

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.

Alessandro Boccolini

In copertina: Roman Postempki, *Jan III podpisuje traktat z Turkami w Żurawnie*, XIX Century
(Collection of National Museum in Warsaw)

euro 19,00

ISBN 978-88-7853-940-2



ISSN 2612-0402



EEHR

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW
Annually Historical Journal

n. 4/2021

Special issue

DIPLOMATS AND DIPLOMACY

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

Edited by

Dorota Gregorowicz and Alessandro Boccolini



Director Emeritus

Gaetano Platania (Università degli Studi della Toscana)

Director

Alessandro Boccolini (Università degli Studi della Toscana)

Scientific Board

Irena Vaišvilaitė (Ambassador of the Republic of Lithuania to UNESCO)

Matteo Sanfilippo (Università degli Studi della Toscana)

Rimvydas Petrauskas (Vilnius University)

Raffaele Caldarelli (Università degli Studi della Toscana)

Giordano Altarozzi (Petru Maior University of Târgu Mures)

Giovanni Pizzorusso (Università degli Studi Gabriele d'Annunzio, Chieti-Pescara)

Cesare La Mantia (Università di Trieste)

Prokhorov Andrei (Belarusian State University of Minsk)

Olexiy Sokyrko (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv)

Rafał Quirini-Popławski (Jagiellonian University of Kraków)

Francesca De Caprio (Università degli Studi della Toscana)

Jarosław Pietrzak (Pedagogical University of Kraków)

Marta Gołębek (Museum of King John III's Palace at Wilanów – Warsaw)

Language Expert

Sonia Maria Melchiorre (Università degli Studi della Toscana)

Editorial Board

Tony Urbani (Università degli Studi della Toscana)

Małgorzata Trzeciak Cygan (University of Warsaw)

Giulio Merlani (University of Caen Normandy)



Università degli Studi della Tuscia

Centro Studi sull'Età dei Sobieski e della Polonia Moderna
(Study Center on the Sobieski Age and of Modern Poland)
www.cespom.eu

Proprietà letteraria riservata. La riproduzione in qualsiasi forma, memorizzazione o trascrizione con qualunque mezzo (elettronico, meccanico, in fotocopia, in disco o in altro modo, compresi cinema, radio, televisione, internet) sono vietate senza l'autorizzazione scritta dell'Editore.

Eastern European History Review è una rivista on-line peer-reviewed con lettori anonimi

Chiuso il 31-12-2021

Impaginazione a cura di: *Fabiana Ceccariglia*

ISBN: 978-88-7853-940-2

ISBN ebook: 978-88-7853-941-9

ISSN: 2612-0402 005

Permalink: <http://hdl.handle.net/2067/4631>

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW
Via Santa Maria in Gradi 4 – 01100 Viterbo
www.easterneuropeanhistory.eu
eehr@unitus.it

Edizioni **SETTE CITTA**
Via Mazzini 87 – 01100 Viterbo
t. +39 0761 303020 – info@settecitta.eu

EASTERN EUROPEAN HISTORY REVIEW

a n n u a l l y h i s t o r i c a l j o u r n a l

~
n. 4/2021
Special Issue

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

Edited by

Dorota Gregorowicz and Alessandro Boccolini



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.

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, from an idea of Prof. Gaetano Platania, today Director Emeritus of this journal.

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.

The Editorial and Scientific Board

SOMMARIO/SUMMARY

Dorota Gregorowicz
Introduction

11

TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Dorota Gregorowicz
Diplomacy of the Commonwealth, Diplomacy of the King: the Peculiarity of Foreign Policy Making in the Seventeenth Century Poland-Lithuania.

19

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.

35

Henryk Litwin, Paweł Duda
Correspondence of Warsaw Nuncio Antonio Santa Croce with Roman Catholic Bishops from 1629: Frequency, Intensity and Content.

45

Michał Salamonik
News Agents and Postmasters: Background Figures or Active Diplomats?

57

DIPLOMACY AS AN ART OF GREAT POLITICS

Miguel Conde Pazos
Spanish Diplomats in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Thirty Years' War.

67

Ryszard Skowron
Palatinate: the Key to Europe. On the Art of Diplomacy of Władysław IV Vasa.

79

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.

101

Alessandro Boccolini
Diplomacy and Papal Politics during the "Unfortunate" Reign of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki.

111

DIPLOMATIC CEREMONIAL

Marta Szymańska
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.

127

- Mariusz Sawicki
The Coronation Parliament of John III Sobieski in French-Language Reports Sent to London. 137
- Ewelina Sikora
Feasting and Fasting in Moscow: Peace Negotiation Between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy as Seen Through Eating and Drinking Customs. 147
- Gaetano Platania
Michał Radziwiłł's Obedience Embassy in the Rome of Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi between Diplomacy and Ceremonial. 159
- DIPLOMATS IN ACTION**
- Uladzimir Padalinski
Diplomatic Activity as the Basis of Political Advancement and Material Reward in the Sixteenth-Century Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Case of Mikhayla Haraburda. 173
- Tetiana Grygorieva
The "Decisive Embassy" of Prince Krzysztof Zbaraski to Constantinople (1622–1623) and European Diplomacy amidst the Thirty Years' War. 185
- Peter P. Bajer
The Career of Jerzy (George) Bennet, the Scottish Agent of the Radziwiłł Family. 199
- Aleksandra Skrzypietz
Between the King's Instructions and the Ambassador's Ambition. Melchior de Polignac's Cooperation with Polish Magnates. 219
- Claudia Curcuruto
Francesco Buonvisi and Opizio Pallavicini. Correspondences and Activities of Two Apostolic Nuncios in the Service of Pope Innocent XI Odescalchi (1676–1689). 231
- Mihalik Béla Vilmos
The King's Cousin, the Emperor's Bishop. Christian August of Saxe-Weitz as Mediator between Poland and the Holy See. 249

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: Bibrink, 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

11

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.

Dorota Gregorowicz
University of Silesia in Katowice

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.

Ewelina Sikora

CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY (HUNGARY/AUSTRIA)

FEASTING AND FASTING IN MOSCOW: PEACE NEGOTIATION BETWEEN POLAND-LITHUANIA AND MUSCOVY IN 1678 AS SEEN THROUGH EATING AND DRINKING CUSTOMS

ABSTRACT

In 1678, a grand embassy headed by voivode of Wołyń (Volhynia) Michał Jerzy Czartoryski and voivode of Połock (Polatsk) Kazimierz Jan Sapieha set out to negotiate with Feodor III. At that time, the relations between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy were tense. The thirteen-year truce was about to end, talks dragged on, and friendship declarations were punctuated with threats.

By following the Polish-Lithuanian grand embassy of 1678 to Muscovy, as described in *Legatio Polono-Lithuanica* by Bernard Tanner, the article examines practices of diplomacy, paying attention to one particular aspect of embassies' material surrounding, that is food and drink. The goal is not to simply join the feast of the protagonists but to explore a wide range of problems – including those that would otherwise go unnoticed while focusing solely on high politics – to sketch a more detailed image of Polish-Lithuanian diplomacy in the seventeenth century.

KEYWORDS: Food and drink; Practice of Diplomacy; Bernard Tanner; Polish-Lithuanian relations with Muscovy

147


<http://hdl.handle.net/2067/46373>

In 1678 French “La Gazette” reported about the arrival of the Polish ambassador to Moscow in an overly optimistic tone, in the following words:

The ambassador of Poland arrived here with a numerous retinue of cavalry. The tsar had made great preparation for his public entry and he ordered the Principals of this Court to appear there with all the splendor that will be possible for them. That marks the design to live on good terms with the King of Poland. It is said that this Ambassador was charged to request the restitution of Smolensk and it is believed that he may be granted that to facilitate the success of negotiation that started with His Polish Majesty¹.

There were, in fact, two ambassadors, one from the Crown and one from Grand Duchy; the return of Smolensk was hardly considered; however, the entry seems to be indeed splendid, with tsar's subjects raising to the occasion. According to the firsthand account of Bernard Tanner, a member of the Polish-Lithuanian embassy, the ambassadors entering the capital were welcomed by Feodor III's officers and courtiers whose «luxury, beauty, and blaze» could barely be faithfully captured in writing².

Embassy received with such pomp was the first grand embassy sent from Poland-Lithuania to Muscovy after John III Sobieski's election in 1674. Although, as Tanner duly noted, it could not equal to the splendor displayed by Muscovites in their capital, its costs and importance were second only to voivode Jan Gniński's embassy to Istanbul dispatched a year earlier³.

1 BNF, *Recueil des gazettes et nouvelles, tant ordinaires que extraordinaires, et autres relations des choses avenues [...]*, (Paris: du Bureau d'adresse, aux Galleries du Louvre, 1679), 473. [La Gazette]. All translations by the author.

2 Bernard Tanner, *Legatio Polono-Lithuanica in Moscoviam Potentissimi Poloniae Regis ac Reipublicae Mandato & Consensu Anno 1678 feliciter suscepta* (Nürnberg: Sumptibus Johannis Ziegeri, 1689). Citations refer to the Polish edition: Bernard Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie do Moskwy szczęśliwie przedsięwzięte, opisane przez naocznego świadka Bernarda Tannera*, ed. Aleksander Strojny, trans. Michał Rzepiela and Aleksander Strojny (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze “Historia Iagellonica”, 2002), here 164.

3 Zbigniew Wójcik, “Z organizacji dyplomacji polskiej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku”, in *Polska służba dyplomatyczna*

Solemn entries, such as the one reported by “La Gazette”, were the first avenues to showcase the numerosity and richness of ambassadorial retinues that were matched with splendor put on by receiving part. The reception banquet held after the first audience with Tsar Feodor III complemented the welcoming ceremony, providing an excellent occasion for a further exhibition of hospitality, highlighting the gravitas of the mission with gestures and material accessories⁴. It also set the tone for the negotiations, perhaps even to a greater extent than the entry, as it revealed significant differences between Poles and Lithuanians, and Muscovites.

In this article, I focus on one particular aspect of the embassy that rarely receives sufficient attention: eating and drinking. Specifically, I am interested in the place of food and drink in the practice of diplomacy, showing it was not merely an entertaining addition but an integral part of ceremonial of receiving foreign legations. Beyond that, looking into how Muscovy is portrayed through food and drink and how Polish-Lithuanian ambassadors used food, drink, and everything around it to their advantage, can inform us about socio-cultural milieu of the ambassadors, and especially of those who put those descriptions in writing⁵. The basis of my analysis is the Polish-Lithuanian grand embassy of 1678, as it is reflected in a wonderfully detailed in respect to food and drink *Legatio Polono-Lithuanica* by Bernard Tanner.

GRAND EMBASSY OF 1678

At the beginning of John III Sobieski's reign priority of foreign policy, at least as projected by the king, was to secure Poland-Lithuania's south-eastern and eastern border. While the peace with the Sublime Porte had opponents among the nobles, the peace with Muscovy was considered by the majority to be the desired solution⁶. Truce of Żurawno was signed with the Porte in 1676, and a year after Jan Gniński departed to negotiate a peace treaty. Preparations to send the grand embassy to Muscovy were undertaken at the same time⁷.

Poland-Lithuania's relations with Muscovy at the beginning of Sobieski's reign were oriented foremost on normalization following the war of 1654–1667, heightened in the years preceding the expiration of the thirteen-year long truce established in Andrusovo (Andruszów)⁸. As a result of strenuous back and forth negotiation, the Treaty of Perpetual Peace was eventually concluded in 1686, binding Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania in a long-sought alliance against the Porte⁹.

Relations with the Porte were crucial for shaping Poland-Lithuania's overall foreign policy orientation, especially during the first years of Sobieski's reign, making it nearly impossible to disregard “the Turkish background” of exchanges between Warsaw and Moscow¹⁰. For this reason, the starting point for negotiation in 1678 was rather low: Polish-Lithuanian nobles intended to remind about the commitments from Andrusovo in the face of lack of the support of Muscovy's troops in the fight with the Porte, and the truce of Żurawno raised concerns in Muscovy over possible alliance turned

XVI-XVIII wieku: studia, ed. Zbigniew Wójcik (Warszawa: PWN, 1966), 300.

4 For more about the importance of the “language of things” in diplomacy see contributions to *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410–1800*, eds. Jan Hennings and Tracey A. Sowerby (New York: Routledge, 2017).

5 Such accounts are always a dialogue between the culture, habits, and customs of the author and described Others. Albert Meier, “Travel Writing”, in *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*, eds. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (New York: Brill, 2007), 449.

6 Krystyn Matwijowski, *Pierwsze sejmy z czasów Jana III Sobieskiego* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976), 62–6, 107–08, 178–82.

7 Matwijowski, *Pierwsze sejmy*, 159.

8 Zbigniew Wójcik, *Traktat andruszowski 1667 roku i jego geneza* (Warszawa: PWN, 1959).

9 Kirill Kochegarov, *Rech' Pospolitaya i Rossiya v 1680–1686 godakh. Zaklyucheniye dogovora o Vechnom mire* (Moskva: INDRIK, 2008). Here citation refer to Polish translation: Kirił Koczegarow, *Rzeczpospolita a Rosja w latach 1680–1686. Zawarcie traktatu o pokoju wiecznym* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017), 599.

10 Zbigniew Wójcik, *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji i Rosji 1674–1679* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976), 3.

against it¹¹. Nevertheless, both parties were willing to enter, as it turned out, challenging and arduous negotiations.

Grand embassy left Poland-Lithuania in February 1678, delayed because of concerns over tsar's reaction to «current transaction with the Porte», the fact that there was no one from the Crown willing to set out to Muscovy, and lastly that it was deemed more appropriate to wait for the *sejm* to be in session to appoint an embassy from there¹². Double-headed embassies were customary in relations with Muscovy, naturally stemming from Lithuanian nobility's greater interest in maintaining good-neighborly relations¹³. Eventually, voivode of Wołyń Michał Jerzy Czartoryski (1621–1691) became an ambassador from the Crown, joining voivode of Połock Jan Kazimierz Sapieha (c. 1642–1720) from the Grand Duchy, and secretary Hieronim Komar, a veteran of negotiations with Muscovy¹⁴.

There are, to my knowledge, at least three accounts of the embassy from the Polish-Lithuanian side in the archives in Poland accessible today. Regardless of their length, all three pay attention to food and drink. For instance, *Opis wjazdu*, a description of the ambassadors' entry to Moscow, informs about wine, mead, and beer provided to the embassy¹⁵. *Diarium Legationis Moschoviticae* names the type of wine used for toasting to the monarchs' health: «we have eaten and drunk lot of Apulian Romania [...] in a toast to tsar's and our majesty's health»¹⁶. Finally, Tanner's *Legatio Polono-Lithuanica* mentions as many as five types of wine offered to the Polish-Lithuanian ambassadors in order of its taste and price – Rhine, Moselle, *petercyment* (type of sweet wine from Spain), Romania, and another unspecified Spanish wine. However, Tanner notes that the most prominent drink on that occasion was vodka (*wińco gosudarskie* or «princely wine») served first, from a gilded cup and traditionally associated with the tsar¹⁷. Such details on drinking vessels and drinks consumed by the embassy members certainly make the account more vivid for those who did not participate in the event in person. Still, from the perspective of the practice of diplomacy, offering drink or food confirmed a hospitable reception, and toasting to monarchs' health from precious cups was a meaningful gesture celebrating the host and the guest, contributing to creating an atmosphere of commonality and congeniality at the table. Importantly, in all three accounts it is emphasized that the food and drink for the reception banquet was sent by the tsar, symbolically extending his table to the ambassadorial court (Rus. *posol'skii dvor*). Tanner, the author of the most detailed out of three accounts, devotes an entire chapter to «Moscow feast», the celebration of tsar's birthday, a peculiar deception involving a feast organized by the Polish-Lithuanian embassy, farewell banquet, and also gives glimpses of everyday meals. Besides recalling those details, the value of this source lies in the perspective of his descriptions. Although he travels to Moscow in Czartoryski's entourage, he is a foreigner who observes both the Crown and Grand Duchy representations with an outsider's eyes. Tanner writes about himself: «Bohemian from Prague, German courtier of Master Prince Ambassador»¹⁸, brilliantly displaying early modern aptitude to layer one's identification inclusively¹⁹. Significantly, the axis on which he draws the line of familiar/

11 Wójcik, *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji i Rosji*, 79–80, 83–4.

12 BKC, rkps 1696 IV, *Za panowania Jana III, Augustów i Stanisława Augusta senatus consilia*, 7–8.

13 Apart from the right of representation, the Grand Duchy's involvement included chancellery work and partaking in embassies' costs. Andrzej Rachuba, «Osobliwości polskiej dyplomacji w okresie nowożytnym (XVI–XVIII)», in *Cywilizacja europejska. Eseje i szkice z dziejów cywilizacji i dyplomacji*, ed. Maciej Koźmiński (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IH PAN, 2010), 226–27.

14 Aleksander Strojny, «Wstęp», in Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 31–3. See also biography: Kazimierz Piwarski, «Czartoryski Michał Jerzy», in PSB, vol. 4 (1938), 287–88; Andrzej Rachuba, «Sapieha Kazimierz Jan Paweł», in PSB, vol. 35 (1994), 37–48; Zbigniew Wójcik, «Komar Hieronim», in PSB, vol. 13 (1967–1968), 371–73.

15 AGAD, AR, II, sign. 1675, *Opis wjazdu posłów Rzeczypospolitej do Moskwy*, 3–4.

16 BKC, Teki Naruszewicza n. 176, rkps 176, IV, *Diarium Legationis Moschoviticae AD 1678*, 738.

17 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 179.

18 The title page of *Legatio Polono-Lithuanica* reads: «Boemo Pragense, Dn. Legati Principis Camerario Germanico».

19 Following Lucien Febvre, Daniel Riches aptly explains the significance for diplomacy of being at ease with such imprecisions that facilitated movement across borders, including state and «national»/linguistic ones. For historians that means a need to reconsider inflexible modern categories when approaching early modern diplomacy. See Daniel Riches,

foreign seems to be heavily tinted with confessional shades. He is a Catholic and, despite differences he is sometimes painfully being reminded of, that seems to serve as a criterium for recognizing the Poles, Lithuanians, and himself as “we”, in opposition to the schismatic Muscovites, protestant Germans, or Jews encounter during his journey.

While in Czartoryski's service, Tanner was responsible for food distribution and during the travel to Muscovy for supervision over the linen. He travelled among common courtiers (Lat. *ministrii ordinarii*), after a capelan, commander of the hussars, Polish noblemen, hussar officers, chief courtiers (Lat. *aulae primarii ministri*), and before Polish valets, other courtiers, and artisans²⁰. However, during the entry to Moscow, Tanner accompanied a Florentian doctor, certain Ferendini, because he «could not find a place among the Poles» as he was dressed in the German way, just like the doctor²¹. The problems to find a place among the Poles were not limited solely to fashion choices. As a foreigner, Tanner was not especially warmly welcomed as a member of the embassy. Luckily for him, Czartoryski's wife, Joanna Weronika, intercession was enough to secure his place.

Over 750 people travelled in Czartoryski's entourage only, with the entourage of the Sapieha the embassy consisted of about 1500 people²². Tanner, of a middling social standing, records members of the embassy of lower ranks who were often invisible when the account was prepared by someone close to the embassy's head. Thanks to Tanner, we know that, for example, Czartoryski travelled with a master cook, Goliński (a nobleman and a chief courtier)²³; court purveyor Szymon Wielkowolski (common courtier); known only by his first name baker Kazimierz, and Klemens, a *credenziero* (Lat. *praefectus abaci*, Pl. *kredensowy*) (both of them counted among artisans, *mechanici*); and anonymous cooks.

We do not know much about Sapieha's courtiers and personnel, at least not from Tanner's account. Since the two ambassadors were voivodes coming from magnate families and they did not always travel together, Sapieha's entourage must have mirrored that of the ambassador from the Crown, and while staying at the ambassadorial court, their courtiers and servants did not seem to isolate – Tanner mentions that the master cooks were working together in the kitchen²⁴.

The hierarchy among Czartoryski's courtiers was not only marked by their place in a cortege: the closest to the ambassador from the Crown, called a «company», dined together with him²⁵, and among the *hajduks*²⁶ the most trustworthy were allowed to serve at his table²⁷. By contrast, the least reliable among them were, according to Tanner, constantly drunk.

Drunkenness is an exploited trope in travel literature, especially further east one gone, and *Legatio Polono-Lithuanica* is no exception²⁸. Alcohol abuse by some *hajduks* is judged as a character flaw,

Protestant Cosmopolitanism and Diplomatic Culture: Brandenburg-Swedish Relations in the Seventeenth Century (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013), 16-7.

20 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 122-23.

21 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 161.

22 Strojny, “Wstęp”, in Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 34.

23 Master cook [Pl. *kuchmistrz*] was responsible for the organization of entire kitchen and banquets in a noble or princely household. It was a high rank in court offices, and in Poland-Lithuania it was not uncommon to see *kuchmistrz* who was a noble himself. About an ideal *kuchmistrz* and his duties see Jarosław Dumanowski, “*Compendium ferculorum* Stanisława Czarnieckiego”, in Stanisław Czarniecki, *Compendium ferculorum albo zebranie potraw*, eds. Jarosław Dumanowski and Magdalena Spychaj (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2009), 53–60.

24 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 202.

25 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 122.

26 *Hajduk* was an infantryman in the Polish-Lithuanian army organized following the Hungarian model or a servant at a magnate's court dressed in a Hungarian way. In Czartoryski's entourage, *hajduks* were responsible for the safety of both people and goods.

27 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 125.

28 Tanner was not alone in his opinions about the drinking habits in Muscovy. Thomas Smith wrote that «[d]runkenness is rather here a custome than a vice». After Matthew Smith Anderson, “English Views of Russia in the 17th Century”, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 33 (1954): 146. In general, drunkenness was one of the leitmotifs of the North/East travel throughout the ages. For example, for Fichte staying in Poland-Lithuania in 1791 it was the Poles who were «always

while drunkenness is more of an inherent trait of Muscovites, who «lived to drink»²⁹. In Tanner's account, drunkenness connected with unreliability and inconstancy, vices he attached to Muscovites without exceptions, but there was another side to alcohol consumption. Drinking together during festivities promoted sociability and was a means to gain trust³⁰. Thus, reception banquet for foreign embassy was an occasion to prepare the ground for the incoming negotiations.

Before taking a closer look into the reception banquet prepared for the Polish-Lithuanian embassy in 1678, I would like to bring attention to the most relevant difference between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy in terms of eating and drinking. Knowing the dietary rules that marked feasting and fasting days, it is perhaps easier to understand the reaction to the «Moscow feast», as Tanner describes it.

IEIUNIUM POLONICUM OR POLISH FAST

One of the characteristics of baroque Polish-Lithuanian cuisine – along with the generous use of spices and liking of contrast tastes, especially a combination of sour and sweet – was the way fast was observed³¹. Although the seventeenth century brings relaxation of the rules, the so-called *ieiunium Polonicum* was still more severe and rigorously followed than elsewhere in Catholic Europe. Besides Lent, Advent, and “dry days” every quarter of the year, fast-days include all Fridays, Saturdays, Wednesdays (although less and less commonly), and most eves of Catholic holidays, which accounted for a significant portion of the year³². But the religious-dietary prescriptions in Poland-Lithuania went further than just limiting the number of days one had to restrain from consuming meats. On fast-days, it also was forbidden to eat dairy and eggs, which required creativity from cooks who wanted to keep a certain degree of luxury of the table all year long. The effort to elevate fast-day menu is evident in recipes for «Partridges and miscellaneous birds from salty fish» in which “birds” were shaped out of a mixture of pike, oil, bread, onion, and spices³³ or «Fast-day borsch» with poppyseed or almond milk and “eggs” in which the white is made out of a soup base thickened with flour and pike, and the yoke prepared out of a base colored with saffron, cinnamon, and raisins³⁴. Apart from illusions, we also find less elaborate variants of recipes that simply replaced prohibited ingredients³⁵.

Especially one occasion described by Tanner confirms *ieiunium Polonicum* was in fact custom very much alive among members of the embassy, showing that even within one confession, dietary rules could have subtly differentiated co-religionists coming from different regional traditions. During a journey to Moscow, «[a Jewish housekeeper] proposed bread with butter and eggs. Because it was a fast-day though, the prince [Czartoryski] as a devout Pole did not accept this repast and requested me to eat it as I was a foreigner»³⁶. Considering Tanner's complaints about linseed oil that did not

drunk». Larry Wolf, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 342. See also Dorota Dias-Lewandowska, “Polskie picie oczami Niemców i Francuzów: zmiana czy długie trwanie?”, in *Rzeczpospolita w oczach podróżników z Francji i Niemiec*, eds. Anna Mikołajczyk and Włodzimierz Zientara (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014).

29 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 158.

30 Dias-Lewandowska, “Polskie picie oczami Niemców i Francuzów”, 140.

31 About more characteristics of Polish-Lithuanian baroque cuisine, see Dumanowski, “*Compendium ferculorum* Stanisława Czarnieckiego”, 60-6.

32 Marta Sikorska, *Smak i tożsamość. Polska i niemiecka literatura kulinarna w XVII wieku* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2019), 174. In the late seventeenth century Poland-Lithuania, fast on Wednesdays were not practiced consequently anymore. Jarosław Dumanowski, “*Kucharz francuski*. Książka kucharska Jana III Sobieskiego”, in *Sarmacka pamięć. Wokół bitwy pod Wiedniem*, eds. Bogusław Dybaś, Alois Woldan and Anna Ziemlewska (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014), 99.

33 Stanisław Czarniecki, *Compendium ferculorum albo zebranie potraw*, 148.

34 *Moda bardzo dobra smażenia różnych konfektów*, eds. Jarosław Dumanowski and Rafał Jankowski (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2011), 185.

35 “Mock foods” were not an uniquely Polish-Lithuanian phenomenon. For more examples see Sikorska, *Smak i tożsamość*, 182-86.

36 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 135.

agree with his stomach but was used by Poles on fast-days, it must have been a welcomed request, one that certainly did not compromise Bohemian's devotion: «anywhere I could, I ate dairy according to my native custom, but carefully, not to give ardent Poles an occasion to take offense»³⁷. And indeed, travelers to seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania report experiencing outrage for breaking the rules of fasting³⁸.

Although it should be noted that fish was not exclusively a fast-day food, as it could have been prepared with butter or stuffed with meat, it nevertheless carried connotations of restraining rather than celebrating. It seems that holding a banquet on a non-fast-day was in itself an effort in honoring guests appropriately, and exceptional occasions overruled even the religious dietary prescriptions. Arranging for a dispensation from the Catholic hierarchy elevated the celebration, as was the case with, for example, Prince Jakub Sobieski's wedding³⁹. The reception banquet held for the Polish-Lithuanian embassy after their first audience with the tsar was undoubtedly a special occasion that called for an exceptional setting, but surely not in the way the Poles, Lithuanians, and a certain Bohemian from Prague expected.

MOSCOW FEAST

In a ceremonial description for receiving ambassadors from Muscovy in Poland-Lithuania written down in 1674, three out of 16 points provide details on the banquet held after the first audience and an additional two on the farewell banquet⁴⁰. Besides clarifying when the feast happens, who is accompanying the ambassadors, what type of carriage is sent, where the banquet is held, how many tables have to be prepared, and what is the seating order, it also describes precisely what kind of cups should be used to drink for the tsar's health, specifying they should be gold, costing 100 red złotych (Polish ducats) and afterward offered as gifts (smaller and cheaper could be given to «younger» ambassadors)⁴¹. However, it does not mention what kind of food and drink is to be served, leaving this part of the banquet to be planned according to needs. Ceremonial for receiving ambassadors from Muscovy in Warsaw mirrored the ceremonial for receiving ambassadors from Poland-Lithuania in Moscow in many respects, in a way that it was molded by years of custom, supported by the logic of reciprocity⁴². Following the customs provided for certain predictability, for example, after the first and last audience, a banquet was expected.

The spectacular entry of the Polish-Lithuanian embassy to Moscow reported by "La Gazette" and described in detail by Tanner, preceded by two days of preparation, happened on the 17 May. The first audience with Tsar Feodor III took place on the 20 May. The food promised by the tsar at the end of the audience was sent almost immediately. Tanner mentions four carriages with food and kitchen equipment arriving shortly after the embassy reached their court, followed by a number of wardens who carried

amphoras, cups, and huge, richly gilded and silver-plated jars of various types and trimmings, which, they say, came to the possession of the Grand Duke [tsar] as gifts from the envoys of various rulers. We all thought they contained excellent liquors, but as soon as we discovered that they were completely empty, then we realised that they were carried through the city for a show to emphasize

37 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 130.

38 Probably the most cited in this regards is diary of Ulrich von Werdum, *Dziennik podróży 1670–1672*, ed. Dariusz Milewski (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2012), 61.

39 Giovan Battista Fagiuoli, *Diariusz podróży do Polski (1690–1691)*, ed. and trans. Małgorzata Ewa Trzeciak (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017), 133.

40 AGAD, APP, *Silva rerum Jana Wielopolskiego, starosty bieckiego*, sign. 45-4, *Sposób Przyjmowania Posłów Wielkich Moskiewskich*, 442-445.

41 AGAD, APP, [...], *Sposób Przyjmowania Posłów Wielkich Moskiewskich*, 445.

42 Jerzy Wojciechowski, "Opinie o ceremoniale dyplomatycznym w Rosji na podstawie relacji uczestników poselstw Rzeczypospolitej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku", *Wiek Stary i Nowy*, 14/19 (2019): 71-84.

respect for the ambassadors⁴³.

Although the guests from Poland-Lithuania seem to be disappointed by the fact the vessels did not contain liquors, they seem to understand and appreciate the intention behind this parade, suggesting that oddities were quite easily accepted when they fit into the embassy's idea of what is appropriate. And since "the kitchen parade" resembled the ambassadors' entry, or more broadly a triumphant procession during which the spoils were presented, the message seems to be clear enough.

As Tanner notes, after the equipment, the cooks and master cooked arrived with an iron grate for reheating the dishes, for they were prepared almost entirely in the tsar's kitchen. The ambassadorial court was equipped in its own kitchen, however, on this occasion, it was important that the food is not simply a provision.

The first significant discrepancy in eating customs was related to the way the table was prepared. Tsar's servant put a table cloth only on the head of the table intended for the Czartoryski and Sapieha. When Nikita Semyonovich Urusov, who was acting as Feodor III's representative during the banquet, turned to the ambassadors to ask them to invite the rest of the embassy to join at the table, Czartoryski answered that «Polish nobles are not used to eat at a table that is not laid with the cloth»⁴⁴. Quickly, Urusov explained that he now knew Polish customs well enough and sent for a table cloth to the tsar's palace. Only after the entire table was covered with cloth, the rest joined the table.

Ceremonial conflicts were not uncommon; the embassy of 1678 already had to resolve a dispute over precedence during the entry to Moscow⁴⁵. However, the incident with the table cloth is not a "typical" violation of ceremony in which the *maiestas* of the king and *Res Publica* was at stake, since it was not affecting the ambassadors directly. Especially Czartoryski's reply seems to point to something else: the equality of Polish-Lithuanian nobility, at least *de iure*, who enjoyed as an estate all the privileges that in Muscovy are reserved for few. In this context, Urusov's excuse about insufficient knowledge of Polish customs extends beyond table manners.

Besides the cloth, silver cutlery and sculptures were put on the table. The sculptures reproduced towers, walls, «and other things», with two-headed eagles on top⁴⁶, and were nothing unusual, although they were more often made out of sugar paste than flour mixed with linseed oil like in this case. Such ephemeral "architecture" provided an excellent opportunity to make a statement at the dinner, staging one's virtues⁴⁷. For example, during the wedding of Prince Jakub Sobieski, the sculptures depicted him as a Hercules⁴⁸, and during a banquet held in 1680 for Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł by the pope, the tables were decorated with eagles, a tribute to the Polish emblem⁴⁹. Here, an emblem of the tsar unmistakably reminded who the host was.

Tanner mentions plenty of food, 200 raw dishes, and warm dishes reserved for the ambassadors. Nonetheless, Czartoryski and Sapieha ate them reluctantly because «apparently, for the unaccustomed

43 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 177.

44 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 179.

45 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 166-67. The conflict over precedence, however briefly described, was recognized by Tanner as serious for good reasons as claims to precedence connected directly with the sovereign's status. See Jan Hennings, *Russia and Courtly Europe. Ritual and the Culture of Diplomacy, 1648-1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 15-22.

46 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 178.

47 Marcia Reed, "Court and Civic Festivals", in *The Edible Monument. The Art of Food for Festivals*, ed. Marcia Reed (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2016), 60.

48 Using the figure of Hercules fits into the pattern of imagining Jakub as partaking in John III's glory, additionally pointing to the potency securing dynastic continuity. On the symbolism of the figure of Hercules see Katharina N. Piechocki, "Sincerity, Sterility, Scandal: Eroticizing Diplomacy in Early Seventeenth-century Opera Librettos at the French Embassy in Rome", in Hennings and Sowerby, *Practices of Diplomacy*, 116.

49 Dominika Walawender-Musz, *Entrata księcia Radziwiłła do Rzymu, czyli triumf po polsku* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2009), 95.

Polish palate, the dishes were prepared with ingredients not exquisite enough»⁵⁰. Tanner believes that, in general, the Poles are more «magnanimous», «dignified», and «noble» when it comes to their physical appearance and character, so it is not a surprise they also have, in his opinion, more sophisticated palates. In *Legatio Polono-Lithuanica*, Muscovites are portrayed as uncultivated, cruel, fickle schismatics of superficial faith; their eating and drinking habits – involving abuse of alcohol, consuming raw or even spoiled meats, and common fish – resonate perfectly with vices attached to them.

Overall, the main problem with the feast prepared for the Polish-Lithuanian embassy in 1678 was that «there was plenty of food, but everything was made only of fish, which not only was impossible to eat, but even difficult to look at». Tanner even adds a description of the dishes, insisting that they looked better than tasted, as if his reader may have been convinced that it reminds elaborate food illusions prepared for fast-days in, among other places, Poland-Lithuania:

Muscovites have saltwater fish in abundance, and therefore certainly not to get overwhelmed by the costs, we were always offered fish. Some of the fish, called beluga because of their white flesh, are compared in size to an ox. It was from these fish, cut into pieces, that all the variety of dishes was prepared ... Meat of this species produces a sticky juice or liquid that thickens easily. From this pulp, which takes any shape given to it by the fingers of a cook, geese, turkeys, chickens, and other creatures were formed. When they were placed in front of us, it was better to look at than eat them.

Czartoryski's courtier seems to have some appreciation for the illusion, but still, he judges the fish was served out of stinginess, undermining the efforts to showcase the variety of dishes expected on such occasions.

Failed expectations of what classified as a celebratory food, especially in opposition to a fast-day food for Poles and Lithuanians, informed the unfavorable opinion on the dishes, and by extension, the Muscovites. Another description of the feast, Tsar Feodor III's birthday, gives more clear indications why the dishes offered to the Polish-Lithuanian embassy were considered inferior, precisely mentioning their fast-day character: «we are counting that for it was Monday, they will feed us at least meat. But on seeing fast-day almost raw dishes, although in the number of 200, seasoned mostly with linseed oil, our hopes were gone». Tanner goes even further, expressing an opinion that such raw dishes were suited more for cannibals. However, he is not entirely dismissive of food and drinks consumed in Moscow, not sparing the praise when his expectations about what food and drink are appropriate were met. During the reception banquet especially two dishes attracted his attention:

on another bowl there was another wonder: various fruits cooked in sugar and flavored with aromatic spices unknown to us, all prepared so elaborately that they resembled a folded red cloth. There was even quite a serious dispute among the courtiers who stood nearby as to whether it was a cloth or food. Also, I cannot omit the pumpkins cut in half, cooked in what I believe was sugar and pepper, sweeter than you might imagine.

Sugar in the late seventeenth century was still an expensive commodity, and fruits preserved in sugar and confitures had a special place on the table. In the time (and space) when fruits were available seasonally, the ability to preserve them was a sought-after skill and a fashionable novelty. Here, they are additionally prepared in a way that seems to resonate well with the baroque aesthetic of illusion and surprise⁵¹. Apart from the entertainment value and appreciation for the cooks' (or perhaps *confiseurs*) skills, the use of sugar and aromatic spices indicated the tsar's wealth, commercial outreach, and generosity, unlike the fish in abundance at his disposal.

Besides sugar and spices, wine was another imported commodity, demonstrating further the host's remarkable generosity. It was expensive, hard-to-reach because of the modes of transportation and the

50 This and the following quotations refer to: Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 177.

51 Jarosław Dumanowski, "Nowe źródło do dziejów kuchni staropolskiej", in Dumanowski and Jankowski, *Moda bardzo*, 57-9.

frequency in which it went bad⁵². As I mentioned before, Tanner counted five types of wines offered to the embassy served after «princely wine», that is, vodka, beer, and mead. All drinks were served after the meal, perfectly in line with how drinks were served in Poland-Lithuania⁵³.

Urusov providently made sure there are no complaints about the insufficient amount of drinks. «Know[ing] well Poles are keen on vodka», he ordered to put a barrel of it in the middle of the ambassadorial court. One member of the embassy, a *hajduk* called Strzyga, particularly proved him right, drinking so much that it caused an unfortunate servant to internally burst into flames and blow out puffs of black smoke⁵⁴.

Another, although definitely less spectacular incident involving alcohol at the feast was connected to attempts of adulteration. Apparently, some Muscovite servants «thinking more about their profit than about the ambassadors' satisfaction»⁵⁵ mixed inferior wines hoping that they could keep the finer ones for themselves. Their deception was discovered as the guests either spit the drinks or pour them on the ground. The incident is as much illustrative for what Tanner thinks of Muscovites as of Poles and Lithuanians: the former were greedy and deceitful, the latter could not be tricked into drinking adulterated wines because they could distinguish bad ones from good ones – in other words, demonstrating their good taste. And as time showed, Poles and Lithuanians also could not be tricked during the negotiations that followed. Moreover, they were the ones who managed to outwit Muscovites.

DECEPTION FEAST

Until the first audience with the tsar, the ambassadors could not meet anyone but appointed *pristavs*⁵⁶. After the entry to the capital, the audience with the tsar, and the reception banquet, the negotiation entered into a more mundane phase. Czartoryski, Sapieha, and Komar were meeting with council members, sometimes in the tsar's presence, establishing the details of a future treaty. Tanner counted 32 conferences between the 23 May and the 17 of August. As it was customary, after confirming plenipotentiary powers, the talks started with handing in a list of grievances⁵⁷.

The talks were dragging on, threats to break off negotiations were repeated. One particular instance on which Polish-Lithuanian ambassadors resorted to deception to break the deadlock is fascinating. According to Tanner, on the 5 July, the disagreement over the return of Smolensk, Kyiv, and the starosty of Velizh or financial compensation turned into a heated exchange. Polish-Lithuanian ambassadors threatened that Sobieski might want to recapture those territories with armed forces if the agreement is not met. The tsar replied that he as well may send an envoy to the Porte to enter an alliance against Poland-Lithuania, and since Czartoryski is too stubborn, he can be taken as a hostage until the agreement with the sultan is sealed. The ambassadors did not take this escalation lightly and, as Tanner reports, gathered their closest aides and came up with a solution:

to suppress the fear, the trumpeters and drummers were placed at the top of the palace, so that their joyful notes could flow from there [...]. Additionally, wine was served generously. At that time, none of us knew what this extraordinary outburst of joy meant, so it seemed strange to us⁵⁸.

52 Dorota Dias-Lewandowska, *Historia kulturowa wina francuskiego w Polsce od połowy XVII do początku XIX wieku* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014), 24-6.

53 Dias-Lewandowska, *Historia kulturowa wina francuskiego w Polsce*, 161-62.

54 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 180.

55 Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 180.

56 Wojciechowski, "Opinie o ceremoniale dyplomatycznym w Rosji", 74. The institution of a *pristav* [Pol. *przystaw*] evolved under the Muscovy's example also in Poland-Lithuania. Interestingly, with time they were appointed only for Muscovite, Turkish, and Tatar legations. The task of a *pristav* was to escort the incoming legation from the border, secure its safety and provisions, but also to control with whom they could interact. Stanisław E. Nahlik, *Narodziny nowożytnej dyplomacji* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1971), 132.

57 Wójcik, *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji i Rosji*, 154.

58 This and the following quotations refer to: Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie*, 204.

After few hours of this concert, *pristavs* came to inquire what is the reason for such unusual joy. Received by Czartoryski and Sapieha, they were offered a toast to the tsar's health with big gilded cups, which they could not refuse. The ambassadors then explained that they are bidding farewell to Muscovy, intending to leave soon, and Czartoryski is relishing his last moments of freedom before being taken into custody.

The loud celebration continued long until midnight, until the intervention of the tsar's servant, the embassy stopped their revelry. Day after, the ambassadors received an invitation to a confidential conference and went there «still intoxicated with wine». Although the feast put for the show did not resolve the impasse entirely, it took four more meetings and an ostensible preparation of the carriages to departure to reach a provisory agreement (setting financial compensation for disputed territories), it was nevertheless presented by Tanner as a turning point and prove of «Lithuanian-Polish genius». Outcomes of the embassy headed to Muscovy by Czartoryski and Sapieha in 1678 were perhaps not spectacular but still favorable for Poland-Lithuania: the truce was prolonged, the border was slightly corrected, and 200'000 rubles (1'000'000 złotych) financial compensation was granted⁵⁹. Many issues were left unresolved, put aside for later commissions, and grand embassies to come, and it took eight more years to reach a “perpetual peace”. Yet, the account from Muscovy by Bernard Tanner brilliantly reflects on the course of the embassy from a unique perspective, providing fascinating material for inquiry on the role of food and drink in the practice of diplomacy, serving both as a binder of the community that met at one table and a distinct marker of difference: religious, ethnic, and social.

ABBREVIATIONS

AGAD: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie.
 APP: Archiwum Publiczne Potockich.
 AR: Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów.
 BNF: Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
 BKC: Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Matthew Smith. "English Views of Russia in the 17th Century". *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 33 (1954): 140-60.
- Dias-Lewandowska, Dorota. "Polskie picie oczami Niemców i Francuzów: zmiana czy długie trwanie?". In *Rzeczpospolita w oczach podróżników z Francji i Niemiec*, edited by Anna Mikołajczyk and Włodzimierz Zientara. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014.
- Dias-Lewandowska, Dorota. *Historia kulturowa wina francuskiego w Polsce od połowy XVII do początku XIX wieku*. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014.
- Dumanowski, Jarosław. "Kucharz francuski. Książka kucharska Jana III Sobieskiego". In *Sarmacka pamięć. Wokół bitwy pod Wiedniem*, edited by Bogusław Dybaś, Alois Woldan and Anna Ziemska, 83-104. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2014.
- Dumanowski, Jarosław. "Nowe źródło do dziejów kuchni staropolskiej". In *Moda bardzo dobra smażenia różnych konfektów*, edited by Jarosław Dumanowski and Rafał Jankowski. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2011.
- Dumanowski, Jarosław. "Compendium ferculorum Stanisława Czarnieckiego". In *Compendium ferculorum albo zebranie potraw*, edited by Jarosław Dumanowski and Magdalena Spychaj, 13-71. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2009.
- Hennings, Jan, and Sowerby, Tracey A. eds. *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410-1800*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Hennings, Jan. *Russia and Courtly Europe. Ritual and the Culture of Diplomacy, 1648-1725*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Koczegarow, Kirył. *Rzeczpospolita a Rosja w latach 1680-1686. Zawarcie traktatu o pokoju wieczystym*. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017.
- Matwijowski, Krystyn. *Pierwsze sejmy z czasów Jana III Sobieskiego*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976.
- Meier, Albert. "Travel Writing". In *Imagology: The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*, edited by Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen, 446-49. New York: Brill, 2007.
- Piechocki, Katharina N. "Sincerity, Sterility, Scandal: Eroticizing Diplomacy in Early Seventeenth-century Opera Librettos at the French Embassy in Rome". In *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410-1800*, edited by Jan Hennings and Tracey A. Sowerby, 113-39. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Piowski, Kazimierz. "Czartoryski Michał Jerzy". In PSB, vol. 4 (1938), 287-88.
- Rachuba, Andrzej. "Osobliwości polskiej dyplomacji w okresie nowożytnym (XVI-XVIII)". In *Cywilizacja europejska. Eseje i szkice z dziejów cywilizacji i dyplomacji*, edited by Maciej Koźmiński, 225-44. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IH PAN, 2010.
- Rachuba, Andrzej. "Sapieha Kazimierz Jan Paweł". In PSB, vol. 35 (1994), 32-48.
- Reed, Marcia. "The Court and Civic Festivals". In *The Edible Monument. The Art of Food for Festivals*, edited by Marcia Reed, 27-72. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2016.
- Riches, Daniel. *Protestant Cosmopolitanism and Diplomatic Culture: Brandenburg-Swedish Relations in the Seventeenth Century*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Sikorska, Marta. *Smak i tożsamość. Polska i niemiecka literatura kulinarna w XVII wieku*. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2019.
- Strojny, Aleksander. "Wstęp". In Bernard Tanner, *Poselstwo polsko-litewskie do Moskwy szczęśliwie przedsięwzięte, opisane przez naocznego świadka Bernarda Tannera*, edited by Aleksander

- Strojny, translated by Michał Rzepiela and Aleksander Strojny, 1-106. Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Historia Iagellonica", 2002.
- Walawender-Musz, Dominika. *Entrata księcia Radziwiłła do Rzymu, czyli triumf po polsku*. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2009.
- Wojciechowski, Jerzy. "Opinie o ceremoniale dyplomatycznym w Rosji na podstawie relacji uczestników poselstw Rzeczypospolitej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku". *Wieki Stare i Nowe*, 14/19 (2019): 71-87.
- Wolf, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Wójcik, Zbigniew. *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji i Rosji 1674-1679*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1976.
- Wójcik, Zbigniew. "Komar Hieronim". In PSB, vol. 13 (1967-1968), 371-73.
- Wójcik, Zbigniew. "Z organizacji dyplomacji polskiej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku". In *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI-XVIII wieku: studia*, edited by Zbigniew Wójcik, 257-367. Warszawa: PWN, 1966.
- Wójcik, Zbigniew. *Traktat andruszowski 1667 roku i jego geneza*. Warszawa: PWN, 1959.

PRIMARY SOURCES

AGAD

APP: *Silva rerum Jana Wielopolskiego, starosty bieckiego*, sign. 45-4

AR, II: *Opis wjazdu posłów Rzeczypospolitej do Moskwy*, sign. 1675.

BKC

Za panowania Jana III, Augustów i Stanisława Augusta senatus consilia, rkps 1696 IV, Teki Naruszewicza n. 176, rkps 176 IV.

PRINTED SOURCES

- Dumanowski, Jarosław, and Spychaj, Magdalena, eds. *Czarniecki, Stanisław. Compendium ferculorum albo zebranie potraw*. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2009.
- Trzeciak, Małgorzata Ewa, ed. and trans. *Fagioli, Giovan Battista. Diariusz podróży do Polski (1690-1691)*. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2017.
- Dumanowski, Jarosław, and Jankowski, Rafał, eds. *Moda bardzo dobra smażenia różnych konfektów*. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2011.
- Recueil des gazettes et nouvelles, tant ordinaires que extraordinaires, et autres relations des choses avenues [...]*. Paris: du Bureau d'adresse, aux Galleries du Louvre, 1679. (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k63159248/f4.item>).
- Strojny, Aleksander, ed. Rzepiela, Michał and Strojny, Aleksander, trans. *Tanner, Bernard. Poselstwo polsko-litewskie do Moskwy szczęśliwie przedsięwzięte, opisane przez naocznego świadka Bernarda Tannera*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Historia Iagellonica", 2002.
- Tanner, Bernard. *Legatio Polono-Lithuanica in Moscoviam Potentissimi Poloniae Regis ac Reipublicae Mandato & Consensu Anno 1678 feliciter suscepta*. Nürnberg: Sumptibus Johannis Ziegeri, 1689.
- Milewski, Dariusz, ed. *Werdum, Ulrich von. Dziennik podróży 1670-1672*. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2012.