



Splendid Encounters 5: Diplomats and Diplomacy in the Early Modern World: Diplomatic Personnel

29th September — 1st October, 2016

Prague City Archives
Clam-Gallas Palace
Husova 20
Prague 1



THURSDAY 29TH SEPTEMBER 2016

Time	Speaker
8.30	Registration/Coffee
9.15	Welcome and Introduction
9.15	Keynote Lecture Bernardo GARCÍA GARCÍA <i>State Affairs, Patronage and Court Diplomacy in Hands of the Great Favourite: New Politics and Practices Introduced by the Cardinal Duke of Lerma (1599-1618)</i>
PANEL 1:	Chair: Anna Kalinowska
10.00 – 11.00	THEORY OF DIPLOMACY Dante FEDELE (Leuven) Diplomatic Immunity and the Renewal of Early-Modern Scholarship on Ambassadors in the work of Pierre Ayrault (1536-1601) Stephan MAI (Vienna) 'The Ambassador and his Functions': An example for the formation of diplomatic theory in operando
11.00 – 11.30	BREAK
PANEL 2:	Chair: Charlotte Backerra
11.30 – 12.45	IMPERIAL DIPLOMACY IN EUROPE I Christof MUIGG (Vienna) Between War and Peace? A 17th Century Habsburg General as Diplomat Zsuzsanna CZIRÁKI (University of Szeged) The Mid-seventeenth-century Career Way of a Resident Ambassador Habsburg's at the Ottoman Porte David COAST (Bath Spa University) News, diplomacy and the formation of policy in England, 1618-1625
12.45 – 14.00	LUNCH
PANEL 3:	Chair: Julia Gebke
14.00 – 15.15	IMPERIAL DIPLOMACY IN EUROPE II Jiří KUBEŠ (Pardubice) Premature Attempt of Emperor Leopold I to Form an Alliance with the English King: Diplomats of Leopold I in England in 1680s

**Premodern Diplomats Network
Splendid Encounters V, 2016**

Charlotte BACKERRA (Mainz – Stuttgart)
'Nearly the most important court' – Habsburg Diplomats in London in the First Half of 18 Century

Juliane MÄRKER (Mainz)
Habsburg Diplomats in Venice during the reign of Maria Theresia

15.15 – 15.30 BREAK

15.30 – 16.30 Guided Tour of Clam-Gallas Palace

Panel 4: Chair: Christian Standhartinger

16.30 – 18.30 AMBASSADORS AND AMBASSADRESSES: ALLIES, CONSPIRATORS AND MEDIATORS BETWEEN CULTURES AND COURTS. 16th-17th CENTURY SPAIN AND EUROPE

Julia GEBKE (Vienna)
Family Affairs? Habsburg Women as Key Mediators

Matylda URJASZ-RACZKO (Warsaw)
To understand incomprehensible. Diplomats of the Philip II of Spain towards free elections in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1573-1587)

Conchi GUTIÉRREZ (Madrid)
Ambassadors authoring interest of state: Juan Antonio de Vera, Philippe de Béthune and Henri de Rohan (1620-1638)

Marisol GARCIA (Madrid)
Diplomacy as a Splendid Manner to Initiate a Glorious Career. The Third Duke of Feria, Ambassador in Rome and in Paris

FRIDAY 30TH SEPTEMBER 2016

Time	Speaker
PANEL 5:	Chair: David Coast
9.00 – 10.15	<p>DIPLOMACY AND ECONOMICS. A VIEW FROM THE SPANISH MONARCHY (1665-1700)</p> <p>Cristina BRAVO LOZANO (Sevilla) Making a confessional Diplomacy: the economic wants of the Spanish Royal Chapels in Northern Europe</p> <p>Roberto QUIRÓS ROSADO (Madrid) Economics, justice and privileges. The Navarrese provincial diplomacy during the ministry of Juan José de Austria</p> <p>Ondřej STOLIČKA (Madrid) The diplomatic mission of Melchior von Ruck. The financial relationships between the Spanish Monarchy and Brandenburg-Prussia</p>
10.15 – 10.45 BREAK	
PANEL 6:	Chair: Ekaterina Domnina
10.45 – 12.00	<p>DIPLOMATS IN VIENNA</p> <p>Ciro ROMANO (Jyväskylä – Naples) The 'Diplomats-Bishops' in the modern age. The activity of the papal nuncios in the early modern period (XVI – XVII centuries)</p> <p>Béla Vilmos MIHALIK (Budapest) 'I never arrive home before eleven...'. The Life of Nuncio Andrea Santacroce in Vienna (1696-1700)</p> <p>Michaela BURIÁNKOVÁ (Pardubice) The embassy of count Popel of Lobkowicz in Madrid (1689-1697): negotiating in the middle of ceremonial conflicts</p>

12.00 – 13.30 LUNCH

PANEL 7: Chair: Christof Muigg

13.30 – 14.45 IMPERIAL DIPLOMACY AROUND EUROPE III

Jiří HRBEK (Prague)

Acting on behalf of the Bohemian King: The Mission of Ferdinand Ernst von Waldstein to Westphalia (1645–1648)

Lena OETZEL (Bonn – Salzburg)

Death and Dying at the Westphalian Peace Congress (1643-1649)

Jiří M. HAVLÍK (Prague)

Special Imperial Legates to the Conclave (1655–1740)

14.45 – 15.15 BREAK

PANEL 8: Chair: Cristina Bravo Lozano

15.15 – 17.00 SECRETARIES, AGENTS, MERCHANTS: ANOTHER FACE OF DIPLOMACY

Ekaterina DOMNINA (Moscow)

A Helping Hand and the King's Trust: the Spinelli Brothers' Network and England (1490-1530)

Gennaro CASSIANI (Rome)

The Crown and the Stars. Vincenzo Badalocchio (1529-1593), Secretary of the French Ambassador at the Papal Court

Bernardo GARCÍA GARCÍA (Madrid)

The agents of the Archduke Albert at the Spanish Court (1595-1622): patronage, revenues and envoys

Alberto Mariano RODRÍGUEZ MARTÍNEZ (Sevilla)

Delegate, agent or impostor: Theodore Rodenburgh and his diplomatic actuation in Madrid (1611-1613)

17.00 – 18.30 GUIDED WALK: Lesser Town and Hradčany

SATURDAY 1ST OCTOBER 2016

PANEL 9: Chair: Gábor Kármán

9.00 – 10.15 DIPLOMATS IN RUSSIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Marta JAWORSKA (Warsaw)

The Diplomacy and the Office.

Administrative and Diplomatic Service of Posolsky Dyak During the Reign of Michael Romanov

Tatyana ZHUKOVA (Nottingham)

Anthony Jenkinson and John Merrick: English Merchant-Diplomats in 16th and 17th century Russia

Monika KONRÁDOVÁ – Rostislav SMÍŠEK (České Budějovice)

The Illusion of Power or Relentless Reality? Ceremonial and Ritual Practices at the Court of Moscow in the Middle of the 17th Century through the Eyes of the Imperial Ambassadors

10.15 – 10.45 BREAK

PANEL 10: Chair: Marta Jaworska

10.45 – 12.45 DIPLOMACY ON THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF EUROPE

Marius SIRUTAVIČIUS (Kaunas)

The phenomenon of clientele and the organization of diplomatic activities of Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the sixteenth century

Maria TELEGINA (Budapest)

Missions of the Ottoman Ambassador Thomas Kantakouzenos to Moscow in 1621-1637

Gábor KÁRMÁN (Budapest)

The Diplomats of the Transylvanian Principality in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: An Attempt for a Prosopography

Philippa WOODCOCK (Warwick – Paris)

Creating a diplomatic situation: a troubled embassy in seventeenth century Paris

12.45 – 13.15

BREAK

13.15 – 13.30

Concluding Remarks: Bobby Anderson, Bath Spa University, Premodern Diplomats Network

ABSTRACTS

Dante FEDELE (Leuven)

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Diplomatic Immunity and the Renewal of Early-Modern Scholarship on Ambassadors in the work of Pierre Ayrault (1536-1601)

The second half of the 16th century saw a profound change in the scholarship on the ambassador, which took many forms and led to its becoming an important line of thought within early-modern scholarship on *ius gentium*. Within this context, the French jurist and humanist Pierre Ayrault (1536-1601) occupies a particularly interesting position. Although he wrote no monographs on the ambassador – unlike other jurists of his time – he did devote specific sections of his erudite works *Decretorum libri* (later republished as *Rerum ab omni antiquitate iudicatarum Pandectae*) and *De l'ordre et instruction iudiciaire* to the subject. These works vividly demonstrate the extent of the change which scholarship on the ambassador was undergoing at the time, particularly in their treatment of diplomatic immunity from criminal prosecution: these are the observations that I intend to focus on in my paper. After a brief outline of the debate on diplomatic immunity from the end of the Middle Ages to the middle of the 16th century, I would like to concentrate on Ayrault's discussion of the topic and point to some important changes that occurred in the way in which the figure of the ambassador – his office, his functions, and his prerogatives – was conceived at that time. This analysis may also provide an insight into the origins of the doctrine of the 'extraterritoriality' of ambassadors, which was, in fact, first formulated by Ayrault, before its widespread dissemination through the work of Hugo Grotius.

Stephan MAI (Wien)

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'The Ambassador and his Functions': an example for the formation of diplomatic theory in operando

In my talk, I wish to demonstrate how diplomatic theory was informed by the interactions of different diplomatic agents. I will argue that biographical experience was one possible occasion to reflect on diplomatic practice. This meditation did, as I intend to show, not only increase the complexity of diplomatic theory but also redefined legal positions, which in turn proved to influence the law of nations and the self-fashioning of diplomats. My proposal targets hence the intersection of diplomatic and scholarly practice, as both customs benefited the formation of diplomatic careers and identities. The example from which I am going to carve out my deduction is the famous treatise 'The Ambassador and his Functions', published in 1681 by Abraham de Wicquefort (1606-1682). Analysing other writings of Wicquefort as well, I aspire to illustrate the close relationship between his biographical experience and the formation of his diplomatic theory, which I assume as a combination of legal positions, practical knowledge and scholarly assumptions. Wicquefort intended to write an apologia. Stimulated by the cultural environment and influenced by his personal experiences as

diplomat his *Magnum opus* proves yet to be 'The Ambassador'. Thus it appears that his case proves to be the perfect object to deepen our understanding of the complex relationship between diplomatic practice and theory. The contribution I propose aims at a close and methodical examination of this multilayer interaction in early modern diplomacy.

Christof MUIGG (Wien)

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Between War and Peace? A Seventeenth Century Habsburg General as Diplomat

In my talk, I aim to examine the career of Raimondo Montecuccoli (1609-1680) as a diplomat, drawing a connection between the military field and courtly diplomacy. As a prominent and successful military commander in Habsburg service, Montecuccoli entered the courtly sphere by conducting diplomatic missions to Sweden, Flanders, England and Italy. Diplomacy, the military and the court were not confined fields but intertwined on many levels. Especially, I will focus on forms of knowledge Montecuccoli employed in diplomacy as well as in warfare, which were part of his formula for success in both fields. Faculties like foresight, dissimulation, body and self control, learning and sociability were vital qualities on the battlefield and in courtly diplomacy. For example, the military method of drawing an *ordre de bataille* before a battle was used by Montecuccoli to prepare for dinner at the Swedish Court. I will argue that as an agent of war and thus violence, Montecuccoli owned his career not primarily to an acculturation to courtly culture, but rather to a specific ethos of the nobility, which favoured a chivalrous habitus, military conduct and scholarly achievement in the discipline of military science. This had an impact on his self-fashioning as a diplomat, providing him with techniques that were useful for courtly diplomacy. My talk will hence combine the Cultural History of Diplomacy with the History of Violence and the Military, arguing for a combined investigation of early modern diplomatic and military practices.

Zsuzsanna CZIRÁKI (Szeged)

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The Mid-seventeenth-century Career Way of a Resident Ambassador Habsburg's at the Ottoman Porte

This paper examines the career possibilities of resident ambassadors Habsburg's in Constantinople through the example of Simon Reniger, whose diplomatic activity on the field of Oriental affaires spans from 1649 to his death in 1669.

Regarding the duration and activity of his sixteen-year embassy at the Ottoman Porte, Reniger can be considered as one of the most significant Habsburg envoy in Oriental missions in the 17th century. However, it is already well-known that he started his career as a beginner without any diplomatic experience or knowledge of Oriental affaires at the moment of his appointment. Regarding his remarkable career,

the question arises plausibly: How was it possible to fill the very obvious gap of elementary knowledge required by all means for such an important mission? The documents of the Austrian State Archives show that Reniger did not face the challenge alone: He was supported by a well-experienced patron, Johann Rudolf Schmid, former resident ambassador in Constantinople between 1629 and 1643. Since his return from the Sublime Porte, Schmid had been charged with several missions in connection with Oriental affaires and soon became a leading Ottoman-specialist councillor of the Viennese War Council, the most important decision-preparing imperial body in Oriental issues. On the one hand, my contribution shall identify crucial points in terms of transferring knowledge and good practices between senior and newly appointed ambassador, highlighting the role of Schmid as a 'good, fatherly master' for Reniger in order to introduce him into Oriental diplomatic practice. On the other, I will also compare the career way of Reniger and Schmid aiming at identifying milestones of Ottoman diplomatic service discussing the aspect of how the accreditation as a resident ambassador in Constantinople impacted upon the career possibilities of a lower functionary at the Habsburg Court.

David COAST (Bath Spa)

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News, diplomacy and the formation of policy in England, 1618-1625

This paper examines the role of diplomats played in gathering and interpreting news, and their influence on the formation of policy in the later years of the reign of James VI and I.

Jacobean diplomats have traditionally been seen as playing a relatively lowly role in Jacobean politics, and their complaints about being ignored and underpaid have tended to be taken at face value. Their role as intelligencers, however, meant that they could influence policy through the partial and selective provisions of political information. They were also susceptible to the pressure of courtiers and Secretaries of State in England who wished to steer James's foreign policy by controlling the flow of information to him. This paper examines the ways in which the machinery of diplomacy could be used to influence the formation of policy, and the effects this had on both foreign and domestic politics.

Jiří KUBEŠ (Pardubice)

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Premature Imperial Attempt to Form an Alliance with the English King: Diplomats of Leopold I in England in 1680s

According to the standard survey of the Early Modern diplomats compiled by Bittner and Gross we can state that Emperor Leopold I did not maintain his representatives in England permanently and did not send them with the title of an ordinary ambassador there. Despite this fact there were several men in the Imperial service who had appeared on the Isles and who later became very influential courtiers or military officers in the Austrian Habsburg monarchy. Previous Czech or German written historiographies have not paid them and their English experience enough attention and we lack a

summarising monography on Imperial diplomacy in England in the second half of 17th century at all. In Prague, I would like to compare legacies of two most important Imperial envoys to England in the 1680s – that of Maltese knight Franz Sigmund count Thun at the end of the rule of Charles II (1680-1685) and that of Dominik Andreas count Kaunitz to the court of James II (1687). Using mainly their diplomatic reports (ca 300 letters) I will try to answer several questions. For example: Why did not Leopold I maintain his representative in England permanently? Why did he send envoys only? I will also try to compare these two legacies – their goals, costs, access of the envoys to the kings, or their relations with the other ambassadors. Last but not least I will track and compare their following careers in the Imperial service.

Charlotte BACKERRA (Mainz/Stuttgart)

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'Nearly the most important court': Habsburg Diplomats in London

The court of St. James in London was seen as 'nearly the most important court' of Europe, but it was also problematic as on the one hand Great Britain was the most important Protestant power as well as a global player, and on the other hand the king was part of the empire as prince elector of Hanover. During the later years of Charles VI's reign and the War of the Austrian Succession, two Imperial diplomats stayed as long-term diplomatic representatives at the British court: Count Philipp Kinsky (1728–1736) and Baron Ignaz Johann von Wasner (1736–1740/ 1743–1748).

Both were selected for their knowledge of all things British. Kinsky – with a background in finances and manufacturing – had had connections to English merchants some years before he was sent to London. Wasner actually stayed with Kinsky in London on a secret mission during the winter of 1734/35, when Kinsky introduced him at court and in the necessary social and diplomatic circles. This paper will look at the arrivals of Kinsky and Wasner as Imperial diplomatic representatives, starting with instructions and ceremony, continuing with the organisation of their daily lives and establishment of their social and diplomatic status. For example, Kinsky was able to over-fulfil his ceremonial requirements, presenting himself as an ambassador, even though he only had credentials as an extraordinary envoy – and he managed to do it without greatly affronting the British court, thus gaining himself favour at the court of Vienna.

Juliane MÄRKER (Mainz)

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Habsburg Diplomats in Venice during the reign of Maria Theresia

Until the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, the 'Serenissima' was an important merchant city, gateway to the trade routes of the Orient and the Levante as well as a vital ally against the expanding Ottoman Empire. The political, ceremonial as well as cultural traditions of the republic with an elected Doge as head of state were markedly different from

those of the Habsburg court. Even with the waning importance of Venice as merchant city as well as military power during the eighteenth century, the Austrian emperors maintained their presence in the city through their representatives, though the circumstances of their accession in Venice differed vastly.

Joseph Rathgeb (1732-1752), for example, was already present in Venice as the first secretary of the embassy when he was declared resident, but he still had to furnish the embassy anew after his predecessor moved out. Meanwhile, Antonio Giovanni Turinetti (1747-1753) first arrived in Venice incognito and installed himself in the embassy, before organising a lavish public 'arrival', only after which he presented himself to the Venetian senate. Jacobo Durazzo (1764-1784), brother of the Doge of Genoa, was 'Generalspektakeldirektor' in Vienna before intrigues forced him to leave the Austrian capital and his friend and benefactor Kaunitz procured him the post in Venice as ambassador – a role he theretofore had no experience in. Analysing the accession of these rather different characters as ambassador allows to discover existing continuities and regulations regarding the manning of this post, especially relating to ceremony, lodging and reception by the Venetian government.

Julia GEBKE (Wien)
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Family Affairs? Habsburg Women as Key Mediators

In 1569 Philip II of Spain made the following suggestion to his cousin Emperor Maximilian II: concerning the arranged marriage with his niece, Anna of Austria, Philip II opted for his sister, the Empress and mother of his future wife Mary of Spain, as main escort. The King of Spain argued that she would be the best choice for this position, having already in mind the next matrimonial project between the two branches of the House of Habsburg: the marriage of Rudolf II to Isabella Clara Eugenia. From the King's point of view only the Empress would be able to negotiate this delicate affair in a friendly, fraternal and confidential way: 'bruederlich, freundlich und vertreulich'. Starting from this case, I aim to verify if and, if so, to what extent the female members of the House of Habsburg were generally preferred in delicate or rather complicated matters between the two dynastic lines. Were they potentially the key mediators due to their position as permanent go-betweens?

Matylda URJASZ-RACZKO (Warszawa)
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To understand incomprehensible. Diplomats of the Philip II of Spain towards free elections in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1573-1587)

During the first free elections in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1573-1589) many international diplomats and agents were involved. Their main goal, though not the only one, was to win a throne for its candidate. To achieve this many processes and actions had to be taken. It was especially difficult for diplomats from monarchies like Spain, that had almost no previous experience of contact with Poland and Lithuania (famous 'Neapolitan sums' were not leading to recognition of mutual reality) as a consequence the Spanish

diplomacy did not know the country it which they were to compete with France or Turkey, their deadly rivals. They were in a very difficult situation. First, they had to act in a different reality, mostly due to differences in political culture, social order. Secondly, they were deprived of allies, famous international Spanish network of agents (*partido español*) was not reaching Commonwealth and a cooperation with an imperial diplomacy brought poor effects.

On a basis of Spanish diplomatic correspondence concerning Polish business (*negocio de Polonia*) I would like to focus not on political aspects that are quite well known but on the processes accompanying them, especially on cultural barriers that Spanish ambassadors had to face in a Commonwealth.

How they acted in such a *tierra incognita*? What was their attitude, were they flexible, willing to understand differences? How they tried to recognize, understand and act in Poland and Lithuania? Were they prone to interaction with Polish nobility or they looked for the allies in the international space (Rome, Vienna, Prague)?

Conchi GUTIÉRREZ (Madrid)
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Ambassadors authoring interest of state: Juan Antonio de Vera, Philippe de Béthune and Henri de Rohan (1620-1638)

In Early Modern times ambassadors reflected their diplomatic insights in writing with great success. For instance, the *Lettres of Cardinal Arnaud d'Ossat* (1624) quickly became a classic of diplomacy and the *Memoires of Philippe de Commines* was one of the most translated books of Early Modern Europe. This paper focuses on three contemporary ambassadors, one Spaniard and two Frenchmen, who played their diplomatic and political game in the Italian peninsula and who authored three of the most influential diplomatic and political treatises of the first half of the XVII century: Juan Antonio de Vera's *El Embaxador* (1620), Philippe de Béthune's *Le Conseiller d'Etat* (1633) and Henri de Rohan's *De l'interest des Princes et Etats de la Chrestiente* (1638). These written insights epitomize the principle of interest of state as a guiding principle in international relations as these remarkable statesmen captured the nuances of the international developments of the time and combined them with their own experience and readings. Interestingly, a connection between the three works can be traced back to the French Court of Louis XIII and Richelieu, where the translation of De Vera's treatise into French is published in 1635, just a few days before France declared war on Spain. The objective of this paper is to offer a comparative view of the actions of the three ambassadors and their three key works in their political and cultural context, with a special emphasis on what made them so influential.

Marisol GARCIA (Madrid)
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Diplomacy as a Splendid Manner to Initiate a Glorious Career. The Third Duke of Feria, Ambassador in Rome and in Paris.

The first incumbency of the third duke of Feria, Gómez IV

Suárez de Figueroa, when he was only nineteen years old, was the embassy of obedience to the new pope Borghese, Paulo V, in 1607. The young duke was appointed to represent the king Felipe III, furthermore the reputation and glory of the Spanish monarchy, in the centre par excellence of diplomacy in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The stage of Rome was the centre of the diplomacy and a fundamental aim of the career of a diplomat, and in such manner the election of the duke of Feria, without any foregoing experience, illustrates the virtues and accomplishments an ambassador should embody. Likewise, throughout the extraordinary embassy in France in 1610 to express condolences upon the death of Henri IV, the manner the duke accomplished his ambassadorial duties on the scene of the double dynastic marriage negotiations did not pass unnoticed, and revealed as a preview, the glorious career the third duke of Feria would achieve afterwards. In Paris he was accompanied by Juan Antonio de Vera y Zuñiga, the author of *El embajador*, for whom Feria's embassy to Paris meant his first diplomatic experience and the only one before publishing his famous treatise. This paper aims to inquire into the virtues, the aptitude and education the Great Duke of Feria was endowed with, which enabled his initiation into the diplomatic practice, and in particular, how those facilitated a splendid manner to start such a praised lifework.

Cristina BRAVO LOZANO (Sevilla)

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Making a confessional Diplomacy: the economic wants of the Spanish Royal Chapels in Northern Europe

The economic problems to finance the diplomatic practices in the Spanish monarchy were a constant throughout the 17th century. The ambassadors destined to European courts reclaimed repeatedly assistances to Madrid for their personal support and the performances of their mission. The ministers sent to London, The Hague and Hamburg insisted on the need to get means for the maintenance of their respective Royal Chapels. This paper focuses on the analysis of the rhetoric employed by these representatives of Carlos II in their discourses of petition to understand the significance of those spaces of worship and sociability; the impact of their religious activity in Protestant cities; and, finally, the consequences of a decrease of their sumptuous ceremonies or, inclusive, their possible closing due to the lack of money to fund them. Also, the study of the economic, cultural, but above all political phenomenon generated around the chapels allows defining the process of making a confessional diplomacy projected from Madrid to Northern Europe.

Roberto QUIRÓS ROSADO (Madrid)

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Economics, justice and privileges: the Navarrese provincial diplomacy during the ministry of Juan José de Austria

This paper will focus on one of the most characteristic elements of the legal provincial system in the Spanish Monarchy during the Early Modern Age: the use of the diplomacy in the negotiation between vassals and monarchs.

As case study, the kingdom of Navarre during the ministry of Juan José de Austria (1677-1679) allows to observe the

balance between the aforementioned political bodies. Sending collegial embassies to the Court, this *province* tried to show its needs and complaints to the ruler: economics, legal privileges, inspection to the royal courts and the *fueros*' oath (old rights). However, the political transition during the ministry of the stepbrother of Carlos II defeated the normal course of the Navarrese diplomacy. By these reasons, in that process of *reforma* were raised serious tensions between the ruling elites in Navarre and the monarch. It allows us to question the historiographical *topos* about the *neoforalismo* in the Spanish kingdoms during the second half of the 17th century. Also, it opens a study about the economic, legal and diplomatic perspectives within a debate between territorial liberties and the growing executive power of the Crown.

Ondřej STOLIČKA (Madrid)

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The diplomatic mission of Melchior von Ruck. The financial relationships between the Spanish Monarchy and Brandenburg-Prussia

The relations between Spanish kings and electors of Brandenburg were based primarily on mutual need. The Spanish monarchy needed an ally, because its army was divided in another parts of the world, and on the other hand, the electorate Brandenburg-Prussia needed money for creating a permanent army. Everything worked without a problem until the financial politics of Charles II proved to be slightly problematic. That is why the main reason of the mission of Brandenburg's diplomat laid in unpaid Spanish subsidies for Brandenburg's soldiers from the time of government of Philip IV. In the end, German aristocrat spent five years (1677-1681) by the Spanish king's court of Charles II. During this time, they periodically informed the elector of Brandenburg not only about situation of negotiations with the Spanish government, but also about incidents that happened on the court in Madrid. The conference contribution will look on this diplomatic mission from the view of historical anthropology, and especially it will try to show witch problems were connected with the mission, which looked as failure long time before. Next it will be presented which strategy was used by Melchior von Ruck to look for balance between his ruler and the situation in the Spanish court. To this part will belong the question of the creation of social networks on the Spanish court. And finally, the last part will be devoted to the view of Brandenburg diplomat on the differences he sensed.

Ciro ROMANO (Jyväskylä/Napoli)

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The 'Diplomats-Bishops' in the modern age. The activity of the papal nuncios in the early modern period (XVI – XVII centuries)

This proposal aims to address the issue of the role of the apostolic nuncios, bishops, lent to the Pope's diplomacy. The role of these ecclesiastical diplomats, in the early modern period, was of great importance especially for the reports that they sent to the Apostolic See. The proposal will tend to make a 'map' of the apostolic nunciature in Europe in the early modern period and a list of apostolic nuncios with notations about their activities through the use of documentary sources

(unpublished) present on the subject in the Vatican Secret Archives.

Béla Vilmos MIHALIK (Budapest)
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'I never arrive home before eleven...': The Life of Nuncio Andrea Santacroce in Vienna (1696-1700)

Andrea Santacroce (1655-1712) was the nuncio to Vienna in a crucial, historical period, in the time of the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) and of Karlowitz (1700), and he left Vienna just a few months before the death of Pope Innocent XII (27 September 1700) and Charles II, King of Spain (1 November 1700). His official letters to the Cardinal Secretary Fabrizio Spada reflects on the political developments in details, but we hardly know anything about his daily life—with the exception of the ceremonies of the Habsburg Court. His letters to his brother, Marquis Antonio Santacroce reveals much more details of his every day life in Vienna: meals, visits, trips, free-time activities, illnesses, etc. Of course these weekly letters also reflects on the political events, sometimes uncover such details also, which were not mentioned in the official letters to the Cardinal Secretary. As Andrea Santacroce previously was the nuncio to Warsaw, he did not miss to write ironic remarks on the differences between the courts. These letters between the two brothers therefore shed more light on the life and activity of the nuncio, and also let us an insight into Vienna at the end of seventeenth century.

Jiří HRBEK (Praha)
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Acting on behalf of the Bohemian King: The Mission of Ferdinand Ernst von Waldstein to Westphalia (1645–1648)

On 8th November 1620, the army of the protestant estates were defeated on the White Mountain nearby Prague towns. According to the Czech national historiography, the victory of the Habsburg soldiers should mean the end of the Bohemian autonomy on the internal as well as the international level. But Ferdinand Ernst von Waldstein as a legate arrived at Münster and then also at Osnabrück to be a deputy of the Bohemian king (not of the Emperor) Ferdinand III. Although he should be subordinated to Maximilian von Trauttmansdorff, which was appointed as a head of the imperial delegation, a special instruction for Waldstein was issued. In my paper I want to explain which tasks were assigned to Waldstein, why this young Bohemian nobleman was sent to the Westphalian peace conference and how his legacy affected the future development of his career.

Lena OETZEL (Salzburg)
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Death and Dying at the Westphalian Peace Congress (1643-1649)

Death and dying shaped the everyday life of early modern diplomats in various ways. This is especially visible at a peace congress such as the Westphalian peace congress where the diplomats were gathered together for several years. On the one hand there was a political aspect to death and dying, as for example the Empress Maria Anna of Spain, the Imperial

general Gallas or the Spanish Infante Baltasar Carlos died during the negotiations. These deaths had direct political consequences and influenced the course of the negotiations. Furthermore, the diplomats were personally affected by death. They either could fall seriously ill themselves (and die) or members of their families who in some cases were present in Münster and Osnabrück and died during the negotiations. This paper aims at analysing the way the Imperial diplomats at Münster and Osnabrück talked in their correspondence about death and dying. How did private deaths, such as the death of count Lamberg's infant son, affect him? How did his colleagues give comfort, while at the same time talking about professional matters? How did they console the Emperor after his wife's death? When and how did they debate the political consequences, difficulties and opportunities the death of a member of one of the royal families, such as the Empress or the Spanish Infante had? Looking at the Imperial correspondences this paper will deepen our understanding of the interconnectedness of the political negotiations and the personal experiences of the diplomats.

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Special imperial legates to the conclave (1655–1740)

Between the years 1655–1740 eleven papal elections (conclaves) took place in Rome. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire sent to each of them his special legates (in some cases not only one), who were obligated to report on events from the conclave and to promote imperial interests. The instructions they had obtained from the emperor usually did not contain concrete advices concerning which one of the cardinals in the collegium they should prefer in his 'candidacy'. The emperor usually characterized only in general his idea of the qualities, skills and abilities of the future pope. Concrete names were mentioned just during the conclave. Imperial legates wrote about that many letters – both private to friends or relatives and official to the emperor or other influential persons.

The roles and states of legates were changing a lot: Ernest Adalbert von Harrach, Friedrich von Hessen-Darmstadt or Carlo Pio di Savoia, accredited by Leopold I, were cardinals and could participate in the conclave. Compared to that, Maximilian Oldřich von Kaunitz and Antonio Rambaldo Collalto, accredited by Charles VI, had no such opportunity and that is why they relied on the cooperation of 'pro-Austrian' cardinals (in both cases on Cienfuegos and Schönborn).

The selection of candidates to this special legation also presents a very interesting issue. While legates accredited by Leopold I were apart of two of them cardinals, those accredited by Charles VI were only noble officials. Friedrich von Hessen-Darmstadt, Anton Florian, Prince of Liechtenstein and Leopold Josef von Lamberg stayed in Rome after the pope had been voted for the following years as ambassadors, others went further to other diplomatic missions or they returned to their offices in Habsburg Monarchy.

In my paper I want to focus on the issues just mentioned: To

whom did the rulers entrust the task to participate in (or only refer about) conclaves? What were the emperor's ideas of the future pope before each conclave? Which way did the emperors express their ideas? What were the methods to build the network of co-workers, participating in the conclave? What was the network of relationships to the cultural public the legates built during their missions? How did they manage to further apply their experience from their mission? What were their careers after their mission?

I aim to illustrate the answers to such (and also other similar) questions on three or four examples of diplomatic missions to the conclave. My study is going to be based on the sources from archives of noble houses (e.g. Kaunitz, Collalto or Harrach), stored in Brno and Vienna, archives of the archbishop of Prague and from the volumes called Rom Korrespondenz, stored in Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna.

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A Helping Hand and the King's Trust: the Spinelli Brothers' Network and England (1490-1530)

In this paper I aim to focus on the diplomatic and business careers of Tommaso di Guasparre Spinelli (1472-1522) and his younger brothers Leonardo (1473-1531), Niccodemo (1475-1544), Benedetto (1483-1547), Piero (?-?) and Giovanni Battista (?-?). Along with their prominent Florentine relatives and business partners, namely the families of Frescobaldi, Gualterotti, Bardi, and Medici themselves, Spinelli acted as bankers, merchants and traders in England, as well as in Flanders, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. They regularly procured diplomatic interests of the English royal family and government in Europe. Following the steps of their ancestors, the Spinelli brothers maintained a close contact with each other, notwithstanding the fact that they had to live and work in different parts of Europe. While Benedetto, who was based in Florence, and Leonardo, who served at the Roman curia, supervised their family interests and those of their English patrons in the Italian states, Tommaso, Niccodemo, Piero and Giovanni Battista shared their time between London, Brussels, Paris and Barcelona, having a nomad-like life style. Every one of the latter four could regard himself as a real expatriate due to the permanent absence from their native country, but none of them could ever feel himself isolated due to communities of Italian bankers and businessmen, who lived in these cities and cared to keep strong ties with their relatives in Florence, Lucca, Rome and elsewhere.

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The Crown and the Stars. Vincenzo Badalocchio (1529-1593), Secretary of the French Ambassador at the Papal Court

Vincenzo Badalocchio started his diplomatic career in Rome in 1560, when he was for a few months at the service of cardinal Carlo Borromeo. In the next two decades, Badalocchio would become a key figure at the Holy See, where he acted as secretary and agent for seven Valois

ambassadors. He was a correspondent of Caterina de' Medici and met her several times in Paris. From 1591 to 1593, Badalocchio played an essential role in Rome as procurator and political informer of the duke of Nevers, Louis Gonzaga, for the reconciliation of King Henry IV of Bourbon with the Catholic Church. Gregory XIII, also from Bologna, valued Badalocchio's opinion as an astronomer and mathematician on the calendar later named after himself. In rough times, his ability to read the stars occasionally turned into a source of income for the 'poor gentleman' from Bologna, how he defined himself, by selling prognostications to cardinals. A cultured man with a literary sensibility, a collector of books and works of art, he was still in the first place a man of action, a good entrepreneur and a businessman. Working behind the scenes of the problematic relationships between the French crown and Holy See during the French wars of religion, Badalocchio managed to make the most of his rhetorical skills for diplomatic purposes, working as an advisor and assistant at the court of at least four Popes: Pius V, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V and Clement VIII. The paper will focus on the balance of a private and public dimension in Badalocchio's career and relationships as revealed by several unpublished sources.

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The agents of the Archduke Albert at the Spanish Court (1595-1622): patronage, revenues and envoys

During his government in the Low Countries, the Archduke Albert of Austria maintained a group of servants and agents at the Spanish Court in order to manage the perception of revenues links with his former dignities of Prior of Crato (Portugal) and elected Archbishop of Toledo. He used also this network to supervise the heritage of his mother the Empress Maria, to send a pension to his sister Sor Margaret of the Cross at the Royal Monastery of the Descalzas (Madrid) and to exchange gifts, luxury and devotional consumptions, musical instruments etc., with the Spanish Royal Family and other members of the Austrian Habsburg branch. Furthermore, this network of agents provided interesting information about the Spanish Court and supported the interests of the imperial family.

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Delegate, agent or impostor: Theodore Rodenburgh and his diplomatic actuation in Madrid (1611-1613)

In April 1611 the Dutch agent Theodore Rodenburgh arrived in Madrid, after mutual trade between the Hispanic Monarchy and the Dutch Republic was restored in 1609 by the signing of a truce. Introducing himself to the Spanish king Philip III as delegate of the States General of the Netherlands, he asked for the freeing of some Dutch merchants who had been captured by the Spanish in the coast of West Africa. Moreover he also demanded compensation because of this breach of the truce articles. His claims were postponed for two years and the suspicions of his tasks became stronger among some members of the Spanish State Council. Given that Dutch sovereignty was not accepted by the Spanish Crown yet, nobody in

Madrid was able to understand the presence of a Dutch agent with diplomatic functions.

In this sense, I would like to focus my paper on the activities of Rodenburgh from 1611 to 1613 during his stay in Madrid and also on those networks and communication channels he used in Spain and the Netherlands in order to approach to the official powers. It would be also interesting to study not only the annoyance he found in some governing circles but also its reasons. Crossing Spanish and Dutch documentation we will find a strange agent whose actuation lies between the defence of commercial private interests and the official diplomatic representation from The Hague—a double role that will be also played by the figure of the consuls after 1648.

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Diplomacy and the Office. The Administrative and Diplomatic Service of Posolsky Dyak during the Reign of Michael Romanov

In 16th and 17th centuries Moscow's foreign policy and diplomatic service was led by one of the most important central institutions – Posolsky Prikaz (Ambassadorial or Foreign Affairs Chancellery). The functioning and activity of the Prikaz was one of the foundations of the development of Russian modern state and bureaucracy. The chief clerk, Dyak, who served as the state secretary, oversaw the work in chancellery and was responsible for the execution of tsarist policy. Posolsky Dyak (Ambassadorial Secretary) was not only one of the highest officials in the central administration, but also a politician and a diplomat himself. He performed his duties both in the capital and overseas, frequently taking part in foreign legations, often as a translator, secretary or actual architect of Moscow's foreign policy. Thus a person, which held this position, must possessed not only practical skills, related to the production of official documents, but also extensive knowledge of international relations and diplomatic protocol. In fact, the position of Posolsky Dyak was estimated to be much higher than what might have appeared in social hierarchy. The main objective of this paper will be to find out the pattern of Ambassadorial Secretary's career – if any, to outline their responsibilities and finally prove their importance during the reign of Michael Romanov. I would focus on one of the most prominent officials of that time, Ivan Gramotin, and his career in the administration and diplomacy – an excellent example of the person pulling all the strings from behind the curtain.

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Anthony Jenkinson and John Merrick: English Merchant-Diplomats in 16th and 17th century Russia.

2016 marks the 450th anniversary of the arrival of the first English ambassador into Moscow, which initiated a historic exchange of embassies between the English and Russian royal courts. Previous historiography had argued that the choice of diplomats sent to Russia was haphazardly chosen and consisted at best of randomly selected and prepared courtiers. The notion, as this paper shall argue, is untrue. On the

contrary, the majority of English ambassadors to Russia in the 16th and 17th centuries were merchants of the Muscovy Company. Many of these members were well suited to their diplomatic responsibility. They possessed language expertise, knew local customs and law, and held privileges and rights of residence in Russian cities necessitating them with information and access to the tsar. Consequently, within the Anglo-Russian context the merchant-diplomat was an effectual choice of a diplomatic representative.

To demonstrate the effectiveness of these types of diplomats within Anglo-Russian diplomacy of the 16th and 17th century the paper proposes to examine the embassies of two such individuals, Anthony Jenkinson (1529-1611) and John Merrick (1559-1638). It will note Jenkinson's contribution towards the formation and maintenance of diplomatic relations between Elizabeth I and Ivan the Terrible, and highlight the diplomatic success of Merrick as James I's representative at the Russo-Swedish peace talks of 1617. As such it will discuss the benefits and drawbacks of utilising merchants as diplomats and explore the effects of the practice upon Anglo-Russian relations. Broadly, it will address the influence of such practice upon English diplomatic tradition.

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The Illusion of Power or Relentless Reality? Ceremonial and Ritual Practices at the Court of Moscow in the Middle of the 17th Century through the Eyes of the Imperial Ambassadors

Although the European historiography has already paid a great deal of attention to the research of diplomatic ceremonial at the Tsar's court in Moscow (St. Petersburg) in the 16th-18th centuries (O. G. Ageeva, I. Andreev, C. Garnier, L. Hughes, L. A. Juzefovič, Ch. Roll, I. N. Semenov), there have been so far several rare cases where it dealt, however only very briefly, with the ceremonial procedures and practices of Habsburg diplomats at the Tsar's court in 17th century (K. Meyer, I. Schwarcz).

The main aim of the contribution is to show upon the background of the diplomatic missions of the Habsburg ambassadors – Allegretto Allegretti and Johann Theodor of Lorbach (1655-1656), Johann Christoph of Fragstein or Christoph Beuer of Binnen (1657-1658) and Augustin Mayern of Mayernberg and Horatio William Calvucci (1661-1662) – how the ceremonial and ritual practices at the Tsar's court were perceived by these mentioned diplomats. Furthermore, how there were reflected particular means of visualisation of the political status of the Habsburg representatives on the one hand and of the Russian head of state and his counsellors and advisers on the other hand.

These mutual encounters of at the first sight completely different worlds of thoughts and value systems could not avoid cultural clashes and misunderstandings (the arguments about the usage of right titles, about rules of precedence, the Tsar's inappropriate gestures during official meetings, the Russians, imposing of their arrogant behaviour on the Habsburg diplomats). These detailed commentaries on a wide range of

conflict situations, arguments of both parts and the ending of these arguments affected to a certain extent the perspective upon the Habsburg diplomats viewed the presented topic. The contribution will not only point at the reflexions and eyewitness accounts of the Habsburg ambassadors. Since there have been valuable archive documents from the Russian archives available and already examined the contribution also offers the ways how the other side viewed the events as well as the people who are mentioned in the accounts of the Habsburg ambassadors.

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The phenomenon of clientele and the organization of diplomatic activities of Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the sixteenth century

Researchers of the sixteenth century European diplomacy discuss the operation of diplomatic envoys diplomatic networks and daily life activities of ambassadors conditioned by the development of residential diplomacy. At the same time historians of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, encounter diplomatic phenomena of a different kind due to the fact that resident mission system were not developed in Poland-Lithuania. Practice of temporary legations persisted and lead to distinct features of the diplomatic activities of envoys during these missions. Distinct circumstances also are revealed if we look into the question of the professionalization of Polish-Lithuanian diplomats and when discussing their personal qualities relevant to the diplomatic activities. When solving this problem, in the case of Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a relatively strong patron-client relationship phenomenon has been encountered as well as close links between patronage system and the organisation of diplomatic activities. When researching the practice of assigning envoys to diplomatic missions it was determined that almost all lower rank diplomatic envoys in the period from mid until the last decade of the Sixteenth century were clients of the Radziwill family, which dominated the political life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the time. One of the main tasks of the Radziwill clients nominated as diplomatic envoys was to supply information to their patrons. At the same time we can also see an attempt to control diplomatic communications with foreign countries and to create contacts with various political factions of other countries. This group of Radziwill clients, which performed various diplomatic missions, will become the object for the analysis in this paper. In this paper we will attempt to reveal the reasons for appointing one of the clients as a diplomatic envoy and how the diplomatic functions influenced their future careers. We will also discuss the characteristics of this group in terms of education, religious affiliation, diplomatic experience, relations with the sovereign, family links and other criteria.

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Missions of the Ottoman Ambassador Thomas Kantakouzenos to Moscow in 1621-1637

The 1620s saw the beginning of Muscovite Tsardom's rapprochement with the Ottoman Empire and, as a result of that, greater contacts between the two countries. Since the Ottomans and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, had a common rival at this period - the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, their interests in establishing partnership with Moscow matched, and in 1621 they chose Thomas Kantakouzenos for this mission. He was the grandson of a prominent magnate and 'pillar' of the Greek Orthodox community of the Ottoman Empire – Michael Şeytanoglu, and had family connections in the Danubian principalities. Thomas performed several missions to Moscow in 1621-1637 and managed to become a recognized expert of the Ottoman-Muscovite relations. In the situation of ever-changing world of the Ottoman system of rotating dignitaries, he had frequently served as a living archive of earlier negotiations and had to rely on his vast connections during his Russian travels.

This paper will offer a thorough examination of the network of this diplomat based on unpublished source material. It aims to reconstruct Kantakouzenos' interactions with other diplomats, people close to Michael I Romanov and Murad IV, Patriarch Filaret, Cyril Loukaris and Kapudan Pasha Hasan. It also explores how political and religious engagement, together with personal interest, were interwoven in his missions. As the intermediary between Istanbul/Constantinople and Moscow, Kantakouzenos was involved in various activities, such as negotiating the borderland issues, supporting the establishment of educational institutions, building the trade networks. Thus he offers a great opportunity for the analysis of connections between the Christian and Muslim worlds.

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The Diplomats of the Transylvanian Principality in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: An Attempt for a Prosopography

From the first phase of the Thirty Years War until György Rákóczi II's attempt to get the Polish throne in 1657, the Principality of Transylvania played a significant role in East Central European politics. Although its military capacities lagged behind those of the neighbouring powers, such as the Ottoman and Habsburg empires, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth considerably, the principality always had to be considered as a potential ally or adversary of relevance by each participant in the theatre of diplomacy in the region. It was also the period when the status of the principality as an Ottoman tributary state had perhaps the least influence upon its foreign policy, as the princes managed to win a relatively wide space for manoeuvring for themselves.

For the intensive diplomatic activity it was important for the princes to have an able personnel, who can take care of the growing amount of missions. The major shift to be perceived is in the Western European diplomacy, where instead of the foreigners (mostly refugees from the Bohemian lands after the battle of White Mountain) employed by Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629), foreigners as good as disappear from among the diplomats of the following two princes from the Rákóczi

family. This paper seeks to map up the possibilities for the princes to employ people as diplomats, their origins and backgrounds in education, as well as their future career options.

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The embassy of count Popel of Lobkowicz in Madrid (1689-1697): negotiating in the middle of ceremonial conflicts

Success of any pre-modern diplomatic mission did not depend just on ambassadors' negotiating skills. The pre-modern 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. 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 Lobkowicz (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, Lobkowicz 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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Creating a diplomatic situation: a troubled embassy in seventeenth century Paris

A series of documents attest to the turbulent life of the late seventeenth century Venetian embassy in Paris. Apart from their official presence at Versailles, the ambassadors themselves seem to have had very unfortunate postings in the French capital, or at the very least to have been maladroit when it came to contact with the Parisians. Likewise, their staff did not seem to help matters, brawling in the streets, and running illegal lotteries from the embassy.

Thus, rather than discuss the outward show of diplomatic

splendour, this paper will consider the day-to-day existence of the embassy, and even its failures. It will ask which staff were relied upon to regulate the embassy's place in the city, and in particular how they coped with problems, and managed legal intervention in local civil affairs. How autonomous were embassies, or indeed which locals profited from their presence? It will ask which factors in particular created problems for the embassy and its staff. Were they inept strangers in a strange land, or instead, provoked and targeted by locals?

Finally, on a happier note, it will consider the more fruitful relationships between embassies and Paris, discussing the marriages between Italians and Parisians evident in the notarial records.

Bobby and Anna look forward to seeing you at Splendid Encounters VI in 2017

