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Diplomacy, material culture and the book world in the account of the French special envoys to Hamburg, 1638

Shanti Graheli

Several years ago I travelled for the first time to Paris, a key location for my survey of Italian sixteenth-century books in French repositories.¹ My doctorate had been funded through a Major AHRC grant awarded to Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby for the development of the Universal Short Title Catalogue.² The inclusion of doctoral scholarships under major grants has since been discontinued by the UK Research and Innovation Councils, but in my case and for many others, it meant undertaking doctoral research as part of a team. As such, it was my responsibility to establish a census of Italian imprints in French libraries, identifying copies of known editions, and describing any editions not yet captured by existing bibliographies. This was intended as a proof-of-concept exercise, following the findings of the St Andrews Book Project in the study of the French sixteenth-century printed output: that a significant proportion of that corpus survives only outside its own *Sprachraum*. It was my task to explore what the figures may show for Italy, whose editions had been disseminated and collected abroad since the time of their production. The French case was expected to be particularly relevant in this context, as indeed it proved to be.³

This preamble serves to explain how I came across the source discussed in this piece, a serendipitous find only made possible by the material circumstances of my research. As I set out to explore the Italian rare books collections in Paris, the Mazarine Library was my first destination. In my early correspondence with the library, I had sent a list of items that I wished to consult, arranged by pressmark and unwittingly starting with volumes in the Réserve.⁴ The collections in the Mazarine contain a great many *recueils factices*, to use the French expression, assembled in the early seventeenth century for the private library of Cardinal Mazarin (1602-1661). These are usually made up of shorter texts, collected via a thematic focus, and sometimes contain very rare items – this being one of the key features of *recueils factices* or *Sammelbände*.⁵ It was towards the end of my first day on the *quai de Conti* that I stumbled upon one such volume, Réserve 4° 15954, which I had requested out of interest in the Italian prognostications contained therein.

The prognostications themselves were rare items, some of them unique; but it was the outlier that held the greatest interest, and it is this that stands at the heart of this present contribution. Hidden amongst the Italian and French-language prognostications was a Dutch seventeenth-century almanac, thoroughly annotated in French between the months of January to August 1638. I have often revisited this document over the past seven years, wondering how to

¹ I wish to thank Nina Lamal and Arthur der Weduwen for reading and commenting on this piece. Their comments and insights have been invaluable in advancing this essay, though any remaining errors are my own. In transcribing original sources, I have retained the original spelling, except for adding accents where they might render the text more intelligible.

² Universal Short Title Catalogue project, PI: Andrew Pettegree, 2011-2015 (AH/I026480/1).

³ The monograph resulting from that study, *Italian Books and the French Renaissance*, is expected to appear in 2022 in this very series.

⁴ A choice that I have avoided since. As a junior scholar, I had not realised that working with rare books requires a certain element of trust, and that it may be unwise to begin fieldwork in any place by requesting a library's most precious items.

⁵ The ongoing project *Sammelband15-16*, led by Malcolm Walsby and Katell Lavéant, is currently exploring the investigative value of the *Sammelband* as a cultural object.

make use of it, musing on its contents. It was immediately clear to me that this was an item of some historical interest, though I was not equally certain that I could do it justice. And indeed, others may well make a better use of it; but following in Andrew's footsteps, I want to offer it here as a gift, so that fellow scholars may expand on this nugget of scholarship.

The document

The volume Réserve 4° 15954 contains thirteen separate items, all quartos, all belonging to the wider category of calendars and prognostications.⁶ Figure X.1 contains a full breakdown of the volume's contents, as they physically appear. The collection was put together in the seventeenth century, almost certainly breaking up booklets established at an earlier date. Items 5 and 6 were presumably bound together from an early date, as they contain contemporary or near-contemporary annotations in French that suggest their former association. I have also indicated the number of copies documented to-date for each edition, to highlight the overall rarity of the titles collected within this volume.

	Author, Title	Imprint	USTC	Copies
1	Francesco Barozzi, <i>Pronostico universale di tutto il mondo. Il qual comincia dal principio dell'anno 1565 & finisce al principio dell'anno 1570. Racolto dalli presagi del divino Michiele Nostradamo, & dalli pronostici di molti altri eccellentissimi autori & con brevi annotazioni illustrato</i>	Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1566	812368	2
2	Ambrogio da Brescia, <i>Discorso astrologico ove si vede quanto le stelle minacciano al maninconico, furioso, humido, & freddo, anno bisestile, 1572. Della stagion del tempo, del raccolto, dell'infirmità, guerre, mutationi di stati, ordini, & leggi</i>	Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbio, 1571	809031	4
3	Jakob Strauss, <i>Pronostico sopra l'anno MDLXXVIII composto in latino da l'eccellente d. Iacomo Straus, fisico ordinario de l'inclito ducato de la Stiria, transl. Lucrezio Manara</i>	Venezia: Cesare Vecellio, [1578]	857638	4
4	Annibale Raimondo, <i>Discorso sopra la dispositione dell'anno corrente MDLXXXVIII</i>	Verona: Sebastiano delle Donne & Girolamo Stringari, 1584	870134	1
5	Jean Thibault, <i>Apologie contre les invectives d'aulcuns prognostiqueurs</i>	Antwerp: s.n., 1530	49825	2

⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Réserve 4° 15954. The almanac, item 8 in the volume, has now been digitised by the Library, and is freely accessible via their online portal, *Mazarinum*: <https://mazarinum.bibliotheque-mazarine.fr/ark:/61562/mz23147>.

6	Jean Carion, <i>Pronostication ou signification et manifestation des influences des veritables cours celestes</i>	Antwerpen [=Paris, Guillaume de Bossozel, 1532]	73080	2
7	Ludovico Vitali, <i>Pronostico sopra l'anno del nostro Signore MDXXXVIII</i>	Bologna: s.n., 1537	870135	1
8	<i>Comptoir almanach, ofte journael op het jaer nae de gheboorte ons heeren ende salighmakers Jesu Christi duysent ses hondert acht-en- dertigh</i>	Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 1638	1511356	1
9	Cesare Crivellati, <i>Lunario perpetuo, nel quale si pongono le regole necessarie perfar lunarii. Con una tavola d'aritmética</i>	Viterbo: Agostino Discepolo, 1626	4000946	2
10	<i>Calendario et lunario perpetuo</i>	Venezia: Bartolomeo Imperatore, 1552	870136	2
11	Ambrogio da Brescia, <i>Pronostico spirituale</i>	Venezia: s.n., 1586	870137	1
12	<i>Il vero et infallibil pronostico per l'anno che ha da venire</i>	s.l., s.n., s.d.	870138	1
13	Pasquier Pynard, <i>Almanach et prognostication pour l'an de salut 1552</i>	Paris: Chrestien Wechel, 1552	94922	1

Figure 1. Contents of the volume Mazarine, 4° 15954 (1-13) [Res].

The 1638 almanac is important as the single copy of this edition currently known.⁷ The rarity of almanacs has been variously discussed by scholars, with an emphasis on the Dutch case by Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, who considered issues of production and survival, and Jeroen Salman, with a focus on distribution and consumption.⁸ This edition is produced following a standard format adopted by Broer Jansz, and virtually identical to what Jeroen Salman described for the 1640 edition of the same item.⁹ Jansz produced them under his own name, as well as for others in the book trade, located both in Amsterdam and in other Dutch towns.¹⁰ As a historic document, therefore, the Mazarine copy testifies to a well-established editorial format, one of many profitable ventures that Jansz embarked upon during his prolific career.¹¹

⁷ The edition is not cited in Klaas Hoogendoorn, *Bibliography of the Exact Sciences in the Low Countries from Ca. 1470 to the Golden Age (1700)* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). Many thanks to Arthur der Weduwen for verifying this on my behalf.

⁸ Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, 'What was published in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic?', *Livre. Revue historique* (2018). Available in Open Access at: <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01713274>. Jeroen Salman, 'Information, éducation et distraction dans les almanachs hollandais au XVIIe siècle', in Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, York-Gothart Mix, Jean-Yves Mollier and Patricia Sorel (eds.), *Les lectures du peuple en Europe et dans les Amériques du XVIIe au XXe siècle* (Paris: Editions Complexe, 2003), pp. 49-58.

⁹ Jeroen Salman, *Populair drukwerk in de Gouden Eeuw: de almanak als lectuur en handelswaar* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999), p. 173.

¹⁰ I thank Arthur der Weduwen for this remark.

¹¹ Pettegree and der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, mainly discuss Jansz for his involvement in newspaper publishing, but see pp. 83 and 141-142 for his bestselling titles and for his strategy for advertising and dissemination.

For the purposes of this piece, however, its interest lies in the copious annotations that fill the pages from January to August 1638 (Figure X.2).¹² The investigation of the annotations shows in the first instance the regularity and painstaking precision in recording daily proceedings. Structuralists among my readers will note that this is naturally the expected use of a printed almanac, which offered (and still offers) a fixed framework to record and archive information, with a direct relation to the dates in the printed calendar. All this is present in the Mazarine almanac, which immediately suggested that the annotator had been active in 1638. The annotations reflect a substantial engagement with the printed calendar, on the verso of each page opening, in an effort to mark events for an easy retrieval of information – for example, underlining certain days.

The annotator's effort went beyond the structure provided by the printed medium, extending to include time and locations of scheduled meetings. These might take place any time during the day, and occasionally would happen early in the morning or late at night, which would be duly noted. What is more, a direct and explicit relation was often established between different events, as allies came together to confer, following their individual appointments with other foreign officials. The occurrence of important names alongside lesser known individuals suggested that the almanac might add depth and detail to known diplomatic networks, as indeed it does. In order to do so, it was critical to attempt an identification of the anonymous annotator – a time-consuming but highly entertaining task which I discuss in the following section.

¹² For another example of annotated almanacs, see Pettegree and der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, p. 356 and note 23, p. 435.

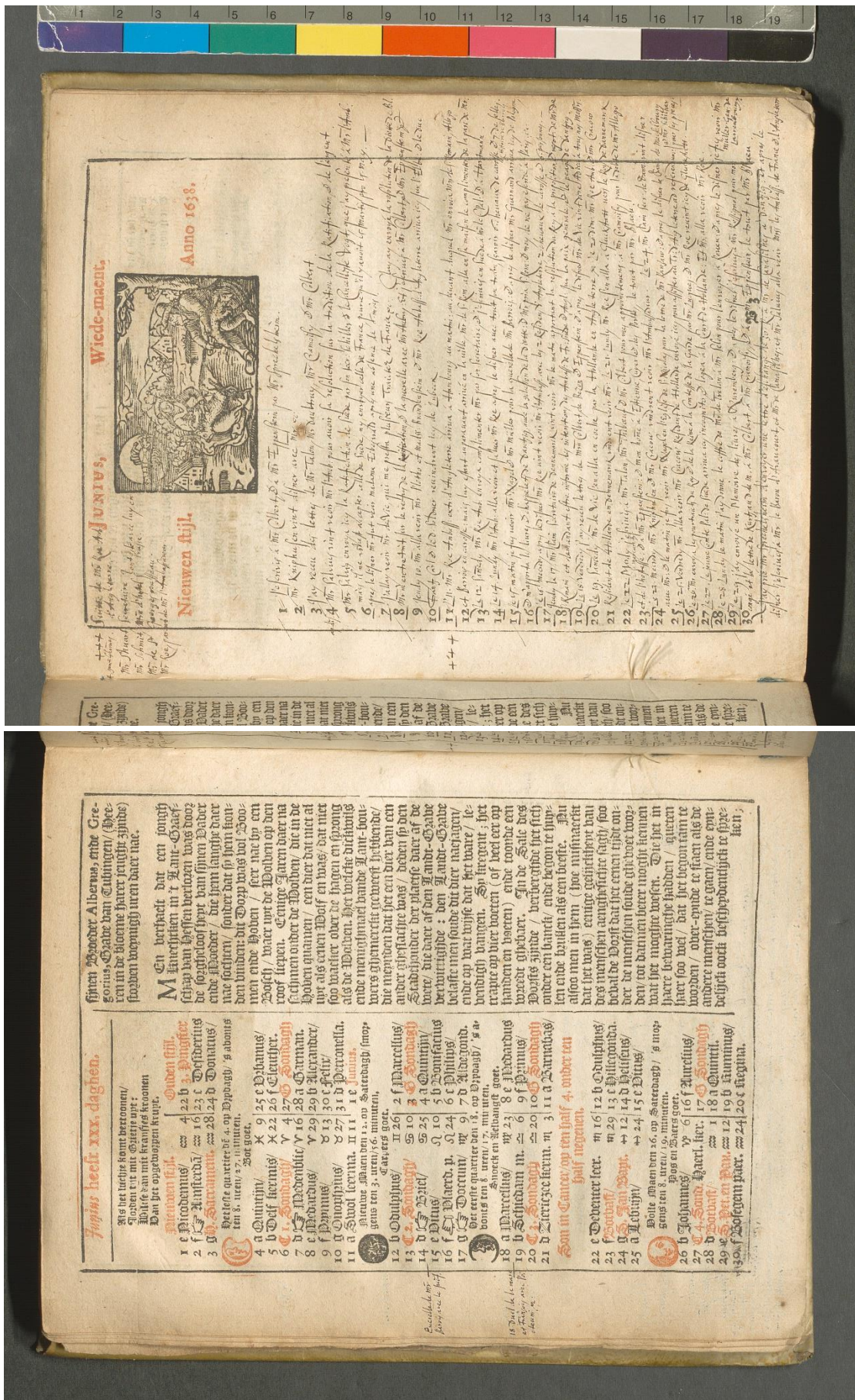


Figure 2. Typical page opening. Paris, Mazarine, 4° 15954 (8) [Res], fol. B2v-B3r.

The annotator and the almanac's historical relevance

The almanac is inscribed in a single French seventeenth-century handwriting, but is left unsigned. This has demanded careful consideration before an attribution could be attempted, although the extended network explicitly traced within the almanac offered important pointers from the start. My first, hasty assumption was that the writer had been located in or near Amsterdam, where the almanac had been printed. As the inscriptions relate consistently to diplomatic matters, therefore, my first conjecture was that the annotator might be Jean d'Estampes de Valençay or one attached to his household, during his tenure as French ambassador to the Netherlands between 1637 and 1639.

A close reading of the text, however, dispelled this early hypothesis. The content offered a strong indication that the annotator had been based largely in or around Hamburg at the time of writing. What Frenchman or Frenchmen, I wondered, could have been undertaking diplomatic work in Hamburg at the time? During this phase of the Thirty Years' War, Claude de Mesmes, Comte d'Avaux (1595-1650), had been in charge of the negotiations for the Treaty of Hamburg in 1638.¹³ D'Avaux was an important individual, and would subsequently rise to power in Mazarin's inner circle. In 1641 he was appointed as superintendent of finances, a role of tremendous importance, and in 1645 he would be a key agent in representing France at the Peace of Westphalia.¹⁴ D'Avaux gets us much closer to a successful identification, and he is frequently named by the annotator; the most common reference being to "Monsieur d'A", occasionally "Mr l'Amb.", and rarely "Monsieur d'Avaux". The annotator therefore must have belonged to the household of Claude de Mesmes, but could not be him, especially as the annotator also recorded his own actions in the first person.

As I was researching d'Avaux's diplomatic missions, I found that one of his close acquaintances, Charles Ogier (1595-1654), had been a known diarist. Ogier had followed d'Avaux on several diplomatic missions in the 1630s, and had worked tirelessly on writing down his observations from these journeys. Ogier is mentioned as a regular contact both by d'Avaux and his father, and would appear to have been a family friend.¹⁵ To the best of my knowledge, there is no evidence linking Ogier to Hamburg in 1638, though a prolific recorder of information attached to d'Avaux was certainly a good fit for my anonymous annotator. Charles' brother, François, a canon active in d'Avaux' service in the 1640s, also kept a diary of their travels, preserved in manuscript form.¹⁶ Both Ogier brothers wrote in a far more eloquent and detailed style than is used in the almanac (even when we consider the different purposes and intended audiences of these texts). Indeed, Charles'

¹³ On d'Avaux and his diplomatic career during the Thirty Years War, see Paul Sonnino, 'From D'Avaux to Dévot: Politics and Religion in the Thirty Years War', *History*, 87 (2002), pp. 192-203. For a contextualisation to the Treaty of Hamburg, see Peter Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press at Harvard University Press, 2009), Chapter 17, pp. 588-621.

¹⁴ His Parisian hôtel on the rue du Temple (back then, rue Sainte-Avoie), designed and built by the royal architect Pierre Le Muet between 1644-1650, testifies to his prominence within the French elites. The palace, today known as the hôtel de Saint-Aignan, is of the best examples of surviving seventeenth-century hotels in the French capital.

¹⁵ Auguste Boppe (ed.), *Correspondance inédite du Comte d'Avaux (Claude de Mesmes) avec son père Jean-Jacques de Mesmes, Sieur de Roissy (1627-1642)* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Compagnie Imprimeurs-Éditeurs, 1887), passim.

¹⁶ François Ogier, *Éphémérides manuscrites, contenant ses voyages comme secrétaire d'ambassadeur dans le Nord, sur la fin du règne de Louis XIII et dans les premières années de la minorité de Louis XIV.* Paris, BnF, Français 12845.

published diaries have been used by scholars as remarkably rich sources to explore the history of music, technology and material culture.¹⁷

This investigation was already at a fairly advanced stage, when a more likely match surfaced following a footnote in Madeleine Haehl's work.¹⁸ Jean Tileman Stella de Téry et Morimont (d. 1645), also known simply as Jean Tileman Stella, was a diplomat of Franco-German origin, known to have been in Hamburg at the time serving as a secretary for d'Avaux. Like Ogier, this individual was also mentioned as a familiar in the correspondence between d'Avaux and his father.¹⁹ Close to Richelieu, Tileman Stella had been recently nominated Royal Professor of Mathematics (1637) thanks to that connection.²⁰ Like many other early modern diplomats, he conveyed not only information but also books: he acted as one of Richelieu's purchasing agents in the Holy Roman Empire.²¹ The list of individuals mentioned in the almanac overlapped significantly with known correspondents of this diplomat, such as Joachim Rusdorf, Omer Talon, the Elzeviers, Cramoisy and Rossignol. Twice he even appears in the almanac as 'Mr de Tercy', an alternative spelling for 'Téry', and which I adopt in this piece as the form of his name he seems to have personally preferred. What is more, some of Tercy's books are known to have later been purchased for Mazarin's library, which would give circumstantial evidence as to how this volume might have entered the collection where it is still to be found today. At the time of writing, I have been yet unable to access the diplomatic correspondence and other materials related to the Hamburg proceedings preserved in the Archives Nationales, which might offer additional information relevant to the present discussion.²²

I was still debating the likelihood of one identification over the other, based on this circumstantial evidence and grudging the lack of a writing sample that could offer conclusive evidence, when I came across a letter to Tercy from the Dutch cartographer and printer, Johannes Janssonius (1588-1664), digitised and indexed by the genealogy project *Familles Parisiennes*.²³ Under the sender's date, Tercy recorded the letter's arrival date on 8 November 1639.²⁴ Based on paleographic evidence, this single line in Tercy's own handwriting demonstrates that he was indeed the almanac's anonymous annotator. Other letters to Tercy that I was able to examine at a later stage confirm this identification, again thanks to his custom of noting the date of arrival of a letter

¹⁷ Charles Ogier's *Ephemerides* are key sources in the studies by Katarzyna Grochowska, 'From Milan to Gdańsk: The Story of A Dedication', *Polish Music Journal*, 5 (2002), freely accessible online: <https://polishmusic.usc.edu/research/publications/polish-music-journal/vol5no1/milan-to-gdansk/>, and Magdalena Naum, 'Enchantment of the underground. Touring mines in early modern Sweden', *Journal of Tourism History*, 11 (2019), pp. 1-21. DOI: 10.1080/1755182X.2019.1592241.

¹⁸ Madeleine Haehl, *Les Affaires étrangères au temps de Richelieu. Le secrétariat d'État, les agents diplomatiques (1624-1642)* (Bruxelles: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 288.

¹⁹ Boppe (ed.), *Correspondance inédite du Comte d'Avaux*, passim.

²⁰ Claude-Pierre Gouget, *Mémoire Historique et littéraire sur le Collège Royal de France* (Paris: Lottin, 1758), II, pp. 152-157.

²¹ Jacqueline Artier, 'La bibliothèque du cardinal de Richelieu', in Claude Jolly (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises* (4 vols., Paris: Editions du Cercle de la Librairie, 2008), II, pp. 158-166: 158-159, and François Bougard, 'La bibliothèque du cardinal de Richelieu: inventaires, dispersion, formation', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, sessions of the year 2019, 3rd trimestre (Paris: Durand, forthcoming), deposited in open access at: <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-03288593> (last accessed: 3 August 2021).

²² Paris, ANMC, K//1371, pieces 15 and following.

²³ <https://www.famillesparisiennes.org/>, last accessed 3 August 2021.

²⁴ Paris, ANMC, M//875, Johannes Janssonius to Tercy, 1 November 1639.

underneath the date inscribed by the sender (Figure X.3).²⁵ What is more, the anonymous annotator often noted the arrival of business correspondence naming the sender; several matches between these annotations and letters contained in the manuscripts BnF Français 6650 and Mazarine MS 1857, addressed to Tercy, also contribute to turning this hypothesis into a clear identification.

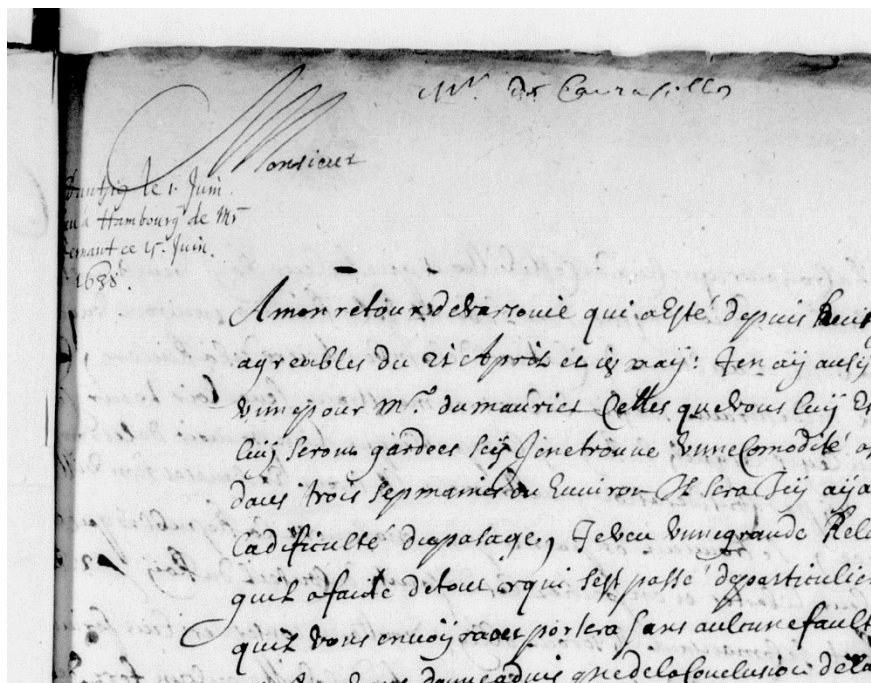


Figure 3. Tercy's writing sample. Paris, BnF, Français 6650, item 49.

The almanac is all the more important as a historic document because of the heavy losses suffered of Hamburg-based repositories in the intervening centuries. The city archives suffered heavy losses during the great fire of 1842, the Allied bombings in 1943 and a flood in 1962.²⁶ As a source located in Paris, the almanac has been preserved intact and can now account for the minute details in the unfolding of the diplomatic arrangements between France and Sweden, as well as France's dealings with other European powers. To the best of my knowledge, the almanac remains an untapped resource. This is not surprising in itself, as while the rarity of the volume is acknowledged by its preservation among the library's most precious holdings, there is no identification of the annotator that may guide scholars to its value as documentary evidence. I stumbled upon this document by accident. But in fact, this annotated almanac has the making of a key source in telling the story of the 1638 Treaty of Hamburg, whereby the French representatives ratified the Treaty of Wismar (1636) and granted Sweden a contribution of 1,000,000 livres for their military alliance.

The almanac cannot rival with letters, reports, and diaries in the nuance of detail, and unlike contemporary letters, it offers a list of actions and events mostly devoid of interpretation or personal comments. Other sources with a similar background and originating from the same

²⁵ Paris, BnF, Français 6650. Tercy's name is not indexed in the catalogue record for this manuscript, however August Boppe used some of these letters in his *Correspondance inédite du Comte d'Avaux*, cited above.

²⁶ Felix A. Quatero, 'Hamburg: An Imperial City at the Imperial Diet of 1640-'41: A New Diplomatic History' (Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Leiden, 2018), p. 6. For questions of loss and survival, see Flavia Bruni and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Lost Books. Reconstructing the Print World of Pre-Industrial Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

extended network offer deeper interpretive layers to the events they describe.²⁷ The almanac has the advantage of collecting daily proceedings in a single place as a cumulative account. While much information about the diplomatic transactions can today be found in letters and accounts preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and sent to individuals external to these daily exchanges, the almanac offers evidence as to the sequencing of events in minute detail.²⁸ Expenditure, payments, the timings and duration of diplomatic meetings, the network of informants and intermediaries are all accounted for here. The medium for these recordings – a printed almanac set up for regular note-taking, embedded within a calendar – may have catalysed the nature of the annotations. The editorial format repeated at each page opening, with the full calendar on the verso and a table with the days printed on the recto, would naturally encourage a ‘completionist’ approach to note-taking. The cumulative nature of this source, created by a single individual, thus offers a uniform interpretive key to the events described.

In the remaining pages of this essay, I shall be discussing the content of the annotations and explore how these shed light onto the Hamburg proceedings, including elements of material culture, the culture of hospitality, and the information networks underlying the diplomatic transactions.

Information Networks

Occupied with diplomatic transactions of great importance for France’s foreign affairs, d’Avaux and his entourage relied on several information channels. Both d’Avaux and Tercy had regular correspondents, as well as face-to-face meetings with other foreign officials based in, or transiting via Hamburg. Their networks included diplomats, bankers, printer-publishers, as well as professional information gatherers. While there are some well-known individuals among Tercy’s contacts listed in the almanac, many of the more challenging identifications were confirmed thanks to an article by C.M. Schulten.²⁹

Johann Adler Salvius (1590-1652), the Swedish envoy in Hamburg and later responsible for the Peace of Westphalia, was the foreign contact most frequently mentioned in the almanac. Both d’Avaux and Tercy saw much of him on different social occasions, including closeted confidential meetings, formal meetings including their wider entourage, dinners, as well as a visit Salvius paid to d’Avaux on his sick bed on 5 August 1638. Both Tercy and D’Avaux would occasionally meet Salvius following official meetings with other parties; for example, they might meet late in the evening, following diplomatic dinners.³⁰ Indirect contacts are also recorded, from showing or communicating the content of letters recently received, to some sort of surveillance of the allies and their contacts with other parties (an example is the trip to Bremerfurt undertaken by Salvius and the Count Palatin on 3 July, to visit the Archbishop of Bremen, duly noted by Tercy). Letters sent to an individual within the information network were not considered private. For example, we know that Salvius showed

²⁷ Two such examples are Charles Ogier, *Ephemerides, sive iter Danicum, Suecicum, Polonicum*, ed. François Ogier (Paris: Pierre Petit, 1656); and Boppe (ed.), *Correspondance inédite du Comte d’Avaux*. Neither of these sources, however, offers evidence about the months that are accounted for in the almanac.

²⁸ For letters and mémoires, see for example Paris, BnF, manuscript Baluze 168, freely available on Gallica.

²⁹ C.M. Schulten, ‘Joachim de Wicquefort et Jean Tileman Stella. Fragments d’une correspondance (1639)’, *Lias*, 1 (1974), pp. 129-155.

³⁰ Tercy saw Salvius after dinner on 7 and 17 February, 12 and 28 May; d’Avaux paid him a visit in the evenings of 5 March, 8 April, 8 July.

d'Avaux official correspondence to the English ambassador, aiming to coordinate their joint action.³¹ The circulation of letters to third parties was such a widespread practice, that on one occasion, a correspondent begged Tercy not to share his letters with others.³²

Other frequent visitors included the English envoys, Sir Henry de Vic (c.1599-1671) and his successor Sir Thomas Roe (1581-1644), and various French individuals, such as the historian Louis Aubéry du Maurier (1609-1687). Du Maurier came from a family of diplomats and historians, and would go on to write a series of *Mémoires de Hambourg, de Lubeck et de Holstein, de Dannemarck, de Suède et de Pologne*, published posthumously, alongside his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Hollande et des autres Provinces-Unies* (1680).³³ Maurier's *Mémoires de Hambourg* contain interesting details about life in Hamburg at the time, and are well worth a read, though it would seem that the author was severely disappointed with the variety of entertainment available in the city.³⁴

Alongside the frequent mentions of foreign diplomats, the nature and frequency of many exchanges recorded in the almanac are highly suggestive of the key role played by financial agents within these diplomatic transactions. It was not accidental that the proceedings took place in Hamburg, where financial backing could be readily available when required. Sweden was purposefully establishing key negotiators in important commercial centres, and this included the role played by Salvius in Hamburg.³⁵ Scholars have studied the importance of financiers for French foreign affairs in later years, but the diplomatic network responsible for the Hamburg proceedings certainly shows a propensity to include bankers and businessmen in these earlier proceedings.³⁶ Lucas von Spreckelsen (1602-1659), the Hamburg banker, frequently acted as an intermediary in transmitting missives. Especially in the month of May 1638, Tercy would seem to have conveyed weekly bundles to Spreckelsen, containing letters to be forwarded to a Mr Colbert (possibly Nicolas Colbert, Royal Almoner, or Gérard Colbert de Saint-Pouange, also involved in diplomatic missions at the time) and to Mr Eppenstein. Schulten identifies Eppenstein as Jean Epstein, Swedish correspondent in Paris, and an informant for Renaudot's *Gazette*.³⁷ Epstein seems to have been a professional information broker; he was probably the same individual responsible for providing Michel Le Blon in Sweden with news from France, Italy, and Spain.³⁸

Also a connection of Spreckelsen was a Mr Hoeffft, likely identifiable with Jean Hoeffft, whose involvement with monetary transactions during the Thirty Years War is well known.³⁹ The

³¹ E.A. Beller, 'The Mission of Sir Thomas Roe to the Conference at Hamburg, 1638-40', *The English Historical Review*, 41 (1926), pp. 61-77: 69.

³² Henri de Canasilhes to Tercy, Danzig, 1 June 1638. Paris, BnF, Français 6650, fols. 49r-50v: 50r.

³³ For other historians in Maurier's family see Neil Kenny, *Born to Write: Literary Families and Social Hierarchy in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 58-89.

³⁴ Louis Aubéry du Maurier, *Mémoires de Hambourg, de Lubeck et de Holstein, de Dannemarck, de Suède et de Pologne* (Blois: Philbert-Joseph Masson, 1735), pp. 35-36.

³⁵ Wilson, *The Thirty Years War*, p. 185.

³⁶ For the role of bankers and financiers during the reign of Louis XIV, see Guy Rowlands, *Dangerous and Dishonest Men: The International Bankers of Louis XIV's France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

³⁷ Schulten, 'Joachim de Wicquefort et Jean Tileman Stella', p. 147 and note 1, p. 148.

³⁸ Marika Keblusek, 'The business of news. Michel le Blon and the transmission of political information to Sweden in the 1630s', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 28 (2003), pp. 205-213. DOI:

<https://doi.org/10.1080/03468750310003640>

³⁹ Erik Thomson, 'Jean Hoeffft, French subsidies, and the Thirty Years' War', in Svante Norrhem and Erik Thomson (eds.), *Subsidies, Diplomacy, and State Formation in Europe, 1494-1789* (Lund: Lund University Press, 2020), pp. 234-258; Raphaël Morera, 'Du commerce aux finances. La fortune de Jean Hoeffft (1578-1651), entre la France et les Provinces-Unies', *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine*, 63 (2016), pp. 7-29;

political and diplomatic correspondence in such cases relied upon existing financial networks; in July 1638, Hoeufft entrusted Spreckelsen to settle a number of obligations to various French diplomats residing in Hamburg at the time, including Tercy, Mr de Meulles and Mr de Saint-Romain.⁴⁰ Hoeufft had been active in the arms trade since the offset of the Thirty Years War, and went on to build an extremely successful career as one of Richelieu's preferred financiers.⁴¹ His lucrative commercial ventures in Sweden during the early 1630s were key in turning him from merchant to banker.⁴² Undoubtedly, Hoeufft's contacts and experience would have made him a particularly important person to consult during the 1638 diplomatic transactions. Other notable mentions include Josias, Count of Rantzau (1609-1650) and later *maréchal de France*, who was then serving as a foreign mercenary in the French army. One of d'Avaux's undertakings from this time was to renegotiate Rantzau's position, which is reflected by meetings recorded for the months of April and May 1638.⁴³ These transactions were happily concluded in 1639, as Rantzau resumed his role in the French army thanks to a settlement of 18,000 Reichsthalers granted by Louis XIII.⁴⁴ A letter from Rantzau, found in Mazarine, MS 1857 suggests that Tercy was had a considerable involvement in the success of these negotiations, and was considered by Rantzau as a trusted advisor and a crucial player in his French affairs.⁴⁵

We know from extant documents that certain sensitive communications were made using secret codes. For the most part, the almanac did not contain any writing in cypher, as the document was not intended for eyes other than its annotator. Few abbreviations or graphic symbols are ever used (often, it would seem, for practical reasons linked to the little space available for notes), and no code is ever used. This was probably not the case with many of the missives that were exchanged between Hamburg and France at this time, warranting the involvement of a cryptanalyst to ensure the confidentiality of sensitive information. Mr Rossignol – probably Antoine Rossignol (1600–1682), Richelieu's secretary, cryptographer, and mathematician – appears at rare but regular intervals in the almanac as a key contact.⁴⁶ Overall, the contacts described in the almanac are suggestive of a highly developed information network, a complex ecosystem revolving around statesmanship, professional expertise and linguistic proficiency, often supported by existing and reliable business collaborators. In these exchanges, merchants and financiers played a critical role. The other critical position, as we shall see, was occupied by people in the book trades.

Michiel de Jong, 'Dutch merchants and their interests in finance', in Hanno Brand and Leos Müller (eds.), *The Dynamics of Economic Culture in the North Sea and Baltic Region in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2007), pp. 223-238. Jean's brother Mathaeus was also active in similar transactions.

⁴⁰ The original reads: 'Le Jeudy 29 Mr Sprechelsheim receut ordre de Mr Hoeuft de payer 1200 ll. à Mr de Meulles, 555 à Mr de S. Romain, et 800 à moy'.

⁴¹ Thomson, 'Jean Hoeufft, French subsidies, and the Thirty Years' War'.

⁴² Morera, 'Du commerce aux finances. La fortune de Jean Hoeufft', pp. 15-16.

⁴³ For additional context on Rantzau's involvement, see discussion of the Hessian crisis, *infra*.

⁴⁴ David Parrott, *Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 299-302.

⁴⁵ Rantzau to Tercy, Hamburg, 16 July 1639. Paris, Mazarine, MS 1857, item 14.

⁴⁶ The almanac contains a record of letters addressed to Mr Rossignol on 12 and 26 January; 9 February; 2, 9 and 21 March; 27 April; 29 June. A letter from François Citoys to Tercy, dated 19 December 1638, also hints at a close friendship between Tercy and Rossignol. Paris, Mazarine, Ms 1857, item 10. For the Rossignol family, see David Kahn, *The Codebreakers. The Comprehensive History of Secret Communication from Ancient Times to the Internet* (New York: Scribner, 1996), Chapter 5. For the cyphers used by the French during the 1630s and 1640s, see Satoshi Tomokiyo's website *Cryptiana*: <http://cryptiana.web.fc2.com/code/crypto.htm>, with a section entitled 'Ambassadors in Germany (1637-1641)', last accessed 27 July 2021.

The Book World between News and Information Brokerage

In discussing the dissemination of information, a special place must necessarily be reserved to agents and outputs from within the printing industry. Hamburg itself was a crucial node in the European postal network, a key location for the dissemination of news, and an important centre of print culture. The city enjoyed important trade connections and was a significant transition point between Eastern and Western Europe. Such a privileged position naturally meant that a wealth of news channels and media would be available. Printed (and presumably handwritten) news was regularly consulted alongside reports from private informants; this clearly included multiple news channels, conveyed to Hamburg via a network of correspondents and agents. The almanac contains an explicit record for two payments to a Jean Houss (otherwise unidentified) for the ‘Gazettes’ – on one occasion, specifically defined as the ‘Amsterdam Gazettes’.⁴⁷ Nina Lamal kindly suggests that these vaguely identified titles could, in fact, designate either printed or handwritten news; it is certainly to be expected that both forms would form part of the standard news provision at the French embassy in Hamburg.⁴⁸ It was presumably a French-language Amsterdam-based newspaper that Tercy forwarded to Colbert through Spreckelsen on 30 March.⁴⁹ Members of the French Hamburg delegation were certainly regular readers of the printed Paris *Gazette*, issued by Théophraste Renaudot at the Bureau d’Adresse, under the tutelage of Cardinal Richelieu.⁵⁰ It was through the *Gazette* that the French residents in Hamburg first received the news that Jacques Sirmont, one of Richelieu’s close collaborators, had risen to the status of King’s Confessor, as noted in the almanac.⁵¹

As well as being readers, the French residents were also active contributors to the Paris *Gazette*, which was an integral part of the diplomatic transactions. Letters from Hamburg would regularly appear in print. An example of this is a letter written by d’Avaux on 8 March, published some three weeks later in the Paris *Gazette* issued on 3 April 1638.⁵² Here d’Avaux offered Louis XIII his congratulations on the felicitous conclusion of the diplomatic transactions between France and Sweden, despite what he described as the most earnest efforts by the enemy to dissuade Salvius. Undoubtedly, the narrative of events given by d’Avaux in print was moulded to fit the current royal propaganda. Difficulties encountered by the French in the proceedings (some of which are discussed

⁴⁷ Payments made on 23 January and 16 April. The latter was a payment of 1 Reichsthaler for the Amsterdam Gazettes, followed by the indication ‘12 sepm’ – possibly indicating that this payment covered the delivery of printed news for twelve weeks.

⁴⁸ Nina Lamal, private conversation, 17 August 2021.

⁴⁹ The original reads: ‘Le 30 mardy j’escrivis à Mr Eppensteyn et à Mr Colbert et luy ay envoyé la Ratification [superscript: Resolution] des Estatz de Suede, la Censuree de bureaux, les Gazettes etc, le tout par Mr Spreckelsheim’. Arthur der Weduwen kindly informs me that there were two French newspapers in Amsterdam at this stage: one by Jan van Hilten (the *Courant d’Italie, Allemagne, etc.*) and one, especially relevant the present case study, by Broer Jansz (the *Nouvelles de divers Quartiers*).

⁵⁰ Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 200-205; Stéphane Haffemayer, *L’information dans la France du XVII^e siècle: la gazette Renaudot de 1647 à 1663* (Paris: H. Champion, 2002).

⁵¹ The original reads: ‘j’appris par la Gazette que le Père Sirmont estoit Confess de sa M. Treschr. etc.’. Sirmont was appointed confessor to Louis XIII in 1637, and retained this role until the king’s death in 1643.

⁵² Théophraste Renaudot (ed.), *Recueil des Gazettes Nouvelles relations extraordinaires et autres choses récits des choses avenues toute l’année 1638* (Paris: Bureau d’Adresse, 1638), pp. 163-164. Paris, BnF, 4-LC2-1 (accessible via Gallica.fr).

in this piece) were, of course, left out of these reports. Another example, just out-with the period covered by the almanac, was the account of the lavish celebrations held by d'Avaux for the birth of the dauphin, a piece of news received from Hamburg on 4 October 1638 and published in the *Gazette* on 23 October 1638.⁵³ Key political events were met with public responses from diplomatic envoys across Europe, which necessarily required a significant engagement with news printing outlets.⁵⁴

A piece of news might have reached d'Avaux and his secretary through multiple channels, disseminated in the public sphere to varying degrees. A case in point is represented by the death of the Présidente de Mesmes, d'Avaux's sister-in-law and wife of his older brother, Henri II de Mesmes. News of the family bereavement first reached the Hamburg delegates on 25 January through Mr Saladin, one of Richelieu's trusted couriers; at this time, the news was reported as uncertain.⁵⁵ A confirmation came to d'Avaux three days later through the ordinary post. The news of her passing, which had occurred on 3 January, had been announced in the Paris *Gazette* issued on 9 January 1638.⁵⁶ It would seem likely, therefore, that Saladin would have left Paris between 3 January, when the death had occurred, and 8 January, before the news had circulated publicly. Similarly, news of the Battle of Rheinfelden, near Basel (28 February and 3 March), only reached the French envoys in Hamburg on 15 April via the ordinary post from Cologne. News might take a long time to arrive at times of war, with a long distance to cover and so many perils along the way.⁵⁷ Letters to Tercy offer useful detail about the delivery times of letters and packages to and from Hamburg at the time, inferable by cross-referencing the dates of dispatch and receipt inscribed on individual missives.⁵⁸

As well as via publicly available printed output (and its manipulation), printers and publishers played a sensitive role in supporting diplomatic information networks, and were often directly involved with these exchanges. A notable example of intermediation involving people in the book trade was a letter written to the Elzeviers on 13 July, this time conveyed to Mr Wicquefort – presumably Joachim de Wicquefort, an Amsterdam-based merchant and banker, a successful diplomat himself at the service of Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, and a known correspondent of Tercy's – alongside other missives.⁵⁹ We learn from the almanac that letters from Wicquefort to Tercy were

⁵³ *Ibid.*, passim. The birth of the dauphin had been announced by the Bureau d'Adresse in early September, followed by the announcement of great celebrations in all the French embassies across Europe (11 September). Celebrations held in the most prominent households in Paris were detailed in the announcement issued on 17 September, and festivities organised from across the kingdom on 14 October. The unfolding of news related to the dauphin is indicative of the time elapsing between events in Paris and their reporting in Hamburg.

⁵⁴ For a discussion of the periodic press deployed for diplomatic purposes, see Helmer Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe. Towards a New History of Media', *Media History*, 22 (2016), pp. 401-420.

⁵⁵ Mentions in Antoine Aubéry (ed.), *Mémoires pour l'histoire du Cardinal Duc de Richelieu* (2 vols., Paris: Antoine Bertier, 1660).

⁵⁶ The original reads: 'Le 3e, mourut aussi fort Chrestienement la Présidente de Mesmes, de la maison de Monluc: le corps de laquelle a esté porté d'icy au chasteau de Balagni, au tumbeau de ses ancestres'. Renaudot (ed.), *Recueil des Gazettes Nouvelles*, p. 20.

⁵⁷ Catherine Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), offers a discussion and contextualisation of existing scholarship on the negative influence of postal delays on early modern politics (see esp. pp. 191-196).

⁵⁸ Not all letters received are listed in the almanac, though where he indicated receipt both on the letter and in the almanac, the two sources correspond.

⁵⁹ Joachim's brother, Abraham, was the author of *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions* (1681), a key text for its discussion of the cultural role played by ambassadors, and active as an agent for various German princes,

often addressed via Sébastien Cramoisy (1584-1669) in Paris, demonstrated also by the later correspondence surveyed by Schulten.⁶⁰ Cramoisy was a regular correspondent of Tercy's, appearing for a total of nine occurrences in the almanac alone – the earliest mention appears on 2 March and the latest on 6 August. These contacts are mainly phrased in terms of letter exchanges, but on occasion Tercy notes that he shared news of the Hamburg proceedings with Cramoisy, and on one occasion they discussed business related to an edition of the Bible.

Similarly to other regular correspondents, Cramoisy belonged to Richelieu's close circle, and remained Richelieu's most trusted printer throughout his career, since publishing Richelieu's first printed work in 1614. Richelieu himself tasked Cramoisy, alongside his brothers Gabriel and Claude, with the foundation of the *Typographia Regia*, one of whose greatest achievements, many years later, would be a new Polyglot Bible.⁶¹ Tercy himself had published with Cramoisy, first a *Panegyricus* in honour of Richelieu, and later a speech on the Peace of Prague, issued in Latin and subsequently in French.⁶² These publications were undoubtedly intended for propaganda purposes, and the multiple connections existing between Richelieu, Tercy, Cramoisy and Renaudot further demonstrates the extensive political uses of the printing press. The Prague published proceedings would soon appear in the libraries of contemporary statesmen, perhaps as purchases, or possibly as diplomatic gifts. Two copies survive today from the collections of Achille de Harlay de Sancy (1581-1646) and Camille Neufville de Villeroy (1606-1693).⁶³

Five out of the nine letters to Cramoisy were conveyed via a Mr Blaeu – a frequency that would suggest an independent professional relationship between the two. The intermediary is likely identifiable with Joan Blaeu (1596-1673), the son and heir of the famous printer and cartographer Willem Blaeu. Blaeu served as an intermediary for Tercy and his man-servant on a regular basis for letters to Cramoisy, Epstein, Colbert, as well as other less frequent occurrences, which is strongly suggestive of his involvement in the dissemination of diplomatic and political information. The connection with Blaeu is significant, too, when we consider Tercy's ancestry – his grandfather was Tilemann Stella (1525-1589), the famous cartographer and mathematician. As well as being appointed Royal Mathematician by Louis XIII, our Monsieur de Tercy seems to have engaged with cartography and map-making, albeit to a lesser degree.⁶⁴ In the letter from Janssonius to Tercy, mentioned earlier, the printer offered discounted prices, suggesting a close personal relationship

especially in later years. See Pierre-François Burger, 'Res angusta domi, les Wicquefort et leurs métiers bien délicats entre Paris, Amsterdam et Pärnu', *Francia*, 27, no. 2 (2000), pp. 25-58.

⁶⁰ Schulten, 'Joachim de Wicquefort et Jean Tileman Stella'. Wicquefort relied on book merchants for his southern-European network, too; see Marika Keblusek, 'Commerce and Cultural Transfer: Merchants as Agents in the Early Modern World of Books', in Michael North (ed.), *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2009), pp. 297-307: 305.

⁶¹ Henri-Jean Martin, *Livre, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (2 vols., Geneva: Droz, 1999), I, pp. 339-342.

⁶² Jean Tileman Stella de Tercy, *Panegyricus eminentissimo cardinali Armando Joanni Plessiaco, Richelii toparchae, consecratus* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1634), USTC 6028279; Id., *Deploratio pacis germanicae, sive Dissertatio de pace Pragensi tam infauste quam injuste inita Pragae Bohemorum 30-20 [sic!] maii 1635* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1636), USTC 6031153 and 6028827 (two different editions, the first printed in red and black); Id., *Discours sur le traité de Prague, fait entre l'Empereur et le Duc de Saxe le 30-20 [sic!] May 1635* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1636), USTC 6004026.

⁶³ USTC 6031153, copy at Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 J.publ.g. 61 (Harlay's printed ex-dono on title page); USTC 6004026, copy at Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 357485 (Neufville's printed ex-dono on upper pastedown), respectively. Both copies are accessible via Google Books.

⁶⁴ The near-homonimity with his grandfather, by all accounts a more famous cartographer, confuses matters slightly in authority files.

that afforded Tercy certain advantages.⁶⁵ Joachim de Wicquefort, too, acted as an intermediary between Tercy and Janssonius.⁶⁶ Tercy's role in buying books on behalf of Cardinal Richelieu, as well as being a keen bibliophile himself, certainly meant that booksellers saw him as a good customer. Others among his friends seem to have taken advantage of his intermediation. A letter from the physician Morel, for example, contains a commission to purchase a French atlas on the next occasion Tercy was to find himself in Amsterdam, and to have it bound most handsomely.⁶⁷ Was it on one such occasion that Tercy purchased his Amsterdam almanac for the year 1638, or was it sent to him through one of the many intermediaries, perhaps given freely as a reward for his many purchases? An item of such negligible value as an almanac may not have earned explicit mention in Tercy's correspondence, but it is likely that it too may be a clue of the Paris-Amsterdam-Hamburg axis that underpinned the 1638 negotiations, rather than a coincidental purchase.

As a whole, this evidence contributes to our understanding of the role played by book merchants and printers as intermediaries, as recipients, and as conveyors of sensitive information in the context of diplomatic exchanges. The strong connections between print and power, especially in the context of Richelieu's political agenda, placed these individuals in prime positions within the dissemination and instrumentalization of news. D'Avaux and Tercy, being part of the power hierarchies within the French monarchy, belonged in that extended network and actively interacted with people in the book trade as part of their diplomatic missions, as well as private business.

Cementing a Diplomatic Network between Celebrations, Hospitality and Gifts

It is perhaps inevitable, given the strong personal relationships with individuals in the book trade, that their output would also feature as a primary object in diplomatic transactions. Books are often cited in Tercy's notes and in letters he received, suggesting that diplomatic transactions went hand in hand with material exchanges. This was not unusual – occurrences of a similar kind are known throughout the early modern age – but it is nonetheless key to our interpretation of the material.⁶⁸ Books, therefore, ought to be discussed within the broader context of material culture at the French delegation. Many instances recorded in Tercy's almanac hint to the material circumstances of the diplomatic transactions, including not only objects, but other non-verbal factors that were essential to cementing a diplomatic network. Recent studies have focused on elements from the history of emotions, documentary archaeology, and the study of material objects as central ideas to our understanding of diplomatic history and cultural studies.⁶⁹ The contents of Tercy's almanac certainly speak to such trends in scholarship. Gifts, ceremonial etiquette and hospitality all played an

⁶⁵ Paris, ANMC, M//875, Johannes Janssonius to Tercy, 1 November 1639. Engravings were offered at the price of 3 sols a piece.

⁶⁶ Schulten, 'Joachim de Wicquefort et Jean Tileman Stella', letters I, VIII, IX, X.

⁶⁷ Paris, Mazarine, Ms 1857, item 12. Morel to Tercy, Ruel, 14 March 1639. Morel's wording suggests that Tercy would transit via Amsterdam fairly often.

⁶⁸ On ambassadors as cultural brokers, with reference specifically to books, see for example Joanna Craigwood, 'Diplomats and International Book Exchange', in Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows and Edmond Dziembowski (eds.), *Cultural Transfers: France and Britain in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010), pp. 57-69; Anthony R.A. Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting: Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Their Books and Bindings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁶⁹ For the study of diplomatic practices through the interpretive lens of material culture, see Harriet Rudolph and Gregor M. Metzger (eds.), *Material Culture in Modern Diplomacy from the 15th to the 20th Century* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2016), esp. Rudolph, 'Entangled Objects and Hybrid Practices? Material Culture as a New Approach to the History of Diplomacy', pp. 1-28.

important part in the unfolding of the events detailed in this document. This final section engages with such elements in accounting for some of the more practical details inferable through this source.

Locations given in the almanac are valuable sources for the reconstruction of the urban setting, of which much has been lost in the intervening centuries.⁷⁰ Meetings would usually occur within the domestic environment, but there were also occasions for a rendezvous within a more public setting. Tercy met a Mr Nagel at the church of St Nicholas on 24 June, to discuss a letter from Rantzau; while clearly discussing business, St Nicholas was a key bookselling location in the city.⁷¹ On 8 August he promenaded along the Elbe with Mr Rusdorff. On 20 July he met with Mr Hoff 'au grand Christoffle' and on 22 July with the secretary Müller 'au Wüntrube' – possibly, two of the town's taverns.⁷² There is also a possibility that Tercy was trying to keep these encounters from d'Avaux; in a comment in passing, Boppe suggested that Tercy may have been recruited not only to serve as a secretary, but also to spy on d'Avaux's own movements.⁷³ While no evidence that I have seen confirms this, meetings held separately from the household may suggest at the very least that Tercy was conducting some private business at the time. Locations outside of Hamburg are mentioned, too, usually to report the movements of key contacts, though on one occasion this refers to Tercy's own travels. From 2 to 8 May, Tercy and Aubry undertook a brief journey north, to Krempe and Itzehoe (Figure X.4), which gives us an indication of viable itineraries and suitable locations for meals and overnight stays in early modern Holstein. The almanac does not give a reason for the journey, though possibly letters from that time will offer additional information.

Besides location, order and timeliness were essential in the day-to-day administration of diplomatic transactions. A strict ceremonial applied, as the reputation of ambassadors – and, by association, of the state they represented – was of the greatest importance. Thomas Roe, the new English ambassador, arrived to Hamburg in the morning of 11 June; d'Avaux sent a small delegation headed by Mr de Saint-Romain to greet the newcomers on his behalf.⁷⁴ The following day Roe sent his secretary, Mr Stuart, to pay his respects to d'Avaux. A formal visit must now follow, so d'Avaux went to see Roe on 14 June, with all the ceremony due to such an illustrious personage. D'Avaux and his entire household took part in the visit, amounting to a grand total of six carriage horses and seven riding horses.⁷⁵ Roe reciprocated the courtesy with a visit on Wednesday 16 June with the gentlemen of his household, two carriage horses and a total of six people. Horses, of course, were an important component in practices of public diplomacy, as they marked wealth, social status and

⁷⁰ As part of the HERA-funded project 'Public Renaissance: Urban Cultures of Public Space between Early Modern Europe and the Present' (PI: Fabrizio Nevola, 2019-2022), Daniel Bellingradt and Claudia Heise are undertaking research on the public spaces of seventeenth-century Hamburg. An interactive map of Hamburg, including the church of St Nicholas mentioned below, can be explored here: <https://www.hiddencities.eu/hamburg> (last accessed 14 August 2021).

⁷¹ See the brief article by Bellingradt and Heise: <https://www.hiddencities.eu/hamburg/st-nicholas> (last accessed: 14 August 2021). A second mention of the same Mr Nagel is found in the letter from Rantzau to Tercy, mentioned above (note 45), where it appears that Nagel played a role in conveying the negotiations between Rantzau and the French.

⁷² I have consulted with Daniel Bellingradt on this, and while both locations are unknown to him, he agreed that the 'Wüntrube' was certainly a tavern.

⁷³ Boppe (ed.), *Correspondance inédite du Comte d'Avaux*, p. 161, note 1.

⁷⁴ Beller, 'The Mission of Sir Thomas Roe', indicates that Roe arrived on 8 June. I am following the indication given in Tercy's almanac, where we are told that Roe had arrived in nearby Altona first.

⁷⁵ The original reads: 'Le 14 Lundy Mr l'Amb alla veoir et saluer Mr Roe après le disner avec tout son train, sçavoir 6 chevaux de carosse et 7 de selles'.

power.⁷⁶ On other important occasions, Tercy recorded visits quantitatively as well as qualitatively – remarking upon the number of visitors and their status. Three other important visits – to Salvius, Peter Abel Schmalz, and the Prince Elector of Brandenburg respectively – adhered to high etiquette rules, with d’Avaux calling at their home with his entire following.

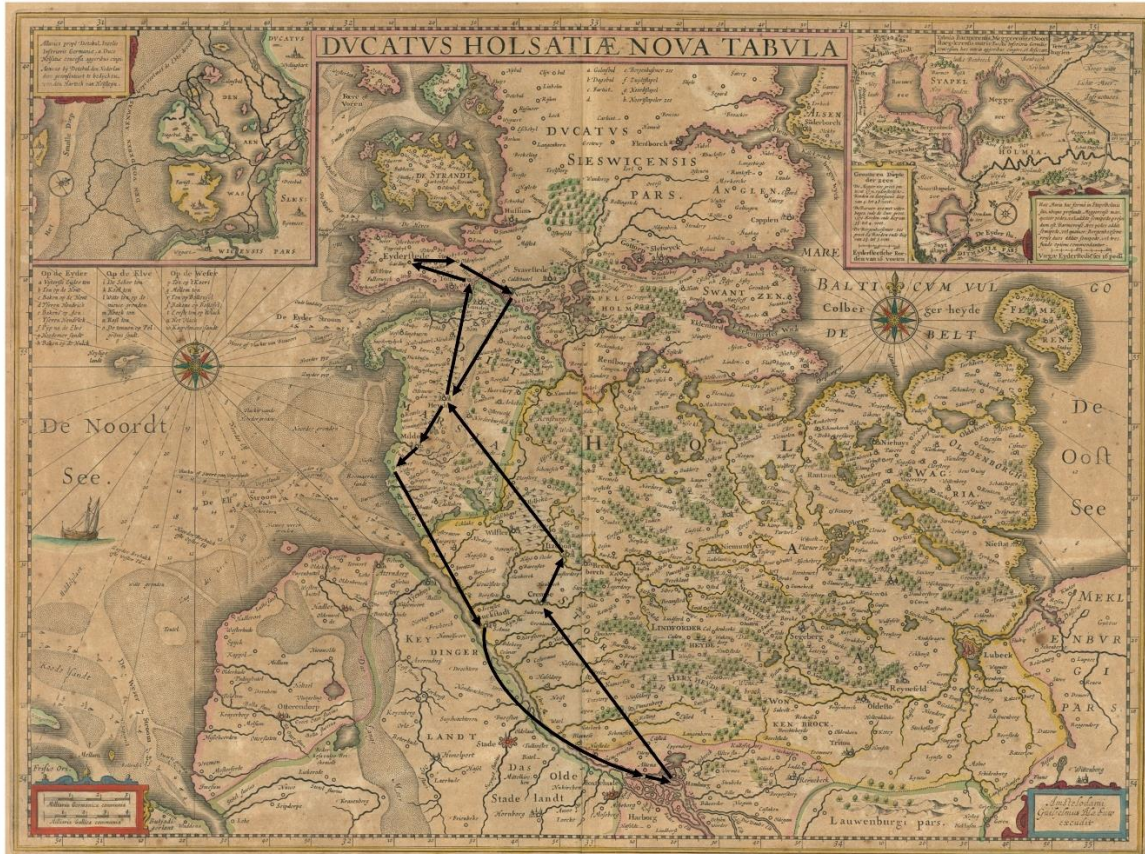


Figure 4. Tercy’s journey in Holstein, 2-8 May 1638. Map: Jan and Willem Blaeu’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus* (1645), *Ducatus Holsatiae*. Wikimedia Commons, based on copy at UCLA.

Ceremonial visits were key in starting off conversations on the right foot, but food and entertainment were just as important in nurturing diplomatic relationships, both old and new.⁷⁷ Moments of particular hospitality, whether offered or received, are highlighted in Tercy’s annotations. On 15 and 16 March, the last days before the start of Lent, dinner parties were arranged; Mardi Gras in particular was a special occasion, and d’Avaux invited Salvius, Knyphausen, and Schmalz to a lavish dinner.⁷⁸ Diplomacy did not stop for Lent, and neither did the special dinners, though the appropriate sumptuary laws applied. On Friday 12 March, d’Avaux invited Salvius, Count Hoditz, the English residents, Schmalz, and Colonel Meusenholt to a grand fish supper, counting four

⁷⁶ For an earlier example, see Pia F. Cuneo, ‘Show me your horse and I will tell you who you are: Marx Fugger on horses as markers of social status, 1584’, in Ute Lotz-Heumann (ed.), *A Sourcebook of Early Modern European History. Life, Death, and Everything in Between* (London: Routledge, 2019), pp. 25-28.

⁷⁷ Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome*, pp. 227-246. An example from the proceedings led by d’Avaux for the Peace of Westphalia is discussed in Ellen R. Welch, ‘La critique des spectacles par les diplomates au XVIIe siècle’, *Littératures classiques*, 89, no. 1 (2016), pp. 103-114: 108-109.

⁷⁸ The original reads: ‘Le Mardy gras Mr traicta l’Amb. Salvius, Mr le C. Kniphausen, Mr Smalcius à 4 services, 14. plats chacun’.

courses with fourteen dishes each.⁷⁹ On two separate occasions, Tercy went as far as reproducing the seating arrangements at the dinner table. On 11 April 1638, Salvius gave a dinner party ('son grand festin') to celebrate the ratification of the Franco-Swedish alliance. D'Avaux and Franz Albert of Lower Saxony shared the place of honour at one side of the table, and Salvius presided on the other. On the left sat de Vic, Knyphausen, Mittorius, Tercy and Schmidts; on the right, Avery, Aubery, de Goussencourt, de Meulles and Howard (seating arrangement pictured as Figure X.5). The second event where Tercy drew the table and seats occupied by each individual was a dinner party given by d'Avaux in honour of Mr Roe on 7 July, 'à 5 services, 16 platz chacun', with Roe's entire following in attendance.

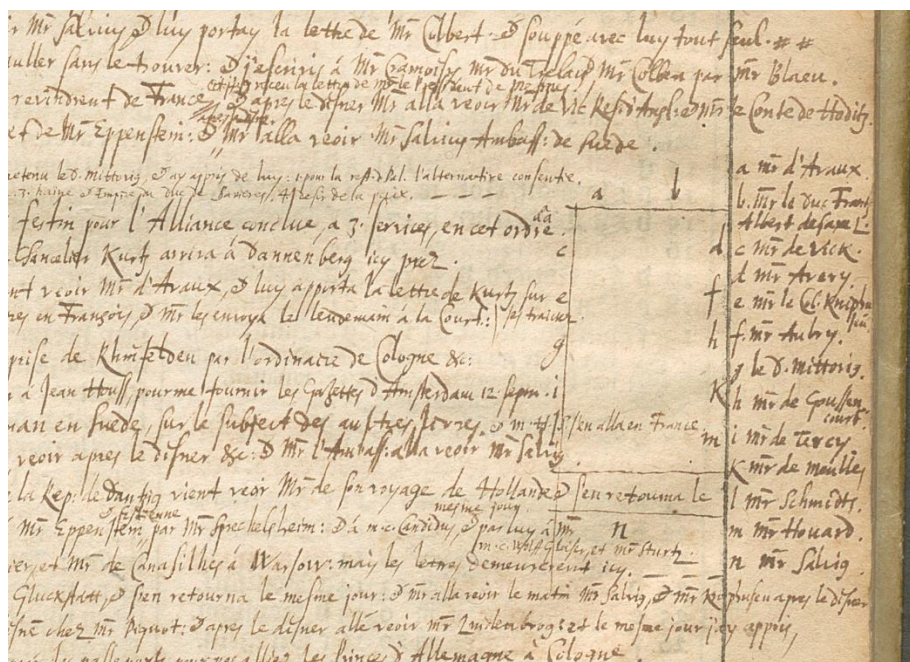


Figure 5. The seating arrangement at Salvius' celebrations for the Treaty of Hamburg, 11 April 1638. Paris, Mazarine, 4° 15954 (8) [Res], fol. B1r (detail).

Alongside food and hospitality, gifts were the flesh and blood of diplomatic networks.⁸⁰ Meaningful and precious gifts were just as frequent as local curiosities purchased during foreign missions. Gifts of money (which were not lacking in the Hamburg proceedings) belong with the discussion of finance and money in the Franco-Swedish transactions of 1638, but physical objects were also key to the personability of these strategic connections. Both the almanac and other related sources point strongly to the significance of such exchanges.

Diplomatic transactions with the recently widowed Landgravine of Hessen-Kassel, Amalia Elisabeth, show this on both sides. Amalia Elisabeth had caused great surprise in refusing to let go of

⁷⁹ The original reads: 'Mr l'Amb. traicta en poisson à 4 s. 14. p chacun Mr Salvius, Mr le Conte de Hoditz, Mr les Residens d'Angleterre, Mr Schmalcius, le Col : Meusenholt a disner'. Knyphausen and Müller had excused themselves.

⁸⁰ Literature in this field is vast. Examples of scholarly works where this issue is discussed include: Tracey A. Sowerby and Jan Hennings (eds.), *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c.1410-1800* (London: Routledge, 2017); Tracey A. Sowerby and Joanna Craigwood (eds.), *Cultures of Diplomacy and Literary Writing in the Early Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019); Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Vera Noldus (eds.), *Double Agents: Cultural and Political Brokerage in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

her new responsibilities as regent, and had firmly retained power in her own hands after the unexpected death of her husband Wilhelm V in 1637.⁸¹ Tercy himself had visited the Landgravine in 1637 and had reported back to the French court that the situation was surprisingly good. Hessen-Kassel was a strategic ally, and the French monarchy was eager to renew the alliance that had been sealed with the deceased Wilhelm. The same conditions were offered now to his widow, topped up by an expensive cross of diamonds, which was conveyed as a gift from d’Avaux through the intermediation of Monsieur de La Boderie, French resident at the Hessian court.⁸²

Amalia Elisabeth was not easily swayed, and was reluctant to sign any such agreement too soon, being well aware that France needed this alliance, and hoping for an improved offer. She treated the French on equal footing, sending precious gifts of her own, as reported in the almanac. On 2 February 1638, De Saint-Romain came back from Hessen-Kassel, bearing a diamond worth 1500 écus to d’Avaux, and another one worth 500 livres to Mr L’Abbé.⁸³ Discussions continued into the month of March, with a second French envoy sent to the Landgravine, and at the end of March a treaty was ratified between France and Amalia Elisabeth’s councillors. She would not counter-sign this agreement for many months to come, angling for improved conditions. As well as engaging in discussion with Hessen-Kassel, France also manipulated the situation from different angles, suspending subsidies, preventing Colonel Rantzau from returning to the Hessian army, and with personal negotiations with high-placed individuals at the Hessian court.⁸⁴ These transactions continued well beyond the months covered by the Mazarine almanac, but finally in August 1639, France signed a treaty with Hessen-Kassel.⁸⁵

Personal gifts and private favours appear as frequently as do gifts of public and political relevance. Tercy was able to secure books and amber beads (‘livres et chappeletz de Dantzig’) from Henri Canasilhes, French consul in Danzig, in June 1638, to which were later added some amber bracelets.⁸⁶ Exchanges between the two appear to have been regular occurrences, and later d’Avaux asked to be sent some amber beads also – indeed, hardly any of the letters from Canasilhes to Tercy fail to mention some gift or commission to purchase amber in Danzig. These precious bundles were usually sent through members of the diplomatic network cited in the almanac, such as Du Maurier or Mr Guernand.

References to books sent for and received through Tercy’s extended network are frequent, both in the almanac and in correspondence from the time. Naturally, the diplomatic network provided easy, reliable and cheap ways to procure books, as most of the individuals involved were already travelling on other business. Books were sent from Canasilhes in Poland, as mentioned above, as well as through contacts in Sweden. Tercy found a bundle of books from Sweden on his

⁸¹ Tryntje Helfferich, ‘An Ace in the Game of Diplomacy: Amalia Elisabeth of Hesse-Cassel and the French Monarchy’, *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, 28 (2000), pp. 355-363.

⁸² Helfferich, ‘An Ace in the Game of Diplomacy’, p. 357.

⁸³ Possibly either Charles or Pierre Labbé – though neither is cited again in the almanac.

⁸⁴ Tryntje Helfferich, *The Iron Princess: Amalia Elisabeth and the Thirty Years War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 57. Relevant entries in the almanac for the days: 15 January, 18 January, 24 March.

⁸⁵ Helfferich, ‘An Ace in the Game of Diplomacy’, p. 361.

⁸⁶ Paris, BnF, Français 6650. Letters sent on 1 June, 10 June and others. On Canasilhes in Danzig, see Marie-Louise Pelus-Kaplan, ‘Dantzig dans les relations économiques entre la France et la Pologne à l’époque moderne’, *Annales de l’Académie Polonaise des Sciences*, 17, no. 2 (2015), pp. 97-105; Marie-Louise Pelus-Kaplan, ‘“Mourir pour Danzig?” L’importance du grand port polonais pour le royaume de France à l’époque moderne’, in Guy Saupin and Éric Schnakenbourg (eds.), *Expériences de la guerre, pratiques de la paix de l’Antiquité au XX siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013), pp. 117-133.

arrival from his Holstein trip, costing 16 Reichstaler and 22ss.⁸⁷ He also sent for books in Nuremberg, and he would appear to have updated his correspondents such as Canasilhes with lists of books he was interested in. Hamburg was also a thriving centre of the book trade, and Tercy seems to have taken advantage of this for his own purchases (and possibly, to purchase books for Richelieu – although his notes do not suggest that the books were for others). In early March, he gave Froben 45 Reichstalers for ‘la moitié de mes livres’ (suggesting that another half was still missing). In August, Tercy seems to have engaged in some book-shopping at Froben’s, an operation that seems to have taken some time. On 6 August he wrote that ‘après le disner j’ay choisis les Historiens d’Allemagne chez Frobenius’ (after dinner he had chosen the German historians at Froben’s), and he followed up the day after by noting that ‘le soir je fis marché avec Mr Frobenius de tous les Historiens d’Allemagne pour 115 R surquoy je luy ay donné 30 R reste à 85’. This suggests that Tercy negotiated a fair price for his purchase, and that he was buying a significant quantity of books (both the indication ‘tous les Historiens’ and the price agreed are clues in this sense). I have been unable to decipher this further. Whether this purchase was agreed on his own behalf, or for others, we can be sure that while Tercy was on diplomatic business, no bibliophilic riches were left unexplored.

Concluding remarks

This source confirms the exceptional value of annotated almanacs as a field of study in themselves, thanks to their unique blend of personal and professional focus, recording celebrations and daily activities alike. While scholarship of annotated materials often focuses on learned works, mundane texts such as almanacs are treasure troves for the understanding of the past, and their investigation may open up new pathways of enquiry. Annotations were catalysed by the material structure of the printed object, one that encouraged and compounded the regularity of contemporary accounts, and once the shelf-life of the object had expired, still offered better chances of survival. This is most certainly the case with this almanac – rescued, no doubt, by its contingent location alongside other printed items in the Mazarine miscellany. Book history as a whole emerges as a discipline that has much to give to other fields of study, just as much as people in the book trade appear from this document as deeply engaged with historical and political events.

As a historic source, Tercy’s annotations are precious on multiple levels, being the uniform and cohesive account produced by a single individual in a unique position of actor and observer. As d’Avaux’s secretary, Tercy would have been required to retain a reliable record of these critical months; his careful archival practices, including notes of when letters had been received, offer important cross-reference points to double check and verify connections. Accounting for both in-person and distant exchanges, Tercy brings together individuals who belonged in his and d’Avaux’s extended diplomatic, political and cultural network. The use and manipulation of printed news emerging from this case study helps situate the Hamburg transactions somewhere in between the private and the public sphere.

Once we analyse the document as data, we are able to observe a complex and diverse information system. This pan-European network was nurtured and maintained through gifts, hospitality, and long-term friendship. It is not by accident that some of the names we find in Tercy’s

⁸⁷ Tercy seems to be using the abbreviation “ss” (sols) for the German Groschen, with 24 Groschen being equal to 1 Reichstaler. The entire sum was roughly the equivalent of 50 livres tournois, not an insignificant sum of money.

contact list recur at a much younger age in *Alba Amicorum*, having travelled across Europe in their youth, and remaining intercultural in their adult professions and personal relationships. As a study that is deeply transnational at heart, therefore, this seemed a perfect fit to celebrate Andrew's career, always extending across borders, languages and media, and beautifully represented by the many friends of the St Andrews Book Project gathered in this volume.