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**Title:** The ceremonial of reception 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

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## THE CEREMONIAL OF RECEPTION 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

### ABSTRACT

Despite numerous publications regarding the journey of Prince Władysław Vasa to Western Europe (Bohemia, Austria, Germany, Netherlands, Italy) in 1624–1625, the topic still awaits its fully elaborated monography. One of the issues requiring in-depth reflection is the broadly understood diplomatic dimension of young Vasa's peregrination. The prince, travelling incognito, was officially a member of Albrycht S. Radziwiłł's diplomatic entourage. This arrangement caused many problems concerning diplomatic and ceremonial procedures in the ambassador-prince-host court triangle. This article aims to present relations in said arrangement, especially those related to preponderance during entries, stay and ceremonies taking place at the courts visited by the embassy. The analysis will be conducted primarily from the perspective of the role and functions of the ambassador. Therefore, its important component will also be the description of the political dimension of the journey, which will show Albrecht S. Radziwiłł's activities in this area, including relations and meetings with the rulers visited, as well as the political elite and ambassadors present at a given court.

**KEYWORDS:** Diplomatic ceremonial; Embassy; Stanisław Albrycht Radziwiłł; Władysław Vasa; Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

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In the years 1624–1625, Prince<sup>1</sup> Władysław Vasa made his grand tour of Western Europe. Officially, the tour's main purpose was to fulfil a vow he had made during his illness at the siege of Chocim (Kotyn). He vowed then that if he survived, he would go to Loreto and make a votive offering in the form of a golden statue of his patron saint<sup>2</sup>. Historians usually perceive this journey as an educational one<sup>3</sup> or pay special attention to its aspects related to Vasa's arts patronage<sup>4</sup>. The only person taking part in this trip (apart from the prince) in whom researchers were interested was the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł. This interest, however, focused primarily on his leadership of the voyage, disregarding another function assigned to him by the king – of a diplomat with a specific mission to accomplish.

The only exception is a passage on the voyage of Prince Władysław, which Radosław Lolo included

<sup>1</sup> The term "Prince" is used in the main text to refer to Władysław Vasa. In the quotations, however, it appears as a term for Stanisław Albrycht Radziwiłł because he bore the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and was so titled by Jan Hagenaw and Stefan Pac in their accounts of the journey. In these cases, Radziwiłł's name was added in square brackets.

<sup>2</sup> Adam Przybóś, *Podróż królewicza Władysława Wazy do krajów Europy Zachodniej w latach 1624–1625 w świetle ówczesnych relacji* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1977), 14.

<sup>3</sup> Władysław Czaplinski, *Władysław IV i jego czasy* (Kraków: Universitas, 2008), 60–6; Zdzisław Pietrzyk, "Przyczynek do podróży królewicza Władysława Zygmunta Waza po Europie Zachodniej", *Studia Historyczne. Kwartalnik* 162, n. 3 (1998): 341–48; Henryk Wisner, *Władysław IV Waza* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2009), 427; Stefania Ochmann-Staniszevska, *Dynastia Wazów w Polsce* (Warszawa: PWN, 2006), 246–48.

<sup>4</sup> Karolina Targosz-Kretowa, *Teatr dworski Władysława IV (1635–1648)* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie 1965), 36; Jacek Zukowski, "Listy Władysława Waza i inne nieznanne źródła do jego europejskiej peregrynacji z archiwami szwedzkich i niemieckich", *Kronika Zamkowa. Seria Nowa*, 68/2 (2015): 61–85; Ryszard Szmydki, *Artystyczno-dyplomatyczne kontakty Zygmunta III Wazy z Niderlandami Południowymi* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2008), 104–10; Id., *Kontakty artystyczne królewicza Władysława Zygmunta Waza z Antwerpią. Misja Mathieu Roualta do Polski w 1626 r.* (Warszawa: Zamek Królewski, 2002).

in his 2004 book on the Polish nobility's stance towards the Thirty Years' War<sup>5</sup>. In this context, the author mentions Radziwiłł as the person who was at the head of the delegation sent by Sigismund III to Vienna on the occasion of the prince's journey. In that passage, Lolo presents Radziwiłł's mission as one of the stages of a diplomatic action undertaken by the king to ease the misunderstandings between him and the Emperor<sup>6</sup>, which arose from the Emperor's enlisting mercenaries from Poland<sup>7</sup>. Przemysław Deles, in his 2001 article outlining the political conditions of Władysław Vasa's travel<sup>8</sup>, also repeatedly draws attention to the "formula of the embassy"<sup>9</sup> that the journey took on while the prince had to remain anonymous. Thus, the author notes the importance of Radziwiłł's role for the prince, who wanted to conceal his identity and the fact that the Chancellor described himself as an envoy. However, he confines himself to it and does not deal with Radziwiłł further when discussing the political aspects of the trip. The purpose of this article is to analyse Radziwiłł's diplomatic activity, the actual dimension of which has so far escaped the historians' attention. It was undoubtedly interconnected with and dependent on his function as the *director* of the voyage. Still, it cannot be treated solely as episodic activities merely supplementary to his main task. During this journey, Radziwiłł was a royal envoy entrusted with a diplomatic mission *tout court*. Numerous information showing the relations between Prince Władysław, Radziwiłł and the receiving courts, as well as by the fact that he was directly referred to as an envoy by his companions, confirm it. Moreover, he called himself this way as well.

The source base on which the researchers relied primarily consisted of the travel accounts by Jan Hagenaw, Stefan Pac, Samuel Twardowski and Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł collected and published by Adam Przyboś<sup>10</sup>. Moreover, correspondence exchanged between the members of the retinue and the royal court as well as letters written by the rulers of the visited countries and their entourage have also been preserved<sup>11</sup>. This article is primarily based on travel accounts and instruction. What is more, royal letters that Radziwiłł is said to have passed on to various rulers were used. The travel accounts, although they were written down by only three of the prince's companions, contain a variety of information that enables the examination of the relationship between Prince Władysław, Radziwiłł, and the host rulers.

Most information about Radziwiłł's diplomatic activities can be found in Jan Hagenaw's account. According to Radziwiłł's notes, Hagenaw was his servant, whom the prince "appropriated"<sup>12</sup> for the duration of the journey. Przyboś refers to Hagenaw's letter to Sigismund III, writing that Hagenaw kept a travel journal by order of the king and was to hand it over to him on his return<sup>13</sup>. Hagenaw writes about what Radziwiłł did much more often than Pac does. He also pays more attention than Pac to the elements of diplomatic ceremonial applied to Radziwiłł: which hand the host offered to be shaken by the envoy when greeting him, who welcomed him and who the welcoming person was

5 Radosław Lolo, *Rzeczpospolita wobec wojny trzydziestoletniej. Opinie i stanowiska szlachty (1618–1635)* (Pułtusk: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora, 2004).

6 Lolo, *Rzeczpospolita wobec wojny trzydziestoletniej*, 246.

7 *Lisowczycy* were mercenaries of Polish origin who were enlisted by Emperor Ferdinand II during the Thirty Years' War. The fact that they were not paid their soldier's pay resulted in them committing robberies in the lands of the Empire. See Adam Szelągowski, *Śląsk i Polska wobec powstania czeskiego* (Lwów: Księgarnia Polska B. Połonieckiego, 1904), 65–6, 119–27; Lolo, *Rzeczpospolita wobec wojny trzydziestoletniej*, 31, 98–100.

8 Przemysław Deles, "Polityczne uwarunkowania podróży królewicza Władysława Zygmunta Wazy po krajach Europy Zachodniej w latach 1624–1624", *Kronika Zamkowa. Seria Nowa*, 42/2 (2001): 87–106.

9 Deles, "Polityczne uwarunkowania", 93–5.

10 Przyboś, *Podróż królewicza*. The book consists of separate accounts by Hagenaw, Pac and Radziwiłł. Przyboś compiled them to form a chronologically coherent text: the description of each day of the journey consists of corresponding fragments of the three accounts. The footnotes refer to a fragment of a particular account found on the indicated page.

11 Żukowski (2015) lists correspondence preserved in: Riksarkivet in Stockholm, *Extranea IX, Polen*, n. 89, 92, 111 (copies of these documents in microfilm form are located in AGAD). See Żukowski, *Listy Władysława Wazy i inne nieznane źródła*, 85–118.

12 Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, "Rys panowania Zygmunta III", in Przyboś, *Podróż królewicza*, 43.

13 Przyboś, "Wstęp", in Id., *Podróż królewicza*, 23.

accompanied by, whether he received refreshments and whether the accommodation offered to him was worthy of his person. Radziwiłł also paid attention to such details in his memoirs. Among other authors, Hagenaw wrote most about the private meetings which Radziwiłł had at foreign courts. Pac's attitude to this type of information is perfectly illustrated by two contrasting notes from 26 May 1624, when Pac stated: «For the last few days nothing worth noting happened»<sup>14</sup>, while Hagenaw, in addition to the brief news about Władysław having spent the whole day with Archduke Charles, also records Radziwiłł's audience with him<sup>15</sup>.

The collection of accounts published by Przyboś also contains the text of instruction from May 1624, addressed to Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł by Sigismund III Vasa. The king assigned him two functions: the headman of Prince Władysław's journey and royal envoy. Radziwiłł's first and foremost task was to protect the prince from any «danger that might threaten either the person or the honour and dignity of the Prince»<sup>16</sup>. The instruction proceeds to say that the main task was to make sure that Władysław, «having gained warlike fame with foreign kings, lords and peoples, despite being absent there, now being there he did not seem lesser to them». However, the majority of the instruction constitutes guideline on Radziwiłł's mission as an envoy.

At the beginning of instruction, the journey's route is specified, passing through Neisse, Prague or Vienna (depending on where the Emperor happens to be staying), Innsbruck, Brussels and Italy «if time and roads permit». A list of countries which travellers were not allowed to «without the express permission of His Majesty the King» was also drawn up. These countries were France, Spain, England, and the Netherlands, where it was dangerous to travel due to the Thirty Years' War's military activities. It is also worth noting the reservation that the king's will regarding the itinerary may change – there are several other passages in the instructions indicating constant contact between the retinue and the royal court –. The exchange of letters between the envoy and the royal court to keep the latter informed and receive new guidelines was the duty of every diplomat and one of the elementary aspects of his activity. Radziwiłł, as evidenced by the explicitly worded order to inform the royal court in detail about the course and effects of the visit to the court of the Infanta, was no exception to this rule.

The instruction sets out specific tasks that Radziwiłł was to perform as an envoy at the courts of the Emperor, the Archdukes, the Infanta, and the Grand Duke and Duchess of Tuscany. Outside of these places, he was bound by a general set of rules focusing on the prince's safety (both in terms of travel dangers and preserving his dignity). These tasks are no different from each other. At each of the courts he visited, Radziwiłł was expected to deliver letters of greetings from the king and queen and assure the hosts in his own words of the affection resulting from kinship.

The instructions regarding Radziwiłł's visit to the Emperor and the court of the Infanta stand out in terms of the number of intricate recommendations. Their detailed character and the use of words explicitly telling the envoy what to say prove that these were the guidelines for the formal diplomatic orations Radziwiłł was to deliver at these courts. At the Emperor's court, Radziwiłł's crucial task was to settle one of the most severe problems between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Empire of that time – the aforementioned issue of taming by Sigismund III the *Lisowczy* troops enlisted by the Emperor –. In his oration, he was to present the Polish nobility's position towards the problem of *Lisowczy* and describe the actions taken by the king, the Great Crown Hetman and the *sejm* to stop their arbitrariness. Radziwiłł was provided with a Latin copy of the *sejm* constitution adopted in this matter to present to the Emperor what solutions would be implemented. He was to end his speech with an assurance that the king would keep his “pacts and alliances”, which was supposed to guarantee the enforcement of the treaty on mutual assistance against the rebellious subjects concluded in 1613 between Sigismund III and Emperor Matthias I.

Equally detailed recommendations apply to the audience with Infanta Isabella. Radziwiłł was to

14 Stefan Pac, “Obraz dworów europejskich na początku XVII wieku”, in Przyboś, *Podróż królewicza*, 58.

15 Jan Hagenaw, “Diariusz podróży zagranicznej królewicza Władysława, napisany przez Jana Hogenau”, in Przyboś, *Podróż królewicza*, 58.

16 “Instrukcja króla Zygmunta III dla Albrychta Stanisława Radziwiłła, kanclerza litewskiego, dana w Warszawie w maju 1624 r.”, in Przyboś, *Podróż królewicza*, 421.



bring greetings and assurances of kindness and friendship sent by the royal couple during the private audience. Again, it was written down what specifically the envoy was to say and what he was to emphasise in his speech, namely, how important a role in the close relations between the two courts was played by the support given to the Commonwealth during the war with Turkey by Isabella's late husband, Archduke Albert.

The instruction suggests that Radziwiłł was to interrupt performing his envoy function during his stay in Rome, as he received no instructions regarding his contact with the pope. Apart from a reminder of the extraordinary character of Rome, «the stage of the world», where «all words and deeds of the Serene Prince will be observed and noted down», the only instructions regarding Radziwiłł's duties in the Holy See tell him to make sure that the prince does not meet with anyone except the pope and cardinal Cosimo de Torres, the cardinal protector of the Commonwealth. The recommendations concerning the stay at the court of the Grand Duke and Duchess of Tuscany are described very laconically. The instruction orders Radziwiłł to greet them «in the same way as the other princes mentioned above» and resume the journey as soon as possible<sup>17</sup>.

As in any embassy case, Radziwiłł was provided with letters to consign to the rulers to whom he was conducting his mission. Letters from May 1624 addressed to Infanta Isabella, Archdukes Charles and Leopold, Emperor Ferdinand II, and Grand Duchess Maria Magdalena of Tuscany<sup>18</sup>, containing greetings and informing of the arrival of Prince Władysław, also mention Albert Stanisław Radziwiłł as the prince's companion. Although these letters' content implies that Radziwiłł was to perform diplomatic functions on behalf of the king, none of them, similarly to the instruction, mentions his diplomatic rank. However, a mention of it appears in the passport issued for him by Sigismund III. In this document, the king calls him *orator noster*<sup>19</sup>.

The way Radziwiłł was treated at the receiving courts also indicates that his role as envoy was not just a disguise allowing the prince to travel comfortably. Radziwiłł participated in ceremonial entrances prepared in his honour and typical of royal envoys, and was accommodated in sumptuous apartments. He also took pride of place at the table during public meals, and the first seats in carriages when he had to travel accompanied by the representatives of the host rulers. The scope of his diplomatic functions was most often linked to the degree of the prince's anonymity at a given stage of his journey. Still, this link disappeared at the courts mentioned in the instruction as places where Radziwiłł was to fulfil specific tasks as an envoy, and the prince did not appear incognito.

The entrances to the visited cities took place throughout the journey: the royal envoy entered, the prince entered, or the arrival to a given location was kept secret. Other ceremonial entries of Radziwiłł as an extraordinary envoy took place only in Munich and Brussels. In Stefan Pac's account of 26 July 1624, it is stated that during a meeting with the commissioners sent by the Elector of Bavaria to determine the way the entrance would take place, the prince explained: «that he did not need any entrances and extraordinary honours, not objecting, however, to going and receiving the Prince [Radziwiłł] in the usual way, as is the custom». Pac writes further that Duke Maximilian's marshal met them on their way to Munich with numerous horsemen and carriages; Radziwiłł and the prince took their places of honour in the first of them<sup>20</sup>. The arrangement of the circumstances of the entrance to Brussels was analogous. When, despite the earlier agreements between Pac and the court of the Infanta, on their way from Leuven to Brussels the prince's retinue met the Infanta's horseman with the carriages

17 "Instrukcja króla Zygmunta III", in Przyboś, *Podróż królewicza*, 421-25. See Henryk Wisner, "Dyplomacja polska w latach 1572-1648", in *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, vol. II: 1572-1795, ed. Zbigniew Wójcik (Warszawa: PWN, 1982), 31-32.

18 AGAD, MK, LL, 30, *Sigismund III Vasa Waza to Infanta Isabella, Governor of the Netherlands*, Warsaw 15 May 1624, ff. 109r-10v; *Ibid.*, *Sigismund III Vasa to Archduke Charles, Bishop of Wrocław*, Warsaw, May 15 1624, f. r; *Ibid.*, *Sigismund III Vasa to Archduke Leopold V*, Warsaw, 15 May 1624, f. 109v; *Ibid.*, *Sigismund III Vasa to Emperor Ferdinand II*, Warsaw May 15 1624, f. 111r; ASF, *Fondo Mediceo*, II, 4292, *Sigismund III Vasa to Princess Mary Magdalene*, 15 May 1624, p. 486 (497). More letters can be found in Львівська наукова бібліотека імені В. Стефаника НАН України [Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv], fond 5: 201, *Kopiarz materiałóv dotyczących stosunkóv zagranicznych Polski z lat 1619-1625*, ff. 281-301r.

19 AGAD, AR, II, *Passport issued by Sigismund III Vasa to Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł*, Warsaw May 15 1624, f. 888r.

20 Pac, "Obraz dworóv europejskich", 106, 108.

and cavalry, Władysław asked them to «conduct the ceremonial [...] with the Prince [Radziwiłł]». Radziwiłł was given the first seat in the carriage, and this way, the entrance to Brussels took place<sup>21</sup>. The descriptions of his arrival in Munich and Brussels signal the Władysław's resistance to any ceremonies associated with his arrival in these cities. His eventual consent to the ceremonial entrances held in Radziwiłł's honour seems to have been a compromise between the prince's will and the host rulers' desire to manifest their wealth and glory by offering such a magnificent guest a proper reception<sup>22</sup>. However, the prince's solution could have been as beneficial for himself as it was for the receiving courts. Władysław followed his father's advice to conceal his identity as often as possible and thus avoided the dangers of lapses in his dignity. Prince Władysław's situation was exceptional and challenging from the ceremonial point of view. As the son of the elected king, he had no right to the title of heir to the Polish-Lithuanian throne. In contrast, his other titles, such as the heir to the Swedish throne or the throne of the tsar of Moscow, were subjects of ongoing conflicts and tensions between the Commonwealth and Sweden and Moscow. Besides, even if the Infanta's and Wittelsbach's courts were ready to welcome the prince as the successor to the Swedish and Muscovite thrones, it still constituted a severe problem, as probably no description of the ceremonial of receiving the heir to the throne existed at that time<sup>23</sup>. King Sigismund III's entourage, as well as the rulers hosting Władysław, must have been aware of this. Preparing ceremonial entrances and greetings addressed to Radziwiłł as an envoy was a safer solution for both sides.

During his travels through numerous countries of the Reich, it was typical behaviour of their rulers to obey the prince's wishes concerning his anonymity and to receive Radziwiłł as the royal envoy at public ceremonies. In the free cities of the Reich, Radziwiłł was treated «according to the diplomatic custom». Representatives of the city authorities of Augsburg, Nuremberg, Cologne and Aachen welcomed Radziwiłł as a royal envoy and offered him food and wine. Similar welcomes took place in cities belonging to archbishops. Before the arrival in Salzburg, it was agreed that Radziwiłł would enter the city and be received by the archbishop, to whom the prince would only be privately introduced. According to Radziwiłł's account of the welcome in Salzburg, he wrote: «I came as the King's envoy and everyone did great honours to me». From Hagenaw's account, we learn about the five carriages sent for the envoy, for whom the first seat was saved in one of them. Radziwiłł also drew attention to the kindness he received from the Archbishop of Trier, Philip Christopher von Sötern, who greeted him in Koblenz by offering Radziwiłł his right hand to shake. The Chancellor stressed that this gesture was connected with his dignity as a royal envoy. The Bishop of Würzburg, Philip Adolf von Ehrenberg, welcomed Radziwiłł as an envoy as soon as he learnt who had arrived in his city, although the welcome was more modest than in the previous cases. Nevertheless, it was certainly not as inappropriate as the Archbishop of Mainz's reception, who, according to Radziwiłł, received them rudely and far too modestly<sup>24</sup>.

The arrangements mentioned above regarding greetings exchanged by the prince and the archbishop of Salzburg draw attention to the «exchange of places» that repeatedly took place between the prince and Radziwiłł throughout the journey. It was very smooth and closely linked to the overriding principle organising how these two people travelled, namely that Władysław kept his anonymity as often as possible. The description of the visit to the archbishop's palace vividly depicts this principle of taking on roles, of constantly performing *commedia* as Radziwiłł himself called these actions. The prince made himself known to the archbishop in the latter's private chambers, but when they later visited

21 Pac, «Obraz dworów europejskich», 161-62.

22 Hagenaw, «Diariusz podróży zagranicznej», 105, 153; Pac, «Obraz dworów europejskich», 106, 160.

23 Travelling by heirs to a throne was a rare occurrence at this time. In 1623 Prince Charles of Wales visited the court of Madrid, and from an excerpt from the 1651 code of etiquette for the Spanish court published by Ryszard Skowron, we learn that those visits served as a model for the ceremonies related to them. Thus, there may have already existed tried and tested solutions, but they were certainly not popularized at European courts yet. See Ryszard Skowron, «Znak i liturgia władzy - ceremoniale i etykieta dworu hiszpańskiego», in *Theatrum ceremoniale na dworze księąt i królów polskich*, eds. Mariusz Markiewicz and Ryszard Skowron (Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 1999), 128-29.

24 Pac, «Obraz dworów europejskich», 99, 127-28, 137; Radziwiłł, «Rys panowania Zygmunta III», 10, 120, 125, 127-28, 133, 137; Hagenaw, «Diariusz podróży zagranicznej», 102-3; 127-28; 144-46; 153.

the palace side by side and passed the “porches” where people were gathered, the prince stopped, and Radziwiłł replaced him<sup>25</sup>.

The situation which occurred at Antwerp offers equally substantial insight into the rules of the play. The accounts of Pac and Hagenaw show that Władysław arrived in that city without preserving anonymity. Their descriptions indicate the solemn welcome made by the townspeople and the city council, the recipient of which was the prince and not the envoy. They entered the city on 22 September. For the next three days, the prince visited its monuments and attractions without concealing his identity. It is evidenced, for example, by his visit to the Cathedral of Our Lady, where Władysław was greeted by «all the clergy and escorted to the choir in a procession». Afterwards, as planned, the prince went to the Spanish military camp near Breda, and Radziwiłł stayed in Antwerp. A day later, he was visited and officially welcomed by the mayor, some members of the city council, and a pensionary. When Władysław appeared in public as a prince, his majesty exceeded that of an envoy representing the reigning king, and it was to the prince that the most honourable treatment was due. However, the moment the prince “disappeared” from sight either by concealing his identity or, as happened in Antwerp, physically leaving a place, these honours were received by the second most important person in the arrangement, the royal envoy Radziwiłł<sup>26</sup>.

The prince’s anonymity was also connected with the circumstances, and its scope varied depending on the situation. As the instruction indicates, the degree of anonymity was primarily determined by the closeness of kinship relationships with the ruler of the visited lands. The closer was the kinship relationships and relations with a given family member, the lesser the need to conceal prince’s identity. The first opportunity to meet his closest family was a journey across the Empire’s lands. Władysław visited his uncle, Emperor Ferdinand II, and his wife Eleonora, as well as two archdukes, Charles and Leopold. The difference in the way Radziwiłł was treated during these encounters was evident primarily during the greetings. Although both in Neisse and Vienna Radziwiłł performed tasks resulting from his role as envoy, the ceremonial entrances in his or the prince’s honour were replaced there by cordial hugs, and friendly greetings exchanged between Władysław and the members of the imperial family. There, Władysław was not treated “only” as a Polish prince but primarily as a close relative. The entrance to Saverne, the residence of archduke Leopold, took place in a similar fashion, although the archduke rode several miles outside the city to meet the prince, accompanied by his court and numerous noblemen.

At first glance, the circumstances of the prince’s visit to Florence do not deviate from this pattern either. Maria Magdalena Habsburg, Władysław’ aunt, was ruling there on behalf of the minor Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II de Medici, her son. Although the prince explained to the commissioner sent to welcome him within the Grand Duchy’s borders that he wanted to enter incognito, a ceremonial welcome was prepared in his honour anyway. However, despite the evidence of friendship and respect shown by the Tuscan relatives of the prince, there can be noticed the much cooler feelings associated with kinship than in the case of the earlier meeting with the Emperor and the Archdukes. Although Władysław was greeted by the Grand Duke himself, accompanied by his younger brothers, and later welcomed on the palace’s steps by Archduchess Maria Magdalena<sup>27</sup>, there is no mention of the warm embraces and enthusiastic greetings that took place in Neisse or Vienna.

The authors of the accounts use three terms when describing contacts between Radziwiłł and other people at the visited courts, and these are: “audiences”, “meetings”, and “conversations”. As already mentioned, Radziwiłł’s actions received the most attention from Hagenaw, who introduces the distinction between these types of interactions. He uses the word “audience” to describe the official interactions during which Radziwiłł fulfilled the tasks assigned to him by the king – both as an envoy and as a “director” of the voyage. Hence, Hagenaw also uses the term “audiences” when he refers to the conversations Radziwiłł participated in before his departure from Neisse to determine the further order of travel for the combined retinues of Prince Władysław and Archduke Charles.

25 Radziwiłł, “Rys panowania Zygmunta III”, 101.

26 Pac, “Obraz dworów europejskich”, 178-79, 183; Hagenaw, “Diariusz podróży zagranicznej”, 179-80, 185.

27 “Instrukcja króla”, in Przyboś, *Podróż królewicza*, 422-26. Cf. Pac, “Obraz dworów europejskich”, 74-6, 209, 334, 336; Radziwiłł, “Rys panowania Zygmunta III”, 209, 337; Hagenaw, “Diariusz podróży zagranicznej”, 75-6, 209.

The vast majority of information about Radziwiłł's audiences is retrieved from Hagenaw's account. These are laconic, one-sentence passages containing information about the time of the day when the audience took place or about its location. Only twice is a piece of information about the course of the audience recorded. One passage, written by Stefan Pac on 29 July 1624, states that during his stay in Munich Radziwiłł had an audience with Duke Wilhelm and his daughter-in-law, the wife of the Elector of Bavaria. At that time, he handed them letters from the king and queen. The second passage is related to an incident that occurred on 5 April 1625, when during Radziwiłł's audience with the Emperor, a bullet hit the window and shattered it, injuring the Chancellor. The description of such an exciting event had to be included in the account of the journey. Yet, the information given by Pac may imply three cases: Pac attended Radziwiłł's audience, the Chancellor himself told him about its course, or simply Pac described the usual course of an audience of a royal envoy at a foreign court<sup>28</sup>.

According to the prince's tour accounts, Radziwiłł participated in eleven audiences at the courts of Neisse, Vienna, Munich, Bonn, Brussels, and Florence. These are the places designated by Zygmunt III in his instruction. The rule was that the first audience with a given ruler took place the day after the retinue had arrived at the court. An exception is the court of Archduke Charles in Neisse, where Radziwiłł received an audience two days after his arrival. Regardless of the form (as the "head" or the second after Władysław) in which the envoy's entrance into the city took place, a typical order of receiving an envoy at the courts of Western Europe was preserved. Hence, the day of the arrival was the day of adaptation and arranging the first audience's time, which was to officially begin the mission at the visited court.

In most cases, Radziwiłł was granted only one audience during his stay at a given court. Sometimes, however, as in Neisse, Florence and during his first stay in Vienna, the envoy obtained a second audience. In Vienna and Florence, these meetings constituted an opportunity for other retinue members to get to know the ruler and his family. In both cities, such a meeting took place immediately after Radziwiłł's first audience. In Vienna, «other companions and servants of the Serene Prince» greeted the imperial couple. In Florence, other members of the entourage accompanied the envoy at the meeting with Archduchess Maria Magdalena. The audience received by Radziwiłł in Neisse was utterly different. It was connected with the planned merger of the retinues of the Prince and Archduke Charles. During the audience, Radziwiłł was to learn about the «route and order of the journey» to Vienna<sup>29</sup>.

The circumstances of the audiences at which Radziwiłł was received during Prince Władysław's journey indicate his function as an envoy. No other member of the entourage was granted private audiences with the rulers of the visited countries. A possibility of personal contact with the rulers was related to the role of diplomat. In his account of the stay in Munich, Stefan Pac explicitly indicates the relation between Radziwiłł's audience with Duke Wilhelm Wittelsbach and his role as a diplomat. He wrote that the Chancellor «had an audience with old Duke Wilhelm and his daughter-in-law, handed the letters from the Their Majesties the King and the Queen, and what he had commissioned, he carried off»<sup>30</sup>. Although this is the only passage in which Pac states that Radziwiłł received an audience in connection with his role as envoy, it has to be assumed that any private audience obtained by Radziwiłł at least a day after his arrival at the court was related to fulfilling the same duty. Pac's lack of other descriptions of this kind is because he generally paid little attention to the activities of Radziwiłł as a diplomat.

Apart from the audiences, Radziwiłł also entered other interactions with rulers, diplomats and other people staying at the visited courts. Descriptions of some of these meetings point to their typically diplomatic nature, involving visits first paid by diplomats who happened to be staying at a given court. In Vienna, on 25 June 1624, the prince was visited by «the apostolic nuncio, the Right Reverend Mr

28 Pac, "Obraz dworów europejskich", 110; Hagenaw, "Diariusz podróży zagranicznej", 401; Radziwiłł, "Rys panowania Zygmunta III", 403.

29 Hagenaw, "Diariusz podróży zagranicznej", 60, 79.

30 Pac, "Obraz dworów europejskich", 110.



Caraffa, also the Spanish king's envoy, Count de Ognati<sup>31</sup>, and the Tuscan prince's envoy, Mr Altoviti». Three days later, Radziwiłł visited the apostolic nuncio and the Tuscan envoy. A similar pattern can be observed in Brussels, where on the day of the prince's arrival, he was greeted by the apostolic nuncio and the Spanish envoy. Two days later Radziwiłł paid a visit (only to the Spanish envoy on that day, because he «could not find the nuncio at home»), and in Florence: on 9 February 1625, the apostolic nuncio had an audience with the prince, and two days later Radziwiłł visited the nuncio<sup>32</sup>. Reciprocal visits by diplomats at foreign courts were a regular feature of diplomatic etiquette. Thus, the fact that Radziwiłł took part in these interactions clearly indicates his role as an envoy of Sigismund III.

These situations present Radziwiłł performing duties characteristic of an envoy carrying out his mission. As in many other aspects of this trip, an exception is Rome, where the prince himself revisited the cardinals who had visited him earlier<sup>33</sup>. It was probably since Radziwiłł's function as an envoy completely disappeared in Rome. The descriptions of his stay in the Holy See, which take up much space, show him rather as a high-ranking nobleman. Together with his relatives he had met there, Radziwiłł fulfilled the social duties of a member of a family of international prestige. In his memoirs, as well as in Hagenaw's account, his role as protector and advisor to the prince is emphasized more strongly than before. At his instigation, Władysław asked the pope for the honour of seeing the Veil of St Veronica, which necessitated his appointment as a canon of St Peter's Chapter<sup>34</sup>.

Apart from these courtesy calls, Radziwiłł participated in several meetings with important personages, which may have involved discussing political matters on the king's behalf. At the court of the Elector of Bavaria in Munich, the envoy met with Duke Wilhelm V Wittelsbach twice more after the welcome audience. On the day of his departure from Bonn for Cologne, Radziwiłł was visited by Ferdinand Wittelsbach, the Elector of Cologne, together with his brother Albert. In Vienna, Radziwiłł met privately with the Spanish envoy, Count de Oñate, and with the Chancellor of Bohemia. During his stay in Brussels, when Radziwiłł was ill and spent all days in his room, he was visited by Duke Arescot, Count Emden, and Cardinal Cueva<sup>35</sup>. All these meetings were private (except perhaps the dinner with the Chancellor of Bohemia), which created favourable conditions for discussing matters that the king could entrust to Radziwiłł. The very fact that such meetings took place indicates Radziwiłł's role as envoy, which is the only explanation for his access to such top-ranking people and for the possibility of having private conversations with them.

In his memoirs from the journeys with the prince, the Chancellor frequently assessed the way he was received at the visited courts. The appearance of such assessments in Radziwiłł's account may have resulted from the fact that he was fully aware of his representational duties related to the function of an envoy. It can be assumed that he was familiar with Krzysztof Warszawicki's famous treatise *De legato et legatione* from 1595, in which the author included guidelines for diplomats on how best to carry out diplomatic missions in accordance with legal and customary norms. In his treatise, Warszawicki generally recommended modesty to the envoys but also noted that "representative reasons" required that the envoy «surround himself with more splendour than an ordinary man», which involved, for example, «occupying a place appropriate to his dignity». Therefore, Radziwiłł paid attention to

31 Iñigo Vélez de Guevara y Tassis, count de Oñate [1566–1644]. He was Spanish ambassador at the Savoy court (1603–1613), the imperial court (1613–1625; 1633–1637), and to the Holy See (1626–1628). During his mission at the imperial court, he supervised Polish affairs, including the issue of compensation for the Polish fleet sent to Wismar, the matter of Neapolitan sums, and Polish-Swedish relations.

32 Hagenaw, "Diariusz podróży zagranicznej", 82-3, 171, 354. Relatives met by Radziwiłł were his cousins, Alexander Ludwik and Jan Albrycht. Alexander Ludwik Radziwiłł [1594–1654] was the son of Mikołaj Krzysztof "Sierotka", voivode of Vilnius and Grand Marshal of Lithuania. He himself also held the office of Grand Marshal of Lithuania (1637–1654). He was also voivode of Połock and Brześć Litewski. Jan Albrycht Radziwiłł [1591–1626] was the son of Albrycht Radziwiłł, Grand Marshal of Lithuania, starosta of Kowno and Rumbory. He himself bore only the title of starosta of Upita. He died in Vilnius shortly after returning from abroad.

33 Hagenaw, "Diariusz podróży zagranicznej", 169; Radziwiłł, "Rys panowania Zygmunta III", 298.

34 They were his cousins, Alexander Ludwik and Jan Albrycht. Hagenaw, "Diariusz podróży zagranicznej", 293, 302; Pac, "Obraz dworów europejskich", 327.

35 Hagenaw, "Diariusz podróży zagranicznej", 112, 116, 143, 87, 88, 190-91.

whether how he was received corresponded to his dignity, and if he considered that this was not the case, he intervened. In Vienna, he found that the imperial court had placed him and Stefan Pac in a public inn, which constituted an offence to his dignity, so he rented an inn closer to the castle, which «added to their dignity»<sup>36</sup>.

Nevertheless, the impropriety of this kind did not happen often. In most of the places he visited, Radziwiłł was treated in a way that distinguished him, even if only slightly, from the rest of the retinue. Apart from the question of ceremonial greetings, the specific treatment was also manifested in offering Radziwiłł more sumptuous lodging than one of the rest of the prince's companions or assigning him an honourable place at the table. When describing his stay in Munich, Hagenaw pays particular attention to the splendidly furnished suite in which the prince was accommodated, adding that «Radziwiłł was also given dazzling rooms in the same palace, namely, those in which Archduke Charles had previously lived». The distinction between Radziwiłł and the others is even more evident in the account from Koblenz, where Hagenaw stresses again that only Radziwiłł and Prince Władysław were accommodated in the Archbishop's Palace. At the same time, the rest of the entourage stayed in townsmen's houses. This information is followed by the note that «at the supper, as well as at the following stops, none of us except Prince Radziwiłł sat at the table of the noblest»<sup>37</sup>, thus completing the image of the exceptional way his master was treated by the Archbishop of Trier.

Nonetheless, most descriptions of the circumstances of meals and lodging do not indicate the existence of a rule in depriving the rest of the prince's high-ranking companions of the access to a residence in palace rooms or the place at the table of the dignified host. Neither in Brussels, Rome, nor in Naples were the travellers offered accommodation of varying quality according to their rank. In all but Saverne, Koblenz and Munich, where the accounts record more ceremonial meals, Radziwiłł and the prince were also accompanied at the table by Stefan Pac, Adam Kazanowski, Łukasz Żółkiewski and Gerard Denhoff. They are not always mentioned by name, as Pac usually writes simply "we", but on the basis of other accounts, it can be concluded that these four people were, apart from Radziwiłł, the most important and the closest companions of the prince on his journey.

This group of individuals ranked just behind Radziwiłł in the hierarchy of importance. Some of the tasks they performed by the prince's orders are further evidence that Radziwiłł was distinguished from them by his high rank of royal envoy. Gerard Denhoff was sent several times as an envoy to discuss the circumstances of welcoming the retinue, for example, before arriving in Mainz and Florence. At the court of Infanta Isabella, Władysław sent Pac to arrange the details of the entrance into Brussels<sup>38</sup>. If Radziwiłł were only the leader of the journey, nothing would prevent the prince from assigning him similar duties. Nevertheless, this could not be the case, as the dignity and prestige of the royal envoy required that preferably one of the members of the envoy's retinue acted as a runner.

36 Radziwiłł, "Rys panowania Zygmunta III", 77, 101, 135, 163, 307; Pac, "Obraz dworów europejskich", 77. Cf. Krzysztof Warszawicki, *O posle i poselstwach*, trans. Jerzy Życki (Warszawa: Księgarnia F. Hoesicka, 1935), 62, 89.

37 Hagenaw, "Diariusz podróży zagranicznej", 109, 139.

38 Radziwiłł, "Rys panowania Zygmunta III", 133; Hagenaw, "Diariusz podróży zagranicznej", 271, 153, 147.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

AGAD: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie.

AR: Archiwum Radziwiłłów.

MK: *Metryka Koronna*.

LL: *Libri Legationum*.

ASF: Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

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