War, see



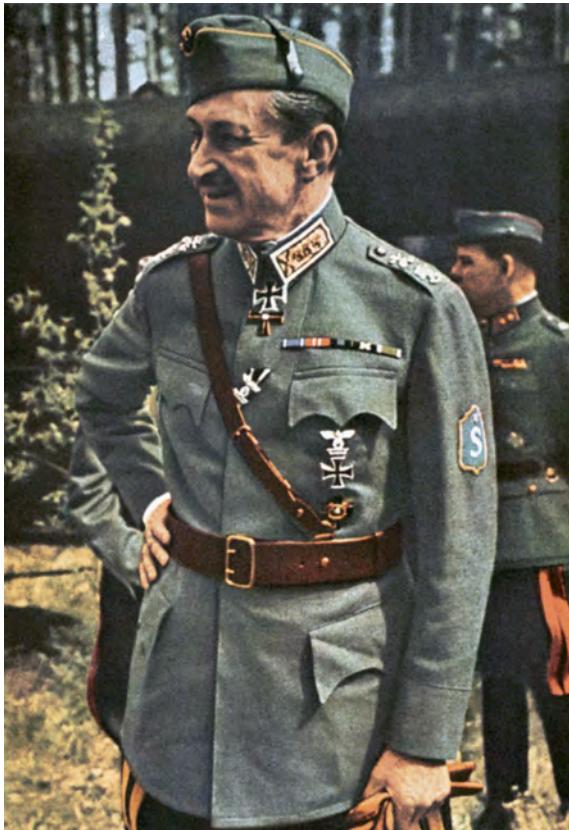
Between 1939 and 1946 Mannerheim wore four different medal ribbon bars on his service dress. The first one, used before and during the Winter War, consisted of the Cross of Liberty 4th Class, the Commemorative Medal of the War of Independence and the Commemorative Medal of the Capture of Tampere in gold. After Mannerheim had received the Medal of Liberty 1st Class with rosette, on 16 May 1940, this ribbon – the rosette is not shown on a ribbon bar – was added and given the first place on the bar. The next addition was the Commemorative Medal of the Winter War 1939–1940 with swords (Illust. 8). The last modification to the medal ribbons did not take place until spring 1945, when Mannerheim was President of the Republic. The ribbon of the Medal of Merit 2nd Class of the Cross of Liberty was added to the third place, which caused the medal ribbons to be divided to two rows: four in the upper and two in the lower.

The 1939 bars to the 1914 Iron Cross were instituted in connection with the

6. Field Marshal Mannerheim on his 70th birthday, 4 June 1937, in the uniform of the Uusimaa Dragoon Regiment. Private collection.

7. Field Marshal Mannerheim in Viipuri, in April 1938. The Finnish Museum of Photography/The *Uusi Suomi* Collection.

Ilmari Ojala, *Mannerheimin päämajan arkea ja juhlaa* (2nd edn, Hämeenlinna, 2004).



8. Marshal of Finland Mannerheim on his 75th birthday, 4 June 1942, in the uniform of the Uusimaa Dragoon Regiment. Photograph Helmut Laux.

9. Mannerheim wearing the star of the Grand Cross of the Order of the German Eagle in gold on his return visit to Germany in June 1942. Photograph The Defence Forces of Finland.

reconstitution of the Iron Cross at the outbreak of the Second World War. The bars were given to those First World War recipients of the Iron Cross who were awarded it again in the same grade. Since September 1941, Mannerheim was often seen wearing the 2nd Class bar (worn on the black and white ribbon of the 1914 Iron Cross 2nd Class) sewn to the light tunic model of 1939, the bar of the 1st Class above the 1914 1st Class cross as well as the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross.¹⁹ All these were worn, for instance, on Mannerheim's 75th birthday in 1942, when Adolf Hitler paid a visit to Finland. Hitler conferred on Mannerheim the Grand Cross of the Order of the German Eagle in gold. Mannerheim

¹⁹ Mannerheim was informed of these awards by telegram, dated 30 August 1941, and he was invested with the insignia by General Alfred Jodl on 4 September 1941. Stig Jägerskiöld, *Marskalken av Finland: Gustaf Mannerheim 1941–1944* (Keuru, 1979), 160. Mannerheim received the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with oak leaves, which had been conferred on him on 5 August 1944, on 17 August 1944.



wore this star, for instance, during his return visit to Germany in late June 1942 (Illust. 9).

During the Continuation War, Mannerheim also received a number of other foreign orders. In 1942, he was photographed for the foreign press wearing individually, for example, the Grand Cross star of the Order of Merit of Hungary, the Order of Michael the Brave of Romania 1st and 2nd Class (Illust. 10) and the insignia of a Knight Grand Cross 1st Class of the Order of the Sword of Sweden (Illust. 11). Mannerheim received this rare honour, the highest Swedish military award, in March 1942. It had not been conferred on anyone since 1861, when Emperor Napoleon III of France received this honour.

On his 77th birthday, 4 June 1944, Mannerheim was awarded swords and diamonds to the Grand Cross of the Order of the White Rose of Finland with collar. When he received President Risto Ryti at the Headquarters in Mikkeli,

10. Mannerheim wearing the Order of Michael the Brave of Romania 1st and 2nd Class in 1942. Photograph The Defence Forces of Finland.

11. Mannerheim wearing the insignia (neck badge and sword) of a Knight Grand Cross 1st Class of the Order of the Sword of Sweden. Photograph The Defence Forces of Finland.

he first wore the same combination of orders and decorations as two years earlier (see Illust. 8 on p. 266) apart from the additional Grand Cross star of the Cross of Liberty. After having been invested with the new insignia by President Rytí, Mannerheim immediately replaced his neck decorations with the new Grand Cross and changed the star to that of the Order of the White Rose of Finland (Illust. 12). Mannerheim apparently wore this unique Grand Cross only once after this (see Illust. 21 on p. 273). On both occasions it was worn as a neck badge for which purpose a loop was attached to the cross (Illust. 13).

When Mannerheim was sworn in as President of the Republic on 4 August 1944, he wore his usual ribbon bars, the Mannerheim Cross 1st and 2nd Class and the stars of the Grand Cross of the Order of the White Rose of Finland with swords and diamonds besides that of the 1918 Cross of Liberty with swords (Illust. 15). The choice of the latter instead of the diamond-studded star of 1940 was somewhat surprising, but it was caused by the simple fact that the 1940 star had been left by oversight in the Headquarters in Mikkeli when Mannerheim's household travelled to Helsinki.²⁰ However, even after having received the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty with swords and diamonds in 1940, Mannerheim appears to have worn the 1918 star of the Cross of Liberty more frequently. Since the 1940 diamond-studded star was heavier and somewhat 'clumsier' in appearance, this may have been part of the same tendency towards 'minimalism' as was the narrowing of the width of the braids of the uniform trousers and halving the size of the marshal's batons in the collar rank badges (compare Illustrations 14 & 15 on p. 269).²¹

The last official appearance of the aged Mannerheim in uniform took place on the Remembrance Day, 18 May 1947 (Illust. 15). As well as the two classes of the Mannerheim Cross, he wore a smaller group of mounted medals (width of the brooch-bar 13 cm), which had been sewn together after the Winter War. The Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty was attached below the Mannerheim Cross 1st Class and to the inside of the uniform so that it is partly hidden. Above the Mannerheim Cross 2nd Class was the Grand Cross star of the Cross of Liberty

²⁰ Personal information from Elsa Sundman, Mannerheim's former housekeeper, 1977.

²¹ For practical reasons, Mannerheim never carried the official marshal's baton (Illustrations 5 and 6) after 1940. Instead, he carried the unofficial one, which had received already in 1928 (Illustrations 12, 14 and 15).



12. Mannerheim on his 77th birthday, 4 June 1944. Photograph The Defence Forces of Finland.

14. Mannerheim after having been sworn in as President of the Republic, on 4 August 1944. Photograph The Defence Forces of Finland.



13. The Grand Cross of the Order of the White Rose of Finland with swords and diamonds, with a loop for wearing as a neck badge. The Coin Cabinet of the National Museum of Finland.

15. Mannerheim's last appearance in uniform, on Remembrance Day, 18 May 1947. The Paavo Friman collection.

with diamonds and above it the sword of the Knight Grand Cross 1st Class of the Order of the Sword.

Why the Swedish sword was given the premier position on this occasion remains an unanswered question. It can perhaps be seen as a tribute to those Swedish volunteers who had been killed in action in the Finnish wars. According to the Swedish statutes, the sword was normally to be worn under the highest star.

When Mannerheim died in January 1951, his body was dressed in the uniform of the Finnish White Guard to which had been attached the only ever awarded Medal of Liberty 1st Class with rosette.²²

Full evening dress

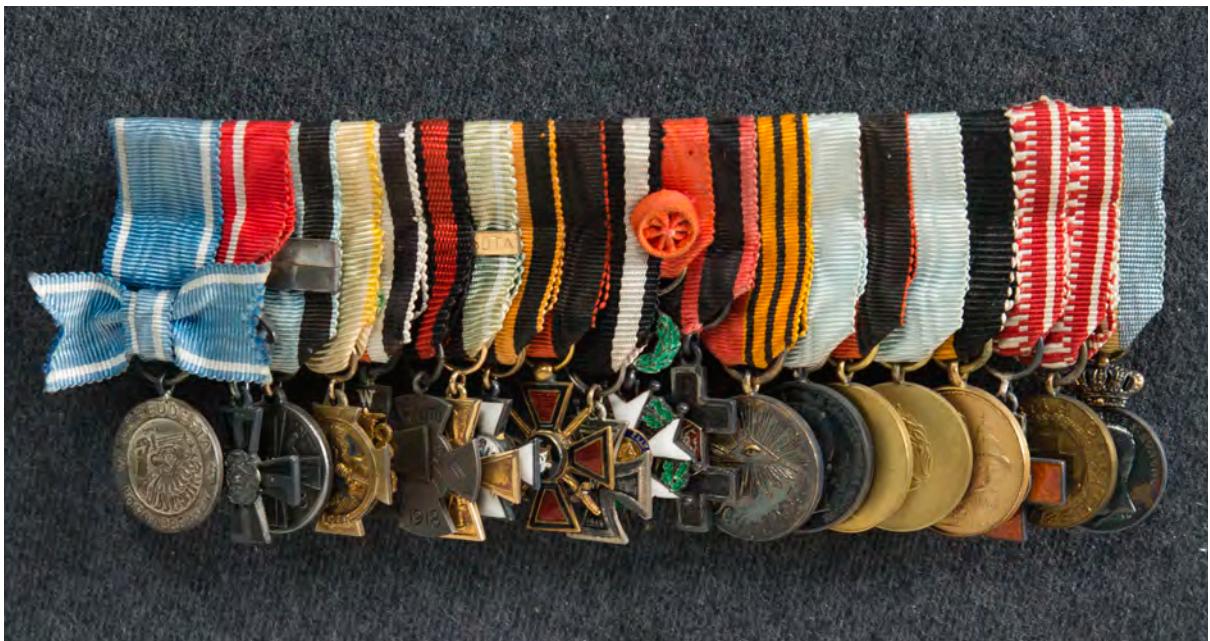
On 31 May 1919, the first academic degree ceremony took place in the independent Finland. Mannerheim, wearing full evening dress with a white waistcoat, became a doctor *honoris causa*. Mannerheim wore the sash of the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty and the Grand Cross of the White Rose of Finland as a neck badge, together with both stars (Illust. 19 on p. 273). The sash, or broad riband, worn under the jacket but over the waistcoat, is a shortened version (Illust. 18) of a full-length riband, and does not pass over the shoulder and down the back of the body as it would if worn on full uniform. The cut riband passes here diagonally across the front of the waistcoat, and the other, short end of the riband rests on the right hip. Mannerheim favoured this British manner of wearing the sash throughout his life.

During the 1920s and 1930s, Mannerheim normally wore with full evening dress the sash of the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty, the Cross of Liberty 1st Class neck badge and the stars of the Cross of Liberty and of the White Rose of Finland. His larger miniature brooch-bar (Illust. 16) included, among the decorations he received after 1917, some of his Russian imperial orders and commemorative medals. The wearing of Russian imperial orders was never forbidden in independent Finland, but in practice very few continued to wear them.²³

On 5 September 1940, at the tercentenary of the University of Helsinki, Mannerheim wore the Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty with swords and diamonds together with the star of the Order of the Seraphim (Illust. 20 on

²² Gustaf Ehrnrooth, 'Ett trettioårsminne', *Veteranen*, 2 (1981), 5.

²³ The wearing of Russian orders outside official occasions had become unpopular in Finland already during the Russification periods, beginning from 1899.



16. Mannerheim's larger miniature brooch-bar, sewn in 1940. The Mannerheim Museum.

17. Mannerheim's shorter miniature brooch-bar. The Mannerheim Museum.



18. The Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty with swords on a shortened sash to the wear with full evening dress. The Mannerheim Museum.





19. Mannerheim in full evening dress on 31 May 1919.
The Kim Söderström collection.



20. Mannerheim at the tercentenary of the
University of Helsinki on 5 September 1940. Central
Archives of the University of Helsinki.



21. Mannerheim's last appearance in full evening
dress with decorations, on 13 September 1949. Foto
Hede/Kaius Hedenström/Apila Oy.

p. 273) thus honouring the Swedish royal decision to found a university on Finnish soil. Obviously, there were Swedes present at this event, among them the Swedish envoy. The miniature brooch-bar was a shorter version, which was worn on evening dress on such occasions in Finland.

After Mannerheim had received the Commemorative Medal of the Winter War in December 1940, it consisted of six decorations (Illust. 17 on p. 271): the Medal of Liberty 1st Class with rosette, the Cross of Liberty 4th Class with swords, the Commemorative Medal of the War of Independence with clasps, the Commemorative Medal of the Winter War with swords and clasp, the Commemorative Medal of the capture of Tampere in gold, and the Cross of Merit of the Defence Corps in gold.

During the latter part of the 1940s, Mannerheim rarely appeared in evening dress. Probably the last time was at the 100th anniversary of the Helsinki University of Technology on 13 September 1949.²⁴ On this occasion Mannerheim wore as neck decorations both the Mannerheim Cross 1st Class and the Grand Cross of the White Rose of Finland with swords and diamonds. The Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty with swords and diamonds was now in its new red ribbon, which had been taken in use following the regulations of 16 December 1940 (Illust. 21). Instead of the normal ends of the sash, the Grand Cross has been attached to the sash with a bow-ribbon of the Cross of Liberty 2nd Class (Illust. 22), in fact an incorrect practice which was in use at least between 1942 and 1945.

22. The Grand Cross of the Cross of Liberty with swords and diamonds on its new red ribbon. The Coin Cabinet of the National Museum of Finland.



²⁴ Klaus Castrén, 'Harvinainen valokuva', *Kaliberi*, 3 (2001), 31.

FAR EASTERN PERSPECTIVES

V



REWARD AS PUNISHMENT – THE USE OF ORDERS IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS: THE CASE OF THE KOREAN EMPIRE

Staffan Rosén

IN MY CONTRIBUTION to a conference in Seoul in 2008 I had the opportunity to discuss, among other things, the role of orders and decorations in the political intercourse between sovereign states. One of the main points in this context is the role of reciprocity in the exchange of orders between sovereign heads of state. In the case of the Korean Emperor Kwangmu 光武 (reigned as King Kojong 1864–1897, as Emperor Kwangmu 光武 1897–1907; and died in 1919, Illust. 1) we could see that he had been decorated with the highest orders by a considerable number of foreign states.¹ To some extent, it was argued, the number of top decorations reflected the degree of international recognition of the new Korean Empire, and that Emperor Kwangmu, unlike his son and successor Emperor Yung Hui 隆熙, (Illust. 2) in this respect was fairly well treated. Emperor Kwangmu held seven foreign senior orders and at least two other very high foreign decorations when he was forced to abdicate in 1907.

Although the absence of decorations from a certain country indeed may also serve as an eloquent witness to the international relations of a sovereign or a country, I would like to draw attention to the emperor's orders from Russia and Denmark. In 1903, Emperor Nicholas II had conferred the highest order of Russia, the Order of St Andrew the First-Called, upon his Korean colleague Emperor Kwangmu. Slightly later the same year King Christian IX (1863–1906) of Denmark appointed Emperor Kwangmu Knight of the Order of the Elephant. This Danish decoration was formally bestowed through a royal ordinance dated 31 August 1903.

1. Emperor Kwangmu (before 1897 King Kojong) of Korea.

¹ That is: France (1895), Japan (1897), Belgium (1901), China (1904) and Germany (1904). The next highest decorations from Italy (1895) and Spain (1900).



2. Emperor Yung Hui (also known as King Sunjong) of Korea.

In relation to Korea these decorations no doubt follow the basic model for international exchange of orders, but the time of their bestowal certainly was no coincidence. The most important actor in the little drama that was to develop around the Danish order was of course Russia. Her relations with Korea in general, and with the Korean Emperor in particular, are well known, and need not be treated in detail here. Suffice it to mention that, because of the political turmoil that had developed as a result of the Russian and Japanese quest for hegemony over the Korean peninsula, the Korean King Kojong 高宗, who later became Emperor Kwangmu, in 1896 had found it necessary and politically suitable to flee from his palace and Japanese threats, and take refuge at the Russian legation in Seoul. The king's wife, Queen Min 閔妃 (1851–1895), had shortly before been murdered in the palace by Japanese intruders.

The king thus ruled his country from the Russian diplomatic mission for about a year, which naturally gave the Russians the upper hand for some time in their political and military competition with the Japanese. When the king finally left his Russian protectors, the political tension between Russia and Japan gradually grew, forcing the Korean government to take the role of a rather impotent beholder of the cruel political game, where Korea's independence and future were at stake.

The Japanese political scheme in Korea was ruthlessly and ably handled, and after the turn of the century the Japanese grip over the Korean economy and gradually also of the state bureaucracy, hardened considerably with every day. It was in these precarious circumstances that the Korean king in 1897 officially promulgated the elevation of his kingdom to an empire, formally au pair with his aggressive neighbours Japan, Russia and China. King Kojong was now restyled as Emperor Kwangmu.

During the first years of the new century it became evident that a major clash between Russia and Japan was due to break out at any moment. In spite of the political and military weakness of the Korean state, and the openly admitted intentions of the Korean government to declare its neutrality in the event of war, Russia obviously found it worthwhile to court the Korean Emperor in an effort to win his sympathies in the face of the pending war. The fact that the Korean monarch received his Order of St Andrew only in 1903 and not considerably earlier, for instance in 1897, no doubt smells of great power cynicism. In 1897, and the years immediately after, Russian politics was not really to any high degree dependent on the Korean monarch, but in 1903, when war was imminent, the situation was quite different. Active Korean participation in the war on the side of the Russians would have considerably enhanced the Russian war effort.

From a Scandinavian point of view the Danish appointment of the Korean Emperor as Knight of the Order of the Elephant may stand out as strange. Denmark hardly had much contact with Korea around the last turn of the century. Nevertheless Denmark, as only Scandinavian country, had already concluded a Friendship, Trade and Shipping Treaty with the Korean Empire on 15 July 1902. In a royal ordinance of 11 July 1906, now in the Danish National Archive, it is clearly stated that the appointment of the Korean emperor as Knight of the Order of the Elephant was a direct consequence of the treaty of 1902.²

From the same ordinance we also learn that in connection with the Danish-Korean negotiations it was decided not only that an exchange of orders between the two monarchs should be made, but also that a number of Korean officials should be decorated with different classes of the Danish Order of the Dannebrog. The most probable explanation for the strong Danish interest in Korea is Denmark's close political and dynastic connections with Russia. The Russian

² The author is deeply indebted to the archivist of the Danish National Archives, Nils G. Bartholdy, for providing me with a copy of this document.

Emperor Alexander III (1881–1894) was married to the daughter of King Christian IX (1863–1906), Princess Dagmar (1847–1928), who later became known under her Russian name as Empress Maria Fedorovna (1881–1894). She was the mother of the last Russian emperor, Nicholas II (1894–1918). The Russian imperial family regularly visited their relatives and in-laws in Copenhagen for many years – a fact that could not but lead to close relations also between the leading government circles of the two countries. It also seems clear that the negotiations between Korea and Denmark were handled through the good offices of the Russian legation in Seoul.³

Consequently it may not be too far off the mark to surmise that the Danish-Korean treaty of 1902 actually came into being through a Russian initiative. At that time it clearly was in the interest of Russia to have the Korean state bound by as many treaties as possible to other European states expected to support Russia morally and diplomatically, if not militarily, in the coming conflict with Japan. Without access to Russian archival materials it is not possible to say anything with certainty about the motives that may have prompted the Russian government to make the Danish government utilise Russian services in order to conclude a treaty. It is not inconceivable that the internationally so prestigious Danish Order of the Elephant may have played a certain part in this suspected Russian plot.

The Russian and Danish decorations involved in the 'Korean case'

When the Russian government finally decided to try to secure the good will of the Korean emperor in 1903 they did so by granting him the most prestigious decoration of the Russian Empire – and indeed one of the most prestigious senior orders in the world – the Order of St Andrew the First-Called. This order had been instituted by Peter I in 1698 as the very first order of the Russian Empire, and during the whole period of its existence until 1917 was bestowed on only about 1 055 persons. It was a highly desired decoration even among the very exclusive group of royalty for whom it was by no means self-evident that their position or title alone would make the Order of St Andrew land on their breast. For foreign monarchs and princes political attitudes and good personal relations often were decisive factors for being included in the exclusive 'band of brothers' that this order in fact constituted.

³ The details of these negotiations still remain to be studied and clarified.

The Danish Order of the Elephant was one of the few European orders that could compete with the Russian Order of St Andrew in terms of high international prestige. This was not due to political influence, but to the impressive age of this decoration, which was founded as early as the middle of the fifteenth century, making it belong to the same group of old European orders as the English Order of the Garter and the Burgundian (later Austrian and Spanish) Order of the Golden Fleece. The second Danish order involved in the Korean case was the Order of the Dannebrog, founded in 1671 (statutes in 1693) by King Christian V (1670–1699). The Dannebrog has five classes and the additional special class of Grand Commander (*Storkommandør*).

The further fate of the Russian and Danish bestowals

According to the internationally accepted rules of reciprocity, discussed in my previous paper (p. 85), both the Russian emperor and the Danish king were to be appointed Grand Crosses of the highest Korean decoration, the Order of the Golden Measure (金尺大綏正章 *Kǔmch'ōk taesujōngjang*, Illust. 3). However, there is no evidence whatsoever that the expected exchange of orders on the highest level ever took place. In the case of Russia, the relevant Russian archives still remain to be properly consulted in order to establish beyond any doubt that Emperor Nicholas II actually never received any Korean order.

What we do know for sure, however, is that no exchange took place between Korea and Denmark. According to the royal ordinance of 11 July 1906, referred to above, there is a reference not only to the appointment of Emperor Kwangmu as a Knight of the Order of the Elephant on 31 August 1903, but also of the fact that this bestowal was the result of formal negotiations between the Korean and the Danish governments. It had been agreed that the Danish appointments should be followed by appropriate reciprocal appointments to the Danish side. In the Danish royal ordinance it is expressly stated that no such appointments ever were issued from Korea, and that as a consequence thereof the Danish insignia were retained in Denmark and never delivered to Seoul.

In July 1906, almost three years after the Korean-Danish agreement, when the Royal ordinance was written, the political situation on the Korean peninsula had changed dramatically. Russia had lost the war with Japan, and been forced to give up her plan of dominating the Korean peninsula. Consequently, Russia no longer had any reason to woo the Korean emperor, and it is unclear whether the Korean monarch in fact ever received his Russian order. However, the details



3. The star of the Order of the Golden Measure.

concerning the fate of the Russian order to the Korean Emperor remain to be clarified.⁴

In the Danish ordinance of 14 July 1906, sent from the Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the king, the matter is clear. This official letter states that:

Due to the then uncertain political circumstances prevailing in Korea, and in expectation of the Korean appointments, the insignia intended for His Majesty the Emperor of Korea and the Korean officials were not handed over to them and are still in the custody of the Danish government. Since Korea now stands under Japanese protection, and since the Korean government still has not made the promised bestowals of decorations, this fact should be considered as a reason for annulling the ongoing Danish appointments, a matter so much more desirable since the political position of the Korean Emperor can hardly be assumed to be of such importance that it might entitle His Majesty to receive the Order of the Elephant.

The letter continues:

I therefore allow myself humbly to suggest that it may please Your Majesty to annul the august rescript of 31 August 1903 in which His Majesty the Emperor of Korea is created Knight of the Order of the Elephant, as well as the august resolution of the 25th of the same month, concerning the bestowed degrees of the Order of the Dannebrog to various Korean officials, namely the Commander 1st class to the Korean Minister for Foreign Affairs, Yi-Do-Tschoi (李道宰 1848–1909), and the Korean Minister of the Court Yun-Chun-Kou, Commander 2nd class to the Director of the Korean Ministry for Foreign Affairs Pi-Eung-Ik, and the Knight Cross to the Secretary of said ministry Whang-Woo-Yung.⁵

⁴ See, however, Ulla Tillander-Godenhielm, *The Russian Imperial Award System 1894–1917* (Helsinki, 2005), 411 n. 83, where a quote from RGIA (Russian State Historical Archive), f. 468, op. 43, delo no. 1015, l. 11, no. 23, reading '05.09.1902 Remade by Gan from No. 22 for non-Christians (with a set of the orders in a case 5086= / 05.09.1902) to the Korean Emperor' at least proves that a set of the orders (including also the proper lesser Imperial orders) in fact was prepared for transport to Seoul. It remains unclear whether Emperor Kojong (or more properly Emperor Kwangmu) really received the Russian insignia. In the *Veritable Records* of this monarch (*Kojong sillok* 高宗實錄) nothing is mentioned about any bestowal of any Russian order, in spite of the fact that such bestowals even to other members of the Imperial family normally are meticulously recorded in the *Records*. Thus, for example, the bestowal of the Belgian Order of Leopold I on the Korean crown prince is briefly but clearly stated in the following manner under the year 1904: '[On the 24th day of the 2nd month] The Belgian Emperor [sic!] bestowed the Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold on the Crown Prince'. Two years earlier, under 1 July, it is recorded: 'The Italian Emperor [sic!] bestowed a Grand Cross'. From the context it is obvious that the recipient was the Korean emperor himself.

⁵ According to Jørgen Pedersen, *Riddere af Elefantordenen 1559–2009* (Odense, 2009), 327, there is an annotation in the *Stambog* which reads as follows: 'Annuleret ifølge allh. Resolution af 18 Juli 1906. Dekorationen indk. d: 19/12 – 1906' (Annulled according to the Highest Resolution of 18 July 1906. The decoration was received ('arrived') on 19 December 1906.). It remains unclear from

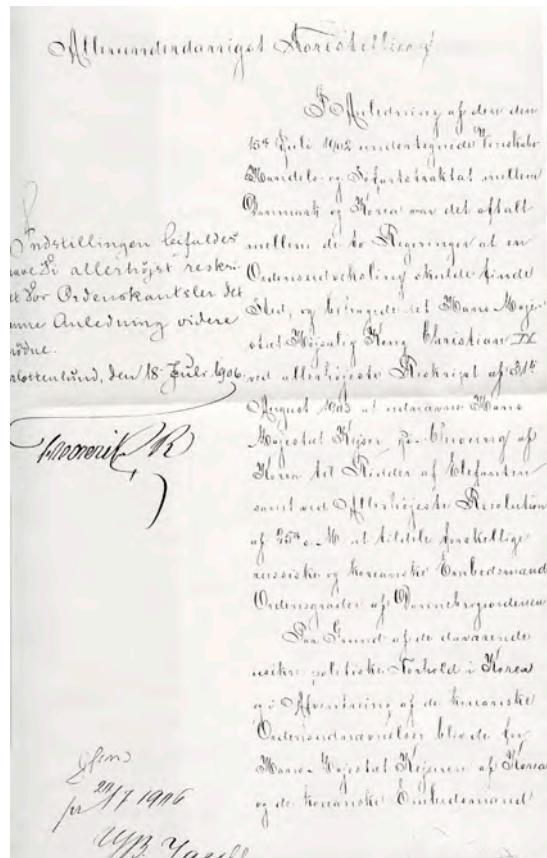
In the left margin of the handwritten document is the royal approval of the annullments, signed by the new King Frederick VIII (r. 1906–1912).

It seems obvious that the exchange of orders between Korea and Denmark, and possibly also Russia, had been delayed due to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904. Once the war was over, the political map had changed dramatically, and in spite of the fact that Korea still formally was an independent empire she no longer was looked upon as such, due to the overwhelming Japanese influence.

Possibly with Russia as a model, the Danish government undertook the highly unusual – and one might add unfriendly – measure of annulling an already made appointment of its highest decoration (Illust. 4). Korea was punished, as it were, for its present state of affairs, notwithstanding the fact the Korean government at the outbreak of the war had duly declared itself neutral. In Russian eyes, and therefore probably also in Danish eyes, this was no longer a valid excuse for keeping up friendly relations with the now politically imprisoned Korean emperor. Nevertheless, in an international and diplomatic perspective the Danish action must be considered as an extraordinarily harsh measure with few parallels in Denmark and elsewhere, at least as far as sovereigns not at war with each other are concerned.⁶

where the insignia were received: from Korea or from the Danish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, where they had been retained for diplomatic and political reasons? In the light of what has been said in the relevant documents quoted above, the later version seems most plausible.

6 There were, however, a few parallels involving some German and German-allied sovereigns during the First World War, for instance, Emperor William II of Germany, Crown Prince Wilhelm of Germany, Prince Heinrich of Germany, Grand Duke Ernst Ludwig of Hessen Rhein, Duke Karl Edward of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Duke Ernst August of Cumberland, and Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria all were removed from the Order of the Garter on 13 May 1915. None of them was ever reinstated. In connection with Second World War, King Vittorio Emanuele III of Italy was removed from the same order in 1940. Only the Showa Emperor, who was removed in 1941, was reinstated in his former dignity.



4. An ordinance, signed by the king of Denmark in 1906, annulling the 1903 appointments of Koreans as knights and commanders of the Danish orders. The Danish National Archives.

A Japanese sequel

In this context, however, it seems difficult to avoid mentioning a similar case in more recent times. In the 1920s the Japanese crown prince, and from 1926 the Showa Emperor, was created Knight of the prestigious British Order of the Garter. In 1941, when war broke out between Britain and Japan, the Japanese emperor was officially deprived of his British knighthood. His banner was removed from St George's Chapel, Windsor, and the emperor was declared no longer a knight of the order. After the war and the 'reorganization' of the political system of Japan, the emperor was eventually reinstated as a Knight of the Garter on 22 May 1971. During the state visit of the Imperial couple to Great Britain in 1971, the Showa Emperor was seen wearing the insignia of the Garter during the gala dinner with Queen Elizabeth II (Illust. 5).

Thus, senior orders may reflect the changing political situations, having the capacity to be used in an inter-state context both as reward and punishment – and this in a much ritualized form! As the 'Korean case' demonstrates, they even to some extent at the same time may serve as the cause and the instrument of political intrigue.

5. Queen Elizabeth II and Emperor Hirohito with members of the royal families in London 1971. Kyodo/AP.



THE HONOURS AND AWARDS SYSTEM AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DIPLOMACY IN JAPANESE–RUSSIAN AND JAPANESE–SOVIET RELATIONS

Oleg N. Rozanov

AN EFFECTIVE AND WELL-DEVELOPED awards and honours system is an integral part of any modern state. The essence and history of such a system reflect the history of the country, its policy and diplomacy.

In Japan, the modern awards and honours system was established in 1875 under Emperor Meiji in the context of large-scale reforms. From the very beginning this system was supposed to be used not only domestically, but also in the interests of foreign policy and diplomacy. With this in mind, let us review – in chronological order – the history of mutual awarding between Japan and the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation.

The general rules for awarding foreigners were officially approved in Japan in 1888. Their main principles were the following. The highest award, the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum (Illust. 1) was an award for monarchs and other heads of state. The majority of foreigners awarded Japanese orders were foreign diplomats, primarily heads of missions. They were given these awards as a token of appreciation for their efforts during their official stay in Japan. Typically, the awarding ceremony took place just prior to their departure from Japan. Other foreign subjects and citizens were awarded for work and activities that were perceived to be in Japan's national interests. The class of the order was determined according to the person's official and social status.¹

In 1880, before these rules were implemented, the Russian Emperor Alexander II and his son, the future Emperor Alexander III, while he was still Tsarevich, were awarded the Order of the Rising Sun, 1st Class, Grand Cordon (Illust. 2),

¹ *Kunsho* (Tokyo, 1976), 93.



1. The insignia of the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum.

2. The insignia of the Order of the Rising Sun, 1st Class, Grand Cordon.

the first Japanese order, instituted in 1875.² As for whether either of them was awarded the Order of the Chrysanthemum, no reliable evidence exists to support such a claim. Research is complicated, due to insufficient data in the service records of the Russian emperors preserved in the archives. The same insufficiency applies to the service records of the grand dukes. Incidentally, the female part of the imperial family had no service records at all.

The last Russian Emperor, Nicholas II, received the Order of the Rising Sun, 1st Class, Grand Cordon in 1882, while still being Tsarevich, from a high-ranking Japanese mission participating in the Coronation of his father.

Nicholas II was decorated with the Order of the Chrysanthemum under much more dramatic circumstances. During his visit to Japan in 1891, he was unexpectedly attacked by a local policeman in the city of Otsu. The officer tried to strike Nicholas twice with a sword, managing to inflict a head wound. The

² А. М. Гаврилова, *Державные кавалеры: Иностранные ордена российских императоров – Sovereign Knights: Foreign Orders of Russian Emperors* (Москва, 2010), 244, 246.

third blow would have been fatal, had it not been for the two brave local rickshaw drivers charged with transporting the Emperor's guest: they resolutely put themselves in harm's way and knocked down the perpetrator. After the incident, Nicholas's stay in Japan was cut short. Trying to make amends, Emperor Meiji showed unprecedented personal courtesy to the Tsarevich. Among other things, he decorated Nicholas with the Order of the Chrysanthemum. Alongside Nicholas, Russian admirals and naval officers accompanying him on the trip also received Japanese orders.

The two rickshaw drivers who had saved the Tsarevich received Russian medals with the ribbons of the Order of St Anne. The Russian government also granted them substantial one-time monetary rewards, as well as life-time pensions equivalent to the annual income of a Japanese member of parliament.³ These pensions were paid out regularly without fail, with the sole exception of a brief interruption during the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese war.

In 1913, the Russian embassy in Tokyo received an unconfirmed report that the two rickshaw drivers, who allegedly suffered from alcoholism, had died. A diplomat was dispatched to the village where they lived to verify the information. Two local individuals were presented to him by the villagers to counter the rumour, although as he reported later, he could not be entirely sure of their true identity.⁴

The spouses of the last two Russian emperors received the Orders of the Precious Crown, first class, Grand Cordon – the supreme Japanese order for women.⁵ Until the revolution of 1917, three Russian grand dukes were awarded the Orders of the Chrysanthemum and two grand dukes received the Orders of the Rising Sun, 1st Class, Grand Cordon.

The Japanese regularly awarded Russian diplomats as a sign of a friendly attitude to the neighbouring country. Starting with the first permanent Russian diplomatic envoy to Japan, the Orders of the Rising Sun, 1st Class, Grand Cordon were usually conferred on the chiefs of the diplomatic mission of the Russian Empire. In 1881, the same Order was awarded to Admiral E. Putyatin, who in 1855 – twenty years before the establishment of this first Japanese order – concluded the first Russo-Japanese trade and border treaty.

³ Пётр Эдуардович Подаенко, *Япония в судьбах россиян* (Москва, 2004), 35.

⁴ G. A. Lensen (ed.), *Revelations of a Russian Diplomat: The Memoirs of Dmitrii I. Abrikossow* (Seattle, 1964), 216.

⁵ Гаврилова, *Державные кавалеры*, 246, 247.

In general, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and up until the hostilities of 1904–1905, Tokyo used its award system very actively in promoting and developing its relationship with Russia. During this period Japanese orders were conferred on Minister of Finance S. Witte, Minister of Home Affairs I. Durnovo, and Steward of the Imperial Household B. Stürmer. In subsequent years, these three individuals would become prime ministers of the Russian Empire. Apart from them, three war ministers, a chief of staff and a superintendent of the Naval Ministry were decorated, as well as one general and one admiral who would subsequently serve as the Russian war and navy ministers, respectively.

During the same period, three Russian ministers of foreign affairs and two officials who would serve in the same capacity in later years, as well as ministers of agriculture and railways, also received Japanese orders.

Sixteen of the above-mentioned nineteen top civil servants of the Russian Empire were awarded the Order of the Rising Sun, 1st Class, Grand Cordon. One of the ministers for foreign affairs (N. Girs) received an even higher award: the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun, with Paulownia Flowers. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that he had already received the Order of the Rising Sun, 1st Class, Grand Cordon nine years earlier, while serving as a deputy foreign minister. Future ministers of war and navy were awarded the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 3rd Class and the Order of the Rising Sun, 4th Class, respectively.

The Order of the Rising Sun, 1st Class, Grand Cordon was conferred on some top officials directly involved in the activities of the Russian imperial court. Among them there were the chief of security of the emperor and chancellor of Russian imperial orders, the supreme marshal of the coronation of Alexander III and governor-general of Moscow, the superintendent of the Ministry of the Imperial Court and others.

Japanese orders were also awarded to Russian civil servants on a lower level. For instance, in 1903 the Order of the Rising Sun, 2nd Class, was conferred on the representative of the Ministry of Finance attached to the diplomatic mission in Tokyo; the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 1st Class – on the director of the department of customs, tariffs and duties at the Ministry of Finance.

Japan used its awarding system for political and diplomatic ends in the Russian Far East as well. For instance, the Order of the Rising Sun, 1st Class, Grand Cordon was conferred on two successive commanders of the Russian Naval Fleet in the Far East and on two successive governor-generals of the Amur administrative region.

Orders were also awarded to some mid-level Far Eastern Russian officials. For example, in 1903 the Head of the Vladivostok Post and Telegraph Office received the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 3rd Class for the uninterrupted and timely delivery of correspondence from Japan. Head of one of the districts of the Sakhalin Island and a local agriculture inspector received the same Orders, 3rd and 4th Class, accordingly.

The Russian Empire also used its awarding system in its relations with Japan. In 1875, the St Petersburg Treaty between Russia and Japan was concluded. Japan recognized Russia's sovereignty rights for the Island of Sakhalin. Russia conceded the Kuril Islands to Japan. After signing this treaty the Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs proposed awards to the Japanese who participated in the negotiations. Thus, Minister for Foreign Affairs M. Terajima received the Order of St Anne, 1st Class. According to Japanese scholars, he became the first recipient of a foreign order in the history of Japan.⁶ Minister for the Development of New Territories and a future Japanese Prime Minister K. Kuroda received the Order of St Stanislaus, 1st Class. Five other high-ranking members of the Japanese delegation received the Order of St Anne, 2nd and 3rd Class, and St Stanislaus, 3rd Class.

After the implementation of the St Petersburg Treaty in 1879, Alexander II conferred on Emperor Meiji the highest award of the Russian Empire, the Order of St Andrew. State Chancellor of Japan S. Sanjo and Vice-Chancellor T. Iwakura received the Order of the White Eagle. According to the diplomatic protocol, Japanese representatives at the coronations of the Emperors Alexander III and Nicholas II also received Russian orders.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, bilateral relations between the military forces of both countries were rather active as well. Thus, in 1903, the Russian General Staff initiated the awarding of the Japanese War Minister Lieutenant General M. Terauchi with the Order of the White Eagle and the military and naval attaché in China, Captain 2nd rank Mori, with the Order of St Stanislaus, 2nd Class.

Interestingly, some Russian state awards were conferred on private individuals in Japan. In 1880, for instance, in response to the proposal of the Russian

⁶ J. Togashi, *Kunsho* (Osaka, 1972), 113.

chargé d'affaires and consul General K. Struve, ten Japanese individuals received medals for rescuing the Russian crew of a shipwreck in 1877 near the island of Hokkaido.

With the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904, mutual awarding came to a halt. However, in the aftermath of the war, bilateral relations improved considerably. In 1907–1908, Japan again started conferring awards on high-ranking Russian officials. From then on and up until the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, Japanese orders were conferred on two prime ministers, one of them acting and one would-be, two war ministers, a navy minister, two ministers for foreign affairs, and a minister of trade.

This improvement in bilateral relations was reflected in Japanese attitudes towards the Russian military and naval officers and servicemen who perished in the battlefields of the recent Russo-Japanese war. At the beginning of the 1910s, Japanese and Russians collaborated in a joint effort to locate the places of burial of Russian soldiers in Korea, and to transfer their remains to Russia. Around the same time, the remains of Russian sailors were raised from the debris of the battleship *Petropavlovsk*. Later they were given a special ceremonial burial in the city of Port Arthur, which was under Japanese jurisdiction. The Russian ambassador in Tokyo reported back to St Petersburg that Japanese military and civilian officials exhibited utmost tact and consideration throughout the procedures and ceremonies. Later in accordance with his proposals, twenty one Japanese officials were awarded the Orders of St Anne and of St Stanislaus, some of them receiving the 1st Classes.

Sometimes the awarding of Japanese individuals was initiated by Russian military attachés in Tokyo. Thus, in accordance with the proposal from Colonel V. Samoilov, the Order of St Stanislaus, 2nd Class, was given to Lieutenant Colonel G. Tanaka of the Japanese General Staff for his assistance in helping to repatriate Russian religious objects, which had been left behind after the capitulation of Port Arthur in January 1905. When explaining his reasons for suggesting the award, Samoilov emphasized that Tanaka had been co-operating with the Russian military attaché for a long time, providing him with valuable intelligence. Russian Minister Plenipotentiary Y. Bakhmetev supported the proposal, noting that the award could be instrumental in encouraging G. Tanaka to expand the scope of his cooperation.⁷

⁷ Voennyi Agent (Japan), Box no. 1–16 (M.P. Podtiagin collection). Hoover Institution, Stanford University, USA. File 3/3, 432, 433.

At the time, due to the complexity of the Japanese language and lack of qualified Japan specialists, Russian military attaches in Tokyo were in desperate need of capable and trustworthy native interpreters. Thus, in 1908, Colonel Samoilov put forward to the General Staff a proposal to award a Japanese interpreter, M. Kawasumi, with the Order of St Stanislaus, 3rd Class for his efforts and diligence during his fourteen years of service.

When the First World War broke out, St Petersburg began considering Japan as an ally. In January 1916, the Grand Duke Georgy, a cousin of Nicholas II, visited Tokyo to participate in the Coronation of Emperor Taisho. The Order of St Andrew was conferred on the emperor. One of the most influential Japanese politicians, Marshal A. Yamagata, received the Order of St Alexander Nevskii. Nevertheless the spouse of the Grand Duke wrote in her diary that in spite of all these friendly gestures, the sight of Japanese officials prominently decorated with the highest Japanese orders for the past victory over Russia caused Georgy considerable discomfort and distress.

In the summer of 1916, the Russian and Japanese Empires signed the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Aid, but the rapprochement between the two countries proved short-lived, interrupted by the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

The difficult and at times hostile relationship between Japan and Soviet Russia between October 1917 and the middle of the 1950s was not at all conducive for mutual awarding. Japan was one of the leading foreign powers participating in the military intervention in the Russian Far East from 1918 to 1922. However, even during the calamities of the intervention and the Russian civil war, one notable – if somewhat peculiar – case of awarding took place. A Japanese military officer, Major Takeda, who was attached to the troops of Ataman (Cossack Chieftain) G. Semyonov, at one of the crucial moments of a battle against the Red Army took command of a battalion and led it in attack. He was awarded the Order of St George, 4th Class, of a special modification established by Semyonov for his armed forces.⁸

After the end of the Russian civil war and of the Japanese intervention in the Far East, the relations between the two countries continued to be strained. Japan suspected the Soviet Union of 'subversive communist activities'. Moscow

⁸ Г. М. Семёнов, *О себе: воспоминания* (Москва, 1999), 164.

had grave concerns over Japanese support for White Russian emigrant and anti-Soviet organizations in Manchuria and Japan. Among the factors that further aggravated bilateral relations were escalating Japanese military aggression in Asia, armed conflicts with the Soviet Union at Lake Khasan and the Khalkhin-Gol River, and the alliance of Japan with Nazi Germany.

With the surrender of Japan in 1945 its awards system effectively collapsed. It was only revived after the end of the American occupation at the restoration of full-fledged statehood and proper political institutions.

In October 1956, the Soviet Union and Japan signed a joint declaration in order to end the state of war and to re-establish diplomatic relations. Among other things, this created opportunities for mutual awarding. The first Soviet citizens who received Japanese orders were former Russian emigrants – permanent residents in Japan who had been granted Soviet passports soon after the Second World War.

In March 1957, the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 5th Class, was posthumously conferred on Professor of Foreign Languages at Tokyo University, A. Michurin, 'for great merits in teaching the Russian language during six years and six months'. In 1959, Professor A. Ono-Bubnova received the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 4th Class, for her merits in teaching music during her forty-year stay in Japan. In 1968, Professor of Foreign Languages at Kobe University, O. Pletner, received the same order for his merits in teaching the Russian language and on the occasion of the centenary of the Meiji era.

After that Tokyo started awarding Soviet citizens who were not permanent residents in Japan. From 1969 to 1972 Japanese awards of high class were bestowed on three prominent citizens of the USSR. In February 1969, the Order of the Rising Sun, 2nd Class, was conferred on a famous Soviet orientalist, Deputy Chairman of the USSR-Japan Friendship Society, and full Member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, N. Conrad, for his merits in teaching the Japanese language and promoting Japanese culture.

In March 1971, a Soviet government representative at the world exhibition EXPO-70 in Osaka, B. Borisov, received the Silver Cup with the Chrysanthemum Crest (three-fold) for his valuable contribution to the success of the Exhibition. The Silver Cup (Illust. 3) is a peculiar instrument of the Japanese award system which is rarely used, especially for foreigners. Official relations between



the two countries were not particularly cordial at the time and the Japanese most probably considered the Cup to be more appropriate than an order for a Soviet official. Nevertheless, as the three-fold Silver Cup with the Chrysanthemum Crest is roughly equivalent in its status to a high-level Japanese order, it would not be far-fetched to suggest that given the circumstances Mr Borisov received very high recognition.

In July 1972, the Order of the Sacred Treasure, 1st Class, Grand Cordon, was bestowed on M. Nesterov, the Chairman of the USSR-Japan Friendship Society and the former Head of Trade and Industry Chamber of the USSR from 1944 till 1970 for his merits in promoting bilateral cultural and trade ties. Interestingly, Mr Nesterov remains to this day the only Russian national awarded this Japanese Order 1st Class after 1917.

Considering the official position and social status of the three above-mentioned Soviet citizens and the level of the awards they received, their awarding can be interpreted as a clear indication on the part of the Japanese authorities of their intention to develop good and long-standing relations with the Soviet Union.

Since the beginning of the 1970s, Moscow gradually started to use its awards system to promote relations with Japan as well. Evidently, it was decided that at the initial stage the awards should be of a humanitarian nature. With this in mind, the Soviet authorities recalled the heroic actions by Japanese fishermen from the island of Hokkaido, who in 1939 rescued many passengers after the tragic shipwreck of the Soviet vessel *Indigirka* in the La Perouse Strait. In 1971 and 1972, in accordance with the two decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme

3. The Silver Cup with the Chrysanthemum Crest (three-fold).

Soviet, eighteen Japanese (three of them posthumously) received the Medal for Rescuing the Drowning,⁹ one of the official state awards of the USSR.

From the late 1970s, the Soviet Union started to confer its orders on those Japanese citizens who had been instrumental in fostering friendly relations between the two countries, as well as on ideologically close public figures. The Order of Friendship of Peoples (Illust. 4) was conferred on the president of the Japanese Association for Cultural Exchanges with Foreign Countries, a vice-president of the Japan-USSR Society, and the president of the Association of Japanese-Soviet Trade. In 1987, on the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Order of the October Revolution, the second highest order in the USSR, was bestowed on S. Nosaka, Honorary Chairman of the Communist Party of Japan.¹⁰

In December 1990, an extraordinary event occurred in Russian-Japanese relations. The first Japanese cosmonaut, T. Akiyama, took part in a flight to an outer space orbital station together with four Soviet cosmonauts. He had spent one full year prior to the flight training at the Soviet Space Research Center. After the flight, Akiyama and his compatriot and colleague Ms R. Kikuchi, who had trained as his back-up, were awarded the Order of Friendship of Peoples.¹¹

The last Japanese to receive the Soviet Order of Friendship of Peoples in 1991 was the film director and the holder of several 'Academy Awards', the so-called 'Oscars', Akira Kurosawa. One of his 'Oscars' was won in 1976 for the film *Dersu Uzala*, which he had directed in the USSR, in co-operation with the Soviet film studio Mosfilm. Kurosawa was decorated 'for his personal merits in promoting cultural relations between the Soviet Union and Japan'.¹²

As for Japan, after the above-mentioned initial awarding of three Soviet citizens in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and up until the collapse of the Soviet Union, it conferred orders on only four individuals. All of them were orders of 4th Class and all recipients were female. Two of them were permanent residents in Japan, teaching Russian language and literature in Tokyo. Two others were specialists in Japanese language and literature. Both the limited number of recipients and

⁹ Указы Президиума Верховного Совета СССР, no. 2079-VIII of 30 August 1971, no. 2618-VIII of 16 February 1972.

¹⁰ TASS news agency, 13 September 1987.

¹¹ Указ Президента СССР, no. УП-1149 of 10 December 1990.

¹² Указ Президента СССР, no. УП-1605 of 12 March 1991.



4. The USSR Order of Friendship of Peoples. The National Museum of Finland.

the nature of their professional expertise underscored Japan's fairly reserved attitude to its Communist neighbour.

After the new Russian Federation was formed, Tokyo and Moscow recommenced mutual awarding in 1993. Nevertheless, in the 1990s the professional specialization of those Russians who received Japanese orders did not change much, and their numbers remained insignificant. The Orders of the Rising Sun and of the Sacred Treasure, mostly 4th and 5th Class, were conferred on specialists on Japan engaged in teaching, academic research and the promotion of the Japanese culture in Russia.

In contrast, in the 1990s the Russian authorities used the award system much more actively than Tokyo. In 1993, the Russian Order of Friendship of Peoples was given to the President of the Association of the Former Japanese Prisoners of War in the USSR, R. Saito. The same order was conferred on a Vice-President of the Mitsubishi Shoji Company, N. Kuroki, 'for his merits in organizing the marathon rally Paris–Moscow–Beijing' in 1992. The award to Saito was probably meant to show a new approach by the Russian leadership to the problem of Japanese POWs. With regard to Kuroki, the awarding seems to have happened mostly by chance.

In 1994 yet another award – this time of a somewhat bizarre and peculiar nature – was conferred on the same Mr Saito: the medal 'For the Construction of the Baikal–Amur railway'. This medal had been established in the USSR as a state award, almost twenty years before. The medal, according to its statute, was to award those who had worked with diligence constructing the railway for at least three years.¹³ It can be assumed that in the case of Mr Saito, this was the interpretation applied to his forced construction labour in Siberia in his days as a prisoner of war.

In March 1994, the Order of Friendship of Peoples was modified into the Order of Friendship. The new order became the main instrument in awarding foreign citizens. In 1995, the Order of Friendship was conferred on several Japanese politicians, including two former ministers of foreign affairs, who assumed the positions of chairmen of organizations promoting friendly relations with Russia. The same order was also given to the chief of the administration of the village of Sarafutsu: among the fishermen of this village were those who had rescued

¹³ Сборник законодательных актов о государственных наградах СССР (Москва, 1987), 116–117.

the passengers of the *Indigirka* in 1939. Among those awarded, was a Japanese businessman, who financially supported the measures to overcome the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear power station disaster.

In 1998, the Order of Friendship was given to a Japanese citizen, K. Matsumoto, who was a staff member of the ITAR-TASS news agency bureau in Tokyo. He had worked constantly in the bureau since 1948 without a single vacation. In the 1950s, when the Soviet personnel of the bureau temporarily left Japan, Mr Matsumoto was instrumental in keeping the property of the agency in Japan intact.¹⁴

During the first decade of the twenty-first century, both Japan and Russia used their award systems for the mutual awarding of their citizens rather actively. One impetus for this was the implementation of reforms to the Japanese awards system at the beginning of this century. As a result, Tokyo once again put an emphasis on awarding foreigners.

Since 2001, Russians have received Japanese orders annually. From 2001 to 2010, there were a total of 27 Russian recipients. 24 individuals received different classes of the Order of the Rising Sun, including 2nd and 3rd Class. Three Russians received the Order of the Sacred Treasure. The recipients were mainly specialists on Japan, working in the area of humanities and education (11 persons), or engaged in artistic and cultural activities (9 persons). Four recipients worked in organizations promoting Russian-Japanese friendship. Some of the 27 recipients are world-famous: conductors G. Rozhdestvensky and V. Gergiev; a musician, M. Rostropovich; director of the Hermitage Museum, M. Piotrovsky, and Rector of the Moscow State University, V. Sadovnichy.

As for Russia, from 2000 to 2010 its orders were conferred on 24 Japanese citizens, 23 of them received the Order of Friendship. Among them was a former prime minister, a former chairman of the Lower Chamber of the Parliament and deputy prime minister, a former minister of foreign affairs, a former UN high commissioner on refugees (Ms S. Ogata), and other people engaged in social, cultural and business activities. In January 2006, the Order of Honour was given to Captain 1st rank of the Japanese Navy, K. Kinoshita, as a token of respect and recognition of Japan's cooperation in the rescue of the Russian bathyscaphe and its crew offshore Kamchatka peninsula in August 2005.¹⁵

¹⁴ TASS news agency, 17.2.1999.

¹⁵ *Коммерсантъ*, 13 January 2006.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Medal of Pushkin, which has the status of a state award of Russia, was given to nine Japanese individuals for promoting Russian culture and language in Japan.

As we see in the case of Japan's relations with the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation, the awards and honours system of Japan has been an important instrument of its foreign policy and diplomacy. This system has been actively used for developing relations with other countries. During the first decades of its existence, the awards were conferred mostly on sovereigns and members of their families, foreign diplomats, top-level officials and officers of friendly armed forces. From the second half of the twentieth century, foreigners from other strata of the society began to receive Japanese orders more and more frequently.

This process was part and parcel of the broader efforts to 'democratize' the political system of Japan and to increase Tokyo's constructive engagement in world affairs. As Japan works further to secure and expand its role in the world and its high international status, the role and prominence of Japanese awards and honours system is bound to increase.

CURRENT PRACTICES

VI



THE DIPLOMATIC USE OF ORDERS TODAY – SOME VIEWS FROM FINLAND

Mikko Jokela

Early stages

WHEN FINLAND DECLARED independence in December 1917 it had many of the institutions of an independent state from the period of the autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. However, the newly-born republic did not have, for instance, its own defence forces or a ministry for foreign affairs. Neither were there Finnish orders. The Cross of Liberty was introduced soon after the declaration of independence, in March 1918, whereas the Order of the Cross of Liberty was established as late as 1940. The Order of the White Rose of Finland was established in January 1919, by the decision of Gustaf Mannerheim, then Regent of Finland. The third of the Finnish Orders, the Order of the Lion of Finland, was established during the war time, in 1942.

The Cross of Liberty had been conferred on both Finnish and foreign diplomats in 1918. Foreign states started sending diplomats to Finland from 1918 onwards. When these first envoys left Helsinki, it was natural that their decoration with a Finnish order was considered part of normal diplomatic practice. One of the first foreign diplomats who received a Finnish order during a state visit was Counsellor Gustaf von Dardel (Illust. 1), who was appointed Commander 1st Class of the Order of the White Rose of Finland on the occasion of the visit General Mannerheim made as Regent to Sweden in February 1919. Later, in 1946, when serving as Head of Mission in Copenhagen, von Dardel received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion of Finland for services rendered to Finland, as Sweden had acted as protecting state for Finland in Copenhagen.

'Old' and 'new' diplomacy and decorations

Traditional diplomacy concentrated on bilateral relations between states, and diplomats mainly worked in ministries for foreign affairs and in the missions of

1. Ambassador Gustaf von Dardel (1882–1974) in his ambassadorial uniform wearing the insignia of the Commander of the Order of St Olav (neck badge) and the collars of the Grand Crosses of the Orders of the Dannebrog (1945) and of the Polar Star (1931). Among the stars are those of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion of Finland (1946) and Commander 1st Class of the Order of the White Rose of Finland (1919). Ambassador von Dardel received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Dannebrog with star with diamonds on 9 May 1945, just days after the liberation of Denmark. Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden.

their governments abroad. Particularly diplomats working in and for monarchies could count on being decorated in various postings during their careers. Numerous republics that were born particularly in the aftermath of the First World War, adapted a system of orders as an instrument for rewarding distinguished citizens and civil servants like diplomats. For diplomats, who attended official ceremonies and were dressed formally, wearing decorations was a normal part of their work.

In the latter half of the twentieth century the United Nations and its special agencies, programmes and funds led the way to multilateral diplomacy, the so-called 'new diplomacy'. In the work of international organizations diplomats could now work for their whole careers concentrating on specific policy issues like disarmament, trade negotiations and treaty negotiations of all kinds. A diplomat who devoted his or her whole career to multilateral work did not have equal access to being decorated because international organizations do not have orders, the rewarding instruments of 'old diplomacy'. Diplomats of the multilateral school have since then mainly received decorations from their own heads of state.

With some exaggeration it can be said that whereas the 'old diplomacy' paid a great deal of attention both to substance and appearance, the 'new diplomacy' for its part concentrates more pointedly on substance and is less concentrated with appearance.

Principles on decorating foreign diplomats serving in Finland

Foreign citizens may receive a Finnish order for outstanding merits. The decoration process concerning foreign citizens, including diplomats, is prepared by the Protocol Services of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, for presentation to the Chapter of the Orders of the White Rose of Finland and of the Lion of Finland.¹ The role of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in matters related to granting Finnish orders to foreign citizens is backed up by the fact that the Secretary of State of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs is a member of the Chapter of the Orders. The final decision in matters concerning Finnish or foreign citizens is made by the President of the Republic, in his/her capacity as the Grand Master of the Orders.

¹ The basic guidelines of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs with regard to the conferral of Finnish orders on diplomats and other foreigners have been outlined in *Maassa maan tavalla – tunne säännöt ja onnistu: Ulkoasiainministeriön protokollapalvelut* (Helsinki, 2008), 42–44, 60.

For different reasons the number of Finnish orders bestowed on foreign diplomats who have served in Helsinki is quite limited. One of the main reasons for the variety in numbers, is that the rotation speed of diplomats serving in Helsinki varies from one year to another. Thus, excluding ambassadors, there were seven Finnish orders in different categories that diplomats leaving Helsinki received in 2007. In comparison, just one Knight 1st Class of the Lion of Finland was awarded to a foreign diplomat in 2010.

Since 2000 annually 2–7 ambassadors, who have served in Helsinki, have received a Finnish order at the end of their term. In most cases the ambassadors have received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion of Finland. Commander 1st Class of the Order of the White Rose of Finland has been bestowed on some ambassadors, mainly for reasons of balanced reciprocity or sometimes, exceptionally, even when there is no reciprocity, after the return of the ambassador to his home country (Illust. 2).



2. Pekka Lintu, Finnish Ambassador to the United States (right), investing Eric Edelman, US Ambassador to Helsinki in 1998–2001, with the insignia of the Commander 1st Class of the Order of the Lion of Finland, in June 2009. Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Finland.

A basic precondition for diplomats serving in Finland to be decorated with a Finnish order is that there is reciprocity with the country concerned in the practice of decorating diplomats. This means that Finnish diplomats who meet the basic requirements can be decorated in the countries where they have served. To prove that there is a functioning reciprocity, the Protocol Services of the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs collects information on whether and how diplomats returning to Helsinki after their service abroad have been decorated, particularly Finnish ambassadors after they have left their posting. Reciprocity is also followed in the type or level of decorations Finnish diplomats receive for their service in foreign capitals.

3. The insignia of the Order of the Lion of Finland: Grand Cross, Commander 1st Class (ribbon for women), Commander, Knight 1st Class, Knight. Copyright © The Chancery of the Orders of the White Rose of Finland and of the Lion of Finland/Studio Fotonokka Oy.

Presently there are 61 Embassies in Helsinki. The number of personnel with diplomatic status is approximately 500. Ambassadors stay in Helsinki on average for three years. This means that roughly one-third of the ambassadors leave Helsinki annually. The rotation has lately been somewhat faster than it used to be. Ambassadors rarely stay longer than five years in one posting and terms lasting two to three years are not exceptional.

The minimum time of service for an ambassador in Helsinki to become eligible for decoration is three years for resident ambassadors. For non-resident ambassadors the minimum time is five years. Ambassadors usually receive the Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion of Finland (Illust. 3), and are invested with the Grand Cross by the President of the Republic at the farewell audience.

Finnish orders bestowed on foreign diplomats – usually the Order of the Lion of Finland – in other service categories are the following:

- Commander 1st Class for Ministers and Chargés d’Affaires
- Commander for Minister Counsellors and Counsellors
- Knight 1st Class for First and Second Secretaries
- Knight for Third Secretaries.

Excluding the ambassadors, diplomats from other service categories receive their orders through Finnish embassies, usually in a ceremony organized by the ambassador of Finland.

Even if some of the ambassadors and other diplomats serving in Helsinki would basically be eligible to be decorated with a Finnish order, there may be national limitations for civil servants that prevent them from receiving any foreign



orders during the time they are in service, and in some cases also after they have concluded their service. This means that already before an order is proposed to a diplomat, it must be ascertained whether the diplomat is able to receive a foreign order. Another basic requirement, naturally valid for both domestic and foreign candidates, is that they have an impeccable record of service.

A special feature of Finnish orders that foreign citizens have received is that since 2008 there is no longer an obligation to return the insignia after the death of the recipient. This means that orders can now be kept by the heirs, and that Finnish embassies no longer have the duty to contact families after the recipients have passed away. It seems that this practice is unique. Most countries state in the documents following the order that the order has to be returned after the death of the recipient. Another, albeit exceptional, alternative is that the heirs can purchase the order for a given, rather high price.

State visits and the exchange of orders

Heads of state meet today on various occasions: at conferences, anniversary festivities of all kinds, family events, and so on. Only a small part of the meetings of the heads of state gives ground for the exchange of orders between the delegations of the visiting and the receiving country. Orders are mainly exchanged when a full-scale state visit takes place. Working visits and also official visits take place with less formalities and ceremonies, and decorations are usually not exchanged in these events.

When a state visit is planned, one part of the preparations for the coming visit is usually that the incoming country sends an advance delegation to get acquainted with the practical arrangements, programme, locations, transportation, accommodation, etc. during the visit, and to establish contacts with respective colleagues of the receiving country. The possible exchange of orders is also among the issues discussed during the visit of the advance delegation.

State visits do not automatically involve an exchange of decorations, or the exchange may take place on various levels and to various extents. One possibility is that there is no exchange of decorations, e.g. with the countries that do not have orders or do not have a practice to grant them to foreign citizens. In a restricted form, the exchange of decorations on a state visit may take place only between heads of state and their spouses.

A usual practice on a state visit is that, in addition to the heads of state and their spouses, the official delegations on both sides are also among the recipients

of orders. When a more extensive exchange of decorations takes place, the incoming delegation usually grants two to three times more decorations than the receiving country. In addition to the members of the official delegations other persons related to a state visit, like mayors of the cities visited or rectors of the universities where speeches are held, CEOs of companies visited, etc. may be included among the recipients of orders.

The overall number of orders exchanged in a state visit is negotiated first during the visit of the advance delegation, and afterwards between the authorities in the two capitals. Negotiations concern the exchange ratio between the two parties, the type of orders involved in the exchange and finally persons included in the exchange and the level of orders proposed to different persons.

An example of the exchange of orders during a state visit to Finland is the state visit of the Federal President of Austria, Heinz Fischer, and his spouse in September 2011. As the Austrian President had already received the Grand Cross of the Order of the White Rose of Finland with Collar during an earlier visit, only his spouse, Mrs Margit Fischer, received the Grand Cross of the Order of the White Rose of Finland on this state visit. Six members of the delegation, including two ministers and the ambassador in Helsinki, H. E. Mrs Margit Wästfelt, received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Lion of Finland (Illust. 4). Commander 1st Class of the Order of the Lion of Finland was granted to six members of the official delegation. Three other members of the delegation were granted Commander of the Lion of Finland.

The orders granted by the Federal President of Austria during the state visit to Finland all belonged to the Decoration of Honour for Services to the Republic of Austria. The spouse of the President of the Republic of Finland, Dr Pentti Arajärvi, received the Grand Decoration of Honour in Gold with Sash (Grand Cross 1st Class), as did as the Speaker of the Parliament, Eero Heinäluoma, Prime Minister Jyrki Katainen, and five high civil servants. The Grand Decoration of Honour in Gold with Star (Commander with Star 1st Class) was granted to six persons who participated in different functions – e.g. high officers, foreign policy advisors – during the state visit. In a similar way, the Grand Decoration of Honour in Gold with Star (Commander 1st Class) was bestowed on eight persons representing the Parliament, the Cabinet of the President of the Republic, the police, etc. Four officers received the Grand Decoration (Officer). The Decoration of Honour in Gold (Knight 1st Class) was granted to five persons from the

Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Presidential Palace. Finally, two members of the clerical staff of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs received the Decoration of Merit in Gold (Cross of Merit 1st Class).

All in all there were sixteen Finnish orders granted during this state visit and thirtyone Austrian orders. Considering the exchange of orders in state visits this number of orders – 16 + 31 – is rather at the modest end of exchanges. In state visits to and from monarchies the total number of orders exchanged could well exceed one hundred.

4. H. E. Margit Wästfelt, Ambassador of Austria, greeting Tarja Halonen, President of Finland, during the state visit of Heinz Fischer, President of Austria (middle), to Finland in September 2011. Mrs Margit Fischer and Dr Pentti Arajärvi on the right. Copyright © The Office of the President of the Republic of Finland.



SWEDISH ORDERS TODAY

Staffan Rosén

THE SWEDISH SYSTEM OF ORDERS was established in 1748, when the Order of the Seraphim together with the military Order of the Sword and the civil Order of the Polar Star were created. In 1772, King Gustavus III completed the system by instituting the Order of Vasa, which was a so-called free order, intended for rewarding merits within the fields of agriculture, industry, mining etc. The fifth Swedish order, the Order of Charles XIII (see p. 101), established in 1811, is not administered by the Chapter of Royal Orders (*Kungl. Maj:ts Orden*) and is therefore not discussed here.

During the nineteenth century, the Swedish orders gradually acquired the character of orders of service, used as a kind of 'receipt' for a certain normally well-defined period of governmental service. Naturally, they also were utilized in the diplomatic intercourse with other states, but compared to the massive numbers of orders given to civil servants of various categories, the number of orders awarded to foreigners and diplomats and in connection with state visits was infinitely small.

Towards the middle of the twentieth century, the Swedish system of orders – at least as far as the rewarding of Swedish citizens was concerned – had reached such a degree of predictability and automaticity, in connection with very high numbers of bestowals, that the whole system came to suffer from a serious loss of prestige. Given the fact that the whole concept of orders for decades had been the object of criticism and ridicule from certain political quarters, it is not to be wondered at that the 'question of orders' became an issue when the Swedish constitution was being reformed during the 1960s and 1970s.

The outcome of this process was far from ideal. Instead of reforming the sys-



tem, the governing circles wished to abolish the system altogether, but mainly owing to the opposition from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which argued that orders in some form were necessary in the diplomatic intercourse with other states, a compromise was reached. The orders were no longer to be given to Swedish citizens, only to foreign citizens and to stateless persons. Only two of the four orders were to be utilized: the Order of the Seraphim for foreign heads of state and the Order of the Polar Star for all other categories. This meant that the Order of the Sword and the Order of Vasa were to be considered as not abolished, but suspended. This new state of affairs was codified in a governmental promulgation (*Ordenskungörelsen* 1974:768) in 1974. Since the role of the royal house had been virtually neglected in the promulgation of 1974, a change of the promulgation was made in 1995 (1995:1025) allowing members of the royal house to receive and wear the Order of the Seraphim and the Order of the Polar Star.

As previously, all matters concerning the statutes, policies, economy etc. of the royal orders are handled by the Chapter of the Royal Orders of Knighthood (*Kungl. Maj:ts Orden*) and its chancery (*Ordenskansliet*). The Chapter (*Ordenskapitlet*), which is the highest governing body of the Royal Orders, meets once a year (end of April) in the grand meeting room of the Royal Orders (*Serafimer-salen*) under the chairmanship of the Grand Master, H.M. the King, and consists ex officio of the Chancellor of the Royal Orders (*Ordenskanslern*), the Marshal of the Realm (*Riksmarskalken*), the Vice Chancellor of the Royal Orders (*Vice ordenskanslern*), the Treasurer of the Royal Orders (*Ordensskattmästaren*), the Chief of Protocol of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and two more external members appointed by the Grand Master. The staff of the chancery is present during the meetings, i.e. the Curator (*Ordensintendenten*), the Historiographer of the Orders (*Ordenshistoriografen*), the Archivist of the Orders (*Ordensarki-varen*), the Clerk of the Orders (*Ordenskanslisten*) and the Painter of the Coat of Arms of the Orders (*Vapenmålaren*).

The Chancellor, the Vice Chancellor (who currently also holds the office of Secretary of the Orders) and the Treasurer are all appointed by the King, while all the other officers are appointed by the Chancellor. All practical matters are handled on a daily basis by the staff of the Chancery, under the supervision of the Vice Chancellor.

Since orders may only be given to foreign citizens, all bestowals of orders are

1. The insignia of the Order of the Polar Star since 1975. The Royal Orders of Knighthood.

made in close cooperation with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and after recommendations made by the ministers of the relevant ministries.

The Order of the Seraphim is almost exclusively given to foreign heads of states and to new members of the royal house. In connection with state visits the Order of the Seraphim is awarded, on a reciprocal basis, only to the foreign head of state, while the spouse of the foreign guest is normally awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of the Polar Star.

Foreign diplomats who have served in Sweden are also awarded the Order of the Polar Star (Illust. 1 on p. 310), albeit on a limited basis. An ambassador from a Nordic country who has served in Sweden for a minimum of three to four years normally receives the Grand Cross, and persons of second and third diplomatic rank are awarded a Commander and Knight 1st Class respectively. To resident ambassadors from outside of Nordic countries, Commander 1st Class will gradually be the normal level of decoration, as the now initiated revision of the relevant various lateral agreements between Sweden and other states will be concluded.

Foreign and stateless citizens who have rendered valuable service to the Kingdom of Sweden may be decorated with a relevant class of the Order of the Polar Star. Proposals for a decoration are submitted by Swedish ambassadors, or others in Swedish diplomatic service abroad, to the Protocol Section of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. From the Protocol Section the proposals are sent to the relevant ministry for comments and approval by the minister. When the answers have been received from the ministries the Protocol prepares a list of candidates including suggestions for the proper level of decoration, and submits the list to the Chancery of the Royal Orders.

Four or five times a year the Chief of the Protocol together with the executive official meet at the Chancery in the Royal Palace with the Chancellor and the Vice Chancellor in order to discuss the list and come to an agreement about all relevant details. Once the list is finalized it is submitted by the Chancellor to H.M. the King for final approval.

The list, which is now a 'decree' (*ordensdekret*), serves as the legal basis for the formal awarding of the decorations. The proper insignia are ordered by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs from the jeweller, the diplomas (*ordensbrev*) are prepared by the Chancery, signed by the King and countersigned by the Secretary of the

Orders. Finally, the insignia are distributed to the relevant Swedish embassies or consulates, where an award ceremony is normally arranged by the ambassador or consul general.

In 2012, the following number of orders was awarded:

The Order of the Seraphim	2
The Order of the Polar Star	
Grand Cross	11
Commander 1 st Class	5
Commander	34
Knight 1 st Class	19
Member 1 st Class ¹	9
Knight	4
Member	2
Gold Medal	7

¹ Ladies and clergymen are designated as Members instead of as Knights.



THE AWARD SYSTEM OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Georgy V. Vilinbakhov

THE FALL OF THE SOVIET UNION led to the creation of new states, and the world had to recognize not only their denominations, but also their state heraldry: flags, standards and anthems. Obviously, new national award systems also started to take shape.

As should be expected, the creation of the republican award system began even before December 1991, and before the signing of the agreement to abolish the Soviet Union. After the declaration of sovereignty by the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), the Russian Federation, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR on 24 June 1991 approved an ordinance 'About measures to be taken in order to establish state awards of the RSFSR – orders of the Russian Federation'. In the ordinance it was stated that with 'the development of Russian statehood arose the necessity to establish new state awards of the RSFSR – orders of the Russian Federation for excellent service to the Fatherland'.

The Commission of State Awards of the Supreme Soviet of RSFSR had to create a working group, and together with the Ministry of Culture of RSFSR prepare the design of awards through a competition. It was decided that the outer form of the new insignia should contain a depiction of the state coat of arms and flag of RSFSR, and also represent the historical and cultural traditions of Russia. The Commission of State Awards of the Supreme Soviet of RSFSR together with the Ministry of Justice were to prepare statutes for the new state awards.

However, the actual work started only the following year. This was preceded by several events: the abortive *coup d'état* of 19 August 1991, the introduction of the white-blue-red flag as the national flag of Russia, the suggestion to re-establish the Cross of St George or to establish a special award for the participants

1. The Order 'For Merit to the Fatherland'.

2. The Order of Courage.

3. The Order 'For Military Merit'.

4. The Order of Honour.

5. The Order of Friendship.
Photograph Jussi Nuorteva.



in the August events, and the continuation of the design of the national coat of arms. The position and composition of the Commission for State Decorations of the President of Russia was approved on the instruction of President B. N. Yeltsin on 27 January 1992. N. A. Sivov was appointed president of the commission.

The life of the state dictated taking decisions that forestalled the work of the Commission on the creation of a system of national decorations in Russia. On 2 March 1992, the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation ‘On state decorations (awards) of the Russian Federation’ appeared and was approved on 20 March 1992 by a resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

By these documents a transitional period was introduced before the approval of the Law of the Russian Federation about national awards. During this period the conferral of some of the Soviet awards continued: the Orders of Suvo-rov, Ushakov, Nakhimov, Alexander Nevskii, Friendship of Peoples, and ‘For Personal Bravery’, the medals of Ushakov and Nakhimov, ‘For Courage’, ‘For Excellence in the Guarding of the State Borders of the USSR’, ‘For Excellence in Military Service’, ‘For Excellent Service in Maintaining Public Order’, ‘For Bravery at Conflagration’ and ‘For Saving Drowning Persons’.

The remaining task was to update their statutes, position and description in accordance with the state symbolism of the Russian Federation. Through these documents the Military Order of St George and St George’s Cross were re-established, and the preparation of their statutes had to be carried out by the Commission for State Decorations of the President of Russia.

At this time, a number of laws were promulgated that continued the formation of a new system of awards. In accordance with the rules of the time, the new laws were signed by the President of the Russian Federation, after which they were brought into force by a decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. These laws were: ‘On the establishment of the title Hero of the Russian Federation, and the founding of a token of special excellence, the medal “The Golden Star”’ (20 March 1992), ‘On the establishment of the honorary titles “Aviator-Cosmonaut of the Russian Federation”, “Honoured Military Aviator of the Russian Federation” and “Honoured Military Navigator of the Russian Federation”’ (20 March 1992), ‘On the establishment of the medal “To a Defender of Free Russia”’ (2 July 1992), ‘On the establishment of the commemorative medal “50 years of the Victory in the Great War of the Fatherland 1941–1945”’ (7 July 1993).

In accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation, promulgated in December 1993, the state awards are under the jurisdiction of the federal authorities and are awarded by the President of the Russian Federation. The decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 2 March 1994 'On state awards of the Russian Federation' (in the redaction of the decree of 1 June 1995), to a certain extent summed up the results of the work in the preceding years and approved the orders: 'For Merit to the Fatherland' – four classes including the medal of the order (Illust. 1 on p. 314) – Order of Courage, 'For Military Merit', of Honour, of Friendship (Illust. 2–5 on p. 316), as well as the medals: 'For the Saving of Dying People', of Suvorov, of Ushakov, of Nesterov, 'For Excellence in Guarding of the National Borders', 'For Excellence in Maintaining Public Order', and the insignia 'For Irreproachable Service'.

6. The Order of St Andrew.

With these decrees the position of the state awards of the Russian Federation was confirmed, providing rules for the awarding practices from the moment of petitioning to the actual bestowal, rules for the wearing of decorations, rules for inheritance of the insignia etc. Somewhat later, on 3 April 1997, by an order of the President of the Russian Federation, an instruction about the sequence of bestowing orders, medals, badges of excellence and breast badges for the honorary titles of the Russian Federation was promulgated.

However, the system soon started to be filled up with new awards, which were not always well founded and often dependent on the situation of the moment. Thus, through a decree of the President of the Russian Federation of 9 May 1994 the Order and medal of Zhukov were established (included in the redaction of presidential decree of 1 June 1995). Their statutes and position were defined by the decrees of 6 March and 30 December 1995. There was also much controversy concerning the establishment of commemorative medals. Unfortunately, they began to appear. There were approvals of the commemorative medals 'The Russian Navy 300 years' (decree of 10 February 1996), 'In Commemoration of the 850th Anniversary of Moscow' (decree of 26 February 1997) and others.

In 1998, the Order of St Andrew the First-Called (Illust. 6) became the highest state order of the Russian Federation (decree of 1 July 1998). In this way an historical order established by Peter the Great at the end of the seventeenth century was re-established. Moreover, after innumerable discussions, it was decided to include in the award system of the Russian Federation a great number of titles with corresponding breast badges.

In this way the functioning award system of the Russian Federation was



formed on the basis of the award traditions of the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union and the new tendencies that had appeared in connection with the creation of the Russian Federation after the fall of the Soviet Union. To some extent the recent experiences of foreign states were utilized. Thanks to the work done by the Commission on State Awards, the concept of an award system was produced, and the foundation of a logical and compact award system was laid. However, in spite of all the efforts of the specialists in the Committee, the traditions and consciousness from Soviet times did not allow the award system to be preserved in its original form, a condition that eventually led to an ‘information racket about awards’ and to violations of the awarding practice.

At the present time matters of awards in the Russian Federation are regulated by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation ‘On the measures to improve the state award system of the Russian Federation’, of 7 September 2010. This decree introduced a new version of the regulation of the Russian state awards. For instance, the design of the insignia of the Order of St Alexander Nevskii was changed closer to its imperial paragon. Thus, the work of creating a functional, historically founded system that will meet the requirements of the twenty-first century continues.¹ For instance, the Order of St Catherine the Great Martyr was established in May 2012.

¹ А. Авербах, *В сиянье звезд: Записки старого любителя чужих орденов* (Москва, 2008); А. И. Гончаров, *Наградная система Российской Федерации* (Москва, 2010); Ю. Л. Кушер, *Государственные символы и награды Российской Федерации* (Москва, 1999); Н. А. Сивова, *Государственные награды Российской Федерации* (Москва, 1998); К. А. Щеголев, *Награды современной России: Традиции и преемственность* (Москва, 2009).

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