

The *Eastern European History Review* is an international and interdisciplinary annually online and open access peer-reviewed journal about studies on Central and Eastern Europe in the Modern Age (XIV–XIX). The Journal is also the expression of the Study Center CESPOM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna – Center Study on the Age of Sobieski and Modern Poland) of the University of Tuscia, born in 1997.

It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History Sciences.

This Special Issue of *Eastern European History Review* deals with the history of diplomacy and its executors – diplomats (ambassadors, legates, nuncios, internuncios, agents and others) – in the seventeenth century's Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

As a state conglomerate culturally and politically, closely connected to Western Europe, and for its specific institutional form of a “noble republic”, the Commonwealth has created, in the field of diplomatic practice, institutions, principles and ceremonies unique in the European context.

The focus of the volume is the historiographic stream of the *New Diplomatic History*, without withdrawing from classic approaches that remain an important field of research.

Tracing the salient moments and facts of the complex history of the seventeenth century of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the volume – with the participation of authors from different parts of Europe and beyond – constitutes an international opportunity to reflect on issues and topics of old and new diplomatic history.

Diplomats and Diplomacy in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (XVII century) constitutes a result of the research activity and scientific collaboration inherent to the project directed by Dr Dorota Gregorowicz *The Holy See and the crisis of sovereignty of John II Casimir Vasa and Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki's election (1660–1669)*, n. 2018/28/C/HS3/00176, financed by the National Science Centre, Poland.

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DIPLMATS AND DIPLOMACY

IN THE EARLY MODERN POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH (XVII CENTURY)

Edited by

Dorota Gregorowicz and Alessandro Boccolini



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EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: LA RIVISTA

Il Comitato redazionale e scientifico è lieto di presentare al pubblico la rivista scientifica *Eastern European History Review*.

Con un carattere internazionale e interdisciplinare, una cadenza annuale e una fruibilità *open access* la rivista focalizza i propri interessi sulle dinamiche occorse nell'Europa Orientale durante tutta l'età moderna (XIV-XIX). *Eastern European History Review* è espressione del Centro Studi dell'Università della Tuscia CESPoM (Centro Studi sull'età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna) nato nel 1997 per intuizione del Prof. Gaetano Platania, Direttore Emerito della Rivista.

L'iniziativa editoriale che presentiamo nasce dall'evidente mancanza in Italia di una rivista scientifica relativa alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale in Età Moderna, nonostante la penisola abbia giocato un ruolo fondamentale per la Storia e la Cultura di una parte integrante del continente, a torto considerata come lontana e periferica.

Consapevoli di questo, il Comitato ha posto quale obiettivo primario della *Eastern European History Review* quello di offrire uno spazio di riflessione e di discussione su temi che appartengono alla storia dell'Europa centro-orientale, e insieme alle relazioni - politiche e culturali - che questa vasta area del Vecchio Continente ha avuto con l'occidente d'Europa, e l'Italia in particolare, incoraggiando il dialogo tra studiosi e esperti di settore, e tra differenti approcci della ricerca scientifica.

Il Comitato Redazionale e Scientifico

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW: THE JOURNAL

The Editorial and Scientific Board are proud delighted to present the *Eastern European History Review* under the aegis of Sette Città Editore.

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It publishes articles with significant approaches and original interpretations in all research fields concerning Central and Eastern Europe, with specific attention to the History sciences.

The editorial initiative we present comes from the obvious lack of a journal, in Italy, concerning the history of Central and Eastern Europe during the Modern Age, this despite its fundamental role in the history and culture of that part of the continent, wrongly considered distant and peripheral.

Quite the contrary is true, in fact. Main objective of the journal is to create a space for reflection and discussion on topics pertaining to Central and Eastern Europe, but also relations with Continental Europe, encouraging dialogue between scholars and experts in the field, and between different approaches of scientific research.

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INTRODUCTION

The crisis of political history, particularly profound since the 1960s and the subsequent cultural turn, has penalised the scientific investigation of “international” relations¹ in the early modern period for many years². Over the last decades, though, there have been several calls for new methodological and conceptual approaches to diplomatic studies, some of them extraordinarily fruitful and inspiring³. Nowadays, as Tracey Sowerby observed, «the *New Diplomatic History*, no longer so new, has become a broad church. It has successfully integrated wider concerns into a field that was once dominated by the study of bureaucracy and foreign policy»⁴. Integrated, but not replaced, which is also essential to emphasise. That is mainly why scholars no longer consider diplomacy and foreign policy making as coterminous, but do assimilate plenty of different aspects diplomatic practice entailed.

One cannot notice that from the point of view of contemporary research on the early modern history of diplomacy, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth constitutes an interesting phenomenon that has not been sufficiently developed yet, especially in the international forum of researchers along with their various historiographical traditions. There are still many blank spots in exploring this topic, which remain open to a contemporary historian. This special issue of *Eastern European History Review* seeks to encourage a more profound reflection on particularities and significance of the Polish-Lithuanian diplomatic practice in the early modern period, especially during the seventeenth century, by conveying into conversation an international set of scholars from Poland, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Sweden and Australia, interested in various aspects of diplomatic history. By bringing consciousness of diplomatic agency to bear on various areas of cultural and political practice, our authors have pressed their research beyond the horizons of their “national histories” that continue to dominate most treatments of premodernity.

On the threshold of the early modern period, *Rzeczpospolita* found itself among the political entities that adopted the praxis of permanent diplomatic missions exchange very late (only in the eighteenth century), relying on the old system of extraordinary embassies, of medieval provenance. However, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was no exception on a European scale. The general rules for foreign relations’ conduct appeared similar in Portugal, Scotland, Hungary, Scandinavia (Sweden and Denmark), Switzerland, and several German states⁵.

Federico Chabod considered the permanent diplomatic service, next to the professional army and elaborated bureaucratic apparatus, as the basis for the affirmation of the “early modern state”⁶. *Rzeczpospolita* did not possess any of these elements, but can it be denied the character of statehood from a historical point of view⁷? Subsequently, for Matthew Smith Anderson, the history of early

1 I put the word “international” in quotation marks, considering the imperfection of this concept for the analysis of political relations in early modern Europe. Cf. Tracey A. Sowerby, “Early Modern Diplomatic History”, *History Compass*, 14, 9 (2016): 444.

2 Stefano Andretta, *L'arte della prudenza. Teorie e prassi della diplomazia nell'Italia del XVI e XVII secolo* (Roma: Binklink, 2006), 7.

3 Karl W. Schweizer and Matt J. Schumann, “The Revitalisation of Diplomatic History”, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 19, 2 (2008): 149-86; John Watkins, “Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe”, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38, 1 (2008): 1-14; Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, “A New Diplomatic History and the Networks of Spanish Diplomacy in the Baroque Era”, *The International History Review*, 36, 4 (2014): 603-18; Dorothea Nolde, “Was ist Diplomatie und wenn ja, wie viele? Herausforderungen und Perspektiven einer Geschlechtergeschichte der frühneuzeitlichen Diplomatie”, *Historische Anthropologie*, 21, 2 (2013): 180-98.

4 Sowerby, “Early Modern Diplomatic History”, 441.

5 Giuseppe Galasso, “Le relazioni internazionali nell’età moderna (secoli XV–XVIII)”, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 111, 1 (1999): 10.

6 Federico Chabod, *Idea di Europa e politica dell’equilibrio* (Bologna: Mulino, 1995).

7 Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society. A Comparative Historical Analysis* (London-New York: Routledge, 1992), 185-86: «The kingdom of Poland had increased its power and influence by a dynastic union with Lithuania and expansion eastward, and had made itself the principal bulwark of Latin Christendom on the eastern marches. But the heterogeneous population, the dual governmental structure of Poland-Lithuania and the practice of elective monarchy prevented its consolidation into an effective stato». Cf. Jan Sowa, *Fantomowe ciało króla. Peryferyjne zmagania z*

modern diplomacy constituted a slow but increasingly evident evolution towards the system of permanent representation. He considered contacts between polities that failed to conform to that model «less developed ones, [...] where diplomacy was less important and diplomatic organisation more primitive». Anderson believed that from the point of view of diplomatic practice, one could speak of two “separate Europes” and that «between these two Europes there were as yet only slender links»⁸. Nowadays, historiography views the issue of permanent diplomatic posts in a significantly different way. As Riccardo Fubini suggests, the general deficiency of institutionalisation of the then diplomacy makes the equality of residency and modernity dubious⁹. Also, Sowerby appropriately stated that «the exchange of resident ambassadors did not extend across all of Europe. Rather, asymmetrical relations were not uncommon within Europe and continued to be so into the eighteenth century»¹⁰.

Therefore, nothing could be more erroneous than assuming the passivity of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the “international” arena of early modern Europe. The young Polish Vasa dynasty, the more as it functioned within the elective monarchy, manifested a strong need to affirm its position on the European forum. Moreover, the necessity to maintain intensive contacts with foreign partners was caused by the continuous involvement of *Rzeczpospolita* in armed conflicts on various fronts. Due to its geopolitical position, the vastness of the territory and the leading role for the implementation of the Catholic Reform, Poland-Lithuania occupied a distinctive part in the entire system of “international” relations of early modern Europe. All the more so, its specific tradition and political practice concerning the implementation of foreign policy, conducting diplomatic activity outside its borders, as well as accepting foreign legations *in loco*, requires further attention of contemporary historiography.

The special issue of *Eastern European History Review*, *Diplomats and Diplomacy in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (XVII century)*, opens with a group of articles regarding some general institutional and technical aspects of the functioning of the Polish-Lithuanian diplomatic service.

Dorota Gregorowicz (*Diplomacy of the Commonwealth, Diplomacy of the King: the Peculiarity of Foreign Policy Making in the Seventeenth Century Poland-Lithuania*) deals with the topicality of research on the history of diplomacy in the early modern Poland-Lithuania, in the context of scant development of permanent diplomatic missions. The article presents considerations on the subjectivity of the *ius legationis* in *Rzeczpospolita*. Gregorowicz reflects on the competencies of the monarch and of the Commonwealth (personified in the *sejm* and Senate councils) in this matter. To this end, she primarily analyses the content of the sixteenth – and seventeenth-century parliamentary constitutions regarding the conduct of foreign policy. Moreover, the article refers to political practice as a determining factor for the legal structure of Poland-Lithuania.

The Union of Lublin (1569), as the basis for the execution of a joint diplomatic activity of the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, is analysed by Marius Sirutavičius (*Partnership in a Union with Diverging Interests: Cooperation between the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania in Diplomatic Activities at the Turn of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*). The author emphasises the initially divergent interests of both states in addressing the directions of the foreign policy of *Rzeczpospolita* (especially concerning contacts with Muscovy) and their influence on the functioning of the diplomatic service. Moreover, Sirutavičius draws attention to the evolution and gradual uniformisation processes of the Polish and Lithuanian visions of conducting foreign policy,

nowoczesną formą (Kraków: Universitas, 2011). According to Sowa, «the concept of the “ghost body of the King” [inspired by Ernst Kantorowicz] marks a notional horizon in which *Rzeczpospolita* presents itself as a non-existent state entity, or in the process of its disappearance, utterly unsuitable for any modern form of social, political and economic organisation, which took shape in Europe from the early modern age, with the nascent capitalism and parliamentarism» (285). Sowa’s perspective is certainly interesting, although historically not sustainable. Translation in English is of the author.

8 Matthew S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450–1919* (London-New York: Longman, 1993), 27–8.

9 Riccardo Fubini, *La “residentialité” de l’ambassadeur dans le mythe et dans la réalité: une enquête sur les origines* (Paris: PUF, 1998); Id., “Diplomacy and government in the Italian city-states of the fifteenth century (Florence and Venice)”, in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, eds. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 26–8.

10 Sowerby, “Early Modern Diplomatic History”, 442.

which took place in the initial period of the reign of Sigismund III Vasa, pointing to the multilateral origins of those developments.

The problem of the source material's characteristics for studying the history of diplomacy is discussed by nunciatures' specialists Henryk Litwin and Paweł Duda in a joint article *Correspondence of Warsaw Nuncio Antonio Santa Croce with Roman Catholic Bishops from 1629 – Frequency, Intensity and Content*. The researchers focused on the analysis of "internal" correspondence maintained by the apostolic nuncio with hierarchs of the Polish-Lithuanian Catholic Church, underlining its parallel importance in relation to the mainstream canals of diplomatic information exchange (between the Polish-Lithuanian periphery – nunciature's chancellery and Roman centre – Secretariat of State).

Finally, the first part of the book includes the reflection of Michał Salamonik on some non-institutional structures and mechanisms of diplomatic activity in the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, along with the case study on the diplomatic context of the postal and news-spreading duties of the Gdańsk merchant and postmaster Francesco Gratta [1613–1676] (*News Agents and Postmasters: Background Figures or Active Diplomats?*).

The second part of this book is devoted to diplomacy as to the art of great politics' conduct and to the geopolitical position of Poland-Lithuania in seventeenth-century Europe. The advantages of diplomatic negotiations as an alternative to pursuing *Rzeczpospolita's* foreign policy in the military field are highlighted here. This group of articles may seem of a more traditional topicality. Still, it is significant to accentuate its emphasis on the multilateral character of early modern diplomatic relations, strongly including the subject of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Miguel Conde Pazos analyses the impact of the Catholic Monarchy's diplomacy on the involvement of *Rzeczpospolita* in the pan-European conflict (*Spanish Diplomats in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Thirty Years' War*). This example perfectly illustrates the breadth of political, economic and dynastic interactions that were determined by the diplomatic activities of all major European countries, even those geographically distant from each other. Conde Pazos also draws attention to the personal profile of diplomats sent on specific missions and to their respective political culture, experience, and preparation for dedicated charges.

The role of political nuances and, at first glance, of less important elements in conducting a diplomatic activity is treated by Ryszard Skowron (*Palatinate: the Key to Europe. On the Art of Diplomacy of Władysław IV Vasa*). The author points to the role of a seemingly secondary German state, as well as to the complicated system of ties between single European states at that time, in the perspective of the implementation of the great political and dynastic plans of the Polish-Lithuanian monarch, primarily related to his efforts to reclaim the Swedish throne. In fact, it is worth observing how the interests represented and defended through early modern diplomatic negotiation were primarily dynastic, typical of the sovereign families that divided the European spaces between themselves¹¹. In his article, Skowron has distinguished two basic categories defining Władysław IV's foreign policy: peace tactics (diplomatic activity and matrimonial policy) and war (military involvement in connection with the events of the Thirty Years' War).

The English point of view on the last years of the Polish Vasas' rule and on the election of 1669 is presented by Aleksandra Ziober (*The Last Years of the Reign of John Casimir Vasa and Interregnum after his Abdication in the Light of Reports of Francis Sanderson and Robert Yard*). The author shows how the image preserved in diplomatic accounts of various backgrounds' services allows us to recreate the historical narrative for many research topics with more detail. Thus diplomacy becomes a way of acquiring knowledge about single courts and state entities. Ziober also refers to the degree of understanding of the particular form and functioning of the Polish-Lithuanian political structures in seventeenth-century Europe.

The universalist-political dimension of the Holy See's diplomats' activity during the short reign of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1669–1673) is discussed by Alessandro Boccolini (*Diplomacy and Papal Politics during the "Unfortunate" Reign of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki*). The author analysed the

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Claudio Rosso, "Burocrazia, fiscalità, diplomazia", in *Storia d'Europa e del Mediterraneo. Dal Medioevo all'età della globalizzazione*, sez. 5: *Età moderna (secoli XVI–XVIII)*, vol. XII: *Popoli, stati, equilibri di potere*, ed. Roberto Bizzocchi (Salerno-Roma: Salerno Editrice, 2013), 43.

activity of the then apostolic nunciature primarily in the context of the relations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire, as well as the papal vision of *Rzeczpospolita* as *Antemurale Christianitatis*.

As Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger observed, «another major theme within recent reassessments of early modern diplomacy has been non-verbal communication. The early modern diplomatic ceremonial was essential to the expression of hierarchies»¹². In fact, in the third part of the book, we deal with a set of texts referring to the issues of diplomatic ceremonial, as «in early modern European diplomacy, the relationship between the ceremonial symbols and the mechanisms of power was closer and carried more weight»¹³.

In Marta Szymańska's article, *The Ceremonial of Receiving of Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł and his Stay at the Courts of Western Europe as a Royal Envoy during the Journey of Prince Władysław Vasa 1624–1625*, the diplomatic role of the Lithuanian magnate, member of the Vasa Prince's retinue during Władysław's educational trip around Europe, as well as the diplomatic dimension of the entire enterprise, seemingly unrelated to the implementation of the Polish-Lithuanian foreign policy, are discussed. One of the key aspects of the study is how the ceremonial applied to the Prince's retinue members indicated the diplomatic nature of the expedition.

Mariusz Sawicki (*The Coronation Parliament of John III Sobieski in French-Language Reports Sent to London*) presents a picture of the anointing act and then the entire coronation *sejm* (1676) of the later victor from Vienna. The author shows the image that French diplomats, present at that time in Poland-Lithuania, created in their reports on the events of Sobieski's coronation: its political, social and ceremonial aspects. Interestingly, those reports were sent in London and not in Paris. Sawicki shows himself fully aware of the strengths and weaknesses of historical interpreting similar creation that any external observers could create.

Ewelina Sikora (*Feasting and Fasting in Moscow: Peace Negotiation Between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy as Seen Through Eating and Drinking Customs*) takes up the theme of feasting as an essential element of Polish-Lithuanian diplomatic practice during the missions to Muscovy. The article constitutes an important contribution for developing further research on material culture in the field of the history of diplomacy¹⁴, also in the context of ceremonial treatments and traditional usages.

Finally, Gaetano Platania draws attention to the institution of obedience missions that Polish-Lithuanian kings traditionally sent to the papal court in order to certify their loyalty to the Catholic Church and its superior (*Michał Radziwiłł's Obedience Embassy in the Rome of Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi between Diplomacy and Ceremonial*). The author presents a case study, a picture of the *Rzeczpospolita's* envoy's entry to the Eternal City in 1680, putting Michał Radziwiłł's mission in the large political context of the Holy League's organisation. The ceremonial becomes here an authentic baroque, theatrical representation, still, by no means deprived of its political importance.

The last part of the book is devoted to a series of outstanding personalities of diplomats operating in the context of seventeenth-century *Rzeczpospolita*. Many scholars have adopted an actor-centred approach to inquiry early modern diplomacy, and such career case studies result as extremely useful. Placing ambassadors at the heart of the analysis offers a rich research perspective regarding the relationships they cultivated, their contacts and personal capacities, as well as the individual factor in conducting foreign policy that has always accompanied the great policy's sketches.

Uładzimir Padalinski develops the topic of the diplomatic activity of Mikhayla Haraburda (*Diplomatic Activity as the Basis of Political Advancement and Material Reward in the Sixteenth-Century Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Case of Mikhayla Haraburda*). It is a specific case study of a multiple envoy of

12 Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger, "Zeremoniell, Ritual, Symbol: Neue Forschungen zur symbolischen Kommunikation in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit", *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 27, 3 (2000): 389-405. Cf. Sowerby, "Early Modern Diplomatic History", 445.

13 Jan Hennings, "The Semiotics of Diplomatic Dialogue: Pomp and Circumstance in Tsar Peter I's Visit to Vienna in 1698", *The International History Review*, 30, 3 (2008), 515.

14 Cf. Harriet Rudolph, "Entangled Objects and Hybrid Practices? Material Culture as a New Approach to the History of Diplomacy", in *Material Culture in Modern Diplomacy from the 15th to the 20th Century*, eds. Rudolph and Gregor M. Metzger (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2016), 1-28.

the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to Muscovy and Crimea. Padalinski shows the dynamics with which the involvement in the implementation of foreign policy could determine both the political career and the social status of a diplomat in the noble context of *Rzeczpospolita*. His study also provides an outstanding example of the Lithuanian ambassador's *cursus honorum*.

Krzysztof Zbaraski's Constantinopolitan mission is examined by Tetiana Grygorieva (*The "Decisive Embassy" of Prince Krzysztof Zbaraski to Constantinople (1622–1623) and European Diplomacy amidst the 'Thirty Years' War*). The article rejects the bilateral vision of Polish-Lithuanian and Ottoman diplomatic contacts, presenting the image of Zbaraski's expedition in a broad European context, including, *inter alia*, political relations of both countries with Transylvania, as well as their involvement in the events of the Thirty Years' War.

Peter P. Bajer presents a diplomatic career as a path of personal development and one of the ways to build a social position in the early modern *Rzeczpospolita*. The author observes the case of foreign newcomers or/and their families (based on the example of Scottish immigration), the desirable result of who was usually obtaining a noble status in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*The Career of Jerzy (George) Bennet, the Scottish Agent of the Radziwiłł Family*)¹⁵.

The diplomatic mission as a field for the realisation of personal interests of a diplomat, in addition to the tasks provided by representing his political superior, is presented by Aleksandra Skrzypietz (*Between the King's Instructions and the Ambassador's Ambition. Cooperation Between Melchior de Polignac and Polish Magnates*). The author shows how diplomatic feedback could have influenced the evolution of the instructions entrusted to ambassadors and, consequently, had a direct impact on their political activity. Skrzypietz presents Polignac not only as a performer but as a co-creator of the French political program towards the *Rzeczpospolita* ruled by John III Sobieski. Finally, she explains the difficulties encountered by ambassadors of foreign countries in approaching the complex political and social context of the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The activities of diplomats of Pope Innocent XI in Poland-Lithuania and at the imperial court, as well as the nature of their regular contacts with the Roman Curia, are presented by Claudia Curcuruto (*Francesco Buonvisi and Opizio Pallavicini. Correspondences and Activities of Two Apostolic Nuncios in the Service of Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi. 1676–1689*). The author focuses on the communicative aspects of the activities of the apostolic nunciatures. She presents diplomats as mediators between radically different (geographically, politically, culturally) realities (not only on the line of the royal/imperial court and the papal court but also between local bishops and the Bishop of Rome – the pope). Finally, the issue of mediation, as one of the crucial elements of early modern diplomatic practice, is presented by Béla Mihalik on the example of the activity of a relative of the Polish-Lithuanian monarch Augustus II the Strong (1697–1706, 1709–1733) – Bishop of Győr, Christian August (*The King's Cousin, the Emperor's Bishop. Christian August of Saxe-Weitz as Mediator between Poland and the Holy See*). It is another text that highlights the problem of the personal interests of diplomats in carrying out their missions. In the case of Wettin, these were primarily the efforts to obtain the cardinal's hat. As observed by John Watkins, «the time has come for a multidisciplinary reevaluation of one of the oldest, and traditionally one of the most conservative, subfields in the modern discipline of history: the study of premodern diplomacy»¹⁶. Contemporary research on the history of diplomacy in the early modern *Rzeczpospolita* is doing quite well, but it still requires a reorientation and innovation of methodological approach. The history of diplomacy should no longer be seen as an abstract account of negotiations and treaties, disconnected from parallel social, economic and cultural aspects. Indeed, as this collection of studies demonstrates, historiography is continually discovering new research fields in matter. Among those contained in the presented volume, we can indicate: legal and institutional forms of early modern “international” relations, nature of diplomatic sources and character of the narrative present in the documents, multilaterality and complexity of the early modern interstate connections,

15 Recently on similar issues: Michał Salamonik, *In Their Majesties' Service. The Career of Francesco De Gratta (1613–1676) as a Royal Servant and Trader in Gdańsk* (Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2019); Wojciech Tygielski, *Dylematy włoskiego emigranta. Giovanni Battista Jacobelli (1603–1679), śpiewak i kapelan nadworny, kanonik warmiński* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2019).

16 Watkins, “Toward a New Diplomatic History”, 1.

their religious and confessional nature¹⁷, diplomatic ceremonial and non-verbal communication, tools and techniques used by ambassadors, *people* as direct implementers of the “art of diplomacy”, their *cursus honorum* and mechanisms of social advancement, cultural image expressed in diplomatic documents, social, economic, commercial and dynastic causes that determined political choices, as well as material culture in diplomacy¹⁸. This volume will undoubtedly contribute to the further development of contemporary analysis of these issues. We would like to continue to engage in new methods, ask additional questions, and rethink how early modern Polish-Lithuanian diplomacy is currently being studied.

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¹⁷ Cf. *Confessional Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Roberta Anderson and Charlotte Backerra (London-New York: Routledge, 2021).

¹⁸ Cf. Daniela Frigo, “Politica estera e diplomazia: figure problemi e apparati”, in *Storia degli antichi stati italiani*, eds. Gaetano Greco and Mario Rosa (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1996), 117.

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NEWS AGENTS AND POSTMASTERS: BACKGROUND FIGURES OR ACTIVE DIPLOMATS?

ABSTRACT

The present study aims to examine the vital role of the postal and news infrastructure in the seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania. The main scope of the article is to investigate what role postmasters and newsagents played in diplomatic structures by using the concept of the Black Chamber office. Emphasis is especially laid on diplomatic activities of postmasters and newsagents of Gdańsk, including their active networking, contacts with the Royal Family, the representative role of their residences as well as the intelligence activities. Finally, the article discusses the centralization of the royal power through the analysis of postal activities.

KEYWORDS: Diplomat; Postmaster; The Black Chamber; Network; Commissioner.

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The timely arrival of letters allows for the well-functioning of public councils, the conduct of wars, and is necessary for prosperous commerce and trade¹.

In these words, the first Polish printed newspaper – *Merkuriusz Polski* – informed about the importance of regular postal communication due to its disruption by the postal conflict between Brandenburg-Prussia and Poland-Lithuania in 1661. According to it, public institutions, military activities as well as commerce and trade depended on timely arrival of letters. The disruption in postal communication could destabilise states, negatively influence trade as well as lead to wars. Therefore, the present study aims to examine the vital role of the postal and news infrastructure in the seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania. The main scope of the article is to examine what role postmasters and news agents played in the diplomatic structures: if they were only extras or lead actors. A specific geographical emphasis lays on the development of the postal infrastructure in Gdańsk as it was the second, after Cracow, news hub in the Commonwealth. Finally, the article aspires to place the postal and diplomatic structures of Poland-Lithuania in a larger European context.

Traditionally, news agents and postal officers were seen in historiography as a “background” to proper diplomacy. However, a call has been recently made not only to view the diplomacy in terms of cultural transfer, but also to discuss and rehabilitate «the associated figures and processes within the diplomatic landscape including agents, spies, information-gatherers, postal officers, staff within the diplomatic household, the communication and preservation of sensitive information and the formalizing of diplomatic representation» as to follow Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox, the editors of the volume *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*². Additionally, the call for the *New Diplomatic History*, which focuses on the actor-centered approach, includes even «intermediaries and “non-

¹ *Merkuriusz Polski Ekstraordynaryjny*, issue 8, 25 January 1661, 58: «Odebranie zaś wczesne listów drogę otwiera zdrowym Radom publicznym: Zwycięstwa dodaje pracom woennym: A do szczęśliwego prowadzenia pomaga Commercys i handlom». The newspaper *Merkuriusz Polski* (Extraordinary for extra issues) is digitized and available at the University of Warsaw Library's website: http://buwcd.buw.uw.edu.pl/e_zbiory/ckcp/merkuriusz/start/start.htm, accessed 12 October 2020. All translations are my own.

² *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, eds. Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 8.

state” actors [...] who facilitated diplomatic relations»³. Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings, in their introduction to the volume on the practices of diplomacy during early modern period, listed merchants, generals, missionaries and translators as such intermediaries and “non-state” actors. In such context, postmasters and news agents are not only to be seen as background actors associated with postal infrastructure itself, but also as active figures in intermediary contacts in diplomatic landscape, who organized the post, transferred the letters and also collected, gathered and published news and newspapers. Hence, their diplomatic activities could include both state functions and their own “non-state” businesses.

Unfortunately, Nadine Akkerman’s article on the postmistress Alexandrine of Taxis is the only one which discusses postal and diplomatic activities in the volume *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*⁴. But even that article does not explain how the postmistress could be called a diplomat. Akkerman presents various activities of Alexandrine of Taxis – collecting news, opening letters and creating alternative postal routes – without broader perspective on postmasters’ function in the early modern world. Indeed, many studies on the seventeenth century postmasters show that the opening and copying the news from the correspondence was a standard practice. However, Akkerman’s article on the Black Chamber office of Alexandrine of Taxis shows how the postmaster’s office could pursue its diplomatic service and own agenda. As the example of Alexandrine of Taxis’s office has shown, the postal offices gathered not only postmasters or postmistresses and their servants, but also copyists, newspapers producers, and other multilingual actors and decipherers⁵.

Therefore, this article also aims to show such local intelligence network in Gdańsk, however with greater emphasis on the diplomacy and diplomatic mission of postmasters⁶. As the place of diplomatic activity is of paramount importance, certain attention will be paid to the city of Gdańsk itself, which formally belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but in some ways was an independent hub on the Baltic coast. Undoubtedly, city’s location and character gave the city’s postmasters broad possibilities to control the correspondence coming from the western part of Europe to Poland-Lithuania and to act as arbiters in ongoing conflicts with the Commonwealth’s neighbors. To sum up, the article discusses some activities of Gdańsk postmasters and news agents which could be described as diplomatic ones, namely, active networking and contacts with the Royal family, the representative role of their residences as well as espionage activities, to follow Akkerman’s main arguments.

THE NETWORK

One may claim that an Italian intelligence network existed in Poland-Lithuania during the early modern period. It was characterized by strong bounds and group solidarity among actors of Italian descent, who served as professional experts: postmasters, royal secretaries, mint masters, traders and factors, often combining several royal and private functions⁷. Francesco Gratta (1613-1676) a Royal Postmaster in Gdańsk, and his network, which included several actors of Italian descent can be taken as an example. Gratta connected all the above-mentioned functions except for mint master, but he obviously granted credit to mints. Interestingly, the order in which he obtained his functions shows that the position of a postmaster was the primary one and allowed him and his family (Francesco’s father, Antonio Gratta was the first Royal Postmaster in Gdańsk) to establish their presence in the city, and to enlarge their personal network in Poland-Lithuania as well as other parts of Europe. Then, thanks to Gratta’s contacts with the royal family, magnates, and Italian traders in Poland-Lithuania,

3 *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410–1800*, eds. Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings (London: Routledge, 2017), 3.

4 Nadine Akkerman, “The Postmistress, the Diplomat, and a Black Chamber?: Alexandrine of Taxis, Sir Balthazar Gerbier and the Power of Postal Control”, in Sowerby and Hennings, *Practices of Diplomacy*, 172–88.

5 Compare with Akkerman, “The Postmistress”, 183–84

6 Postmasters often ran diplomatic activities and even joined official diplomatic missions. See, for example, Akkerman, “The Postmistress”.

7 Wojciech Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce XVI–XVII wieku: Utracona szansa na modernizację* (Warszawa: Więzi, 2005), 328.

the family gradually established its position not only as merchants in the city of Gdańsk, but also in the noble society of Poland-Lithuania, which resulted in their obtaining the Gdańsk citizenship, necessary to pursue trade in the city, and the Polish noble title, which was gained by the heirs of Francesco Gratta⁸.

The contacts with royal families included both secretary and representative functions. Francesco Gratta was obliged to influence the Gdańsk city magistrate not to open packages addressed to the queen. However, if Gdańsk's customs officers would open them anyway, Gratta was supposed to be there in person. Additionally, Gratta was even responsible for transferring financial supplies to the royal couple from the Gdańsk City Council. Gratta even stayed in contact with Paris-based French authorities who belonged to the royal couple network and often acted as an intermediary on various occasions⁹. This can be perceived as a network building strategy, but also as a diplomatic tactic, especially in the light of the fact that Gratta informed Paris extensively about political proceedings in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Finally, Gratta was in possession of the Jagiellonian tapestries (Pol. *arrasy królewskie*) after the abdication of the king John II Casimir Vasa, which made Gratta's family even more important in both domestic and international politics. Both the Polish *sejm* and the royal family of de Arquien¹⁰ claimed their rights to the tapestries. One might consider Gratta as a representative of the royal couple in the negotiations about the reselling of the tapestries. In addition, a fact that needs to be mentioned is that Grattas had extensive contacts with high-ranking clergymen in Poland-Lithuania and other European countries. While studying Francesco Gratta's list of debtors and creditors, one can find Evangelical and Catholic clergymen including apostolic nuncio in Cologne, Warsaw (1673-1675), and later in Vienna, cardinal Francesco Buonvisi. Surprisingly, seeing that Gratta was mostly a creditor to several actors and a funder of certain activities, e.g. mints, the fact that he was in debt to cardinal Buonvisi is extraordinary and can be connected to intermediary contacts with other Italians or actors of Italian descent¹¹. In the wake of this, Italian actors accounted for almost a half of Gratta's debtors and only 15 % of creditors¹².

Obviously, when it comes to the transfer of news as well as development of their own trade activities, postmasters had connections and well-established networks. However, their archives are not well-preserved, and the information about these connections is often based on a single document or scant information in correspondence of a third party¹³. Giacomo Fantuzzi can be taken as an example, a former auditor in the nunciature of a cardinal, who received the address to Andrea and Ottavio Tencini in the Netherlands from Gratta¹⁴. Another example is Girolamo Pinocci, who was a diplomat to the English court and had several contacts with Gratta, from postal activity and trade contacts to publishing the first printed Polish newspaper, *Merkuriusz Polski*¹⁵. It should be mentioned

8 It needs to be added that the noble family of Czartoryski took Grattas to their family's coat of arms, Michał Salamonik, *In their Majesties' Service: the Career of Francesco De Gratta (1613-1676) as Royal Servant and Trader in Gdańsk* (Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2017), 109.

9 Salamonik, *In their Majesties' Service*, 130-32.

10 BOssol., ms. 11574/II, p. 53: «Przyjechał tu jeden Francuz z Paryża de Arquien, który od Króla i Rzeczypospolitej procurne eliberatorem Potopu».

11 Gratta's debt to cardinal Francesco Buonvisi was 160 florins, See ASL, AS, vol. 123, p. 198.

12 Compare the diagrams, Diagram 6: *Credit according to the actor's origin* and Diagram 7: *Debt according to the actors' origin*. Salamonik, *In their Majesties' Service*, 303.

13 See the sources about Sweden and Swedish postmasters: Heiko Droste, "The Terms of Royal Service: Post Servatnt's Finances, c. 1700", in *Connecting the Baltic Area, the Swedish Postal Century in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Heiko Droste (Huddinge, Södertörns högskola, 2011), 129. About Polish sources, see Salamonik, *In their Majesties' Service*, 48.

14 Wojciech Tygielski, "Razem czy z osobna? Procesy integracji włoskich imigrantów w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, XLVIII (2004): 14.

15 Gratta may be found in Pinocci's name book: «Al Grata di Danzica [...] Al Molto Illustre Signore mio Signore et Padrone [...] il Signore Francesco Gratta Amministratore delle Regie Poste di Polonia», Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, Archiwum Pinoccich, 29/650/25, n. 336, *Gratta*, [no date given, probably the mid-1670s], 419. About trade activity, see Salamonik, "New Times Bring New Practices: Girolamo Pinocci and Merkuriusz Polski, Handwritten Newspapers: An Alternative Medium during the Early Modern and Modern Periods", *Studia Fennica Historica*, eds. Heiko Droste and

that *Merkuriusz Polski* was also published in Italian and the Italian issues of the newspaper were sent to the papal court. Hence, it can be observed that Gratta's postal functions, and his personal contacts with Pinocci could result in, among others, postal news from Gdańsk being included in the newspaper. To sum up, Gratta's contacts with the royal family, clergy, and several Italian actors can be understood as his strategy to build a solid personal network. In conclusion, his networking actions and diplomatic activities show the interconnection of private trade activities with public functions. As the example of the Gratta's house in Gdańsk will show later, his private and public activities were tightly interconnected.

THE POST

The undisrupted transfer of letters and couriers' dispatch from country to country is the right of nations. This right not only allows, but also ensures the economic liberty [and grants] the right to a free passage to the Postmasters in times of peace ¹⁶.

The *Merkuriusz Polski* informed about the post several times during its short period of publication (January – June 1661). In 1660, the Treaty of Oliva, which ended the Second Northern War, known as the Swedish Deluge, included aspects of free transfer of letters in each country. The arrangement about postal communication was established according to the Westphalian Treaty, which laid the groundwork for establishing state postal organizations, and regulated borders between European countries. However, several months after signing the treaty of Oliva, a postal conflict arose between Poland-Lithuania and Brandenburg-Prussia. *Merkuriusz Polski* informed about the conflict in the following way:

Even if the King was not present [himself] during the entire case, he remained peaceful and seeing that the ambassador had neither the authority nor sufficient knowledge to resolve the case, he decided [...] to send his commissioners to Gdańsk and make arrangements with the electoral commissioners, in order to facilitate the free transfer of the correspondence ¹⁷.

In general, the conflict was initiated by the arrest of Gdańsk postal couriers by the Electoral officers. In the document dated to 11 November 1660, and later confirmed on 16 March 1661, Gratta is mentioned as one of the royal commissioners to negotiate resolution of the postal conflict¹⁸. One may observe that in the above quote *Merkuriusz* informs about the ambassador, who «had neither the authority nor the sufficient discernment to resolve the case» and, therefore, Gdańsk city authorities (Nicolaus von Bodeck – the mayor of the city, Fredericus Ehler – a proconsul of Gdańsk magistrate, the Adrian von den Linde, Royal Burgrave) together with Francesco Gratta, the Head Postmaster of the Royal Post in the city, were delegated to conduct the negotiations. This diplomatic mission resulted in a temporary settlement in September 1661, however, the tensions around the transmission of post between Poland-Lithuania and Brandenburg-Prussia lasted until 1698¹⁹.

Referring to Gratta's postal career, his engagement in the diplomatic mission with the Electoral officers resulted in his obtainment of the postal privilege. In this way, Francesco Gratta became the Postmaster General of Royal Prussia, Courland, Semigalia and Livonia due to his authority, diligence

Kirsti Samli-Niklander, vol. 26 (2019): 54.

16 *Merkuriusz Polski Ekstraordynaryjny*, issue 8, 25 January 1661, 57: «Przesyłanie wolne listów i wyprawianie kurierów od krainy do krainy iest liquidissimi Iuris gentium, które to prawo nie tylko pozwala, ale intuitu libertatis Commerciorum mieć che, żeby kurierzy pocztowi tempore Pacis mieli wzajemnie przejazd wolny wszędzie».

17 «Kontynuacja *Merkurjusza Polskiego*, od 14 lutego do 6 marca 1661», in Jan Sułowski, «Continuatione del Mercuria Polacco», *Rocznik Historii Czasopiśmiennictwa Polskiego*, 15/4 (1976): 398

18 Salamonik, *In Their Majesties' Service*, 171-72.

19 In 1698, the Brandenburgian postal office was reopened in Gdańsk, see Salamonik, *In Their Majesties' Service*, 181.

and efficiency²⁰. Here, one can see that Gratta's commissioner function resulted not only in the postal title, but also in the government of the northern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and, thence, the opportunity to profit on the control of the entire postal service between the Brandenburgian-Prussian territories.

Another, diplomatic function connected to the organization of the post was, as to follow Akkerman, the opening and control of the correspondence. Here, the most evident example connected with the Gdańsk postal office is the case of Jan Andrzej Morsztyn, the Grand Treasurer of the Crown and ambassador in France. The Gdańsk postal office disclosed Morsztyn's collaboration with French King Louis XIV against the King of Poland, John III Sobieski²¹. Morsztyn's contacts and plans to dethrone Sobieski were disclosed by Paolo Gratta (Francesco Gratta's oldest son who inherited the postal functions after Francesco's death in 1676) and Michał Antoni Hacki, the abbot of Oliva abbey. Hacki knew several languages, deciphered letters and was the ambassador of King Sobieski to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Therefore, Gratta's network and trust from the royal family could also be seen as arguments for a statement that a local Black Chamber office in Gdańsk existed, as presented in Akkerman's article on Alexandrine of Taxis. This local intelligence network of trust, beside Gratta and Hacki, the great scientists of the time, also included Hevelius in Gdańsk, and Boulliau in Paris. It has come to light in the course of a thorough analysis of their correspondence, which included the matters of the Commonwealth along scientific discussions.

Thence, the organization of the postal infrastructure, creation and growth of local intelligence network combined with the commissioner function show that the diplomatic activity of a postmaster (here: Francesco Gratta) was not limited to the control and the circulation of correspondence. In fact, it stretched much beyond that, and had a real influence on politics, both domestic and international, as well as a complementary function to the ambassador, as shown by the example of the postal conflict of 1660-1661.

THE HOUSE

The King is considering coming again to Gdańsk for the summer and because of that no one wants to rent or buy the house, for the reason that it has become public. [...] [It] needs ten people for administration because it is a public house [publicum Chaus, sic!]²².

The house of Francesco Gratta in Gdańsk was his private home, postal office, and a royal residence in times of royal visits in the city. It became a *public house* according to Caspar Richter, an associate to Francesco Gratta and the guardian to Gratta's sons after Francesco's death. In his letters to Jan Wawrzyniec Wodzicki, Richter often complained that the house was a "dammed nest" since nobody wanted to rent it and it was impossible to sell it due to its function as a royal residence.

20 Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, ms. 719: 29, 576.

21 Salamonik, *In Their Majesties' Service*, 185.

22 BOssol., ms. 11574/II, pp. 81-3: «Latem Król Jego Mość znów zamierza do Gdańska przyjechać, dlatego nikt nie chce tej kamienicy ani wynająć, ani kupić, gdyż jest ona podległa oneri publico, [...] Kamienica potrzebuje dziesięciu ludzi ad regimem, gdyż jest publicum Chaus».



Fig. The Royal residence in Gdańsk from 1698.

The De Grattas House with a sculpture of an eagle on the top.

During their visits to the city, the King and Queen stayed in the residence made of three tenement houses on the Long Market street, in the central location in Gdańsk, close to the City Hall. Even if Gratta's house was not the only one which the royal couple used during their visits, it was where their private chambers were located²³. From Richter's correspondence, one may learn that there was a coffee place where visitors gathered. What is more, the door to the house was open for the whole day during royal visits. In addition, even after the royal couple's departure from Gdańsk, other important figures came to the house to borrow money. In one of his letters to Wodzicki, Richter mentioned refugees, bishops, and voivodes who asked for financial help and accommodation²⁴. This fact clearly shows that the function of the royal postmaster was a representative one. Gratta's house became the central meeting point for Polish-Lithuanian noblemen in the city as well as a royal residence. Finally, one may highlight the fact that the son of Marie Louise d'Arquien and John III Sobieski, Prince Aleksander Sobieski, was born in the house in 1677. Due to that event, the house was renovated and adapted to the needs of the royal couple. Gratta's family incurred the expense of the re-modelling as well as of the royal couple's visit. In fact, the maintenance of the house and its renovation were financed to enjoy prestige and acknowledgments on the part of the royal couple; for their protection and postal functions. In conclusion, Gratta's residence served as a postal office, as a meeting point for persons in financial need, and, finally, as a royal residence at the time of royal couple visits in the city. Finally, even the architecture and interior design of the house, including its decoration and equipment, help to recognize its representative function. There were ten plaster bust statues standing in the

23 Salamonik, *In Their Majesties' Service*, 273-74.

24 BOssol., ms. 11574/II, p. 65: «Kiedy cały Gdańsk nie może komuś pomódz, to wtedy do Gradowej Kamienicy refugium, biskupi, wojewodowie [udają się, gdy] pieniędzy szukają, poręki potrzebują, jak i innych wygód».

entrance part of the house, some of them depicted Polish kings²⁵. Additionally, in the house main room (*Sala*), paintings of Polish Kings and Queens were hung among others. There was a portrait of King John Casimir Vasa and Queen Marie Louise Gonzaga as well as of King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki and Queen Eleonora of Austria²⁶. Finally, at the top of the house, an eagle, the symbol of the Polish Kingdom, was located²⁷.

FINAL REMARKS

The purpose of the current study was to determine if postmasters pursued diplomatic activities. The article has shown that both the active diplomacy and the term “New Diplomacy” can be understood as the processes of building a network around diplomats and diplomatic missions, the postmasters office and the postmaster function itself. One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that postmasters operated in intelligence networks, both locally and internationally, to develop postal service, and their own trade connections, but also for diplomatic reasons. As an example, Francesco Gratta’s commissioner function may be mentioned. In 1661, Gratta helped in resolving the postal conflict with the Electorate of Brandenburg-Prussia. It was clear that the royal ambassador could not intervene in this particular case and, therefore, the commission, with Gratta as a member, was created.

Returning to the hypothesis formed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that postmasters could even intervene in domestic and international policy. Royal postmasters belonged to the direct jurisdiction of the King and, therefore, we can see the linkage and strong bonds of the royal post service with royal affairs. Gratta was responsible for the King and Queen’s affairs in the city, control over their packages and letters as well as for maintaining their international contacts. This clearly shows that the royal post was used to centralise royal power. As the Grattas’ case has shown, the family belonged to the royal network in the city and it was known as a Polish node in Gdańsk.

One of the more significant findings to emerge from this study is that the early modern post functioned not only as a background for diplomacy, but it played the central role in pursuing diplomatic activities and missions. While one can take into account that postmasters could open and control letters, it becomes clear that they were central figures in diplomatic contacts on both state and interpersonal levels. The study has provided an example of Morsztyn’s collaboration with French King Louis XIV against the King of Poland, John III Sobieski. This obviously confirmed the espionage of royal postmasters, and their obedience to the King, who granted and appointed to postal offices. Furthermore, Morsztyn’s case confirmed the existence of the local Black Chamber in Gdańsk, with postmasters who controlled the correspondence, and Michał Antoni Hacki who deciphered letters. The current findings add to the growing body of literature on *New Diplomatic History* and to the research on postal history. Finally, this research has raised many questions to be investigated further, for example, the activity of postmasters in diplomatic missions as well as their network strategies, which influenced postal services, royal diplomacy and personal trade businesses.

25 ASL, AS, vol. 123, p. 137. The volume refers to Francesco De Gratta’s probate inventory from 1676.

26 ASL, AS, vol. 123, p. 145

27 See the lithography presenting the Grattas house, G. R. Curicke, *Freuden-Bezeugung Der Stadt Dantzig über die [...]*, (Gdańsk: Jan Zachariasz Stolle, 1698), 21; Biblioteka Narodowa, SD W.4.346 a adl.; <https://polona.pl/item/5609923/20/>, 2020-10-12.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASL: Archivio di Stato di Lucca.

AS: Archivio Sardi.

BOssol.: Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu.

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