



# Splendid Encounters 4: Diplomats and Diplomacy in the Early Modern World

Research Centre for the Humanities  
Institute of History of Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest  
Úri u. 53.  
Budapest, 1014  
Hungary



FRIDAY 25TH SEPTEMBER 2015

Time	Speaker
8.30	Registration/Coffee
9.15	Welcome and Introduction
9.30	Keynote Lecture at the Jacobine Room: Arno Strohmeyer Trends and Perspectives in Early Modern Diplomatic History: The Case of Habsburg-Ottoman Relations
<b>10.30 – 11.00</b>	<b>MORNING COFFEE</b>
<b>PANEL 1:</b>	<b>1a Council Room</b> <b>Chair: Tomasz Wiślicz</b>
11.00 – 13.00	<b>STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS AND PERSONNEL</b> János Szabados: The Death of Johann Dietz and Habsburg-Ottoman Communication in the Mid-Seventeenth Century  Zsuzsanna Cziráki: Language Students and Interpreters at the Mid-Seventeenth-Century Habsburg Embassy in Constantinople  Tiago Viúla de Faria: Diplomacy and State Growth in Pre-Modern Portugal  Adam Pertakowski: Two States, One Diplomacy? Competence Problems of Saxon and Polish Diplomacy during the Personal Union (1697–1763)
	<b>1b Pepita Room</b> <b>Chair: John Condren</b>
	<b>CEREMONIES I</b> Austėja Brasiunaite: Rituals and Signs: Peculiarities of Diplomatic Ceremonial and Their Importance to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's Interstate Relations during Crisis: 14th–16th Century  Marius Sirutavičius: How to Declare a War without Declaring One: A Story of a Failed Ratification of the Armistice between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy of 1578  Zsuzsanna Hámori Nagy: 'Splendid Encounters': Count Péter Bethlen's Visit at European Courts in 1627–1628
<b>13.00 – 14.30</b>	<b>LUNCH</b>
<b>PANEL 2:</b>	<b>2a Council Room</b> <b>Chair: Arno Strohmeyer</b>
14.30 – 16.00	<b>DIPLOMACY, SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND LAW</b> Adam Smrcz: Peace among Churches – Hugo Grotius' Program Concerning Religious Toleration  Amirpasha Tavakkoli: Diplomatic Moments in Machiavelli's Political Theory  Gábor Fököli: Ismaël Boulliau – an Astronomer in the European Information Network
	<b>2b Pepita Room</b> <b>Chair: Ekaterina Domnina</b>
	<b>CEREMONIES II</b> Pierre Nevejans: The Prince and the Ambassador: Diplomatic Reception through European Renaissance  Camille Desenclos: Is Politeness Really Polite? The Epistolary Ceremonial at the Beginning of the 17th Century  Béla Vilmos Mihalik: Ceremonies, Factions, Networks: Prince Liechtenstein as Imperial Ambassador in Rome (1691–1694)

**Premodern Diplomats Network  
Splendid Encounters IV, 2015**

**16.00 – 16.30 AFTERNOON COFFEE**

**PANEL 3:**

**3a Council Room**  
**Chair: Gábor Kármán**

**3b Pepita Room**  
**Chair: Anna Kalinowska**

**16.30 – 18.00**

**DIPLOMATS IN ACTION I: HABSBURG ENVOYS**

Lenka Maršálková: The Bavarian Mission of Dominik Andreas Count of Kaunitz between the Years 1687–1688

Jiří Kubeš: Diplomacy as a ‘Part-Time’ Service?  
Johann Marcus Count Clary and Aldringen as an Imperial Resident to Saxony at the End of the 17-Century

Jonathan Singerton: ‘That Long, Laborious, and Odious Task’: Struggles, Sympathies, and Statecraft between the Habsburg Monarchy and the United States 1776–1778

**QUEENS, PRINCESSES AND AMBASSADORESSES: WOMEN AND DIPLOMACY**

John Condren: Braganza, Este, and Medici Marital Diplomacy under the Umbrella of French Geopolitical Strategy in the 1680s

Laura Oliván Santaliestra: The Advice of an Ex-Ambadressress ergo the Diplomacy of Experience: The Young Ambassador Aloisio von Harrach and the Diplomacies of Motherhood (1698–1700)

Pia Wallnig: ‘Succedendo bene spesso, che l’ambasciatore cesareo habbia moglie’: Ceremonial Conflicts of Imperial Ambassadors in Rome during the War of the Spanish Succession

**SATURDAY 26TH SEPTEMBER 2015**

**Time Speaker**

9.00 – 9.30 Registration

**PANEL 4:**

**4a Council Room**  
**Chair: Roberta Anderson**

**4b Pepita Room**  
**Chair: Jiří Kubeš**

9.30 – 11.30

**DIPLOMATS IN ACTION II**

Bartłomiej Wołyniec: Marcin Szyszkowski, Bishop of Lutsk and His Legation to Prague and Graz in 1605

Natalia Neverova: The Nuncios at the Emperor’s Court (1591–1612): Spiritual Role vs Political Demands

Annalisa Biagiatti: Re-constructing a Diplomat’s Network: The Ambassador of Lucca at the Spanish Court in the Late 17th Century

**INTERCULTURAL DIPLOMACY AT THE BORDERS OF CHRISTIANITY**

Gábor Kármán: Grand Dragoman Zülfikar Aga: An Expert of the Northwestern Borders of the Empire at the Sublime Porte

Sándor Papp, When the Grand Vizier Chose the Prince of Transylvania: An Audience with Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in 1658

Mariusz Kaczka: A Well-Connected Diplomat: Paweł Benoe aka Paul Benoît in the Ottoman Empire

David Do Paço: Family and Trans-Imperial Diplomatic Network: A Private Management of the Austrian Oriental Affairs in the 18th Century

**11.30 – 12.00 MORNING COFFEE**

**PANEL 5:**

**5a Council Room**  
**Chair: John Condren**

**5b Pepita Room**  
**Chair: Adam Perlakowski**

12.00 – 13.30

**DIPLOMATS IN ACTION III**

Ekaterina Domnina: Ambassador Meets the Death: Tommaso Spinelli’s Self-Representation in His Testament

Eoin Devlin: The Playwright-Diplomat: Sir George Etherege in Germany

Suna Suner: Ebubekir Râtib Efendi and His Mission to Vienna (1791-1792): The Portrait of an Ottoman Diplomat as a Theatre Enthusiast

**POLISH-LITHUANIAN DIPLOMACY, 16-17-CENTURY**

Marta Jaworska: The Role of Parliamentary Gifts in Diplomatic Relations with Muscovy in the 16th and 17th Centuries – Selected Examples of Misunderstanding of the Diplomatic Protocol

Dorota Gregorowicz: The Role of the Papal Diplomats in the Interregnum’s Parliamentary Practice of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (16th–17th Centuries)

Anna Kalinowska: How Do You Solve a Problem Like Poland? Polish-Lithuanian Society and Diplomacy

**Premodern Diplomats Network  
Splendid Encounters IV, 2015**

**13.30 – 15.30 LUNCH AND COFFEE**

**PANEL 6:**

**6a Council Room  
Chair: Mariusz Kaczka**

**6b Pepita Room  
Chair: Eoin Devlin**

15.30 – 17.30

**INTERCULTURAL DIPLOMACY BEYOND  
BORDERS OF CHRISTIANITY**

Guido van Meersbergen: Informal Diplomacy in an Inter-Cultural Setting: The Dutch in Mughal India

Kuldeep Patowary: Incursions and Resistance: Diplomacy in Mughal–Ahom Encounters in the 17th Century

Shounak Ghosh: Negotiating Spatial Boundaries: Unravelling the Strands of Portuguese Diplomacy in South Asia 1546–1547

Hang Lin: Missions to Connect the Empires: A Fifteenth-Century Chinese Diplomat to Central Asia

**DIPLOMACY THROUGH CONFESSIONAL BORDERS**

Katharina Beiergrößlein: 'In Service for the King': Robert Barnes, the Diplomatic Heretic

Roberta Anderson: 'His Credentials are in Order': Catholic Ambassadors at the English Court, 1603–1625

Charlotte Backerra: Popish Priests and Protestant Chaplains: Religion and Diplomacy in London and Vienna, 1700–1745

**17.30 – 18.00**

**Concluding Comments  
Council Room**

## ABSTRACTS

**Anderson, Roberta (Centre for History and Culture, Bath Spa University)**

**'His Credentials are in Order': Catholic Ambassadors at the English Court, 1603–1625**

The residences of ambassadors from Catholic countries to the Court of St James had long been a favourite resort for English Catholics seeking to attend religious services. Catholic ambassadors were reluctantly allowed to hold Mass privately in their embassy chapels but they could not allow English subjects to attend the services, although, it is evident many secretly did so.

The government was, therefore, always suspicious of the activities of resident Catholic ambassadors, but had to proceed against them carefully so as not to offend the Prince by whom they had been accredited, so that even at the height of persecution, Catholic ambassadors had to be catered for.

This paper will examine the ways in which Catholic ambassadors to Protestant England operated, both within and without, the Court of James VI & I. It will address such subjects as the embassy chapel question and the ambassador's support for his co-religionists, and the Catholic cause in England.

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**Backerra, Charlotte (Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz)**  
**Popish Priests and Protestant Chaplains: Religion and Diplomacy in London and Vienna, 1700–1745**

Even after the so-called age of confessionalism, religion and religious conflict played their part in early modern diplomacy. Every envoy, resident or ambassador was charged with the support of those of his own faith, especially in territories ruled by monarchs of another confession. To help their brothers and sisters in faith, the diplomats employed chaplains and priests to conduct religious services, educate the children connected to the embassy and evangelise the population in their host city. Houses of official diplomatic representatives normally had a chapel for the use of the 'household' – but this household often included a large number of locals for Sunday services.

During the first half the eighteenth century, various complaints were filed against imperial chaplains and priests for conducting services and converting inhabitants of London. And in times of conflict, the emperor's envoy rallied his fellow Catholic diplomats to counter every measure taken to limit the Catholic religious life surrounding the embassies in Great Britain. The religious efforts of British diplomats in Vienna are less known, but equally as profound.

The analyses of Catholic embassy chapels in London and protestant chapels in Vienna will serve as examples for the ongoing religious strife in 18th century Europe. At the same time, the diplomats' caution in these matters will show that the religious factor was not meant to lead to open confrontations.

**Beiergröblein, Katharina (City Archives, Stuttgart – Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich)**

**'In Service for the King': Robert Barnes, the Diplomatic Heretic**

Although he had been forced to renounce some of his religious beliefs only two years before, Robert Barnes (ca. 1495-1540), the former prior of the Cambridge Augustinians, found himself on a delicate mission to Central Europe in 1531. Barnes sought support for King Henry VIII's 'Great Matter': the annulment of his marriage with Katherine of Aragon. In the following years, until 1540, several diplomatic missions to the princes of the Schmalcaldic League and Christian III of Denmark followed.

How could this have happened? How was it possible that a known heretic served almost a decade as a diplomatic envoy for the English king? After all contemporary writings on diplomacy excluded condemned heretics from any involvement in matters connected to diplomacy. It therefore seems likely that Robert Barnes qualified in ways that outweighed the specific shortcoming of being regarded as heretic. But what were these? Was it his knowledge of the Holy Roman Empire, and the German language, which he had gained while being exiled there? Or was it perhaps his connection to some of the German Protestants and thus, to a certain extent, his beliefs which – from an English point of view – were regarded as being heretical that made him seem appropriate to act as an envoy when Henry VIII was looking for new allies in the 1530s?

This paper examines Robert Barnes's diplomatic missions and explores his unique position as a runaway friar – and convinced heretic – who acted for several years as a diplomatic representative for the English king.

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**Biagiante, Annalisa (University of Pisa)**

**Re-constructing a Diplomat's Network: The Ambassador of Lucca at the Spanish Court in the Late 17th Century**

During the Seventeenth century, the Republic of Lucca, as a small state, needed to seek protection especially from Spain, which was the actual ruler of the Italian peninsula; for this reason it was important to have a resident ambassador in Madrid. Connections and friendships were essential for the ambassador to obtain precious information on what was happening around Europe and to negotiate matters in the interest of his Republic (and even in his own) at the court of His Catholic Majesty.

The case study, which I present, is the embassy of Lorenzo Cenami in Madrid in the second half of the 17th century (1662-1674) and is based on both public sources and private ones, the latter held in the Cenami family archives. This paper has two aims. Firstly, it intends to reconstruct the network of people with whom the diplomat interacts: other diplomats, members of Consejos and Junta de gobierno, people connected with king Philip IV, and then with the queen Gobernadora Mariana of Austria and with the child king Charles II. Secondly, it will focus on how the ambassador

constructs this large network of relationships: making his moves, in the various shifts of balance within the court during twelve years, requires not only a good knowledge of who are the prominent people, but also recurrent interactions through frequent visits, formal and informal meetings, and a vast use of the practice of gift giving.

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**Brasiunaite, Austėja (Royal Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania)**  
**Rituals and Signs: Peculiarities of Diplomatic Ceremonial and Their Importance to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's Interstate Relations during Crisis: 14th–16th Century**

The roots of historical Lithuania's diplomacy – reaches the times of Grand Duchy of Lithuania, when Lithuanian policy had a special significance to the fate of all Eastern Europe. This is an interesting, important, but unfortunately, also very little studied stage in the history of Lithuanian diplomacy. Even today, it is exiting and causing various insinuations. It is rather difficult to understand the global significance Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the historical maps without the definition of the situation. During the examination of this topic, it is necessary to take into account the fact, that we are talking about the times when Duchy was spread over the current part of Lithuania: it contained – territory of Lithuania and Belarus, and in the fourteenth century also owned the majority of the Ukraine and western Russia.

This paper analyses Grand Duchies of Lithuania and Moscow mutual diplomatic relations, ceremonial rates and rituals, signs, symbolic statements and other forms of interstate communication, which upheld and maintained relations between these two constantly conflicting countries. All these actions mentioned above, unfolds a mediating function, which is seen in various levels of formal contact, for example: representation of monarch and hierarchal communication, legations activities, rituals of luxurious Ruler's hunts, festive reception ceremonies. In the discussed period of diplomatic relations between GDL and Moscowite this paper aims to highlight not the nature or scale of interstate conflicts, but precisely the cases which witness an effective, even during crisis period, peaceful mediation.

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**Buriánková, Michaela (University of Pardubice)**  
**The Embassy of Count Popel of Lobkowitz in Madrid (1689-1697): Negotiating in the Middle of Ceremonial Conflicts**

Success of any premodern diplomatic mission did not depend just on ambassadors' negotiating skills. The premodern diplomats also were bounded by ceremonial rules and therefore their knowledge of etiquette was crucial. For them it was necessary to maintain their proper character and at the same time not to offend someone else's. Without meeting these conditions the situation could appear in which the diplomat was not able to act and negotiate. Such as in the example of the imperial ambassador to Madrid in 1689-1697 Wenzel Ferdinand count Popel of Lobkowitz (1654-1697). During his embassy he came to several ceremonial conflicts. At the very beginning he had to solve his complicated ceremonial situation caused by his insufficient diplomatic title. When this problem was settled up, other ceremonial disputes followed caused by unresolved status of the envoys of imperial

princes who were becoming more and more confident and were trying to change traditional system of state precedence. Besides that, Lobkowitz was appointed to calm down the ceremonial conflicts of the imperial ambassador to Rome with the Spanish diplomat. According to his correspondence with Vienna it is obvious that all these ceremonial conflicts were of great importance and he had to deal with them as fast as possible and if necessary in cooperation with other imperial ambassadors.

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**Condren, John (University of St Andrews)**  
**Braganza, Este, and Medici Marital Diplomacy under the Umbrella of French Geopolitical Strategy in the 1680s**

In 1679, Maria Giovanna Battista, 'Madama Reale', the duchess-regent of Savoy-Piedmont, proposed to Louis XIV that her son, the thirteen-year-old duke Vittorio Amedeo II, should marry the *infanta* of Portugal, Pedro II's daughter and sole heir Isabel Luísa. Louis seized upon the idea as a means of ensuring that the young duke would remain remote from power in Turin, since the Portuguese court insisted that Isabel Luísa's suitor should take up permanent and exclusive residence in Lisbon. However, Vittorio Amedeo saw through his mother's plans for his marriage, knowing that his mother aimed at total power over the Savoyard government. He therefore pretended to be seriously ill; to avoid having to travel to Portugal, and the project was eventually dropped.

Louis XIV had, in any case, changed his mind, and begun to feel that such a marriage was a threat to French interests in the Spanish succession. This did not prevent the king of France from trying to arrange a suitable marriage for the spurned *infanta* over the next ten years. Suitable, in this context, meant simply that the bridegroom should be a prince whose family were traditionally friendly to France. Louis expected that by sponsoring a marriage, he could derive security benefits for the French crown in a geographically sensitive area. By the early 1680s, few German princes were willing to encourage (or tolerate) Louis XIV's participation in their dynastic politics. This meant that the small northern Italian states were obvious sources of Francophile candidates. Among these were Grand Prince Ferdinando de' Medici (heir to Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany); and Duke Francesco II d'Este of Modena, whose sister Maria Beatrice was the duchess of York and afterwards, from 1685 to 1688, queen of Great Britain. This paper will discuss how Louis tried to impose his domineering and bullying style upon these young Italian potentates in encouraging them to marry the *infanta* of Portugal, and how Ferdinando and Francesco in turn resented the French king's interference in their sovereign prerogatives. This interference contributed to the reasons why all three ruling families – the Este of Modena, the Medici of Tuscany, and the Braganza of Portugal – drew closer to the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs after 1680, and certainly after 1688.

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**Cziráki, Zsuzsanna (University of Szeged)**  
**Language Students and Interpreters at the Mid-Seventeenth-Century Habsburg Embassy in Constantinople**

The paper addresses the problem of recruiting qualified interpreters for the personnel of the Habsburg embassy in Constantinople during the 1640s and 1650s. This topic will be

discussed along two main lines. Firstly I shall present briefly the practice of hiring a group of Ottoman subjects as fully qualified, albeit foreign interpreters by the Habsburg resident ambassadors at Constantinople in the mentioned period (Nicusio Panaiotti, Josephus Barbatius, Gianbattista Corel, Marcantonio Mammucca della Torre, etc.). Secondly, the efforts of the Imperial Court in Vienna in order to create a loyal staff of professional interpreters by managing the language studies of young and talented Germans at the Ottoman capital shall be discussed. Finally, I will compare the knowledge, the career possibilities and the overall life conditions of interpreters of both foreign and Habsburg origins, highlighting the most important requirements, abilities and personal characteristics to become a successful translator in the Habsburg Ottoman affairs. The investigations are primarily based on unpublished archive material from the Viennese State Archives (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv; Hofkammerarchiv; Kriegsarchiv).

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**Desenclos, Camille (Université de Haute-Alsace (CRESAT)/Centre Jean-Mabillon)**  
**Is Politeness Really Polite? The Epistolary Ceremonial at the Beginning of the 17th century**

In 1610, after the death of Henri IV, the new king breaks roughly its correspondence with the Archdukes of Flanders for one simple reason: the Archdukes would use an apostrophe which do not correspond to the rank of the king of France. The affair seems anecdotic as diplomatic representations are maintained, but it will poison the relation between France and Flanders during more than ten years. If the epistolary ceremonial is strongly fixed, its rules reveal often the nature, real or claimed, of the relationship between two princes. Inflections can indeed be found in accordance to the recipients. It is no more about politeness or deference, but only about requesting a place inside the European political hierarchy.

However, under the fixed form of politeness, there are several ways to get around and express real intentions. As the contemporary princes and ministers, the historian has also to learn to read between the lines of official politeness. If the content seems more like a flood of polite declaration of friendship, deference or service, several political elements can be, indirectly expressed.

Everything cannot be said, or according to several expression tricks, in order to preserve the relation which two princes claim to preserve. But behind the apparent politeness, real political critics can emerge. Epistolary ceremonial allows them to maintain the appearance of good relations which are essential to the diplomatic practice and the balance of power in Europe. The purpose of this communication will be to highlight the specificity of the epistolary ceremonial in order to study its political inflection in the specific context of the beginning of the Thirty Years War, to observe how this official politeness can express real deference, query or disapproval and reveals finally the reality of diplomatic relationships.

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**Devlin, Eoin (University of Cambridge)**  
**The Playwright-Diplomat: Sir George Etherege in Germany**

Sir George Etherege, a noted author of Restoration comedies in the 1660s, pursued a minor career as courtier and diplomat in the 1680s. This paper will explore Etherege's time as a British diplomat in Germany during the reign of King James II by focusing on two key themes: cultural performance and confessional dynamics. Public sociability and cultural patronage were key to diplomatic relationships in the late seventeenth century, and Etherege's background as famous playwright offered him extra insights during his diplomatic career. Through extended investigation of Etherege's correspondence from Europe, this paper will consider the interactions of social and cultural activities, and how Etherege's personal creativity - albeit influenced by his drinking, gambling, and generally louche social life - was made manifest in these projects. The diplomatic activity of James II's diplomats throughout Europe was shaped, above all other considerations, by the fact that James was a Catholic king of a (mainly) Protestant people. This paper will highlight how Etherege's diplomacy engaged with the tensions this generated as he, a Protestant, worked in a Catholic area of Germany still working through the legacies of the Reformation and the Thirty Years War.

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**Domnina, Ekaterina (Moscow State Lomonosov University)**  
**Ambassador Meets the Death: Tommaso Spinelli's Self-Representation in His Testament**

Tommaso di Niccodemo Spinelli (1472-1522) was one of the best-known diplomatic agents of Italian origin at the service of the early Tudor kings. He served their interests at the courts of the Habsburg monarchs in the Netherlands and in Spain. Due to his wide network of connections, namely having his relatives and friends in every corner of German and Italian lands, he had always been able to procure precise and accurate information on any matter that interested his English peers. After his sudden death in 1522, Tommaso was not totally forgotten and for many years Sir Brian Tuke, the King Henry VIII's secretary and Master of the Posts, remembered him as an irreplaceable loss. Yet, although the English government did appreciate Spinelli's service, it refused to recognize him as an ambassador and referred to him as its proctor only.

The aim of this paper is to draw attention to Tommaso Spinelli's testament, which survived among his family papers (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Gen Mss 109). This document not only gives us a rather detailed overview of his worldly possessions and his connections, but also could be regarded as his ultimate attempt to assess his ambassadorial status, to prove that his life-long work was a profession, rather than a side-job, as diplomacy of that period had often been regarded. It is a fine example of the rising self-consciousness and self-importance in a person of the Early Modern Period.

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**Do Paço, David (Sciences Po, Paris)**  
**Family and Trans-Imperial Diplomatic Network: A Private Management of the Austrian Oriental Affairs in the 18th Century**

This paper focuses on the private management of the Austrian diplomacy at the Sublime Porte in eighteenth century emphasizing the development of both personal and ministerial clientele that framed the political relationship between Vienna and Istanbul. It claims that Turkish affairs were not the duty of a specific administration (the Hofkriegsrat and then the Staatskanzley) as much as they were the preserve of a private clientele that, through it, strengthened its ministerial position and its economic wealth. Prince Eugene, Prince Kaunitz and Count Cobenzl illustrated such a structural continuity unless the deep and successive administrative reforms under Maria Theresa and Joseph II. However, moving the focus away from ministers to pay attention to their clientele and to the role played by the institutional agents questions the basic pattern of an early modern history of the international relations based on balance of power and it promotes a model of regional integration from below. The Oriental branch of the clientele of the Counts of Cobenzl, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, brought together diplomats, merchants and scholars of diverse religious backgrounds from Austria and the Ottoman Empire. It put into the light diplomacy ruled by the private economic, social and political interests of the Cobenzl family and its extended kinship managed by Peter Herbert. This leads us to qualify the relevance of cross-cultural paradigms and the exclusive political vocation of Joseph II ministers and radical reformers.

**Förköli, Gábor (Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Eötvös Loránd University)**  
**Ismaël Boulliau: an Astronomer in the European Information Network**

Ismaël Boulliau (1605–1694) was a major French astronomer, who largely contributed to the acceptance of the heliocentric model of the universe. He is also known for his extremely rich correspondence, comparable only to the letters of Peiresc, Mersenne and Henry Oldenburg. As the archivist of the family De Thou of Paris and caretaker of the famous cabinet of the brothers Dupuy, he had access to one of the most important information networks of 17th-century Europe. Furthermore, he accompanied his patron on diplomatic missions to Italy, Turkey and Poland, this way getting acquainted with new correspondents and noting astronomical, geographical and ethnographical observations. In his correspondence, collected in 40 volumes and kept in the Manuscript Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, there are letters from fellow men of letters, as well as political agents from many European courts. From an Eastern-European perspective, his letters are particularly relevant because of his interest in news connected to the Ottoman Empire and the countries situated in the buffer zone between Turkey and the West. In the middle of the century, especially in 1663 and in 1664, he received news about the anti-Ottoman fights through his Venetian acquaintances (the historian Vittorio Siri and the French ambassadors, Pierre de Bonsy and Grémonville) and Polish correspondents, like the Socinian theologian, Stanisław Lubieniecki, who shared with him both astronomical observations and political or military information. In this

paper, I intend to draw a picture of Boulliau's interests, showing how he encompasses in his identity the man of letters, the scientist and the diplomat.

**Ghosh, Shounak (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi)**  
**Negotiating Spatial Boundaries: Unravelling the Strands of Portuguese Diplomacy in South Asia, 1546–1547**

The political field of sixteenth century South Asia was a contested terrain between a number of powers with vested interests vying for supremacy. The appearance of the Portuguese on the western coastal enclaves at the turn of the century and the establishment of the Mughal dynasty (1526) in the north produced considerable ripples on a political map hitherto dotted with regional polities. Given that these political entities had different ideological, cultural and institutional bases, they found themselves largely alien to each other. The interface between them did not always result in an armed tussle but was rather an engagement with the idea of the unfamiliar. Such interactions became channels for the conduct of diplomacy through which rivalries were negotiated.

Focusing on the western seaboard of the Deccan, this paper seeks to unravel the role of diplomacy in mitigating hostilities during this period. Through a close reading of court chronicles and state histories, it looks at encounters between the Nizam Shahi court of Ahmadnagar and the Adil Shahi court of Bijapur with the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. Using diplomacy as an analytical category, the essay analyses these exchanges in the context of the changing political scenario in the Deccan over the century—from the fall of Goa (1510), the extinction of Vijayanagara (1565) right up to the Mughal encroachment from the late 1580s.

In order to appreciate the finer nuances of conflicts, a meticulous examination beneath the superficial level becomes absolutely crucial. For instance, to what extent did mutual perceptions mould the forging of alliances between groups and agencies? How far were feelings of fear, mistrust, and hatred embedded in such formations? What were the politics involved in negotiations? By addressing these issues, I intend to demonstrate that diplomacy was an essential ingredient of statecraft in early modern South Asia. The tools of diplomacy help problematise existing historiographical understandings of power contestation as well as connect these entities on a larger platform rather than treating them as isolated components.

**Gregorowicz, Dorota (University of Eastern Piedmont)**  
**The Role of the Papal Diplomats in the Interregnum's Parliamentary Practice of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (16th–17th Centuries)**

The attempt of the paper and of the presentation would be to illustrate the papal nuncios' role in the *interregnum's* parliamentary practice of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (XVIth -XVIIth centuries), in particular during the key moments like convocation diet, election diet and coronation diet. The basic sources analysed for this presentation would be the nuncios' correspondence, the

Polish and Lithuanian politicians' diaries and the official direct relations from the parliamentary practice.

During the convocation diet, which was deciding about *interregnum's* organisation problems, it was usually forbidden to the nuncio to participate directly in it, even though he was always trying to have an impact. In the course of the election diet, the nuncio was given an important role of presenting papal preferences and organising the ecclesiastical coalition on a favour of the supported candidate. For the duration of the coronation diet the papal ambassadors played an important ceremonial role. I would like to analyse the significance of those interesting functions and their evolution throughout the XVIth and XVIIth centuries.

The topic is also strictly connected with the papal dominance's ideology and his wish of influencing every important international event. I would like to refer also to the pointed question of papal neutrality and *padre commune* image during the early modern period. The intention is not only to describe the political role of papal ambassadors, but also to focus on the phenomenon their ceremonial precedence.

It would be important to conclude with underlining the effective role and the impact of the papal diplomacy in the practice of choosing the Polish free-elected kings.

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**Hámori Nagy, Zsuzsanna (Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest)  
'Splendid Encounters': Count Péter Bethlen's Visit at European Courts in 1627–1628**

After his university studies in Leiden in 1626, Count Péter Bethlen was sent to a European 'peregrinatio academica' by his uncle, Gábor Bethlen, prince of Transylvania, in 1627–1628. Accompanied by his newly appointed governors to replace the old ones, the young count travelled widely in the Spanish Low Countries, England, France, and Italy. Using the framework of inter-confessional diplomacy, my paper examines the encounters of Gábor Bethlen's nephew and his entourage with various Catholic and Protestant rulers and ambassadors in Brussels, London, Paris, Rome, and Venice, in the context of Transylvanian foreign policy. The confessional differences appear on the outside and the inside: 1. Due to the letters of recommendation from the emperor, religious dividing lines were surpassed in the cases of Catholic courts, while it was in protestant England that Bethlen's politics – his recent peace treaty with Ferdinand II – was questioned the most. 2. In the selection process of Péter Bethlen's new governors, the aim of his father was to choose protestant intellectuals. However, diplomatic tasks during the study tour were fulfilled by Francophile Ferenc Bornemissza, trusted diplomat and interpreter of the Prince of Transylvania, who proved to be sided with Catholics according to his later correspondence. His presence and leading role as negotiator and interpreter at the encounters underlines Gábor Bethlen's aims at a possible alliance with Venice and the Hapsburgs against the Turks.

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**Hellmann, Johanna (University of Tübingen)  
German Diplomatic Reports during the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778/1779). A Portrait of Marie Antoinette's Personal and Political Agency**

During the War of the Bavarian Succession several German Diplomats reported on the personal and political agency of the French Queen Marie Antoinette to their home-courts. By analysing these reports, the rank and position of the Imperial, the Prussian, the Saxon and the Bavarian diplomats within the structures of the dynastic Centre Versailles will be worked out as well as their possibilities to get access to important decision-making processes.

The Diplomats were responsible for representing their sovereign and for improving his reputation. Furthermore they represented the interests of their prince or acted as mediator. Gathering information via a specific (informal) news network and reporting them to their home-courts was another central aspect of their work. As the selected Diplomats have all different standings within the diplomatic service – the Imperial Diplomat as Ambassadeur, the Prussian Diplomat as Envoyé and the Saxon and Bavarian Diplomats as chargé d'affaires or rather Ministre plénipotentiaire – analysing and comparing their reports regarding Marie Antoinette's agency between 1778 and 1779 will be profitable: Not just their way of getting access to information differs, but also their proximity to the Queen and therefore their individual position within Court-society.

The talk will also describe the ceremonial of diplomacy in Versailles, the protocol and the order of precedence of the selected German diplomats. By analysing the selected reports, social relationship and power strategies of German diplomats at Versailles as part of an inter-cultural diplomacy will be made visible.

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**Jaworska, Marta (University of Warsaw)  
The Role of Parliamentary Gifts in Diplomatic Relations with Muscovy in the 16th and 17th Centuries: Selected Examples of Misunderstanding of the Diplomatic Protocol**

This paper will focus on the complex ritual exchanging gifts between the foreign legate and the ruler of Moscow. The origin of the parliamentary gift tradition in diplomatic contacts with Moscow is the subject of detailed discussion. It is considered a continuation of the old diplomatic customs already known in ancient times, which have been given final shape in the age of absolutism. Its roots are also derived from the relationships of Kievan Rus with the Orient, and are considered to be a legacy of the political culture of the Byzantine Empire or the period of the Tartar yoke. My objective is to show how such a ritual could be misinterpreted and even incomprehensible to an outsider – as can be observed in the 'Legatio Polono-Lithuanica in Moscoviam' by Bernard Tanner, Czech who travelled to Russia in 1678 with Polish legation. Moscow tradition of exchanging gifts was an anachronistic, enigmatic and very peculiar custom, and did not occupy an important place in the Western diplomacy. This diplomatic set of codes was best known by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. But even as experienced

diplomats, as Polish and Lithuanian legates were, familiar with the Russian diplomatic protocol for centuries, have committed mistakes in this area – as we can see in the account of Lew Sapieha's legation to Boris Godunow written by Eliasz Pielgrzymowski. To extend the comparative perspective, I will also use works, written down by other travellers to Russia: 16th century burgher from Gdańsk – Martin Gruneweg, and 17th century diplomats – Dutch statesman Nicolaas Witsen and Polish nobleman Jan Chryzostom Pasek.

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**Kaczka, Mariusz (European University Institute, Florence)  
A Well-Connected Diplomat: Paweł Benoe aka Paul Benoît in the Ottoman Empire**

In the spirit of the new diplomatic history this paper will focus on the questions of identifications, household, material culture, and network of a Polish-Lithuanian diplomat in the 18th century. It will take as an example Paweł Benoe also known as Paul Benoît, Polish-Lithuanian envoy to Istanbul (1742-1743). This self-fashioned expert for all things Ottoman Empire spent few years of his youth among the Ottomans, married there a Greek woman Marianne Paleologus (with whom he used to correspond partly in Polish, partly in Turkish), in order to settle later in the Ottoman-Polish borderland. A successful self-fashioning strategy enabled him to reach the position of a recognized expert for Ottoman matters in Poland-Lithuania. This paper will offer a thorough examination of Benoe's network, his various identifications, and its expression in the material culture based on official missives as well as his private archive.

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**Kalinowska, Anna (Polish Academy of Sciences/Royal Palace, Warsaw)  
How Do You Solve a Problem Like Poland? Polish-Lithuanian Society and Diplomacy**

In 1686, the Polish ambassador who was about to leave for the court of Savoy at the eleventh hour realized that his letters of credence were addressed not to the current duke but to his long deceased father. The name was changed and Victor Amadeus II had no reason, as suggested by one of historian, to send the envoy to his father's tomb to declare the purpose of his mission, but the story became a symbol of the way in which Polish-Lithuania diplomacy worked in the early modern period.

In my paper I will focus on answering the question whether Polish-Lithuanian diplomacy was indeed so ineffective, but first and foremost about the relation between its way of working and Polish-Lithuanian society's attitude to diplomatic activities in general. Was Polish-Lithuanian nobility interested in new developments in European diplomacy? Was it really so critical of permanent diplomatic representation and formalization of diplomatic ceremonial? And finally, why the problem of diplomatic activities of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth needs to be analysed in most of all in the context of internal political and even constitutional situation?

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**Kármán, Gábor (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)  
Grand Dragoman Zülfikar Aga: An Expert of the Northwestern Borders of the Empire at the Sublime Porte**

Recent scholarship dedicated significant attention to the intermediaries between the Christian and Muslim worlds and various imperial systems at the Sublime Porte. From the first half of the 17th century, it is probably Zülfikar Aga, a Hungarian-born convert to Islam, who offers the best opportunity for such an analysis, due to the unusually long period (altogether five decades) of his activities. Born as a Christian in Ottoman Hungary and converted in an earlier phase in his life, in the first decade of the 17th century he already made official translations at the Sublime Porte, and functioned in the years to come not only as an official interpreter (*dragoman / tercüman*), but also as a counsellor of consecutive grand viziers concerning issues related to the north-western borders of the Ottoman Empire. As the person responsible for the translation of the incoming Habsburg, Polish, Russian and Transylvanian correspondence, and decorated with the honourable title grand dragoman (*baş tercüman*), Zülfikar Aga managed to become quite an important player at the Ottoman court, in spite of the fact that, according to various reports, he did not master any other languages than Hungarian and Ottoman Turkish.

The surviving source material of the two embassies with which he maintained the closest contacts, the Habsburg and the Transylvanian, allows us to see various facets of this extraordinary career: how he organised the fulfilment of the tasks for which he lacked the necessary skills; how he interfered with the decision making procedures; how he secured his income from selling information to various embassies and supporting various pressure groups; and also how his family tried to continue his activities after Zülfikar's death. The paper will especially focus on questions related to recent discussions about ethnicity (*cin*)-based solidarity in Ottoman politics, as well as about the converts' chances to maintain contacts with the milieu they originally came from.

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**Kubeš, Jiří (University of Pardubice)  
Diplomacy as a 'Part-Time' Service? Johann Marcus Count Clary and Aldringen as an Imperial Resident to Saxony at the End of the 17th century**

The diplomatic legacy of Count Clary and Aldringen to Saxony (1686-1694) who served as an *Abgesandte* of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I at the courts of Saxon dukes and electors Johann Georg III, Johann Georg IV and Friedrich August is in previous Czech, Austrian and German historiography as well nearly unknown chapter. After making the research of primary sources (Family Archives of the Clary and Aldringens in Děčín, diplomatic reports in Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna or private correspondence with the *Obersthofmeister* of Leopold I Prince Ferdinand of Dietrichstein in Moravian Landarchives in Brno) the author puts together itinerary of this diplomat and would like to point out that this legacy to Saxony shows us a very untypical form of diplomatic missions. The count did not spend all the time in Saxony and travelled often the last two years of his service he visited the Saxon duke only between Saxony and his country estates in Bohemia. During once! The author would like to answer the question why he remained at his post so long and will analyse the tasks he should fulfil (war help against the Ottoman Turks and France, embassy chapel, friendly relations to the family of the dukes, spa service in Teplice, etc.).

**Lin, Hang (University of Hamburg)**  
**Missions to Connect the Empires: A Fifteenth-Century Chinese Diplomat to Central Asia**

Zheng He's (1371-1433) naval expeditions rivet the attention of scholars on embassies of China's Ming dynasty (1368-1644), but at the same time there were also numerous overland missions along the ancient Silk Roads to Central Asia, among which the embassies of Chen Cheng (1365-1457) were the most remarkable ones. Ordered by the Yongle Emperor (r. 1403-1424), Chen was dispatched for three times (1413, 1416, 1420) as ambassador to Central Asia, where the Ming was confronted with a melange of different racial, religious, and language groups. The most significant one, the first embassy, was documented in detail in Chen's writings which he presented to the throne after his return. His travel accounts of the journey to Herat not only offers an elaborate description of his route but also provides factual reports on seventeen towns (in particular Herat) in which he spent varying amounts of time during his trip. The records contain a wealth of first-hand information on geographic and climatic conditions, economic practices, as well as religious customs, making them the most reliable source for Chinese knowledge of Central Asia in the following centuries. Focusing on an analysis of the travelogues by Chen, this paper explores how political engagement, personal interest, and scholarly enterprise are interwoven in his narrative. It also unveils the Ming effort to seek a suitable relationship with the distant empires of Central Asia and reflects how Chinese attitudes towards Central Asia altered in the fifteenth century.

**Maršálková, Lenka (University of Pardubice)**  
**The Bavarian Mission of Dominik Andreas Count of Kaunitz between the Years 1687–1688**

This conference paper aims to integrate one particular diplomatic mission of the baroque period into the context of current research on early modern diplomacy. On the background of the election of coadjutor in Cologne in the years 1687-1688 I would like to focus not only on the political background and historical development of this event, but especially on the role of the main imperial diplomat, Dominik Andreas Count of Kaunitz (1655-1705), who is not entirely unknown to today's historians, but he still did not get the attention, that he deserves. Therefore, this paper should slightly reveal the mental world of baroque diplomat and his everyday life and provide answers to the following questions: How did this Bavarian mission actually proceed and which were Kaunitz's functions and powers? With whom, where and how did he act and which strategy did he choose in each specific case? With whom did he cooperate personally, who did support his activity only from a distance and what were the terms of this cooperation? What was the motivation of all involved parties and especially of the Count of Kaunitz himself and which were the consequences not only for the acting powers, but also for the Count of Kaunitz personally?

On the background of this mission, we cannot only look into some unpleasant political skirmishes, but also into the world of one particular diplomat, his objectives, tasks and powers. Election in Cologne (although it was accompanied by numerous problems) represents an example of a perfectly functioning diplomacy. The main imperial diplomat Dominik

Andreas Count of Kaunitz (due to his abilities and diligence) certainly had his merit on this development of events.

**Mihalik, Béla Vilmos (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)**  
**Ceremonies, Factions, Networks. Prince Liechtenstein as Imperial Ambassador in Rome (1691–1694)**

The paper focuses on the activity of Prince Anton Florian von Liechtenstein, who was ambassador of Emperor Leopold I to the Holy See during the first years of Innocent XII's pontificate.

Besides the weekly official reports, the Liechtenstein Princely Archives provide some special documents, which shed more light on the internal relations of the Papal Curia. During the Conclave of 1691 the embassy made notes on the most important persons of the Roman Court. A further memoir was composed about the most important ceremonies of the embassy. At the end of his service Liechtenstein wrote his final report to the Emperor, which sums up his experiences in Rome.

With the help of these sources, I examine how Prince Liechtenstein looked on the Papal Court. As he wrote in his final report to the Emperor in 1695, he found that '...the Court of Rome is like a chameleon'. As the ambassador tried to enforce the Habsburg interests in Rome, he had to find a balance between the different factions of the Sacred College of the Cardinals. The different parties had a variety of networks, and Prince Anton Florian von Liechtenstein had to connect to all these networks in order to collect adequate information. The ceremonies were a primary field for mapping up factions and as they communicated directly and symbolically the always changing interests that made Rome a varicoloured chameleon.

**Nevejans, Pierre (Jean Moulin Lyon III University)**  
**The Prince and the Ambassador: Diplomatic Reception through European Renaissance**

From the Early Renaissance of Burgundian State to the affirmation of absolute monarchy in France, the ambassador took progressively more and more space in European courts. Nearly existent for the late Medieval prince, he was integrated as a major political figure of 16th century courts. However, the evolution took several decades to be effective.

At first the prince integrated the foreign envoys in to existing ceremonies, changing his behaviour towards one state or another as an ally or an enemy. I have been studying for two years now this introduction, through time and space, in France, England and Burgundy, from 1450 to 1550. A few major ceremonies served as laboratories for the introduction of diplomats in Renaissance courts. Chapters of the Order of the Golden Tree, sacres, weddings, banquets, and royal entries allow the historian to witness the progressive immersion of foreign ambassadors as spectators of Renaissance life courts. Before being actors of international relations, as Il Tasso had perfectly understood, the work of resident ambassadors was to listen, to look after every single detail. It's obvious that the prince was aware of those eyes lying on his looks and behaviour. It is this awareness that has been my point of interest for two years. Beyond the simple politics and

negotiations, public or private, symbolism and non-verbal communication, signs and conversations, must be understood as a crucial point in both histories of the prince body and the birth of modern diplomacy.

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**Neverova, Natalia (University of Limoges)**  
**The Nuncios at the Emperor's Court (1591–1612): Spiritual Role vs. Political Demands**

During the last two decades of the rule of the emperor Rudolf II six nuncios were sent to his court in Prague. To be a papal ambassador, an apostolic nuncio means to always play two roles, one of a spiritual figure and the other of a political one. The first one should be easily assured by those sent to the Emperor, as he is a supreme protector of the Catholic Church. To be sent as an apostolic nuncio at his court should also be a sure way to the red hat of a cardinal. But among the nuncios, who stayed in Prague from 1591 to 1612 only two, Filippo Spinelli and Antonio Caetani, would get that honour. Being an apostolic nuncio at Rudolf's court proved to be more difficult and less rewarding than anticipated. One of the reasons arose from the fact that the Saint Empire consisted of different states many of them ruled by the heretics. As a spiritual figure it was the duty of the nuncio to rectify the situation. But the Emperor himself was more interested in occult studies than in going to mass. And his cooperation was necessary in the face of the ever-present threat of the Ottoman Empire. The nuncios had not only to protect the Catholic religion in a mostly protestant city of Prague without the help of the indifferent emperor, but to restore the influence of the Holy See in all of the Empire without completely alienating the protestant princes and cities, who had the resources to fund the war against the Turks.

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**Oliván Santaliestra, Laura (University of Vienna)**  
**The Advice of an Ex-Ambassador ergo the Diplomacy of Experience: The Young Ambassador Aloisio von Harrach and the Diplomacies of Motherhood (1698–1700)**

In the year 1698, Aloisio von Harrach, son of the countess Johanna Thereisa von Harrach, was appointed ordinary ambassador of the Empire to Spain. Aloisio was young and inexperienced when he arrived to the tumultuous court of Madrid. The king of Spain II couldn't have offspring with her wife Mariana of Neoburg; therefore, one of the main purposes of Aloisio's embassy was that Carlos II designated heir of the Spanish throne the archduke Charles, the Emperor's second son. The diplomatic mission of Aloisio von Harrach was not easy because the ambassador of France in Madrid, the marquis of Harcourt, had many supporters: ministers and nobles who were in favour of the French candidacy to the monarchy of Spain.

During his embassy, Aloisio von Harrach counted with the inestimable help of his mother, great connoisseur of the Madrid court due to the fact that she had been ambassador in Spain together with her husband, Ferdinando Bonaventura von Harrach, between 1673-1677. Johanna Theresia wrote to her son more than one hundred letters for two years, the time Aloisio spent in Spain (1698-1700). Certainly, the ambassador's mother acted as a true ex-ambassador: a noble woman who, after 'her embassy' and from her court of origin,

put her experience at the service of other ambassadors and gave diplomatic advices to their relatives and clients.

In this paper, I will discuss the *diplomacies of motherhood* and their impact on the embassy of Aloisio von Harrach, Imperial ambassador in Spain during the Question of Succession, who curiously was known in Madrid as 'the son' of the Harrachs.

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**Papp, Sándor (University of Szeged)**  
**When the Grand Vizier Chose the Prince of Transylvania: An Audience with Köprülü Mehmed Pasha in 1658**

1658 is a turning point in the history of the Principality of Transylvania: an Ottoman grand vizier interfered in the internal power relations of the country in an unforeseen manner. The head of this Ottoman tributary state, Prince György Rákóczi II was declared a rebel by the empire's authorities due to the Polish campaign he started a year before without the sultan's consent. Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha himself led the army of the punitive campaign, and one of the most important fortresses of the country, Jenő, opened its gates before the invaders. The Transylvanian estates sent an embassy to the Ottoman camp, whereupon the grand vizier initiated a council meeting with the leaders and elders of his troops according to the Islamic religious law (shariyat), where the head of the embassy, Ákos Barcsay, former counsellor and locumtenens of Rákóczi in Transylvania was also invited; and he was declared the new prince of the country. With this act, the grand vizier disrespected a hundred-years-old tradition of making princes in Transylvania: according to the custom, it was the estates who elected their ruler, who was later confirmed by the Sublime Porte. Apart from unpublished Hungarian accounts, the meeting is also described in various Turkish sources; and the background of the event can be reconstructed from the reports of Simon Reniger, Habsburg envoy in Istanbul. The paper reconstructs this unprecedented ceremonial act, the audience of the grand vizier and its consequences for the power status of Transylvania.

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**Patowary, Kuldeep (Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi)**  
**Incursions and Resistance: Diplomacy in Mughal–Ahom Encounters in the 17th Century**

The 17th century in the history of the Brahmaputra Valley (Assam, India) is marked by continuous political turbulence. The breaking up of the Koch kingdom (a small kingdom ruled by a tribe called the Koch; it was situated to the west of the Ahom kingdom and the east of the Mughal empire) into Koch Behar and Koch Hajo and the former going under the control of the Mughal Empire and the latter going into the hands of the Ahom kingdom (the Ahoms were a Shan tribe who had entered and established a kingdom in the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam in 1228 A.D.), brought the two parties face-to-face with each other for the first time. What ensued was a prolonged period of war and diplomatic tactics in order to gain supremacy over the Brahmaputra Valley. Eventually the Ahoms emerged victorious. The period of 1615 to 1682 witnessed an ample amount of diplomatic exchanges between the Mughals and the Ahoms. Moreover, at times, more than the conventional warfare, the diplomatic exchanges became the prime mode of establishing supremacy between the two sides.

The paper aims to look at and analyse the various diplomatic exchanges between the Mughals and the Ahoms. The focus would be to look at the way both the sides behaved and acted both at times of war and at times of relative peace. The paper would also try to understand the driving factor behind the expansionist ideas of the Mughal Empire vis-a-vis the Brahmaputra Valley. At the same time, it would also be a look at way diplomacy was carried out by the Ahom kingdom whilst dealing with the much larger force of the Mughal Empire.

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**Perlakowski, Adam (Jagiellonian University, Cracow)  
Two states, one diplomacy? Competence problems of the  
Saxon and Polish diplomacy during the personal union (1697-  
1763)**

The personal union between Poland and the Electorate of Saxony, which lasted for almost seventy years, required the two states to cooperate on the international arena. In an era when diplomacy developed rapidly and was 'in demand' (from the 17th to the 18th century), the fact that the two diplomatic services worked together took on a special meaning. The prevalent opinion that the Polish diplomacy, and consequently foreign policy, was weak means that even professional historians have commonly accepted the idea that Polish interests were represented at foreign courts by the Saxon diplomatic service, which was mainly interested in achieving particularistic goals of the Wettin dynasty. This opinion, which was to some extent reflected in the Electorate's foreign policy, completely disregards the historical context in which Saxony and Poland functioned; the specificity of the Polish diplomacy (until 1717), in which military commanders (hetmans) played a significant role; as well as the direction and goals of the Polish *raison d'état*.

Therefore, the matter of the common Polish-Saxon diplomacy during the personal union is rather a problem of the two states' priorities regarding their foreign policy. After all, the almost total domination of the 'western' direction in the 18th century did not result solely from the weakness of the Polish diplomacy (which is unquestionable), but rather from changes in the distribution of power in Central and Eastern Europe, which Poland was trying to face.

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**Singerton, Jonathan (University of Edinburgh)  
'That Long, Laborious, and Odious Task' – Struggles,  
Sympathies, and Statecraft Between the Habsburg Monarchy  
and the United States 1776–1778**

When the newly declared United States instructed William Lee to visit the Habsburg Court at Vienna in 1778, he was met with rejection. Lee's failure to garner support for the fledgling young nation from the avowedly neutral Maria Theresa and Joseph II has characterised our historical understanding of this first interaction between the Habsburg monarchs and United States. However, this paper seeks to readdress this scholarly myopia by exploring the intrigue surrounding Lee at the Habsburg Court as well as the greater European context of his situation, and the indelible consequences his actions later wrought. In doing so, we will gain a greater perspective on the American efforts at establishing their nation in Europe through the use of diplomats, the formation of informal networks and

American sympathies amongst Habsburg courtiers, and a wider understanding of the overall Habsburg reception towards the American struggle for independence.

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**Sirutavičius, Marius (Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas)  
How to Declare a War without Declaring One: A Story of a  
Failed Ratification of the Armistice between the Polish-  
Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy of 1578**

In autumn of 1578 a Muscovite diplomatic mission went to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, with a mandate to participate in the ratification of an armistice treaty, which has been settled in Moscow at the start of that year. Diplomatic representatives of Ivan IV had to begin, as it was usual in the practice of the diplomatic relations of both countries, with an audience with the King of the Commonwealth Stefan Batory in Kraków on the 4th December. But the audience with the King was terminated by the Muscovite envoys due to serious violations of the ceremonial: the accepting side incorrectly performed rituals dedicated to honouring the monarch who sent the envoys, Ivan IV.

An important provision was violated—during the audience with the King, when greeting the ruler, who sent the diplomatic mission and was considered an equal, the accepting monarch had rise from the throne when the name of the monarch who sent the mission was pronounced. But Stefan Batory remained seated during this ceremony and in this way disrupted the audience. Because of harsh provisions of the diplomatic representation system of the Muscovite monarch, which were consistently followed by his diplomatic envoys, because of the failed first audience the diplomatic mission could not be continued and the armistice treaty could not be ratified. In this paper this scheme of ceremonial behaviour will be analysed as an indirect strategy of declaration of war, and as an unconventional method of denouncing international agreements. When analysing these problems a lot of consideration will be given to the ceremonial used in the diplomatic representation system, and the manipulation of this ceremonial, by creating non-verbal messages, which indirectly declare important statements on foreign policy.

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**Smrcz, Adam (Eötvös Loránd University / Hungarian  
Academy of Sciences)  
Peace among Churches – Hugo Grotius' Programme  
Concerning Religious Toleration**

Being regarded as one of the founding fathers of international law, a considerable part of contemporary scholarship regards Hugo Grotius as a purely theoretical author. Interpretations based merely on his theory of natural law (outlined mainly in *De Iure Belli ac Pacis*) tends to divert modern readers' attention from the fact, that the intention of Grotius was to provide viable solutions to contemporary problems. Hence his programme, often interpreted as purely philosophical, was in fact an instrument for diplomacy.

My paper would mainly focus on an early writing of Grotius, the *Decretum pro Pace Ecclesiarum*. This writing is not only one of the earliest major ground works promoting religious toleration (preceding the ones of Locke and Bayle as well), but

one that was written by an active diplomat, since Grotius was at this time still employed by the statesman, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (a supporter of Arminianism, but later to be executed for high treason).

My aim is to demonstrate, that in the light of such minor works of Grotius as the previously mentioned one about religious toleration, or the ones reflecting his rejection of millenarism we could draw the image of a policy-maker whose philosophical ideas were mainly in the service of contemporary diplomacy.

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**Suner, Suna (Don Juan Archive, Vienna)**  
**Ebubekir Râtib Efendi and His Mission to Vienna (1791-1792): The Portrait of an Ottoman Diplomat as a Theatre Enthusiast**

Ebubekir Râtib Efendi (1750–1799) was the last ad hoc ambassador of the Ottoman state to the court of Vienna prior to the establishment of the first resident embassies towards the end of the eighteenth century by Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807) in four European capitals, thus the appointment of Yusuf Ağâh Efendi (res. 1793–1797) to London, Ali Aziz Efendi (res. 1797–1798) to Berlin, and İbrahim Afif Efendi (res. 1797–1800) to Vienna and Seyid Ali Efendi (res. 1797–1802) to Paris. Ebubekir Râtib Efendi's journey to Vienna lasted three months, setting off from Shumen (today in Bulgaria) on 9th November 1791 until his arrival in Vienna on 11 February 1792. Through this journey he passed through Ruse (today in Bulgaria), Giurgiu, Bucharest and Walachia (today in Romania), continuing through Siebenbürgen, Sibiu (Herrmannstadt), Temesvár, Pest, Pressburg (Bratislava), eventually crossing the Austrian border at Wolfsthal, passed through Hainburg, Fischamend and arrived at Schwechat on 6th February 1792, finally making his procession through Vienna with his retinue on 11th February, where he sojourned five months until his departure on 13th July 1792. Throughout this lengthy journey and sojourn, Ebubekir Râtib Efendi was an ardent spectator of theatre and opera. It would probably be righteous to suggest him to be the most distinguished diplomat among those sent to the Imperial court of Vienna during the eighteenth century, especially when his *sefâretnâme* (embassy report) and *lâyihâ* (memorandum) are taken into account, two widely studied, major works he penned on his mission to Vienna as well as on the Austrian institutions of the time.

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**Szabados, János (University of Szeged)**  
**The Death of Johann Dietz and Habsburg-Ottoman Communication in the Mid-Seventeenth Century**

After the peace treaty of Zsitvatorok (1606) the oriental diplomacy of the Habsburgs was controlled by the Court Council of War. The couriers played a quite important role in that period as well. Therefore, in the next treaty signed in Vienna (1615) the protection of the couriers was ordered by both empires. Despite this agreement, the couriers had to experience a lot of incidences during their journeys. The case of Johann Dietz can be considered as an example for such incidents, because Dietz was shot at during his journey to Constantinople in November 1651 and he subsequently died of his wounds two weeks later. He was attacked by Hungarian herdsmen. However, he committed to paper what happened

to him exactly. Moreover, there are some other sources, which also confirm this action, e.g. the letter of the secret correspondent in Buda which includes pieces of information about the death of the courier. Additionally, an investigation was carried out by the Court Council of War. With the precedent of Johann Dietz it is possible to form a picture about the whole procedure of the Court Chamber with regard to the death of couriers in general. Namely, Dietz's widow submitted an application about the residuary payment of his deceased husband, and the Court Chamber allotted her the requested sum, and this procedure should be considered as a model for similar cases, because it remained quite well documented and was also used as a reference later.

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**Tavakkoli, Amirpasha (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris)**  
**Diplomatic Moments in Machiavelli's Political Theory**

Machiavelli is famous for his brutal realism in politics and his neutrality about factional and individual vice, but he is also one of the most important theorists of diplomacy in early modern world. Machiavelli wrote about diplomacy in *The Prince* and in *Discourses on Livy*. 'Diplomatic moment' in Machiavelli's thought begins from the time that the Prince has purified his country from enemies. Diplomacy is an instrument that a wise Prince should use, for stabilizing his newfound power and to create an enduring political structure. He analysed in his *Discourses on Livy*, the different behaviours and manners that a diplomat should respect in other countries and the way that he should express himself by using different speech methods in order to achieve the object of a diplomatic mission. For enrolling all of these, a diplomat must have a coherent conception of diplomatic instructions. Machiavelli also analysed public and private rules of a diplomatic speech and he believes that a diplomat should be at least bilingual, because a translated speech is the main source of misunderstandings. The question of travel accommodation and financial aids, are the other subjects that he analysed in his writings about diplomacy. This paper aims to show, the diplomatic moments of Machiavelli's thoughts, by putting together subjective part of his thoughts about the language of a diplomatic speech and the ways that a diplomat, can modify his speech in particular situations for interests of his country, and objective part his thoughts about administrative and diplomatic practical instructions.

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**van Meersbergen, Guido (University of Amsterdam)**  
**Informal Diplomacy in an Inter-Cultural Setting: The Dutch in Mughal India**

Scholarship on early modern Euro-Asian diplomacy has typically focused on the most eye-catching of such interactions: the highly scripted ceremonial audiences taking place in splendid court settings. While such formal diplomatic encounters at the imperial centre were undeniably important for the establishment of relations between the Mughal Empire and European contenders for Indian trade as well, on closer examination it becomes clear that they only formed the tip of the iceberg.

This paper proposes to make two contributions. First, by examining the whole range of interactions between Mughal

power-holders and diplomatic representatives of the Dutch and English East India Companies (VOC and EIC), it draws attention to the importance of formal and informal exchanges at the local and regional levels for our understanding of the Mughal-European encounter. Secondly, as a case study of inter-cultural diplomacy beyond Europe, it stresses the significance of processes of adaptation and cultural appropriation.

As their diplomatic approaches developed in response to their Indian environment, Dutch and English agents accommodated their representational strategies to Mughal codes of comportment, and adopted local customs, status symbols, and forms of address in a coordinated attempt to appeal to Mughal conceptions of social status. Correcting a popular view which stresses the importance of difference in inter-cultural diplomacy, this paper signals the existence of major areas of cultural commensurability.

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**Viúla de Faria, Tiago (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)  
Diplomacy and State Growth in Pre-Modern Portugal**

Pre-modern Europe is credited with the birth of the 'modern state'. Several among the defining characters of the embryonic state have often been underscored for the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, such as the constitutional consolidation of a wider body politic, the absorption and dispensation of legislative power by central governments, and the progressive ability of such governments to effectively extract and control public revenue. Warfare, too, has been singled out as a core aspect of the state building process, not least because of the need to adequately prime state administration to face increasingly higher monetary demands, arising from the need to finance armed conflict.

This correlation between escalating warfare and the systematisation of revenue farming has led in turn to the view that the profound structural developments in state finance in this period stand largely as the by-product of a sustained war effort. Yet, while endemic warfare has been allotted a significant historiographical share in late medieval state expenditure and institutional growth, the diplomacy of this period strangely has not. In a period facing political challenges as formidable as the Great Schism, the Hundred Years War, or Conciliarism, diplomacy was all pervasive in the governance of Western polities. This paper will locate diplomacy in contemporary discussions of governance and state administration in Portugal by considering the evidence from the fourteenth through to the early-sixteenth century. It will emphasise decision-making concerning diplomacy in the context of state institutions, namely the royal council, the *fazenda* (exchequer), and parliament.

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**Wallnig, Pia (Austrian State Archives)  
'Succedendo bene spesso, che l'ambasciatore cesareo habbia moglie': Ceremonial Conflicts of Imperial ambassadors in Rome during the War of the Spanish Succession**

During the war of the Spanish succession, many of the conflicts between the imperial and Spanish ambassadors

became tangible by way of diplomatic incidents, especially in Rome, where both parties had specific interests. These conflicts often also included the wives of the imperial ambassadors. The latter were trying, as well as they could, to hold up the prerogatives of Charles VI, head of the Holy Roman Empire Charles VI, who, however, also after the peace treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt, continued to claim his rights to the Spanish throne.

In the family archives of the counts of Harrach (stored in the Austrian State Archives) there is a copy of a ceremonial instruction (*Cerimoniale per l'ambasciatrice cesarea e cattolica*, ÖStA, AVA, FA Harrach, HS 345) issued for Maria Ernestine countess Harrach, widow of Johann Wenzel count Gallas. She had been the imperial ambassador to Rome between 1716 and 1719 with her first husband, count Gallas. This instruction from 1716 provides detailed outlines of her duties as Roman ambassador, and contains numerous examples of the problems her female predecessors had had to face (Maria Barbara countess Liechtenstein, Maria Josepha countess Martinitz, Katharina Eleonore countess Lamberg, Diane-Marie marquise di Prié). Therefore, in fact, the instruction covers the time between 1695 and 1716, the period in which the imperial ambassadors were accompanied by their wives – before and after this they were mostly clergymen – and in which the struggles over precedence between the imperial and the Spanish ambassadors reached their peak.

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**Wołyniec, Bartłomiej (Jagiellonian University, Cracow)  
Marcin Szyszkowski, Bishop of Lutsk and His Legation to Prague and Graz in 1605**

The first wife of Sigismund III Vasa, Anne of Austria, died on 10th December, 1598. Polish king decided to get married again about five or six years later. He wanted a younger sister of his first wife – archduchess Constance, to become the new queen of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Although the royal plans haven't gained Polish parliament's approval, the king decided to marry the younger sister of Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor. For this purpose he sent legation to Prague and Graz in September 1605. It was headed by the bishop of Lutsk Marcin Szyszkowski, who was accompanied by the Chancellor of the Polish Crown Zygmunt Myszkowski. The diplomatic mission last three months and it was successful. On 8th December, 1605 Constance arrived to Cracov with due ceremony and she married Sigismund III Vasa three days later.

This paper analyses and interprets of legation diary, which is stored in the Princes Czartoryski Library in Cracov. The author of legation description is Paweł Gisius vel Giżycki, who described the various stages of this diplomatic mission in a detailed way. The diary contains not only a description of the way that the diplomats followed, but also the characteristics of the people they met, a description of banquets and special audience. The source included also bishop Marcin Szyszkowski's speeches and the answers given both by the emperor and his advisers. The diary of the legation to Prague and Graz in 1605 is extremely valuable and interesting source in the history of modern diplomacy.

Bobby and Anna look forward to seeing you at Splendid Encounters V in 2016

